

PERSPECTIVES

Why PERSPECTIVES?

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Approaching the Jewish Problem
Emanuel Scherer

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The Negro Revolution

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Socialism in a Divided World
Jan Tinbergen

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African Nationalism
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Labor and the Scientific Revolution
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Winter, 1964

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A WORD TO THE READER

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Speaking frankly, this magazine is an experiment.

We, who are responsible for the first issue of **PERSPECTIVES** as publishers and contributors, hope it will be greeted by you with sufficient interest and approval to justify its continued appearance. Should this be the case, future issues, will, like this one, present a broad range of articles, commentary and reviews on contemporary democratic socialism, along with articles dealing with the Yiddish heritage and the problems of the Jewish people as a cultural-national minority. It is our hope that the magazine will become a lively forum for a continuing dialogue between contributors and readers.

We are optimistic in our expectations. The last few years have seen a remarkable change in the American intellectual climate. There has also been a re-awakening of interest in politics and "ideologies."

What has not been so widely noted by observers of these new trends is the serious quest for "identity," for a tradition which will provide a rational basis for dissatisfaction with the status quo and the "utopian" aspirations for a society marked by equality, justice and the peaceful flowering of individual and national potentialities in all their diversity.

Our magazine is intended for those, particularly young intellectuals, who are exploring these questions. To you who are now reading these pages, we say: **We welcome your comments, your questions and well-intentioned disagreements.**

Perspectives

Published by the
JEWISH LABOR BUND

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Address: 25 East 78th Street
New York, N. Y. 10021, Tel.: LE 5-0850
Single copy, 40 cents; one year subscription, \$1.50



Volume I, No. 1

Winter, 1964

Why PERSPECTIVES

THIS MAGAZINE enters the widening stream of ideological reviews; and its editors believe that it has a distinctive contribution to make. Our belief draws its strength from a body of thought which is pertinent to today's severe conflicts and dilemmas.

If, for the moment, we accept the premise that the most immediate concern of mankind is the fear of nuclear war, then the question that urgently springs to mind is: *where to turn* for a positive and effective expression of the horror aroused by the very thought of total nuclear annihilation?

The giant powers place humanity in deadly peril: the Communists, first, because their professed goal of a "non-exploitative" and ideal society only obscures the real, terrible dictatorial politics of an empire occupying the biggest territory known to mankind and aiming at the conquest of the entire world; second, some influential groups of the Western world, with the United States at the head, because their slogans of "freedom," "equality," "free enterprise," etc., are often, in effect, a cam-

ouflage for the historically obsolete system of capitalist society.

Among the "radical" responses to the present world crisis, the following programs deserve particular consideration:

1) *The various "peace groups"*. Well-intentioned and moved by the feeling that "something must be done," they have really done something to arouse the public against the danger of nuclear war, but they are overlooking the roots of our "insane society" — the basic economic, social political status-quo factors.

2) *The Civil Non-Violent campaigns*. Sometimes, under some conditions, excellent in dealing with specific domestic problems, as in the struggle for equal civil rights of Negroes, they are rather ineffective when isolated from the broad ideas and perspectives of a general socio-political nature.

3) *The Disarmament campaigns*. They often do not take into account the need for general disarmament (if disarmament is to be real.) and the complexities of international control. Consequently, and

because they also ignore the major socio-economic problems, they often become futile and confused.

Even though none of the above alternatives is satisfactory, there is still no excuse for indifference. In a world of militant nationalistic trends, where each regards its own country as more important than the whole of humanity; in a world where the bureaucratic, managerial revolution (much more advanced in Russia than in the West) gravely endangers social and political democracy; in a world where the various ("rightist" or "leftist") totalitarian philosophies threaten whatever freedoms do exist — *in this world of today no one has the right to remain passive*. To grasp the permanent crisis of our times, to be well-informed and to act when the opportunity arises, is not only a matter of social conscience, or concern for the preservation of the human species. It is also an imperative of one's own development and talents, of one's own sanity.

The pages of this magazine will introduce the reader to that body of thought which can be conveniently described as "international, culturally pluralistic, democratic socialism."

In very general terms, it means: a democratic socialist order, based not merely on usual political state boundaries (as long as they exist), but also, ethnically speaking, on national-cultural bonds, ties or fellowship *within a democratically organized society*. It is, in other words, a concept of a society, where pluralism is not restricted to the political and economic domains alone, but also embraces the various *ethnic and national cultures* as long as there are people who adhere to these cultures, no matter how small or large their number.

It is an accepted truth that *pluralism* is basically incompatible with any totalitarianism (fascist or communist); pluralism

is a pillar of real democracy, socialist democracy included, of course. What we call "international, culturally pluralistic, democratic socialism" is the *extension of this pluralistic concept of society into the domain of ethical cultures and nationalities*.

This magazine is to a great extent devoted to Jewish problems. Its ideas and aims are based upon the following aspects of Jewish life: Jews live in many countries of the world; they are a world-wide and supra-national people; they remain a cohesive nationality even though religious institutions have lost their hold on many of its members; only a small minority live in Israel, while the overwhelming majority of Jews throughout the world live and will continue to live as a minority among non-Jews and among other national cultures. Logically, this condition creates a fertile soil among Jewish people for the idea of cultural autonomy.

In one form or another, international democratic socialism has long gripped men's minds as the best possible resolution of class struggles, of national struggles, the struggles for equal opportunity and individual fulfilment against an autocratic industrial system that increasingly mechanizes man. Unfortunately, socialism has failed, up to now, to sense and combat the standardization of culture threatening various minorities; to sense and combat the obstacles to the differentiation of individuals and minority peoples from the majority-mass.

All of this poses an important general problem for genuine democracy and socialism. It is a problem that is especially urgent for a people like the Jews.

Jews, particularly those who are secular and socialist-minded, who want to preserve and foster that cluster of thought, literature, art and other values which constitute our rich Jewish heritage, feel strongly about

the massive and overwhelming advance of monolithic majority-cultures. They believe there is a fair solution to the conflict between majority-right and minority right: *fusion of cultural autonomy and political democracy*.

The concept of such a fusion was realized and nurtured in the ideas and practices of the Jewish Labor Bund. It found a large, receptive audience and mass support in all walks of Jewish life in Eastern Europe, especially Poland — until Nazi Germany turned this flourishing Polish-Jewish landscape into a mass grave.

The world has apparently not yet learned the full lesson from the terrible Hitler experience. Extravagant nationalism is still accepted, even revered. Soviet Russia and Mao's China have actually been developing — each in its own way — as *national communist states*, despite the fact that the two terms are as incongruous and misplaced as e.g., "Progressive Conservatives" (the name of a Canadian political party). Socialism is intrinsically a philosophy of internationalism. True, international democratic socialism respects the individual and aims to create an environment where all individuals can develop according to their free will and talents. National chauvinism, however, is a force that represses, standardizes and conven-

tionalizes the individual, preserving a totalitarian mediocrity to such a degree that the vast majority never even attempt to develop their capabilities or to act creatively; and those who do, often find the atmosphere so stultifying that they live in unhappiness and despair.

Anxiety and despair seem today to be the intelligent individual's only alternative. Yet, only an attempt to overcome the forces directly responsible for this human condition offers meaningful perspectives for both individuals and peoples — the Jewish people and individuals included.

International socialism developed in the Western world mainly under the stimuli of poverty and inequality. It still faces these problems even in the advanced West, and much more so in Asia, Africa and Latin-America. It must, however, realize that in this nuclear age degenerative nationalism has become an even more immediate threat to man's survival than the perennial plagues of hunger and misery.

International, culturally pluralistic, democratic socialism, as embodied in the ideology of the Jewish Labor Bund, attempts to meet two of modern man's and of modern Jew's fundamental needs — the need for peace and freedom of all national groups, big and small, and the need for freedom and well-being of all individuals.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

On November 22, 1963, the day when President Kennedy was assassinated, the Jewish Labor Bund and the Socialist Party of the United States of America issued the following statement:

In this hour of national tragedy, the Socialist Party and the Jewish Labor Bund — both member-parties of the Socialist International — join with the entire nation in deeply mourning the shocking death of the President of the United States. This outrageous dastardly assassination of President Kennedy evokes, in addition to great sorrow, a deep worry about the future policy of the United States. We hope the good things initiated by our murdered President will still be continued.

Our next issue will include a discussion of the impact of President Kennedy's death on international and domestic developments.

Approaching the Jewish Problem

By Emanuel Scherer

THE JEW who looks for an answer to the Jewish problem, who wants to choose conscientiously, and not be driven to, its solution, has several paths open to him. Historically, the most significant among them are: Orthodoxy, Assimilationism, Zionism, Bundism. The first three terms are well-known even among those not versed in Jewish affairs. However, the fourth needs an explanation, particularly for those whose knowledge of Jewish problems is drawn chiefly from reading a limited number of English-language publications.

"Bund" is the abbreviated Yiddish name of the Jewish Socialist Party, founded in Tsarist Russia in 1897 under the name *Algemeiner Yiddisher Arbeter Bund*.

Although clandestine and severely persecuted by the Tsarist regime, the Bund soon developed into a well-organized, powerful movement and existed as such in Russia until its liquidation by the Soviet-Communist dictatorship. Between the two world wars, Poland, with its three and a half million Jews, became the stronghold of the Bund, and remained such up to the time when the entire Polish-Jewish population, together with millions of other European Jews, was annihilated by Nazi Germany in the ghettos, death camps and gas chambers. During that period, from 1897 on, the influence of the Bund was felt among Jews in many countries.

After World War II, Bundists who escaped from Eastern Europe, along

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with many who had already settled in the West, established Bund organizations in the United States, Canada, South America, Australia, the countries of Western Europe and Israel. All of these merged to form what is now called the International Jewish Labor Bund, a member party of the Socialist International.

Now, what is Bundism in general, and what is its relation to other trends in Jewish life?

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Bundism is a specific synthesis of Jewishness and socialism. It combines our being part of the Jewish people, of the countries of which we are citizens, and of mankind as a whole in such a way that no first priority is given to the Jewish people, or the country of our residence, or mankind. In Bundism, all three have equal significance and are of prime importance.

This is not a play on words. Far-reaching consequences flow from this attitude. For if one says that he is "first and foremost a Jew," he is on the way to Jewish nationalist chauvinism. If someone considers himself "primarily," or "solely," an American (or, for that matter, an Englishman, or Frenchman, etc.), he is on the way to assimilation. And the third choice — that of being a "citizen of the world," — leads to a spurious and utopian cosmopolitanism. By placing our ties with the Jewish people, with the country where we live, and with all humanity on a single plane, and by considering all three equally important, Bundism achieves three things: it is Jewish-national, but not nationalistic; it is politically positive, but not

chauvinistically patriotic; and it is universal in its humanism, but not falsely cosmopolitan.

This concept of a three-dimensional unity, or "three-fold primacy," is an original contribution of Bundism to national Jewish and international socialist thought. It is also the chief expression of the Bund's distinct approach to the problems of Jewish life.

However, it is more difficult to comprehend and realize Bundism in practice than other Jewish theories and aims. That this is so can be easily demonstrated — in fact, the Bund's present situation is itself a proof of these difficulties.

The following three examples will suffice to illustrate how much easier it is for the average contemporary Jew to turn to the other alternatives of dealing with the Jewish problem.

First, we have the concept of assimilation. It is admittedly obvious that the idea of assimilation is a simple one. It is easy to understand and to execute — provided that those around us, the gentiles, permit it.

Second, there is the road of religious Judaism. There was a long period when adherence to religious Judaism was difficult and even dangerous. Today, generally speaking, one does not have to face martyrdom to maintain Jewish religious belief. It is well known that in many countries it is much easier to be a religious than a non-religious Jew. Indeed, this is especially the case in the United States where it is often considered more "American" to be a religious Jew.

But even where the Jewish religion is severely persecuted, as in the Soviet Union, it is subjected to less persecution than non-religious, creative Yiddish culture. The fact of the matter is that in the Soviet Union there is a general persecution of religion, particularly the Jewish religion; and only a few Jewish prayerhouses and synagogues are allowed to exist there. On

the other hand, Jewish secular schools were liquidated long ago. Using state enterprises for matzoh-baking has been forbidden for the last two years, but publication of Jewish newspapers was stopped almost fifteen years ago. A rabbi can still venture to say a cautious religious word in the Soviet Union today, but all other non-communist or anti-communist expressions of Jewish thought have been completely silenced for more than forty years. We cite these examples not to minimize the communist persecution of Jewish (and other) religious practices, but to illustrate the fact that even under the Soviet dictatorship, religious Judaism is not as totally persecuted as certain non-religious manifestations of Jewish national life and culture.

Third, the path of Zionism. That it is very easy nowadays for a Jew to be a Zionist or Israeli-minded needs no further explanation. True, in the countries of the Soviet and Arab blocs, Zionism is sharply suppressed; but in the Soviet Union, it is not subjected to greater persecution than other non-communist tendencies. As for the democratic countries of the world, where some 75 per cent of the Jewish people live, it is easy and very fashionable for Jews to embrace Zionism and Israelism.

In comparison with these three established tendencies, the road of Bundism is quite different and poses many difficulties. These difficulties stem from several causes: from the present critical situation of the Yiddish language, which we seek to keep alive; from our secularism, which is less popular today than it once was; and from our consistent socialist convictions, which are now less attractive to Jews, particularly American Jews. But, probably the greatest difficulty of Bundism today stems from the high demands which Bundism makes, both upon the non-Jewish world on behalf of the Jews, and upon the Jews on behalf of the rights of non-Jews. And here we come to a very im-

portant point to which due attention has not yet been given.

Social life is replete with conflicts. Every problem appears as a cluster of clashes and collisions. These clashes and collisions are especially serious among Jews, because as Jews we have a greater number of concurrent obligations: to our (Jewish) people, to our various native countries (for various parts of world-Jewry have various home-countries), and toward other peoples and humanity as a whole. What is to be done when conflicts arise among these various commitments?

This is a question that a Jew of any persuasion faces very often, whether consciously or not. But not every Jew has it as a difficult problem. We shall illustrate this again by three examples.

Consider the average assimilated Jew. Politically, he has one general obligation — to the country of which he is an assimilated citizen. When it comes to choosing between his own people, his own country and other peoples, he has a single, simple prescription: *his* country.

The Zionist, or the Jew for whom "Israel comes first," is in this respect in a position similar to that of the assimilated Jews, because the Zionist also has a country toward which he orients himself in various national or international conflicts. There is the question of Zionist "dual loyalties." Examined at a deeper level, this does not constitute a problem, for the Zionist combines these two loyalties very simply. "What is good for General Motors is good for America," said one of former President Eisenhower's cabinet members. "What is good for Israel is good for America" — this is the actual, though unstated and unwritten, position of Zionism.

Bundism rejects such an attitude. In our debates with Zionists, we often say that "the people (the Jewish people) are more important than the state (the State of Israel)." This statement is, of course,

applicable only to the problems of the *Jewish* people, not to conflicts involving other peoples and nations. Certainly, the idea that "the people" — the Jewish people — are more important than the State of Israel cannot mean that our (Jewish) people take precedence over all states, "above everything else in the world." A mere recollection of how these quoted words sound in the well-known chauvinistic German anthem ("Germany, Germany above all . . .") is sufficient to reject such an idea in Jewish life. But, if so, where is the rule to guide us, where is the key to those Jewish problems that also involve the interests of other peoples?

