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JEWISH WORKERS and the MIDDLE CLASS JEWISH CULTURE

INTEGRATION and ASSIMILATION

ZIONISM and the STATE of ISRAEL JEWISH UNITY

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We meet today at the National Convention of the Morning Freiheit on the eve of its 38th Anniversary in days of ferment and decision, in a period when Man's fate depends on the question of war or peace--the destruction of the human race or its rise to fantastic heights.

We meet in a period when the spirit of Camp David (where President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev met for their historic negotiations last September) has helped to create a new climate in our country. Things which were once held subversive are now deemed legitimate even in "high places". Co-existence has become an accepted position among broad, diversified strata, and a guide-post of policy for some statesmen. We are now on the eve of a summit conference, the first of a number of such conferences, which can become history making in the direction of putting an end, to the cold war and strengthening peace. These developments have disappointed the initiators of the cold war--the adherents of McCarthyism and subversive lists, the fathers of the Hell-bomb, the champions of armaments and atom diplomacy, the Nazis and neo-Nazis in West Germany--have brought them to the verge of desperation. They do not stop at using any device--McCarthyism, anti-Sovietism, anti-Communism--in order to turn back the wheel of history.

We meet in a period when the scourge of the swastika is sweeping West Germany and spreading throughout the so-called "free world", beating on doors of synagogues and homes, toppling head-stones and desecrating cemeteries. Fifteen years after the end of the bloodiest war in history, the world and the Jewish people are reminded once again of the knock on the door in the terror-filled nights during the reign of Hitlerism.

We meet in a period when the need for unity of action among Jews of all political persuasions becomes more pressing than ever--united action in the struggle against Nazi vandalism, against anti-Semitism and all forms of racism, unity in the struggle to abolish the evil which is the source of many other evils, the cold war.

Decisive, fateful issues arise out of this period: this year's Presidential elections, the struggle against nuclear tests, the attack on the labor movement, the deteriorating economic position of the Jewish workers--especially in the needle trades, the conditions of Jewish life and culture in this country, the political isolation of the State of Israel. These and many other vital, burning problems are presented by this period. How has the Morning Freiheit dealt with these problems to this date? What is its role, what tasks does it face today and tomorrow? What is its position on each of these problems? What is its program?

THE AMERICAN SCENE

It is clear to all honest people, that at this time, there is no more important task than the struggle for peace. This struggle has been raised to a higher level by Premier

Khrushchev's historic visit to this country, when millions of people were glued to their television screens and the eyes of all nations were on the Soviet Premier's journey throughout land. The Morning Freiheit can point with pride to the fact that, of all Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish newspapers and periodicals, it alone sought, as far as possible, within the limits of its capacity, to report accurately and extensively to the Jewish masses, the historic import of this event. Although the question of peace can now, more than ever before, be directly presented to the broad masses, it is clear, however, that the pursuit of peace is a goal that must be achieved through the most variegated struggles, on numerous issues around which people of diverse viewpoints can be mobilized.

Primary among these issues, is the question of the daily bread of the American masses, of a decent place to live, of the general standard of living as it is affected by the cold war. This effect was just recently demonstrated by the budget which President Eisenhower submitted to Congress, the annual budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1960. The general expenditures reach the huge sum of nearly 80 billion dollars. 54 cents out of every budgetary dollar goes directly for military purposes, 11 cents goes to pay interest on the national debt, which was incurred as a result of deficits produced by military expenditures of former years, and 7 cents out of every budgetary dollar goes for payments to veterans of past wars. All in all--72 cents out of every dollar for non-peaceful purposes.

The national debt has risen to the unprecedented, fantastic sum of 285 billion dollars. Besides, there is the additional public debt of individual state and local governments, exceeding \$60 billion. This requires ever increasing interest payments--which come from the working people--to the creditors, the huge banks, the large bond holders. This results in an increasing burden of taxes, greater inflation, depreciation of the dollar, climbing prices. The source of these problems lies in the huge military budgets which have continued to increase in recent years, despite the negotiations for peace. In 1955, military expenditures reached \$39,100,000,000; in the first 3/4 of 1959, military spending reached the annual rate of 46 billion dollars. The Rockefeller report proposed that the military budget be increased by an additional 3 billion dollars, and the Gaither report proposed further increases so that by 1965, the military budget should reach \$65 billion.

THE MEANING OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES

As far back as 1953, President Eisenhower stated that the production of each new gun, battleship or rocket, represents a "theft" from those who hunger, and he calculated how many new homes and schools could be built from the cost of these armaments. Just prior to the arrival of Premier Khrushchev, the President stated that armaments are mounting steadily and who knows where it will