Let us take an example from our daily political life. The Jews have been faced for a long time with the Israeli-Arab conflict. One clash yesterday, another today, still another tomorrow; but in essence it is always the same conflict. And there is always the same question: "Who is right?"

The Jewish national chauvinist has a ready answer: "My side." The Arab, in effect, says the same — *his* side. But what about the Bund? We have no such ready-made answer. Our answer is based not on what the official Israeli line is today, but on certain ideas which embrace the universal, human and just principles of democracy and democratic socialism.

And if these general principles of democracy and democratic socialism demand that the Bund take a position differing from, say, Israeli policies in this or that Jewish matter, we do so. And we do so both for the sake of loyalty to these principles and because we are convinced that the passing day-to-day problems of Jewish interest are transcended by the lasting and higher interests and goals of both Jews and non-Jews. It is our conviction that for the sake of long-range Jewish interests, it is essential that Jewish policy in all countries be inspired by the universal ideas of true democracy and socialism.

Such are the high, the ennobling — and difficult — ideological demands of Bundism. Demands upon ourselves, upon the Jewish people, and upon the world. It is these demands which constitute both the special character of Bundism and its ideological basis.

A well-known writer, Prof. Daniel Bell, has recently attempted to prove that we are generally facing "the end of ideologies." Is this really the case? And if it is so, should we accept it?

Regarding the present, it is enough to say that, in the struggle against world communism, the free world is contending not only with a mailed fist, but in equal measure with a camp representing a mailed ideology — the ideology of falsified socialism and pseudo-Marxism. But it seems to be almost a historic law that a militant ideology cannot be defeated by an opponent lacking an adequate counter-ideology. This means that communist ideology cannot be defeated in a peaceful contest — the only kind we hope for — but by another ideology, a superior one.

Even more important in this connection is the question: what about ideas and ideologies in the future?

We live in a period burdened with unanswered questions. If the greatest of all questions can be answered satisfactorily, if mankind can overcome the danger of atomic war — which, unfortunately, is far from certain — then we may also expect many other great and positive changes in the world.

Let us take one instance. Today, only a smaller part of the world's population eats enough to sate its hunger. Even in the affluent societies of the United States and other Western countries, there are still segments of the population that do not have enough to eat. In the future,

this need will certainly be met on an ever-widening scale. Shortages of bread and other necessities will gradually disappear from this, and other parts, of the world — not through the alleged amenities of capitalism, but thanks to the new technology and the ideas of social justice which will prevail in the struggle against capitalism and other forms of social exploitation. More favorable conditions will also be created for greater harmony in international relations. But since man, and particularly a *well-fed* and *free* man, does not live by bread alone, satisfied physical hunger may be superseded by a strong *spiritual* hunger. And spiritual hunger can be satisfied, in our social life and for the most part, through higher, spiritual aspirations — through ideas and ideals.

Under such conditions, with higher spiritual demands on the part of ever broader circles, there will also be changes in the present attitude toward the more "difficult" but also loftier ideas, aspirations and ideologies. In this way, there may come an end to idol-worship at the feet of immediate practical "success," perhaps because in "practical" matters success will be open to increasingly more people. Precisely because of their higher spiritual value, the "more difficult" ideologies may then become more attractive.

All this applies to various fields of social life and to all peoples. It is also true of Jewish life and the ideology of Bundism.

This is by no means a "song of the future." In an age of atomic energy, of automation, when flights to the moon are envisaged within the next few years, the "song of the future" can become reality sooner than one thinks. If civilized mankind is to have any real future, these things cannot be a matter of remote speculation. Indeed, it is toward such perspectives that present-day Bundist ideology is oriented.

 Comments

Alliances—Shifts and Turns

THE SIGNING of the test ban treaty by some 100 countries, following the leadership of the United States, the USSR and Great Britain, points to a new turn in the political affairs of the Western world.

It is necessary to make that geographical distinction, since to the Chinese Communists the very act of signing the treaty was a stigma of treason. The Soviet Union, in the eyes of the Chinese, is engaged in a counter-revolutionary conspiracy with its erstwhile worst enemies, the imperialist United States and Britain. The treaty, say the Chinese, is designed to maintain the status quo throughout the world, and more particularly to prevent the Chinese from taking their place on the world scene. First and foremost, the Chinese have visualized the test ban treaty as a means of keeping nuclear arms out of the reach of the Peking regime, a goal which has motivated the Soviet Union to commit the heinous crime of capitulationism to the pressures of imperialism.

The other side of the coin of the East-West detente is the impact it is likely to have on the relations between the Atlantic Alliance and the Soviet bloc. The test ban signatures were not dry before announcements were issued from Washington and Moscow that this represented merely the first step in what might become a whole series of moves designed to sweep away the atmosphere of the cold war. That such a policy would have an attraction that goes beyond merely governmental alliances is seen in the resolution adopted by the Socialist International at its Eighth Congress in Amsterdam in September.

The Socialist International Resolution on Disarmament says: "The Socialist International calls all governments to continue their efforts to end the arms race and to replace national defense or alliance systems by a system of international law backed by appropriate forces under the United Nations. Measures of disarmament must increase, not decrease, the security of the peoples concerned. Adequate safeguards must be devised to protect the nations who observe the Treaties from aggression by a state which evades or violates such disarmament agreements."

It would appear obvious from this statement, arising from a source that does not respond automatically in support of actions by the great powers, that the test ban treaty has struck a popular chord, and that it has aroused hopes for the end of the tension that has gripped the world since the end of the Second World War. More significantly, it seems to lend support to the possibility that responsible leaders have drawn back from the danger that a nuclear holocaust would bring to the world. From this point of view, of course, there is bound to be the hope that the world will not be plunged into catastrophe because of the escalation of differences between the U.S. and the USSR.

It must be recognized, however, that the absence of war and the lessening of the danger of war are not quite the same as the existence of that peaceful, cooperative world to which socialists aspire. Few would argue—not even the Chinese Communists go quite so far — that progress can come only out of despair and destruction. Although it is sometimes difficult to discern the precise direction of events,

there is no doubt that we are currently undergoing a revolutionary upheaval of a fundamental nature. In Africa, a whole continent is in the throes of seeking to establish a fresh identity for itself. In Asia, India democratically and China, under a communist dictatorship, are remaking the face of another continent. The world, both the communist segments and the non-communist areas, is undergoing a rearrangement. And while the Chinese Communists, with their record as imperialists through the takeover in Tibet and the unprovoked attack in the Indian border areas, are in no position to bludgeon others, there is one shot in their blunderbuss attack on the test ban treaty which does strike home.

The Chinese Communists, in their attack on the agreement, have asserted that it is a coalition of great powers to preserve the status quo. As far as the Soviet bloc countries are concerned, this is obviously the case. The agreement in effect sets a juridical stamp on what had been a de facto understanding — that the West would not fundamentally challenge Soviet control of the countries of East Europe taken over by communists under the aegis of the Red Army after the Second World War. While the Chinese Communists had in mind the West and the United States, it is, of course, in East Europe that the peoples have shown the greatest resistance to the status quo of communist domination.

Just as the West has never been able to agree on a strategy for upsetting communist control in East Europe, so it has not evolved a method of pooling its resources of economic and technical skills to make them available on a really massive scale to bring the countries of Africa and Asia into the mainstream of the twentieth century. The erosion of empires has effectively removed European nations from involvement in the colonial areas, leaving them prey to both authoritarian leaders and the influence of Soviet and Chinese

advisers. Unless there is, as the British Labor Party leader Harold Wilson predicts, a continental-wide switch toward socialism, such a change of attitude toward the undeveloped areas is difficult to foresee.

If the history of the past half-century has taught any lesson, it is that change — unexpected, unprecedented, and often violent — is a permanent element in contemporary life. The present situation — in which former enemies have nothing but kind words for each other, and former friends, such as the Soviets and Chinese, belabor each other daily — is one more example of the instability of the politics of our period. This takes its place alongside America's postwar friendship with Germany and Japan, former enemies, and its coldness to de Gaulle's France, former ally.

These shifts and turns, alliances and misalliances, are indicative of the fact that international politics has not reached the stage which the present state of civilization and technology demands. It remains on the agenda of the democratic socialists and the Socialist International — which has given little more than lip-service to the idea — to offer the context by which the world can be reshaped closer to the ideals of universal aid, democracy, and freedom.

The Negro Revolution

ALTHOUGH THE March on Washington, in which 200,000 Negroes and white civil rights advocates, trade unionists, and other groups participated, was hailed as one of the most impressive demonstrations in the history of the capital, the inevitable period of stocktaking has now set in. What lent a tragic undertone to the period of analysis was the vicious bombing of a church in Birmingham in which four children were killed, and as an aftermath of which two more Negro youngsters were murdered. As in the case of the previous 20 bombings in

Birmingham since 1947, no one has yet been arrested for the latest crime against humanity.

The letdown that followed the March, and the despair that gripped the civil rights movement after the Birmingham bombings, combined to make civil rights leaders move to reconsider their strategy, and to rethink plans for their future activities. We have even witnessed the ironic situation in which Negroes — the most victimized stratum of the American economic class structure — are questioned before nationwide television audiences as to what *they* planned to do next in the struggle for equality. Such anomalies point up the fact that, like the Jewish Question, the Negro Problem is one that must actually be solved by others. There has always been an element of economic determinism in how Jews have fared in various times and in various continents. For the Negroes in America, the economic factor is all-powerful.

Not surprisingly, this truism was spelled out most directly in a recent article in *Fortune* magazine, which advised businessmen that it would increasingly be their concern to deal with varied aspects of the problem of opening up job opportunities for Negroes and other minority groups. The author of the article says:

"The great mass of Negroes are more concerned with where they work than with where they eat... Two out of three Negro households earn less than \$4,000 a year, and one Negro male in nine is out of work. Contrary to popular impression, the Negroes' economic position has actually deteriorated over the last ten years, relative to whites... The median income of Negro families dropped from its high of 57 per cent of white income in 1952 to 53 per cent in 1962. The future is even bleaker than the present; it is no exaggeration to say that Negroes are on the verge of a major economic crisis..."

The other side of the economic coin

was displayed by the chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, Roger M. Blough, who responded to criticism that his corporation, which owns the major steel mill in Birmingham, had not used its influence to lessen racial tension in the area by responding that such an idea was "repugnant to my fellow officers" in the corporation.

Blough went on to say that "for a corporation to attempt to exert any kind of economic compulsion to achieve a particular end in the social area seems to be quite beyond what a corporation should do, and I will say also, quite beyond what a corporation can do."

It is obvious that these are the sentiments by which the majority of American corporations live, except that they rarely hesitate to indulge in influencing various social policies through support of conservative candidates for office, and through the dominant role they play in fostering tax and business legislation that is "good for General Motors" and other rulers of American industry.

The March on Washington, in response to its trade union supporters and the socialist background of some of its leaders, including the Chairman A. Philip Randolph, raised demands for full employment and a \$2.00 an hour minimum wage. These demands, if realized, will serve the entire underprivileged mass in America, Negro and white. It is a tribute to the leaders of the civil rights movement that they have broadened their demands so that they aim directly at the heart of the economic malfunctioning of American society.

This program will be without impact, however, unless the American trade union, liberal and socialist forces match it with a political drive to back plans for economic equality. Such a development is as overdue as is the winning of full civil rights for Negroes and other minority groups.

Forever

By H. Leivick

The world grasps me in hands that wound,
and bears me to fire, and bears me to auto-da-fe;
I burn and I burn, and I am not consumed.
I rise up again and go on my way.

I walk through factories and fall under wheels,
I split open machines with the strength of fresh day;
like new building ground, I lie prone under heels.
I rise up again and go on my way.

I harness myself in the gear of a horse,
and over me lashes a rider in rage;
like a sharpened plow through the earth I course.
I rise up again and go on my way.

I sow my songs as kernels are sown;
they shoot up, they flourish, like cornstalks and hay;
but I, like a twisted thorn, lie alone.
I rise up again and go on my way.

I live in a prison. I break open the door,
the freed man treads on me to meet his glad fate,
and leaves me lying in blood on the floor.
I rise up again and go on my way.

My clothing bloodied — my feet can scarce crawl,
I come with love of anguished yesterdays;
I come to a hovel, on its steps I fall.
I rise up again and go on my way.

Leivick, H. (Halpern) (1888-1962) was born in Yihumen, White Russia. He was expelled from the Yeshiva at the age of sixteen for reading secular and revolutionary literature. In 1906 he was imprisoned for his activities in the Jewish Labor Bund and sentenced to four years at Katorga (hard labor). He was exiled to Siberia for life in 1912, but escaped in 1913 to New York. Here he earned his living as a house-painter and decorator. He achieved a reputation as a writer of verse and drama and was among the most highly regarded of the contemporary Yiddish poets and essayists. He died in New York, December 23, 1962.

This poem is reprinted from the bi-lingual anthology of Yiddish poems selected and translated by Sarah Betsky, *Onions and Cucumbers and Plums*, Wayne State University Press.

A Clash of Ideologies

The Bund and Zionism

By B. Meyers

A LITTLE MORE than sixty-six years ago — in 1897 — both the Jewish Socialist Bund and political Zionism came into existence.

The path leading from 1897 to 1963 was a long one. Both the political and social structures of the entire world have undergone radical changes during these years. Even wider is the chasm between Jewish life in 1897 and Jewish life today. Until the Hitler massacres, about 60 per cent of the world's Jewish population had been living in Europe, most of them in Eastern Europe, in a state of poverty and political persecution. Today, the majority of world Jewry live in Western countries under conditions of democracy and comparative well-being. A part — a small minority — live in the State of Israel.

How do the two ideologies — of the Bund and Zionism — stand today?

Zionism was, from its inception, primarily a product of anti-Semitism. According to its fundamental tenets, anti-Semitism is a peculiar disease which has infected — or can infect — all, or almost all, non-Jews in any country. The mere presence of Jews among Christians is an irritant which generates anti-Semitism. Therefore, the Zionists say, the only way to solve this problem is for Jews to leave their countries of residence and settle in their own state.

The Bund is based on an opposite concept, namely, that anti-Semitism is *not* a mysterious and perennial evil. Anti-

B. Meyers has written extensively on the role of ideologies in present-day Jewish life.

Semitism has its causes in the economic, political and psychological conditions of society, and like any other man-made evil can be cured by changing the conditions which brought it about. The Bund maintains that the Jewish question is one of the general problems of mankind and can be solved both by changing the conditions of the peoples among whom the Jews live and by cultural autonomy of Jews in the countries where they reside.

Instead of an "exodus" — or an "ingathering of exiles" proclaimed as a main aim of Israeli Zionism — the Bund advocates greater cooperation with the non-Jewish world, especially with other underprivileged and suffering peoples. Instead of fear and suspicion of non-Jews inculcated by Zionism, the Bund offers faith in mankind and the brotherhood of all men. Instead of *nationalistic* justice, which is often oblivious to the suffering of those outside a particular group, the Bund teaches *international* justice, which combines justified Jewish claims with respect for the rights of other peoples.

Jewish Socialists of the Bund are convinced that only advancement of democracy and socialism in countries where Jews live as a minority will create conditions for peaceful cooperation between Jews and Gentiles, will erase anti-Semitism and racism, and further the cultural and national development of *all* peoples.

Contrary to the Zionist tenet that Jews are strangers everywhere, the Bund believes that Jews, although of a different and distinct national origin and identity, are or ought to be equal citizens of their countries, and that they should unite with

other citizens in the common struggle for the victory of democracy and socialism.

In its present form, as adapted to Jewish life after its destruction in Eastern Europe and after the establishment of the State of Israel, the Bund's ideology can be briefly stated as follows:

1. Jews are dispersed through the world, and are a distinct nationality though without a common state. In terms of foreseeable trends, they will remain in this situation; as a whole, or in their majority, the Jewish people of today *cannot be remade into a one-state nation*.

2. The present Jewish population of the State of Israel is about 15 per cent of world Jewry, and only an increase of a few more per cent can be taken as possible in the foreseeable future. From this it follows that:

a) The State of Israel does *not* solve the so-called Jewish question, i. e., all the problems pertaining to Jews throughout the world.

b) Israel does *not*, and cannot claim the right to, represent the Jews outside of Israel, i. e., the majority of the Jewish people.

The claim of Israeli leaders to leadership of world Jewry, and their policies of Hebraization of Jewish life and the downgrading of all Jewish communities outside Israel (including those in democratic countries, such as the United States) as "places of exile" are fallacious and harmful.

3. The key to the safety and the future of Jews in Israel is peace with the Arabs. To achieve it, concessions on both sides are needed: Israel should recognize the moral right of the Arab refugees to repatriation and compensation; the Arab nations should recognize the existence of Israel. The United Nations should do their utmost to put an end to the Israeli-Arab conflict, which invites Russian pe-

netration into that turbulent region and is a menace to world peace.

4. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish people live, and in all probability will continue to live, outside Israel; almost half of all Jews live and will continue to live in the United States. Therefore, Jewish problems must be solved in the countries where Jews live today and will live tomorrow.

5. Assimilation may be an escape for individuals; it is *not* a solution for the Jewish people as a whole with its distinctive national culture and identity. Nor is it desirable from a general human or democratic standpoint. Pluralism, not conformism, is the life-blood of real democracy, and this principle applies to national and cultural life within countries as well.

6. Jewish national problems arising within countries where Jews reside *can* be solved on the basis of freedom and democracy — more securely under democratic socialism — by guaranteeing Jews the rights of freedom and equality. This includes the right to distinctiveness, the right to maintain our own Jewish identity and national culture in accordance with our own will. Within the Jewish community, the Bund strives for a secularized Jewish culture in the Yiddish language.

7. There should be *one* criterion for all Jewish policies: Wherever Jews live — whether as a national minority throughout the world or as a majority in Israel — Jewish policy, certainly Jewish socialist policy, ought to be based on the same principles of freedom, democracy, international justice and brotherhood.

Reconciliation of the claims of the Jewish people with the rights of other peoples is the essence of the Bund's approach to Jewish problems, an approach which brings justified Jewish national demands into harmony with the spirit of true democratic socialist internationalism.

Socialism In A Divided World

By Jan Tinbergen

THE IDEAS which inspired the birth of the Social Democratic movement are now about a hundred years old. The views of the non-Socialist parties in Western Europe and in the USA have been profoundly influenced by socialist ideas. As a result, the capitalist society of the nineteenth century has been transformed into a society in which a number of the former socialist demands have been realized. The size of the public sector, the extent of social insurance, working hours, paid holidays and, generally, the relationship of dependence and the social status of the working people — all these have changed to a marked degree.

Developments have not in every respect followed the course envisaged by the Socialists. The solution of some problems has proved more difficult while for others it has been more simple. The control of economic fluctuations and thus the abolition of mass unemployment has proved to be feasible. Here the radical structural changes were not required that some had believed to be necessary.

NEW PRIORITIES

The problems of income equalization and of the worker's share in management have proved more difficult than was anticipated. Attempts to do away with

large income differentials among the wage and salary earners simply by government decrees have not met with success either in Israel or the Soviet Union, to mention two examples. The introduction of certain forms of workers' participation in management has not had the desired results either. The arguments for the socialization of certain industries have not proved sufficiently convincing even for large groups of workers to win a majority for such proposals, and as good democrats the Socialists have had to accept this.

While in this Europe of ours — we must admit that the Socialist movement is still centered in Western Europe partly because of its shortsightedness — conditions are generally less oppressive now than they were in the nineteenth century, in the world around us there are two factors causing great instability which represents a vital threat to the world as a whole.

THE COMMUNIST THREAT

First of all, conflicts within the poor countries — where they are always more explosive than in the wealthier countries — have enabled the Communists to expand their power considerably. The Communists are now a world force. Their ideas about use of force and compulsion

(Continued on Page 21)

PERSPECTIVES will present in each issue extracts and summaries of articles on the burning problems of our time by socialist thinkers and leaders from all parts of the world. Here we present two extensive excerpts from articles by Professor Jan Tinbergen of the Netherlands and Holman Jameson of Sierra Leone which appeared in the magazine of the International Socialist Youth League.

African Nationalism

By Holman Jameson

UNTIL QUITE recently African nationalism to most Europeans was hardly anything more than an attempt of a few sophisticated African intellectuals, more or less divorced from their people and their peoples' interests, to chase the white man from Africa, to install themselves in his place and to lord it over an heritage. Today, African nationalism is definitely more than this.

When Samory, Behanzin, Chaka, Prempreh and a host of other African kings and warriors were depicted in European school text-books as warring savages, it was not because these ancient elites had no ideas of African unity or African unification, but because they had the means and courage of offering effective resistance and battle against imperialist penetration into what they hitherto considered as their sphere of influence.

Before riding upon this wind of change, however, with the zest of African nationalism, we must recall the fact that while in our time nationalism is generally expressed by a country, Africa is a continent, a continent thrice the size of Europe, with a variety of peoples and tribes of peoples and languages in any of the countries it embraces. In Sierra Leone, for instance, with a population of two and a quarter million, there are no less than thirteen different tribes with their respective languages. In Nigeria with a population on the way to forty millions, there are no less than two hundred and fifty tribes. How then, it has been asked, could nationalism emerge from such a tribalism?

TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

It is true that after centuries of colonial occupation, African communities remain largely tribal, but the term tribalism has invariably been used with a spice of the pejorative as an essential and exclusive deterrent to the emergence of African nationalism. It is as if tribalism had nothing to hand over to nationalism in the transition of the tribe to the nation. In much the same way it is as if socialism had nothing to take over from capitalism in superseding the latter. The tribal organism, far from being the unstructural rudiment that ignorance and prejudice would have us believe, contains not only elements requisite to progress, it offers instruments for the era of nationalism.

As concrete examples of this we may recall that the C. C. P. (Convention People's Party) of Ghana made use of some of the tribal forms of ritual to insure among its adherents the steadfastness and devotion demanded by the national struggle for independence. The Mau-Mau adherents of the Kikuyu did the same thing when they took up arms against the government of Kenya. In Sierra Leone, Poro and Bundu are secret tribal societies, and quite recently some of the mores of these societies, particularly the Poro, have been made to serve the social function of a new and modern society. That is, certain aspects in the ritual of these societies endowed with an esoteric flavor were skilfully divested of them and secularized to yield the results of fundamental education and social welfare.

Another example of this enlargement of the social structure of the tribe to reach into and over the national limits is to be found in what Prof. Hodgkin referred to as "tribal nationalism." The case in point is the Ibo Union, a tribal association of the Ibo peoples of Eastern Nigeria. This tribal union is concerned partly with mutual assistance and friendly benefits, partly with modernizing and educating the rural areas and partly with promoting a sense of nationalism within the tribe.

There is, however, one snag that might beset us and of which African nationalist leaders themselves have become aware. It has been asked even among Marxists whether socialism worthy of the name can ever be realized in any country as such. Apart from that, we know from contemporary experience how socialism, by taking up the simple epithet "national" in certain countries, assumes such fantastic shapes and structures as would frighten the ghost of Auguste Blanqui.

When we speak of the tribe's expansion into the nation we certainly do not mean a mere grouping of tribes into one larger group.

A MISTAKE

Such a mistake was once made in the history of African nationalism. And once again we shall return to Nigeria, the greatest West African territory in matter of population, to illustrate our point. When in 1944, Dr. Azikwe, today Governor General of his country, founded the N.C.N.C. (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons) and three years later demanded independence for Nigeria, he had for the first time in the history of his country succeeded in presenting an All-Nigerian delegation before the London Colonial Office. We recall that his demands at that date were not satisfied. Indeed, the Colonial Office admitted that the Richardson Constitution then in force was certain-

ly not all that Nigeria could hope to aspire to, but that until she could show that she deserved more, Azikwe's delegation was told to put up with that constitution.

When the All-Nigerian delegation returned home, instead of immediately redoubling energy and taking the country by storm, its ranks began to thin out, its membership to decline. There was something wrong somewhere. What? The N. C. N. C. was largely a "federation of tribal unions" and had neither modified its tribal structure prior to amalgamation nor had it done so in the course of its amalgamation. The result was that tribes gave the N.C.N.C. large numbers, but also opened the way for the inevitable disintegration which set in when competing organizations of a purely tribal character arose to lure them away.

With the emergence of political parties appealing to tribal and regional loyalties instead of political ideologies, the federated tribal bodies defected one by one from the N. C. N. C. leaving it with a predominantly Ibo rump. Dr Azikwe, founder of the N.C.N.C., is of the Ibo tribe, but is universally known for his rigorous opposition to tribalism and racialism in politics. It was only deplored that N. C. N. C. was not knitted more closely into a structural national bond of feeling before the emergence of tribal political groups.

One such tribal political group has been the Action Group (A. G.) the party of Chief Owolowo, who was definitely committed to tribal separatism. In chapter five of his "Path to Nigerian Freedom" he writes: "Nigeria is not a nation. It is a mere geographical expression. There are no Nigerians." Chief Owolowo advocated self-government and separatism, not only for the Yoruba tribe to which he belongs, but also for a number of other tribes which he compared to "nations." In the North another political movement, the N. P. C. (Northern People's Congress), also advocat-

ed a tribal and regional separatism. In face of these, the N. C. N. C. soon redoubled and developed its effort for a national outlook. In 1954, the N. C. N. C. won a majority in both Eastern and Western Regional elections for the Federal House of Representatives and had six out of ten African Representatives in the Federal Council of Ministers.

AFRICAN PROPHETS

In both Europe and Africa, religion played an important part both as mould and vehicle to enhance the cry of nationalism. But whereas in Europe the religion through and against which nationalism was fostered remained Christian, in Africa it was both Christian and Animistic.

Among the Bacongo of the ex-Belgian Congo, Kimbanguism was a politico-religious movement founded by Simon Kimbangu, an African, known to his people as "Gounya" — The Almighty, The Priest, The Flag, etc. Kimbangu brought a message to his people but his teachings brought him in conflict with the government. He was tried and sentenced to death in 1921. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he died in jail in 1950. Some say that he was poisoned. Since his death his people have made him a Messiah, who will return to unite the black peoples of Africa.

We need mention only two more of these politico-religious prophets of African nationalism; they are Mulomosi wa Yezu (God's Representative) and Aleluia, both of them hanged in Stanleyville as leaders in the revolt of Bakumu.

But one might well ask: since these African prophets preached Christian doctrines, why did they come in conflict with the administration which after all, was a Christian colonial administration? The point is that these African movements, in assuming the Christian mould, considered the Africans as God's own people and si-

multaneously they compared their colonial governments to emissaries of the Devil, the Egypt of the Pharaohs, the Rome of Nero and the Assyria of Sennacherib. In some cases, the heads of the local church missions were depicted as anti-Christ while the leaders of Matswaism, Kakism and Kimbanguism were revered as the true prophets of God insofar as they foretold the destruction of colonialism and imperialism.

This chapter of African nationalism in the guise of politico-religious movements in the Congo shows clearly that the idea of African unity or the attempts at unification have not been wanting in that country, but that efforts in that direction have always run counter to the colonial governmental prerogatives and against the giant capital industrial interests which at this very moment stir and foster tribal divisions in order to maintain those interests.

ETHIOPIAN AND ZIONIST CHURCHES

The best classification of these movements as expressions of African nationalism divides them into two groups: Ethiopian Churches and Zionist Churches, Ethiopianism and Zionism for short. The best interpretation given to such groupings are those from Prof. Balandier of Paris and Prof. Hodgkin of Oxford. For Balandier, Ethiopianism corresponds to the early stages of nationalist claims while Zionism is expressive of the later and more radical nationalist reaction. In other words, for Balandier, both categories are but two phases of one and the same process; yet he does not consider all of these movements as expressive of African nationalism. Prof. Hodgkin, on contrary, does and believes that Ethiopian Churches are interesting — from the standpoint of a study of African Nationalism — chiefly because they involve the assertion within the framework of the Church of the claims to self-government,

While the interest of the Zionist Churches on the other hand, lies in the fact that they are associated with the personality of a particular prophet and derive much of their force and appeal from the apocalyptic hopes which he inspires.

We are now in a position to understand that movements like Kimbanguism, Kakism, Garveyism and Krumaism are Zionist movements in that these movements present their prophets or leaders with a mission to fulfil: the liberation of the tribes of the peoples of Africa, All-Africa, Pan-Africa. Like Moses, they will lead their people to the Promised Land. These Zionist movements differ from Ethiopianism in the sense that the latter, built exclusively within the framework of the Christian Church, has no particular prophet or leader but awaits a kind of direct divine deliverance from oppression.

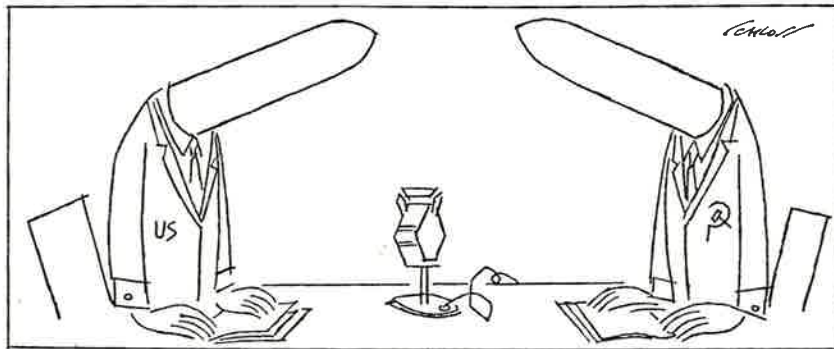
At the outset, we drew a parallel between the early beginning of nationalism in Europe and Africa, insofar as religion was used to stir, strengthen or catalyze nationalism. Attention may now be called to a somewhat curious analogy in this parallel. Whereas European nationalism seemed to have exerted itself against the

Church which until 1500 competed with it and actually dominated it, African nationalism exerted itself against the State, the capitalist and colonial State.

A NEW PATTERN

African nationalism by its very nature and history and by the actual conjuncture of its emergence and development is destined to impart, indeed is already imparting, a new pattern to the world. African nationalism cannot be contained exclusively within the limits of any given African territory. It was as a whole, that is, as a continent, that Africa was colonized and exploited. Hence, African nationalism, insofar as it makes for African freedom and independence, cannot but be continental and Pan-African.

Is it necessary to add that African continental unity is not desired or being striven for as a mere end in itself? It is but a precondition to harnessing all our forces in view of building up both from the residual heritage of the past and from the vast acquisition of the modern world a new African civilization, to enrich the common world of man.



CO-EXISTENCE

Ezekiel Schloss is a political cartoonist; his cartoons appeared in France-Amérique, The New York Times, The New Republic and other periodicals.

SOCIALISM IN A DIVIDED WORLD (Continued from Page 40)

are unacceptable to the Western world, including the Socialists. The world of today is therefore divided into two camps of comparable strength which confront each other. Thus the diplomatic and military balance is unstable.

Secondly, there is an instability within the non-Communist world. The gap between the real incomes of the developing and the developed countries is widening. This increases the danger of a split between the two groups of countries. It is difficult for groups with increasingly different living standards to reach an understanding. In a world in which, because of technical progress, physical distances are constantly shrinking, what is needed most of all is a world policy. Political thought should concern itself with the world as a whole.

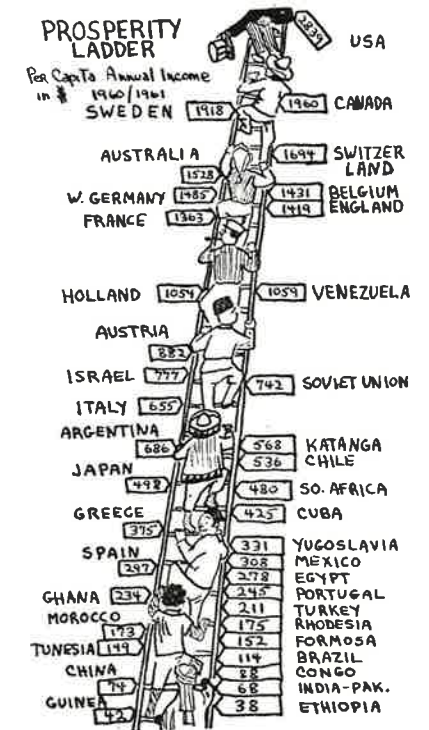
Unfortunately the Social Democratic movement has not yet grasped this truth fully. In origin it was an international movement in which the International played a significant part. But it has not kept pace with the times; it is still European in character. In the new countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America there are many who would like to be associated with democratic socialism if only they could see a practical chance of doing so. Far too often they see only the choice between a West strongly impregnated by Americans favoring free enterprise and a totalitarian communism. The Socialists must have their own program within the Western world, they must make it clear to the people in the developing countries that the Western world is not wholly capitalist, that it can offer to them a better future and that there are forces within the West which are as much opposed to cooperation with certain reactionary groups as are the new countries.

SOME WORLD PROBLEMS

If we are to think in world terms, we must first of all determine our priorities. Briefly, this means the following:

The most important problem is the preservation of peace, i.e., the organization of a stable instead of an unstable diplomatic and military balance. If we fail in this, we shall face the end to life itself.

The second problem — closely linked with the first — is the abolition of the divergences in the living conditions of the developed and the developing countries.



Third, there is the problem of progress in our own economies. To be sure, there are important tasks in this field, such as the equalization of incomes by the extension of educational opportunities and the introduction of new forms of joint control in industry. Yet the first two problems are more important, because they affect basic conditions of life of all peoples, in particular of the poorest.

The first two problems are closely linked with each other. There would be no point in raising the living standard of the developing countries if we regard the outbreak of a war as inevitable. On the other hand, effective international aid might contribute to attaining greater stability. The Communist countries will certainly not be interested in working for any real understanding with the non-Communist countries unless they are convinced that the latter will continue to exist.

Furthermore, a more stable world order is unthinkable without some form of world government.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TASKS

Democratic Socialists will be able to play a part, however modest, on the stage of world politics only when they have a common international program which agrees with the interests of the peoples of the world. This means that we must cease taking the interests of the West European workers as the starting point of our action. We must take the problems of our Asian, African and Latin-American friends fully into account in our program. As we have seen already, we must assign a high priority to their interests for the very simple reason that they are the ones who suffer most. Our traditional principle of solidarity applies here.

The problem of international security is the most difficult of all. There is as yet no solution in sight on which a major-

ity of experts in the field would agree. There are at best starting points for further study. This is indeed the cause of our present troubles. The best we can do here is perhaps an attempt to implement the order which we prefer, in other words, peaceful coexistence as we see it. This must include a United Nations armed force, the recognition of China as a member of the UN and a considerable measure of disarmament.

We need a development plan outlining in some detail what is needed for the most important parts of the world. The financial contribution required from the West in particular must be stated in figures. These contributions must be raised considerably and must aim at an equalization of living conditions. Furthermore, it is necessary to include in the program some important measures concerning the stabilization of raw material prices and a lowering of import duties. The interests of the developing countries must have first consideration here.

A VIGOROUS PROGRAM

In my opinion it is possible to draw up a clear and vigorous program which expresses the idea of world solidarity, and to work out a policy based on that. Such a program should be adhered to by all Socialist parties and published as such. Moreover, we would have to organize the advocacy and dissemination of these ideas with the aid of simple modern terms of instruction.

In the present circumstances it is vital that the Social Democratic movement should have a voice in world affairs. Although our ideas can provide an appropriate solution for some of the great problems of our times we have not been able as yet to make Social Democratic ideas and proposals widely understood and secure the respect for them that they deserve.

Labor and the Scientific Revolution

By Harold Wilson

WE ARE LIVING perhaps in a more rapid revolution than some of us realize. The period of fifteen years from 1960 to the middle of the 1970s will embrace a period of technical change, particularly in industrial methods, greater than in the whole industrial revolution of the last 250 years. When you reckon, as it is calculated, that 97 per cent of all the scientists who have ever lived in the history of the world since the days of Euclid, Pythagoras and Archimedes, are alive and at work today, you get some idea of the rate of progress we have to face.

Let us look at what is happening in automation all over the world. Already in the engineering and automobile industries in the United States they have reached a point where a programme-controlled machine tool line can produce an entire motor car — and I mean an American motor car, with all the gimmicks on it — without the application of human skill or effort. They can do this without a single worker touching it. It is not commercially worth while yet, but it is technically possible . . .

Or listen to the problem in another way. We can now set a programme-controlled machine tool line so that, without the intervention of any human agency, it can produce a new set of machine tools in its own image. And when machine tools have acquired, as they now have, the faculty of unassisted reproduction, you have reached a point of no return where, if man is not going to assert his control over machines, the machines are going to assert their control over man . . .

Harold Wilson is the leader of the British Labor Party. Here are some excerpts from his speech at the last Congress of the Party.

The problem is this. Since technological progress left to the mechanism of private industry and private property can lead only to high profits for a few, a high rate of employment for a few, and to mass redundancies for the many, if there had never been a case for Socialism before, automation would have created it. Because only if technological progress becomes part of our national planning can that progress be directed to national ends . . .

Here again lies the answer to the economic problems that we are going to face when, as we all hope, the arms race ends in a comprehensive disarmament agreement. The economic consequences of disarmament cannot be dealt with except on a basis of Socialist planning. Advanced capitalist countries are maintaining full employment today only by virtue of vast arms orders and panic would be the order of the day in Wall Street and other stock markets, the day peace breaks out . . .

Again we must relate our scientific planning to the problems of the war on world poverty. In a system of society beset by the delirium of advertising and the ceaseless drive to produce new and different variants of existing consumer goods and services, there is no thought being given to the research that is needed to find the means of increasing food production for those millions in Asia and Africa who are living on the poverty line and below the poverty line . . .

In all our plans for the future, we are re-defining and we are re-stating our Socialism in terms of the scientific revolution.

Yiddish and the Intellectuals

By Jacob Milner

THE HISTORY of the Yiddish language has been a tragic one for some generations. For the last 150 years it has reflected the fate of the Jewish people of Eastern Europe: ignored, despised, even hated; frowned upon for its viability and resistance to the forces of annihilation aiming at both the Yiddish language and Eastern European Jewry as a historical entity.

The first major assault on Yiddish came from the *Haskalah*. Applying to the Yiddish language some naive, primitive rationalist conceptions of the 18th Century that were obsolete a hundred years later, the *Moskilim* lashed out at the Yiddish language and denounced it as a barbaric mixture, a *Jargon*.

When the great flood of mass immigration from the Russian empire started at the beginning of the 1880s, soon followed by similar immigration streams from Galicia and Rumania, the *Haskalah*-minded German-Jewish community in America was already well established economically and socially. Their parents and grandparents had been coming to these shores since 1848, already free of the "ballast" of a folk culture and a folk vernacular, since their ancestors, in turn, a generation and two before, had gotten rid of the Yiddish language and its peculiar culture with the ease that Madame Pompadour disposed of her chastity. In the 80s the spectre of that "dreadful" forgotten language arose again, emerging along with the masses of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Scared to death that this revival of a "dead" past might endanger their hard-gained respectable position within

American society, the German-Jewish citizens of the U.S. lost no time in launching a vicious crusade in order to exterminate as soon as possible that "horrible" part of the spiritual luggage of the new arrivals — the Yiddish language. They didn't spare any money to establish a net of philanthropic institutions for helping the newcomers, but one of the most urgent tasks of all those establishments was to eliminate Yiddish. In such institutions as the "Free Hebrew Schools," the "Educational Alliance" etc., they put up a fierce fight against Yiddish. Perhaps most characteristic of the attitude of the German-Jewish community toward Yiddish was the behavior of Jacob Schiff, who is known to have made it a condition of his numerous charitable acts, that his funds could not be used for the promotion of Yiddish or Yiddish culture — not even to buy Yiddish books for libraries.

The new Jewish mass immigration from the Russian empire, following the defeat of the first Russian revolution in 1905, brought to this country a group of people different from the early streams of Jewish immigrants. Trained in their old country in the revolutionary movements (mostly of the Bund and Socialist Revolutionaries), they were actively involved in the cultural renaissance of the Yiddish literature and press. They brought to these shores the vigor and dynamism of the revolutionary movement and the creative urge of the Jewish cultural renaissance. Among them were such great artistic talents as Manye Leib, Yoseph Opatoshu, M. L. Halpern, H. Leivick; highly talented publicists and thinkers like Dr. Haym Zhitlowsky, Dr. B. Hofman (Tsivion), Dr. Korálnik, and Jewish Socialist leaders like Vladeck. In no time, there was a great

upsurge of Yiddish literature and poetry, highly sophisticated literary periodicals and a serious press. This unprecedented cultural renaissance silenced the anti-Yiddish propaganda for a long time, especially since the oft-predicted death of Yiddish did not materialize and the allegedly-doomed language was very much alive.

But the hour of the anti-Yiddishist was soon to strike again. When the bulk of the East European Jews were murdered by the Nazis, the living basis of Yiddish language was tragically thinned. This historical situation was seized upon by Zionists, the only active anti-Yiddishists who remained on the battlefield (the assimilationist withdrew to a more or less neutral position), as a proper "opportunity" to renew the all-out attack on Yiddish. The signal for the renewed offensive was given by the Israeli premier Ben-Gurion in his notorious remark about Yiddish as an "alien and harsh language."

It is impossible in a magazine article to enumerate all the humiliation, chicaneries and persecution leveled against Yiddish literature and Yiddish writers in Israel. Let us mention, for instance, the a priori exclusion of Yiddish books from literary awards, or such a tasteless chicanery as denying to the Union of Yiddish Writers in Israel any home in a governmental, municipal or organizational building (the meeting-place of the Yiddish writers there is a rented cellar). Another drastic piece of discrimination: Foreign languages are taught in the Israeli elementary as well as high schools, but Yiddish is excluded from *all* the school curriculums, even as a "foreign" language. Thus, a vast part of the Jewish heritage of about a millennium is barred to the Israeli younger generations. (Only at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem is there a chair in Yiddish language and literature.) Finally, since the establishment of the State of Israel, an increased and concentrated effort has been carried on, mainly through the offices of

the Jewish Agency, to diminish and downgrade Yiddish studies in the Jewish schools of the Americas, North and South.

Due to protests and the inescapable need to raise funds for Israel in the Americas, where a huge part of the Jewish population still speaks and cherishes Yiddish, the persecution of Yiddish in Israel was recently softened a little, but only on the surface. The basic aim of the Zionist ruling group in Israel — to eliminate Yiddish from Jewish life as quickly as possible — remains virtually unchanged.

What is the attitude of independent American Jewish intellectuals toward this kind of cultural vandalism?

An independent sector within the American Jewish community, especially among the intellectuals, *does exist*. Whatever its strength, it is an encouraging fact in view of the pressure toward an even greater conformism which currently dominates Jewish life in America.

The basic tenet of this drive toward conformism is "Jewish Unity."

Jews have to be *united* for the fulfillment of their historic role, whose main — if not only — task is to foster the growth of Israel. A host of rabbis, community leaders, directors of Jewish Centers and congregations, United Jewish Appeal directors and fund-raisers, etc., are well-conditioned for the promotion of this philosophy, i.e., Jewish (read: pro-Zionist) unity. The result is an unbearable conformism, bound up with such an intolerance toward other and different conceptions of Judaism and the Jewish future, that it virtually borders on some variation of totalitarianism. Different — non-Zionist or anti-Zionist — ideas about Judaism are considered *traitorous* by these philosophers of "unity"; dissenters are to them not different and equal Jews, but "marginal" Jews or worse. Unhampered public consideration of Judaism's basic ideas has

Jacob Milner has been a student of Jewish cultural problems for many years.

almost disappeared; everything is levelled to a few "established" notions and concepts; and everything outside this ideological enclosure is frowned upon or bitterly denounced.

In such a situation, any resistance to conformism should be welcome. Therefore, the non-conformism of a considerable part of the Jewish intellectuals is, *ipso facto*, a positive phenomenon in American Jewish life nowadays.

Unfortunately, in one respect even the non-conformist American Jewish intellectuals — with a few exceptions — are part and parcel of the conformist Jewish establishment in relation to *Yiddish* and the whole field of *Yiddish* cultural activities and creativity. The majority of the Jewish intellectuals, usually liberal-minded, participate often and vigorously in actions against all kinds of oppression and persecution except one — against *Yiddish*; they stand courageously for the rights and freedom of the smallest and most remote Negro tribe somewhere in Central Africa, but they are indifferent to the call for freedom for the *Yiddish* language and culture.

To a certain extent this is the result of a tragic ignorance on the part of the Jewish intellectuals and artists about the spiritual and artistic values of *Yiddish* folk culture and modern *Yiddish* literature. There are a few exceptions; one thinks of Irving Howe, Saul Bellows, but who else? A case in point is Norman Mailer. In the December, 1962 issue of *Commentary*, Mailer started publishing a series of essays containing his comments and meditations on the *Hasidic* tales which he learned from an English translation of the German translation by Martin Buber. Mailer expresses his deep admiration for the philosophical and poetic values of these tales; yet he learned about them relatively late in life from a second degree translation (English from German, from *Yiddish*), whereas he himself rose from the midst of

the very *Yiddish* folk-culture that he now admires so highly.

Moreover, the Jewish intellectuals and artists are deeply involved in the modern trend of high admiration for folk art. Any folk art, any new item from the American Indians or from West Africa, or from the Carribean Islands etc. is just "terrific," but the same Jewish intellectuals and artists are mostly color-blind on one point — *Jewish* folk art (by this I mean the authentic Jewish folk art from Eastern Europe). The same is true of *Yiddish* folk music and folk songs (again, I mean authentic folk songs, not the Second Avenue vulgarities).

One more example. The Jewish intellectuals and artists are well versed in modern literature from T. S. Eliot to Allan Ginsburg, from James Joyce to Genet and Albee, but what do they know or care about modern *Yiddish* literature? What do names like Leivick, M.L. Halpern, Manye Leib, I. I. Trunk, S. Niger, Manger, Grade, Glantz-Leyeless, Gladstein, Sutzkever, Bergelson, mean to them? They will be utterly surprised if told that in terms of artistic and authentic values modern *Yiddish* literature is a peer to the best of the European-American, including the Nobel prize winners. They will be surprised again if told that at present there still exists a comparatively young generation of *Yiddish* writers and poets who are now at the peak of their artistic creativity.

All this is but a reminder to the Jewish intellectuals and artists of what they lose by their strange attitude toward the artistic treasures hidden from them in *Yiddish*; in this respect, it is also a reminder that they are not as non-conformist as they believe they are.

American Jewish intellectuals, who are really striving to be independent and non-conformist, should reconsider their complacent attitude toward *Yiddish* and re-discover both the great values contained in the *Yiddish* language and its cultural heritage.

The Jew

By Moyshe Kulbak

I am Shmuel-Itse Chimneysweep,
starved from scrambling, a poor man.
I have suffered silently and can no more.
I can no longer live without a plan.

In dreary attics I have crawled
and tall and blackened chimneys swept;
on freezing roofs I lived out my weeks
and only Sabbaths on the ground I kept.

Only on Sabbaths I walked the earth,
among shops, on grey sleeping streets.
Strolling through still markets I heard
the voice of deep wells and profundities.
I have removed ashes from a thousand chimneys.
Why can't I drain off the grief, that has no name,
why, from my own heart, can't the ash be swept?

I am the Jew Shmuel-Itse Chimneysweep,
lie deep in the chimneys of the world and I say:
I have suffered silently and I can no more,
although I'll go on suffering anyway.

Moyshe Kulbak (1896-1937?) was born in Smorgon, in the district of Vilna, Russian Poland. His father was a forest worker, his mother the daughter of a peasant family. He was a Yeshiva student till the age of eighteen. His first poems were written in Hebrew. Later he wrote only in *Yiddish*. In 1920 he went to study in Berlin and has recorded his experiences there in a long narrative poem, "Disner Childe Harold."

In 1923 he returned to Vilna to become a teacher in the *Yiddish* schools and devoted himself to new interests: public speaking and writing essays, as well as continuing his other writing. In 1928 he moved to the Soviet Union. In 1937, the *Yiddish* State Theatre of Moscow produced his folk comedy *Boytre*. A representative of the police appeared at the second performance and announced its closing — the author had been arrested. Since then, every trace of him has disappeared. M. Kulbak was among the best *Yiddish* poets and novelists of the younger generation.

This poem is reprinted from the bi-lingual anthology of *Yiddish* poems selected and translated by Sarah Betsky, *Onions and Cucumbers and Plums*, Wayne State University Press.

How It Really Was...

AN EYEWITNESS-ACCOUNT OF THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

WITH BATED BREATH the ghetto waited for the battle — for the finale of the weird, nightmarish tragedy which had lasted three long years. Every night scouts stood at their posts listening for the faintest sound, the slightest murmur. Near the gates of the ghetto, observation points were established. Patrols watched for the slightest movement on the other side, ready to sound the alarm immediately if the enemy should come.

And he did come — in the morning of Sunday, April 19, to the First Feast of Passover...

At five o'clock in the morning, when the normal trickle of people in and out of the ghetto began, the gates were barred. No one was permitted in or out...

At six o'clock, under the glowing rays of a bright spring sun, the black Nazi death-battalions marched into the ghetto in full battle array, with panzer cars, machine guns, tanks.

The scouts signaled all battle stations. When the proud German column reached Mila Street it was met with fire from three sides — from the corner of Mila and Zamenhof, from 29 Zamenhof, and from 38 Zamenhof opposite. Grenades and incendiary bottles cascaded down on them. Many Germans fell dead. Two tanks burned with their crews...

Such strong resistance apparently surprised the Germans. They quickly left the ghetto.

An excerpt from the book, *Five Years in the Warsaw Ghetto* by Bernard Goldstein; translated (from Yiddish) and edited by Leonard Shatzkin. (Paperback edition, Doubleday & Co. New York, 1961). Bernard Goldstein was one of the leaders of the underground Jewish Labor Bund in Nazi-occupied Poland. He came to this country soon after the war. He died in New York, in 1959.

The next morning, after cutting of the electricity and the water supply, they were back. This time they did not parade down the center of the street. They came singly or in small groups, moving close to the walls, shooting machine guns into every window and every opening of every building from which they might expect a blow... Battle groups from the brush factories, from Tebbens' and Schultz's, as well as other groups, were thrown into the fight. The Germans moved under a hail of hand grenades, dynamite bombs, and incendiary bottles thrown from windows, roofs, and attics. A detachment of three hundred Germans penetrated past Valova Street deeper into Shwentoyerska. They were ripped to bits by an electrically activated mine which our fighters had planted with great care.

But the fighting had only begun. On Shwentoyerska Street it raged around the brush factories. A group under the command of Michel Klepfish took a heavy toll of Germans. They battled for every building and for every floor of every building. They fought along the stairways until they were forced to the top floors. Then the Germans usually set fire to the building. Our fighters would dash through prepared openings in the attic walls to begin the fight again in the adjoining building.

On the fifth day of the battle, in executing such a withdrawal, Michel's group found themselves caught in an attic with German soldiers. In the dark, the fighting was confused. A German machine gun held Michel's men by sweeping their side of the attic from behind a chimney...

Two comrades managed to get close

enough to the main body of Nazis to throw a hand grenade. At that precise moment, Michel hurled himself upon the machine gun. It stopped firing.

An hour later, when the Germans were cleared out, his comrades found Michel's body with two neat rows of bullet holes across the stomach.

* * *

The Nazis soon changed their tactics in the brush factory area. The house-to-house fighting was proving too costly. They withdrew their troops and surrounded the entire section. Then they set fire to the blocks of buildings from the outside and waited.

Five groups of Jewish fighters were trapped. Flames were everywhere. Every building was burning. The asphalt pavement melted into a black, sticky, flowing mass. Blazing rafters and broken glass showered the streets.

The only escape was into the central part of the ghetto through a break in one of the ghetto sub-walls. The fighters bound their feet in rags to deaden the sound of their footsteps and as protection against the hot cobblestones. They made their way through the flames to the breach in the wall. Single file, in a crouching run, three groups dashed through the opening. As the first member of the fourth group stepped out, a German searchlight illuminated the whole section of the wall.

Then the sea of flames engulfed the central ghetto. Artillery fire thundered above the crackle of burning buildings and the crash of collapsing walls.

There was no air to breathe, only black asphyxiating smoke, heavy with the stench of burning bodies. The flames drove the people from their hiding places in basements and attics. In the streets the cobblestones and walls radiated the heavy, unbearable heat. Stone stairs glowed in the flames. Charred corpses lay on balconies, at window recesses, sprawled on

the staircases. Thousands staggered into the streets — easy marks for the German patrols. Hundreds jumped from the fourth and fifth floors of buildings to end the torture quickly. Mothers threw children from the rooftops to spare them the agony of the flames...

Through the fire and smoke, without water, our fighters moved from one burning block to another, from one bunker to another. The battle groups were isolated. Each fought alone, holding out in its bunkers, cellars, and attics, without knowing how other groups were faring. A coordinated general battle plan was no longer possible.

Into this inferno the enemy threw his mechanized might. Every battle station became an isolated, beleaguered stronghold, surrounded by fire, wrapped in clouds of smoke. With revolvers, grenades, and incendiary bottles in their hands, wet handkerchiefs over their mouths, our fighters fought back against the overpowering force of an enemy armed with the most modern and efficient murder tools. Every remaining inhabitant of the ghetto without exception was now drawn into the battle — literally everyone, young and old. The organized battle groups, in which only a limited number of Jews had been enrolled, suddenly found that everyone clamored to be used. People did whatever they could. Everyone who could fight, whether armed or not, did so.

The unceasing hail of incendiary bombs and artillery continued. Wherever the Germans met resistance or noticed any sign of activity, they let loose these terrible weapons, against which the ghetto fighters were all but helpless. The ghetto became one huge bonfire. At night the artillery fire would halt, and it seemed as if the silence of death had descended. The surrounding area was lit up by the burning ghetto. Small groups of Germans leading bloodhounds would prowl through the courtyards and buildings seeking out

the fighters in their hidden bunkers. Any one they caught was tortured to reveal other hiding places, or the location of stores and arms...

• • •

The German press reported briefly that the ghetto Jews were resisting the transfer to work. The illegal Polish press of all shades wrote of the uprising sympathetically. Some even compared it to the historic Barkokhba uprising against the Romans. Almost every day they carried communiques from the battlefield, reporting the number and character of the German units that had entered and left the ghetto, how many ambulances with wounded Germans had driven out of the ghetto gates, the progress of the artillery bombardment, and so forth.

The average Pole was not quite so friendly. Among the people who gathered at Shwentoyerska Street and Krashinsky Square to watch the progress of the Jewish fight, all sorts of opinions were heard. Many were sympathetic, but one would often hear a cynical "Thank heaven the Germans are doing this for us." The broad mass of the Polish people was completely disoriented. Most of them had no understanding of what the uprising meant for the Jews, or even for the Poles.

Even among the members of the organized underground, who expressed friendliness to the ghetto fighters, there was no stomach for a brush with the occupying power in order to help the Jews. "An open fight at this time," they said, "would mean complete extermination for all of us."

• • •

In the first days of the uprising, the Jewish underground issued a message to the Polish population and, through the radio, to the entire world. It said:

"Poles, citizens, soldiers of freedom! Through the thunder of artillery which is shelling our homes, our mothers, wives,

and children, through the sound of machine guns; through clouds of smoke and fire; over the streams of blood which flow in the murdered Ghetto of Warsaw; we, the prisoners of the ghetto, send you our heartfelt brotherly greeting.

"We know that you watch with heart-break, with tears of sympathy, with horror and amazement, for the outcome of the struggle we have been carrying on for several days with the hateful occupier.

"Be assured that every threshold in the ghetto will remain, as it has been until now, a fortress; that though we may all perish in this struggle, we will not surrender; that we breathe as you do with a thirst for vengeance and punishment for the crimes of our common enemy.

"This is a fight for your freedom and ours, for your and our human, social, and national pride! We will avenge the crimes of Oswiecim, Treblinka, Belzhitz, and Maidanek! Long live the brotherhood of blood and arms of Fighting Poland! Long live Freedom! Death to the executioners! A fight unto death with the occupier!

Jewish Fighting Organizations,
April 23, 1943."

A similar declaration was issued by the underground Bund. "At least let the world know that these are the last agonizing days," we thought. "Perhaps some day there will be vengeance..."

• • •

To our appeals for help, the outside world sent its answer. Through the underground radio we received the news that brave and loyal Artur Zygelboim, (the Bund's representative in the Polish Parliament-in-exile), had given us the only aid within his power. During the night of May 12 he committed suicide in London as a gesture of protest against the callousness and indifference of the world.

In his farewell letter he said:

"I cannot be silent — I cannot live — while remnants of the Jewish people of Poland, of whom I am a representative,

are perishing. My comrades in the Warsaw ghetto took weapons in their hands on that last heroic impulse. It was not my destiny to die there together with them, but I belong to them and in their mass graves. By my death I wish to express my strongest protest against the inactivity with which the world is looking on and permitting the extermination of my people.

"I know how little human life is worth today, but as I was unable to do anything during my life perhaps by my death I shall contribute to breaking down the indifference of those who may now — at the last moment — rescue the few Polish Jews still alive from certain annihilation. My life belongs to the Jewish people of Poland and I therefore give it to them. I wish that this remaining handful of the original several millions of Polish Jews could live to see the liberation of a new world of freedom, and the justice of true Socialism. I believe that such a Poland will arise and that such a world will come."

The meaning of Zygelboim's suicide was bitterly clear to all of us. He was tendering us the balance sheet of all his efforts on our behalf. Through an edition of *The Bulletin* issued on the Aryan side, we let the underground know that another fighter, who had suffered and fought with his ghetto comrades until his last breath, had fallen in far-off London.

• • •

The mighty Allied armies were in action against the enemy on all fronts. Every day great military struggles were taking place. But the Warsaw ghetto front remained isolated and alone. Its heroic fighters burned in its rubble, their cries for help choked in the clouds of smoke, drowned out by the thunder of artillery.

• • •

...Bright fire continued to rage over the entire ghetto as the fight went on for every house, for every bunker. The Germans were using poison gas. Our comrades were fighting desperately, using

every conceivable means to strike back at the enemy. When all hope was gone, they killed themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Germans. The ranks of the fighting organization were already decimated. Burned by fire, suffocated by smoke and gas, torn by cannon shell, the small remnant was beginning to look for ways to escape from the inferno.

The only way into or out of the ghetto was through the underground sewer system which carried the filth of the city. The sewers extended in a complicated network under all of Warsaw. To crawl through the sewers without a very good idea of their geography meant certain death — suffocation or drowning in the vile stream. Many had already tried this method of escape and had met a horrible death in the treacherous labyrinth.

The Polish underground helped us. It provided several men who had worked in the sewer system. They mapped the routes through which it would be easiest and safest to reach a particular rendezvous in the ghetto. In addition, we made contact with several smugglers who had used the sewers as an avenue of commerce...

On May Day (1943) the ghetto fighters undertook a one-day "offensive." In the evening they held a roll call of their decimated ranks and sang the "Internationale."

On May 3 the German police dogs and sound detectors located the bunker of Berek Shnaimill's group at 30 Franciszkanska. As the battle was joined, Berek was severely wounded in the stomach by a hand grenade.

As his group prepared to withdraw, his comrades tried to carry him with them. Berek drew his revolver and waved it at them. "Don't forget to take this," he shouted. "Keep fighting!"

Before anyone could stop him, he thrust the revolver into his mouth and pulled the trigger...

David Hochberg was so young that

his mother had strictly forbidden him to join the Jewish Fighting Organization. But in the Ghetto Battle he was a group commander.

When the Germans approached one of the narrow entrances to the bunker it seemed that everyone was lost. David stripped himself of his weapons. He wedged himself into the narrow bunker opening and let the German bullets find him.

By the time the attackers had pried his body out of their path the bunker had been evacuated through other exits.

* * *

Escape seemed impossible. Many committed suicide. On May 8, the Germans surrounded the headquarters of the Jewish fighting organization at 18 Mila. After trying for two hours to take the bunker by storm, they threw in a gas bomb.

Many were gassed; many took their own lives, including Commander Anilevitch. Only a handful escaped...

* * *

The wave of fire receded. There was little left to burn. Here and there small groups still held out without water, without food, without ammunition. All hope of striking back at the enemy was gone.

On May 10 a group of fighters led by Abrasha Blum, Marek Edelman and Zivia Lubetkin made their way through the sewers to Prosta Street.

It was miraculous that the plan did not meet with complete failure. They reached the Prosta Street sewer exit at night, but the two trucks which were to pick them up were delayed. They had to remain in the sewer until ten o'clock in the morning. For forty-eight hours they were in sewer pipes twenty-eight inches high. The water reached their lips. Every moment someone lost consciousness and had to be revived.

By the time the trucks arrived the streets were alive with people. A large crowd watched incredulously as human skeletons with submachine guns strapped high around their necks crawled one by one out of the sewer. An armed group of the Polish underground who were supposed to cover the retreat in case of trouble never arrived — so the group protected themselves. Jurek Blones and a few other fighters stood at the trucks with their submachine guns directed at the crowd, standing guard until the last one had climbed aboard.

The trucks took the fighters to prepared hiding places in the Lomyanki Forest near Warsaw.

A second group, which was to follow, never got out of the sewers. The Germans, hearing of the bold escape, surrounded the entire district and dropped gas bombs into sewers. No one else managed to get through. All those trapped in the sewers were killed...

* * *

The ghetto still smoked and flickered like a dying candle during the whole month of May, 1943.

In June, the Germans recruited Polish workers to clean up the ruins, to tear down the tottering buildings, and to salvage whatever iron and other useful metals they could. They also formed a separate labor unit of Jews from Greece, France, Rumania and Hungary who were brought from various labor camps.

Many months after the uprising, one could still hear the demolition explosions. Digging out and cleaning up the ghetto was a long job. The rotting corpses were burned. The Germans built two small railroads to bring the salvage out of the ruins...

When the Germans finished, nothing was left in the ghetto except a broad field of rubble, three stories deep...

The Politics of Mass Murder

By Abe Farbstein

THE MURDER of six million European Jews by Hitler and his accomplices remains a raw wound in the conscience of our time. This descent into barbarism casts a sombre shadow on the very reality of "civilization" as we know it in the West. A noted contemporary sociologist, Theodore Adorno, has written, "It would be barbaric to write lyric poetry after Auschwitz." In other words, after such dehumanization, it is impossible to celebrate "normal" human feelings. Historians face a similar difficulty. Since the French Enlightenment, modern historians have viewed history as a progression to greater rationality and freedom, despite all temporary set-backs and regressions. But how is one to deal with German totalitarianism and what it considered its greatest "idealistic" achievement, the destruction of European Jewry? This is no longer history, but its murderous, suicidal end.

In an attempt to fathom the unfathomable, contemporary discussion has centered on such questions as: "How could it happen?" "Who was to blame?" "Was it merely Hitler and his band of 'armed bohemians' — as Konrad Heiden called them — the Himmlers, the Heydrichs, the Eichmanns?" "Were the German people as a whole to blame?" Or does the real guilt lie with the rest of the civilized world, which stood indifferently by while the Nazis committed their atrocities? and lately, an almost unbearable question has been raised: to what degree were the martyred Jews themselves responsible for

their fate by their failure to resist; or by their alleged readiness to cooperate in their own destruction?

•

Raul Hilberg takes a different tack in trying to answer these questions in his massively documented book, *The Destruction of the European Jews*. He does not ask, "How could it happen?" but, "How did it happen?" He starts from the self-evident proposition that the killing of six million Jews could not be and was not a haphazard process, a series of unconnected, individual actions carried out by a relatively small band of criminal political adventurers like the Nazis, who had catapulted to political power. It was a complex process carried out systematically and conscientiously, with all the advanced social, industrial and scientific techniques known to modern society. It demanded the assent of society and actively implicated the ruling elites, traditional and Nazi upstarts alike.

In ordering his massive array of facts, Hilberg distinguishes between the administrative and legal measures taken against the Jews and the agencies responsible for their formulation and execution. He calls the sequence of administrative and legal acts the "destruction process," and the agencies of execution the "machinery of destruction." He defines the "destruction process" in this way: "At first the concept of 'Jew' was defined; then the expropriatory operations were inaugurated; third, the Jews were concentrated in ghettos; finally, the decision was made to annihilate European Jewry. Mobile killing units were sent to Russia, while in the rest of Europe, the victims were deported to killing centers."

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As for the agencies which constituted the "machinery of destruction," Hilberg shows they were identical with the totality of public and private agencies that made up the German government. They included the state's civil bureaucracy, the armed forces, the ruling powers of industry and finance, and the Nazi party. Of the ministerial bureaucracy, Hilberg writes, "The ministerial civil service wrote the decrees and regulations which defined the concept of 'Jew,' which provided for the expropriation of Jewish property, and which affected the ghettoization of the Jewish community in Germany. Thus, *the Nazi-German civil servant set the course and direction of the entire process.*" There was even more to this. Hilberg adds, "The civil service also had a surprisingly large role in the later, more drastic anti-Jewish operations. The Foreign Office negotiated with Axis states for the deportation of Jews to killing centers; the German railways took care of the transports; the police, completely merged with the party's SS, was engaged extensively in killing operations."

The German army too, despite the traditional European concept of military honor, which excluded the killing of civilians, willingly entered the bloody circle of complicity. After the outbreak of the war, both in Eastern and Western Europe, military units and officers participated in all measures, including the killing of Jews by special mobile units and the transport of Jews to the death camps. As for industry and finance, in their prosaic pursuit of profits they assumed an important role in the expropriations, in the forced labor system and even in the gassing of the victims. There is no need, of course, to cite the special and leading role of the Nazi party.

Long before the Nazis had reached the radical stage of the destruction process

— the decision to physically annihilate the Jews — they had succeeded in morally corrupting German society and implicating it in their crimes against the Jews. For example, no sooner had the Nazis come to power in January, 1933, than they set about separating the Jews from other Germans through a mixture of open terror and legality. Not only was there no visible resistance and protest from any quarter; the civil bureaucracy actually needed no encouragement to draft the decrees and laws which legalized the expulsion of the Jews from the German community and robbed them of their jobs and property. Paradoxically enough, these so-called Aryan decrees and laws applied as much to non-Jews as to Jews. Since the definition of a Jew was based on the religious status of one's grandparents, it was necessary to prove the "purity" of one's descent. *Everybody* who wanted to be employed by the Reich or the Nazi party had to search the records of his ancestors. Applicants and office holders had to supply seven documents, among them birth or baptismal certificates. And, as Hilberg observes, "the Churches were drawn into the administration of the very first measure of the destruction process. They did their job as a matter of course."

By 1939 even the German Jews were ready to accept the fact of their expulsion from German society, just so long as it was "legal." "Unable to conceive of the unspeakable barbarism that lay ahead, they preferred a pariah status guaranteed by 'law' to uncertainty." "One could live under any law."

This leads us to a serious weakness in Hilberg's book. Hilberg contends that not only did the German and other European Jews passively submit, but also that they actively cooperated in their own destruction.

The most important facts of the matter are: 1) There *was* an active Jewish resistance

movement from the first days of the Nazi occupation in Poland, the center of Jewish mass murder; 2) there were acts of political and even armed resistance in various parts of Poland; and 3) the Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto was the first open city-wide anti-Nazi revolt in the entire history of Nazi-occupied Europe.

In addition, the simple truth is that what the European Jews themselves did, or, did not do, was in effect irrelevant to their fate, which depended merely on the ability of the German murder machine to execute its will — and this machine was, or could be, perfectly inhuman.

As for the alleged Jewish passivity and its tragic consequences, Jews in such western countries as the Netherlands and France participated in the general resistance movement and still suffered grave losses. In Eastern Europe, the heroic Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was not the isolated event it has been made out to be. As Oscar Handlin has pointed out, there were also Jewish uprisings in Vilna, Bialystok and Cracow. And there were many which Handlin does not mention, some even in the death camps, like Treblinka and Auschwitz.

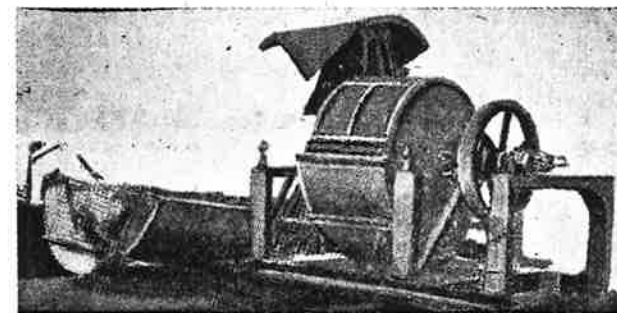
Hilberg correctly interprets flight as a form of resistance and then points to the refusal of Polish and other East European Jews to flee eastward from the path

of the Nazi juggernaut. But is it necessary to say that in the first years of the war the Eastern Jews were not told the truth about the Nazi atrocities by Stalin and his propaganda machine?

Hilberg's condemnation of the martyred European Jews is not only false to the facts, but contradicts evidently the insights of his own book. For what is it, after all, that he proves so conclusively if it is not that the German destruction process first engulfed its own society *totally* and then proceeded, with varying degrees of success, to ensnare the rest of Nazi-occupied Europe. The European Jews might have been saved had there been initial resistance *inside Germany*, or, at a later date, had the other nations of the West charged Hitler with the crime of genocide and moved immediately and adequately against him on this very issue. But as Hilberg so angrily shows, the Allied Powers ignored the murder of the Jews as a specific crime against humanity both during the war and after it, at the Nuremberg War Trials.

While these are very significant flaws in the book, Hilberg has still made an important contribution to the description of what happened to the European Jews under Hitler's Third Reich.

An article on Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* will appear in our next issue.



A machine used by the Nazis to grind human bones. (This photograph appeared in *UNIwersytet ZBIROW* [University of Brigands] by M. M. Borwicz, Krakow, 1946.)

The Situation of Soviet Jews

The following is a statement of the Jewish Labor Bund, as it appeared in The New York Times of Dec. 2, 1963.—Ed.

THE JEWISH LABOR BUND was founded in Czarist Russia 66 years ago. The Russian soil is soaked with the blood of Bundists who fought in the two Russian revolutions and with the blood of countless Jewish victims of Russian Czarism and of murderous German Nazism. This places upon the Bund of today, the spiritual heir of the *General Jewish Labor Bund of Lithuania, Poland and Russia*, a duty to state publicly its views and demands with regard to the Jews in Soviet Russia.

In connection with the visit of the Soviet cultural delegation we declare:

The plight of the Jewish people in Soviet Russia calls for the sharpest protest.

Under the Stalin Regime

There was a period when the situation of Jews in the USSR was better than it is today. For some 20 years after the Bolsheviks came to power, the Jews suffered, as did other nationalities in Russia, from the Bolshevik dictatorship, but not from anti-Jewish discrimination. The Jewish language and culture had the same rights as those of other national minorities.

Later, the brutalized Stalin regime liquidated all Jewish schools, all Jewish newspapers, all publishing of Jewish books and other Jewish cultural activities. Stalin liquidated thousands of Jewish (even communist) writers, artists, political and social leaders, solely because their activities were carried out by Jews and in their own language, Yiddish. To the list of his ter-

rible crimes, he added the shameful crime of anti-Semitism. Hitler's physical annihilation of six million Jewish men, women and children was followed by Stalin's annihilation of Jewish culture.

Still Deprived of Equal Rights

After the death of the Soviet tyrant, his further anti-Semitic plans, foreshadowed by the "doctors' plot," were dropped. Thus, the general condition of the Jews in the USSR became better than it had been in the final period of the Stalin regime. But the rights and the means for Jewish cultural development, so brutally destroyed by Stalin, are still not restored. There are still no Jewish schools in the Soviet Union and almost no publication of Jewish books; no Jewish newspapers and no significant Jewish cultural activities are permitted.

In the last census (1959) almost half a million Jews of the USSR had the courage to name Yiddish as their mother tongue, notwithstanding the deep-rooted fear of reprisals. The number of Jews who feel the same way is doubtless much greater. It is also certain that a major part of the nearly three million Jews in the Soviet Union do have a Jewish national consciousness and the will to maintain their Jewish identity. The Yiddish bi-monthly and some other smaller samples of Jewish cultural activities are so insignificant in comparison with the will, the needs and the elementary rights of the Jewish people, that they do not negate the fact that the Soviet Jews are deprived of their national cultural rights. Religious Jews, moreover, are strongly hindered in practicing their beliefs, much more so than those of other religious persuasions in Soviet Russia.

The last years have witnessed numerous trails for economic crimes and in many

cases capital punishment was imposed. As socialists, we are opposed to capital punishment. But it is particularly appalling that in the Soviet Union the death penalty is exacted for theft and speculation which, in democratic countries, are punishable by relatively short prison terms. And here, too, the Soviet government demonstrates its anti-Jewish tendency: Among those sentenced to death for speculation and theft (a rather widespread occurrence in the USSR) there is a disproportionate number of Jews, and their Jewishness is deliberately emphasized.

The anti-Jewish tendency is also expressed in the Soviet publications about cities and towns where Jews have lived for hundreds of years in large numbers. In many cases no mention is made even of their existence. There is often silence, too, about the fact that the great majority of those murdered there by Hitler, were Jews.

The Bund's Answer to the Jewish Question

The Bund is an organization of Jewish socialists. The Bund was the first and for many years the only party which pointed to the injustices and dangers of the Bolshevik stand on the Jewish question. The Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev knows the names of the Bund-leaders Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter who were murdered by the Stalin regime — a crime which the Soviet government has never repudiated. He is acquainted with the ideology of the Bund and its distinctive program claiming for the Jews full equality in the countries in which they reside and demanding for them full opportunity to maintain their Jewish consciousness and identity, their language, culture and beliefs. We do not demand any privileges

for the Jews. We demand only the same, individual and national-cultural, rights as are granted to other national minorities. This is the Bund's answer to the Jewish question; and to the Jewish question in the USSR as well.

The Soviet Premier knows all this. Nevertheless, in his speech to Soviet intellectuals and artists (March 8, 1963), he lumped together the Bund, Zionism, the Czarist pogrom-anti-Semitism and the Czarist secret police into one "amalgam." Indeed, only in a dictatorship can the head of a state commit such a misuse of power, such falsification of historical facts and such misinformation to an uninformed public.

Like millions of Socialists throughout the world and together with the Socialist International to which we belong, we maintain that humanism, freedom and democracy — just as peace and social justice — are an integral part of genuine socialism. In accordance with the principles of Socialism and in the name of the democratic rights of peoples, we say to the USSR government:

Stop singling out the Jewish national minority for exceptional mistreatment!

Assure the Jewish people of truly equal, individual and national, rights accorded to other peoples!

And, as demanded by the resolution of the Congress of the Socialist International (Amsterdam, September 1963) — "join in wiping out any traces of anti-Jewish discrimination!"

WORLD COORDINATING COMMITTEE
INTERNATIONAL JEWISH LABOR BUND
(MEMBER, SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL)

Dr. Emanuel Scherer Dr. Alexander Erlich
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Canada's Cooperative Federalism

By Charles Taylor

WHEN THE Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Canada joined with other organizations to form the New Democratic Party, more was involved than simply an organizational change. The Socialist Left in Canada took advantage of the occasion to begin a far-reaching reflection on, and reconsideration of, socialist principles in their application to modern society. Many of the fruits of this reflection are yet to come, but some of the results have been reflected in the program of the new party.

A striking example of a new trend of thought is the measure in the NDP program calling for "cooperative federalism." This represents a break with the past. The CCF tended towards centralization, that is, they conceived economic planning and the increased role for collective action which any socialist policy involves as the task of the central government. The new NDP policy now sees planning being carried out at both provincial and federal levels and brought into harmony by voluntary co-operation.

There is no doubt that this scheme is more in keeping with the structure of Canadian federalism. But it would be a mistake to see here something merely of local Canadian interest. True, Canada has special problems which arise from the existence within the same state of two

Dr. Charles Taylor is a leading figure in the New Democratic (Socialist) Party of Canada and professor of political science at McGill University in Montreal. Although set in a different political milieu, his article has a more than topical bearing on the concept of "autonomy" discussed in our editorial.

language groups, neither of which can seek, or, in our view should seek, to dominate the other. The doctrine of co-operative federalism was adopted partly to reassure one of these groups, the French Canadians, that socialist policies would not necessarily mean that the provinces would be relegated to a secondary role in Confederation. For, since the bulk of the French Canadians live in the province of Quebec, they have always looked on this provincial government as the bulwark of their rights. In the past, it has been the politicians of the Right who have mainly taken advantage of this understandable sentiment and proclaimed themselves the champions of "provincial autonomy." By the same token, the CCF was always attacked as a party of centralization, and hence a dangerous party for any French Canadian to support.

Co-operative Federalism was adopted by the New Democratic Party partly to meet the valid fears underlying this. And to this extent the doctrine is perhaps of interest only to Canadians. But this was not the only motive. The delegates to the Founding Convention were also influenced by a new notion of socialism which we find coming to the fore in many countries to-day.

In a sense this doctrine is not so much a new one as a re-discovery of an old socialist goal. Socialism has meant, among many other things, a more radical notion of democracy. Socialists have often stated that their goal was to complete political democracy by establishing economic democracy, that is, collective control by the people over their economic destiny, which

is now left either to the whim of the market, or when it is controlled, is dominated by the powerful interests who control our economy. Generally socialists have intended to secure economic democracy by means of nationalization of industry and economic planning subject to the review of Parliamentary institutions, themselves under the control of the people. But the experience of socialist governments which the world has seen since the war — and I am thinking here of those West European countries which have had socialist governments, Britain and the Scandinavian countries — have led many on the Left to wonder whether these means were adequate.

In fact, a national plan is a very complex thing, a vast ramifying skein of activities controlled from the centre. To expect that the people can exercise control over this by going to the polls to elect a Parliament, say, every four years, especially when one considers that many other questions may be at stake in the elections, is to put too much of a burden on our Parliamentary institutions, with all the dangers of concentrated power, irresponsible to the people, which this will involve. This is particularly the case, if the state, besides controlling the economy through the plan, is itself the proprietor of a number of nationalized industries.

If economic democracy is to be a fact and not just a slogan, we have in the

socialist movement to devise new institutions to meet our needs. These must be such as to enable a devolution of power, to permit crucial decisions to be made as close to the base as possible. Instead of each unit being rigorously controlled in all that it does by a central plan, it must have as much *autonomy* as is consistent with the attainment of the over-all goals of the society. This devolution must be carried on at two levels: different *economic units* — firms and industries — must be able to take decisions about their own activities, and, on the other hand, different *geographic sections* — provinces or regions — must also enjoy a certain autonomy. Some pioneer work on the problems of decentralized economic planning has already been carried out by Yugoslavia, to take one example, and we should be ready to benefit from this in spite of the difference of political context and ideology.

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We still have a long way to go. But it was with this idea in mind — the idea of advancing along this new road of autonomy — that co-operative federalism was adopted by the NDP at its founding convention, as one of the touchstones of its policy. It is for this reason that we venture to think, modestly, that our thought in this field may be of interest to socialists elsewhere; that we may do our bit in pioneering new forms of socialist democracy to meet the urgent needs of our epoch.

PLANNING AND FREEDOM

... The prediction that the growth in responsible economic control and planning is certain to lead to the erosion of political freedom is dubious on logical as well as historical grounds. Logically, it overlooks the plural forms of political control which are compatible with any given economic system. Historically, it does not give sufficient weight to the fact that in countries where planning goes hand in hand with dictatorship, democracy was destroyed before planned economy was introduced and not in consequence of its introduction.

SIDNEY HOOK, *Marx and the Marxists*
(Van Nostrand, Princeton, 1955)

Is the Welfare State Enough ?

By Roger Korn

THE MOST REMARKABLE talent of radical organizations, in my opinion, is their ability to criticize and evaluate correctly situations and rival doctrines. Their tragedy seems to have been their inability to listen to, and learn from each other. I remember the polemics we socialists used to have with the communists. We would tell them their methods were corrupting their ends, that they would fail to create the "communist man," that superior citizen who is supposed to crown their system. Everything we know about communist Russia and her satellites more than confirms our predictions, which gives us the satisfaction of knowing we were right all along. The only thing that disturbs me is that when I take a look at the record of many of our socialist parties, I cannot help but remember what some critics told us: that we were reformists, that we would not achieve any fundamental changes... This was particularly true when I saw the French Socialist Party come to power and continue the dirty colonial war in Algeria or when I read the moderate new program of the West German Socialist Party. I become afraid and I cannot escape the feeling that some critics of socialist politics might be right.

But societies are dynamic phenomena. The future of communist society is an interesting question, but as far as I can see it is out of our hands. What is *not* out of our hands is what is happening here.

Evidently, it has become quite difficult

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to be a socialist nowadays. For one thing, many of our immediate goals — decent wages, social security, etc. — have been, or are, in the process of being achieved, which makes it quite hard to awaken the interest of those who work for a living. Especially when a nuclear war might end it all, anyway. For another, some socialists in the Western democracies seem to have settled for something less than socialism, making it difficult for some of us to identify ourselves with them. This something less seems to be the Welfare State.

What is the welfare state?

Essentially, a true welfare state, through various institutions such as social security, medical care, unemployment compensation, etc., insures the satisfaction of the individual's basic needs from the time of his birth to the time of his death. It provides him with a minimum standard of subsistence when he is out of work, medical care when he is sick, enough education to adapt himself to society and perform some kind of useful work, and financial support when he is too old for that. Eventually, it should also provide him with facilities to enjoy his spare time. In other words, the welfare state should guarantee material security and reasonable comfort to every member of society.

And what is wrong with that? Well, let me put it this way: what man has done for the cow for a great many years, the advocates of the welfare state have decided

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Socialism and the Human Condition

By George Lerner

THE RELATIONSHIP between literature and socialism can be investigated along many lines. For example, socialist theory and literature sometimes share a strong religious inheritance.

The most apparent similarity is the pre-occupation of literature with the "duality" of the individual's nature. The Jekyll and Hyde approach has been reworked in ever more sophisticated fashion by many writers, such as Hermann Hesse, Kazanstakis and Dostoyevsky, to mention only a few. This battle between one's good nature and a more beastly one reflects the religious mysticism that sees the world in terms of God versus the devil.

The basic idea of opposing primordial forces as prime movers in human activity as well as in nature, found its greatest systematization in the philosophy of Hegel, i.e., in his idea of dialectics. Two opposing forces, named by Hegel thesis and antithesis, clash and the result is a synthesis of the two. The synthesis becomes a new thesis which generates a new anti-thesis and the process is repeated. Marx found this method useful in analyzing social structure and class struggle.

This historical determinism, justified as it may be as a psychological stimulus to social action, is unacceptable in literature. The polarity of classes described by Marx has never been as obvious for literature,

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which is concerned with individuals and the particular. In literature usually three, four or more classes and social groups are in evidence. The middle class especially, active as a buffer between the working class and the capitalist class, has strengthened the need for widening the Marxian notion of class struggle.

If we are opposed to historical determinism, we cannot be as optimistic about the inevitability of the eventual establishment of the socialist order. Man is responsible, at least in part, for his own society. *Lord of the Flies* by William Golding, one of the most popular novels on American campuses today, reflects the idea that society is a product of the individual human characters that constitute it. The individual gets the society he deserves. Golding's error, and the resultant loss of power of his book, is that he abstracts from the time dimension. The individual, born into a society, cannot be held responsible for it and is in fact to a large degree its product.

Utopian ideas about the fixed character of man's nature, good or bad, are obsolete. Society can be reshaped by man, and man's life and character are strongly affected by society, and can undergo changes in a changed society.

Socialism is now an alternative form of society. This is clear from the example of the many countries that are evolving towards socialism. Even if this were not so, it would be clear from the great number of people who have struggled for socialism. For generations masses of people

have desired and striven for such a society and a theoretical framework has proven its viability. Taken together, these factors ought to be ample evidence that such a society is possible.

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A more interesting problem posed by a segment of modern literature seems, on the surface, to be a direct challenge to socialism. The leading figures of the "absurd" and "meaningless" schools imply that whatever the form of society, man remains as insignificant as ever. They transfer their own desire for eminence and need of a God they cannot find to all of mankind. Their own opportunity to philosophize and write in leisure is a result of a material surplus built up by society, which they reject in principle. Without society they would not be able to exist, and yet they deplore social existence as such.

A very interesting artistic problem has been brought to the fore by T. S. Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, André Gide and others: the problem of human communication, that is, each human being finds himself alone and locked up in himself. He cannot jump out of his own skin, so to speak. Whatever his relationship with others, he is restricted in a final sense to himself. Artistic expression in itself is a means of attempting to joust with the wall which we might call the "human condition." I don't see why the fact of this human condition is in itself a tragedy, although most artists seem to imply this. In fact, it might be considered a virtue because it leads the individual to develop his own potential and satisfy himself from within rather than by externalizing all problems.

However, in our present society there seems little doubt as to the tragic nature

of the effect of the human condition on man. Private property, leading to the small family structure, forces people into closer proximity and dependence. As leisure is extended, the ultimate incommunicability between people will become a deeper tragedy for some, and will affect more people. In view of the human condition, a society which stresses all human actions for the purpose of impressing others; which throws the burden of survival on the individual; which forbids many areas of conversation; which forces an unbearable self-consciousness in social activities and generates guilt feelings in almost everyone — such a society would hardly seem worthy of support. And such is our present society.

Most politicians are far from being aware of these dreadful effects of our civilization, while most artists, with more insight into the present human condition, turn away from politics as a result. But many mature artists, like Frank Scott, Canada's foremost poet, constitutional lawyer, and former president of the C.C.F., stress the similarity between artistic and political activity in their attempt to affect man's way of life.

Many a socialist politician, in an age where socialist parties have become mass organizations, may be as unaware of the present human tragedy as his conservative counterpart. However, it is intrinsic to socialism, and follows from the weakening of private property relationships and religious institutions, that a radical change in the moral structure will take place.

A release of the individual from some moral restrictions now binding him would significantly reduce the tragic implications of the human condition. The socialist and the artist have much in common in comprehending the depth of the present human condition and therefore should walk hand in hand.

WELFARE STATE (Continued from Page 40)

to do for their fellow men. The cows seem to be happy, all right. But I think there is some evidence that it takes more to satisfy a man than a cow. To be sure, I believe that men should be at least as well-off as cattle, and in many cases this would mark great progress.

But let us consider for a moment what the welfare state will, and above all, what it will *not* do for us. Everybody decent will agree that eliminating hunger is something worth working for. The same thing holds for eliminating slums and the other conditions which breed disease. This would also, it can be assumed, help diminish crime and make civilized living safer. At the same time, by spreading education to the whole population, a more intelligent behavior on the part of the citizenry could be expected and, therefore, a more intelligent democracy. In this way, by making the individual less dependent on his particular job, and less dependent on his particular boss, the welfare state would make for more freedom of behavior and independence of thought. For our purpose here, we need not go into further details. As one can readily see, the advantages of the welfare state are far from negligible. And this is more than any known society has ever achieved. Then why not be satisfied?

Because the welfare state attacks the symptoms of a disease and not the disease itself. Because patching up the old coat where it frays does not prevent the coat from wearing out, or from developing new rents faster than the old ones can be mended.

It is evident that a welfare state is possible only in a rich economy. But one of the chief concerns in America today is the instability of the economy. The philosophy of "free enterprise" makes for an almost anarchical development of the economy: overproduction in certain areas,

underproduction in others, which, in turn, leads to the creation of artificially induced needs on one hand, and unemployment and the failure to satisfy real needs on the other. We are witnessing an enormous waste of energy and materials and are haunted by the possibility that the economy may collapse. Where would such a collapse leave our welfare state?

Collapse from within, unfortunately, is not the only possibility. Half of our national budget goes into the production of armaments which we intend, or hope, never to use. This production means jobs to more people, fat contracts to more and more business firms. It means also that more and more people become dependent on the defense economy.

It seems that the Cold War is here to stay for quite a while. Ever so often, though, the temperature of the Cold War shoots up quite a bit and nobody knows for sure, not even our President, what the safety point is. The welfare state will not change any aspect of this predicament. What kind of feeling of security can anyone have with such an enormous question mark mushrooming over everyone's tomorrow? To realize how deep the problem is, I refer the reader to *The Warfare State*, by F. J. Cook.

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One of the consequences of industrial society recognized by Hegel and Marx, and since then discussed by many till now, is: *self-alienation*. Very briefly, self-alienation affects individuals in a society which has become so complex and removed from the "natural state" that the individual lives on several separate levels which he cannot reconcile with each other because there is no real connection between them: a man is *one* person at work, *another* person at home, and *still another* in politics and so on. Living such a dis-

continous existence produces general anxiety, the sickness of this century.

This anxiety is then exacerbated by the obvious contradictions we have to live with: we live in a democracy, but it takes federal troops to open the doors of a Mississippi University to a Negro! We are a democracy, but we support almost every dictatorship abroad, provided it is not of a communist type. The self-alienation, the general anxiety, is also aggravated by the prevailing social and geographical mobility in the U. S., which makes it almost impossible for many people to stick to any set pattern of behavior. Thus, the high rates of suicide, mental illness, alcoholism, drug addiction, etc.

I mentioned earlier, from another point of view, that a welfare state might produce a "more intelligent democracy." But, on the other hand the welfare state can become independent of the system of government. As a matter of fact, fascists tried to realize it (Peron in Argentina), and the communists may realize it, too. Furthermore, there is evidence in this very country, that material well-being does not necessarily make for more political consciousness. On the contrary, it seems that relative personal security within a generally insecure system leads people to

withdraw and reinforce the trend toward disengagement from national issues. If we take into account the practical absence of real political debate on the national scene due to the similarity of the two major American parties, the incredibly low level of political content as well as the poor quality of the information provided by the mass media, the lack of political independence within the unions, then it seems to me, an increase in immediate personal security can — under some circumstances — diminish the extent to which the population is willing to go out of its way to participate in the affairs of the nation.

Much more could be said, indeed, but it is already clear that it will take *more* than merely raising living standards to keep our society together. If the goal of socialism is to bring into being the "good society," let the socialists remember that no superficial change is going to do it.

I believe that there is both room and a desperate need for a third mass party in this country. That creating such a party will not be any easier now than before goes without saying.

Socialists cannot settle for the welfare state or be satisfied with it.



Drawing by E. Schloss.

From *Chelemer Chachomim*, a collection of Jewish humorous stories, by I. I. Trunk. (Published by ID-
BUJ, Buenos Aires, 1951).

The Essence of Jewish Laughter

By A. Shulman

A RIDDLE

WHAT MAKES JEWISH humor the best? I first tried to answer this some time ago when I began compiling an international anthology of humor. But my research and findings tore at my illusions, and from the original question: "What makes Jewish humor best?" I moved to a less imposing inquiry, "What makes Jewish people laugh?", and then even to a further consideration: "Is there a definite Jewish humor, and if so, how can it be identified?"

From simply choosing examples of Jewish humor, I involved myself in the more elaborate job of finding a formula which would theoretically justify my choices. Here was born my envy of the schools of philosophers and psychologists whose task of defining the cause of laughter seemed much easier.

Aristotle assumed that the ridiculous is merely a subdivision of the ugly. This was not a theory, but more a battlecry which drew onto the field scores of others armed with more or less sharp and pungent theories. To Darwin's question of what gives the human face "this roguish expression," the majority explained laughter stemmed from joy, from a feeling of physical triumph, from a sense of disproportion, or from an economizing of energy. "Laughter," says Lord Hamilton, "is the mirth of the mob." John Fay calls it "the hicough of a fool." According to Wyndam Lewis, it's merely "the sneezing of the

mind." More seriously, St. John Chrysostom accuses laughter of being "the leading step to sin," while a minor Italian scholar tells us that laughter "arises from the pleasure of the low." La Rochefoucauld handily saw in laughter an excuse "to act rudely with impunity." But often-quoted Thomas Hobbes ascribes to laughter the feeling of "a sudden glory arising from the sudden conception of some eminence in ourselves."

One thing is certain: if all the attempts have clouded the issue over the question, "What makes *people* laugh?" how much more difficult is it to answer this, "What makes *Jewish* people laugh? What is the specific spice of *Jewish* humor? How do *Jewish* tickling stimuli differ from those of other human groups?"

Of course, this question of Jewish humor has been tackled before. Those brave ones who tried drew their answers from such theories as "national masochism," "pathetic self-pity," or from the more elaborate "logic in nonsense," but the ultimate explanation is still as far away as some of the theoreticians are far from getting the point of a joke. Jewish scholars writing on humor in the Bible uniformly tend to over-draw and often put humor where there is none. A. M. Ludovici's analysis seems true when he says that Biblical humor is nearly always "an expression of scorn and not of mirth."

Having lived a long time among traditional Eastern European Jews, I know from personal experience that ringing laughter was held in contempt. In my parents' house, which was not of strict religion, one of the greatest insults was the expression, "He has a light head," (a

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gryngen kop), meaning one who "indulged in trivialities." Even now religious Jews like to quote the advice: "do not sit with *leytzim*," and this word "leytzim" does not necessarily mean clowns but rather anyone who looks upon solemn matters from a lighter side. The great Jewish humorist, Shalom Aleichem, had no theory about humor, but the following words are always quoted as his personal credo: "To laugh is healthy; doctors order us to laugh." This saying, which became a very popular Jewish axiom, is another proof that Jewish people need an excuse for laughing.

Ask any "traditional" Jew and he will tell you that Purim is the only day of the year when one is allowed to make a fool of himself. It would perhaps be more proper to say we have our national sorrow rather than our national humor.

THREE STORIES

The problem of Jewish humor is so complex that the only way to reach a conclusion may be by a reduction to the absurd. Is it content or form? Is it matter or spirit? Is it surface or nucleus? Since we all like reading Jewish jokes, which are — aren't they? — the dehydrated form of Jewish humor, we shall relate three of these jokes, not for pleasure, but to illustrate a point.

1. The Rabbi of Chelm

In the city of Chelm, whose people are renowned among the Jews for their not too great wisdom, lived the *balegole* (teamster, wagoner) Zalmen, who had a miserable and meager horse. The horse could hardly move its legs, but however meager and weak it was, it nevertheless had to be fed from the greatest part of Zalmen's poor earnings. One day the wagoner went to the Rabbi of Chelm, the cleverest of the clever, with his problem.

The Rabbi wrinkled his brow, stroked his beard and said, "This can easily be remedied; teach the horse to go without food." And the Rabbi advised the *balegole* to give the horse a smaller quantity of fodder every day. The *balegole* followed his words and reduced the horse's food every morning until he gave it nothing. When the horse fell dead, the wagoner returned to the Rabbi.

"This is indeed a mystery," said the Rabbi, "if the horse had died in the beginning, there would be no wonder, but to die after it has grown accustomed to fasting — this, my friend, is beyond me."

2. Naphtali the Ropchitzer

In the city of Ropchitz, famous for its Rabbi, Naphtali the Ropchitzer, lived a poor Jewish orphan who could not get married as she had no dowry. One day the Rabbi himself took an alms-box and the traditional red handkerchief, went around the town, and knocked at the door of every Jew — calling upon each to fulfill the *mitzve hachnosas kala* (marrying the bride). Flattered by the visit of their rabbi, they contributed lavishly, except the richest man in town, Reb Zanvel, known for his stinginess. As the Rabbi came in, Reb Zanvel was sitting over a plate of steaming *lokshen* soup, and this unexpected visit made him so furious that he lost his temper and slapped the rabbi in his face. Everybody was horrified except the Rabbi who said calmly, "This was for me, but what are you going to give to the poor orphan?"

3. The Herring

A Gentile asked his Jewish neighbor one day: "Tell me, Moshe, why is it that you people are so clever?"

"It's very simple," answered Moshe, "this is because we eat a special sort of herring."

"And would I become clever if I ate a piece of that herring?"

"Surely."

"Can you sell me one?"

"Yes, but it's very expensive. It costs a hundred rubles a piece."

"This is very dear indeed, but never mind the price."

The Gentile tasted a bite of the expensive herring and exclaimed: "But this is just an ordinary herring. I can get it a penny a dozen."

"You see," said Moshe, "you hardly tasted it and you are already wiser than before."

TWO MYSTIFICATIONS

There are the anecdotes. The natural thing now would be to perform the act of analysis and draw conclusions.

The first one about the *balegole* (teamster) of Chelm would then be a typical case of what is called, "the logic of nonsense." The Rabbi, who is surprised when he learns about the horse's death after it got used to fasting, is basically right. Isn't it true that the longer a function is exercised the more nearly perfect it becomes? But in this case, the absurdity lies in the fact that fasting is an exception to the rule. The anecdote presents one of the classic examples of nonsense philosophy, which is one of the main pillars of Jewish humor.

The second anecdote is again an example of "logical absurdity." But here the "consistent nonsense" is supplied with the element of Jewish ethics: "The slap is for me, what is for the orphan?"

But before we go further we have to apologize to our readers for a deliberately perpetrated mystification: the quoted anecdotes are *not* Jewish. There is not a single drop of Jewish blood in the veins of the first two jokes, and number three is the only one in which form is not mistaken for content.

The first story (of the starved horse) is taken from a collection of Greek facetiae attributed to Hierocles, an Alexandrian philosopher of Pythagorean school, which flourished in the fifth century A.D. In the collection of Hierocles, the anecdote runs as follows: A pedant desiring to teach his ass to go without eating did not give him any fodder. When the ass died of hunger, he exclaimed: "I have suffered a great loss, for when it had learned to go without eating, it died." This is the original anecdote before we clad it in Jewish clothes.

Anecdote number two comes from a Polish anthology. (Reb Ropchitzer has simply replaced the Polish philanthropist of French extraction, Beaudoin, who was slapped in similar circumstances by a Polish nobleman).

A scholar of Jewish folklore, who is acquainted with all the witticisms, jests, and *chochmes* of our national heroes Hershele Ostropoler, Ephraim Greidinger or Simche Plachte, would be shocked to find a great many of their jokes in the repertoire of the Turkish Nasreddin Hodja and also of Till Eulenspiegel, Pasquino, Balakirew or in "Joe Miller's Jest." The adaptations did not require any spiritual conversion, but simply the introduction of Jewish decor: Reb Naphtali or a *balegole*.

UPSIDE DOWN — AN EVOLUTION

But joke number three is Jewish not only in form but also in spirit. Its Jewishness lies in the clash between the Jewish and non-Jewish world. One of the laughter theoreticians, whose name I cannot recall, has created an evolutionary theory. Laughter, he says, originated in the jungle and was the cry of the victorious strong over the defeated weak. Then evolution turned it upside down and laughter became the mockery of the strong by the weak. There

can be no doubt that Jewish humor belongs to the second stage of this evolution.

For many hundreds of years the non-Jewish world was the proverbial jungle in which Jews were exposed to the law of discrimination. Derision, mockery, pathetic "victories" and spiritual "triumphs" — what else remained for the physically humiliated inhabitants of the ghettos? It is also true that Jewish humor has not spared our hypocrites and devotees, the unjust and the dishonest, the fools, the rich and even the poor. But this kind of ridicule is also part of universal human laughter. The only national ingredient which was present in the laughter of all the dispersed Jewish tribes over the five continents was the ingredient of the specific Jewish fate.

The quoted story of the Jew, the "goy," and the herring is one of the examples in which we find spiritual vengeance in a time of physical inferiority.

The first Jewish joke — the real father of all the thousands of later descendants — was the book of Esther, the "Megilah." Here for the first time a weak and oppressed minority triumphed over the mighty. All the *goyim* in the Megilah — Ahasuerus, Haman, Zeresh and Vaizatha — are either fools or evil; while their Jewish counterparts — Esther and Mordecai — are wise and beautiful. On the gallows prepared for Mordecai, Haman was hanged with his ten sons who carry the most humorous names. The author of the Megilah went so far in his jesting that he provided his

two Jewish heroes with adapted names of pagan deities. The Megilah was not only the first Jewish joke; it was also the formula for all the Jewish jokes to come. We can truthfully say that every Jewish joke is in some way a condensed Megilah in which the heroes are a defeated Haman with a triumphant Mordecai. That wasn't just an ordinary Jew who sold the herring to a mentally weak "goy." It was the eternal Mordecai who triumphed over a member of the nation of the Hamans.

During the Middle Ages, when the fate of the Jews was specially gloomy and dark, Jewish folklore was full of stories which were built on the blueprints of the Megilah: they had French, German or Russian kings, weak-minded and wicked-hearted advisers, and then simple Jews who performed miracles of wisdom. Later the long and elaborated folkloristic stories gave way to the short, sharp and snappy jokes. Every one of them contained the personages of Mordecai, of Haman and the shadow of the gallows which changed their predestined victims.

The existence and role of Jewish humor is strictly bound up with the prevailing Jewish fate. In a world of unstained brotherhood, Jewish jokes will gradually lose their traditional meaning. Even now a third-generation American Jew will hardly appreciate the pungency and acidity of a "traditional" Jewish joke. Many of our finest jokes may soon be comprehensible only with an accompanying historical text-book.

INTELLECTUAL RUBBISH

... I admire especially a certain prophetess who lived beside a lake in northern New York State about the year 1820. She announced to her numerous followers that she possessed the power of walking on water, and she proposed to do so at 11 o'clock on a certain morning. At the stated time, the faithful assembled in their thousands' beside the lake. She spoke to them saying: "Are you all entirely persuaded that I can walk on the water?" With one voice they replied: "We are." "In that case," she announced, "there is no need for me to do so." And they all went home much edified . . .

BERTRAND RUSSELL, *Unpopular Essays*,
Simon and Schuster, New York.

A New Path in Camp Education

Camp "Hemshekh"

By Ana Kuper-Berman

In 1959 a group of members of the Jewish Labor Bund in New York, parents of young children, established a new children's summer camp. They were all survivors of the Nazi death camps, or of Partisan groups, or of exile in the Soviet Union. They were not satisfied with the spirit prevailing in the existing Jewish camps, and, therefore, they established a camp of their own, based on the principles of democratic socialism, Jewish secularism and attachment to the Yiddish culture on which they were brought up in the Bund's youth movement in Poland. They named the camp "Hemshekh," which means "Continuation." Continuation of what?

The author attempts to give an answer by relating her experiences in the Camp. She was first a counselor and later in charge of the Yiddish program. She is now a teacher in the Yiddish schools in Montreal, after graduating from the Montreal Jewish Teachers Seminary. — Ed.

OUR SUMMER CAMP ended long ago when we said our farewells. Autumn and winter seem never ending, and I cannot wait for the leaves to turn green again so that we may once more prepare for our beloved "second home."

I came to Camp Hemshekh several years ago with the knowledge that this camp would be different from all other children's camps. I was familiar with the ideals and spirit of the camp. The ideals were close to me, thanks to my socialist parents

and the education they had given me.

But how can we bring these ideals alive in our camp? Many people asked this question and pessimistically watched those who worked so hard and unremittingly to build it.

It is hard to communicate our ideals to children in two months. After all, the children come to camp to enjoy themselves and to rest from a long winter of studies. You can't sit down and start lecturing them about socialism. Therefore, we brought out our ideas in the everyday camp life.

We wanted to bring the word "brotherhood" to life with all its meanings. We taught the children to help one another and to live together in a spirit of mutual-ity. We set up a system in which every child took part in the work of the dining-room and was asked to make the work of the employees easier. We also tried to make the children understand that the workers in camp were not our inferiors and should be treated as equals. Therefore, the kitchen help took part in our activities whenever they had time.

We made no distinctions of race or religion. The second summer, one of the workers in our kitchen, a Negro woman, brought along two children. As soon as these children got acquainted with our campers they became so attached to the youngsters that campers of their own age asked our director to have the children put into their bunk-house as campers, and they stayed until they left for home. This was

an excellent way of teaching our belief in equality, without lecturing or preaching.

An important goal in our camp is Yiddish language and literature. We started working in this area the first summer. We tried to implant in our children the love of Yiddish through songs and stories written by our great writers.

In the summer of 1962 our work in Yiddish progressed much further than in the previous years. The camp was divided into twenty groups, according to the children's ages and knowledge of Yiddish. Each group met for two hours during the week and was led by a counselor who had a knowledge of Yiddish suitable for his or her particular group.

The Yiddish program was interlocked with our cultural program. Friday nights were set aside for Yiddish writers.

Yiddish was a language spoken daily in our camp. The children didn't speak it themselves, but the director and other members of the staff spoke in Yiddish and English when making any sort of public announcement. During the day, our PA system would give forth the sound of Yiddish music and Yiddish announcements. During rest periods, there was a news bulletin in both languages.

In one word, Yiddish was an integral part of our camp life.

•
Many of our activities were directed to the ideas of socialism.

In order that the children might know something about the history of the Bund and socialism in general, we had discussion groups to which many of the older groups were invited. Slowly these discussion groups became larger and larger as more and more campers became interested in the subject. We invited speakers to the camp and had them speak on our ideals. We had question periods in which the children readily took part. Many times, after one of these evenings, one could hear the arguments and discussions among the camp-

ers. Whether they agreed or disagreed, it led them to think. Led them to feel that everything was not as simple as it seemed, and that there were things in this world that could and must be changed.

To emphasize our ties with people all over the world who have fought for freedom and justice, we set aside special evenings for the celebration of American Independence Day, the French Revolution and the anniversaries of the Bund.

Every year we commemorate the Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto. This past summer — on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Uprising — the commemoration was highly impressive.

We also participated actively in the struggle for civil rights: we organized at the camp a big rally with two Negro speakers; we invited two Negro children to live with us in our camp, and twenty of our counselors participated in the "March on Washington," August 28th.

All these things made our camp quite unique. Recently, at the time when the newspapers were full of the Mississippi racial problem, I received a letter from one of my campers (her first summer in our camp), a girl of sixteen, born in the U. S., and a typical teen-ager. I would like to quote from her letter:

"Did you hear about Mississippi? When I read about it, I really become sick to my stomach. To think there really are such ignorant people still walking this earth, it's frightening. Out of this chaos another Hitler could even arise!"

Well, this was from a girl, who, at the beginning of camp, could only think about boys and her own problems.

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Five years have passed and our camp now has a strong foundation.

We have begun our work, and I hope we will continue it.

"Hemshekh": Continuation of the hopes and ideals of our parents by the new generations. Through the long winter it is of this green summer we dream.

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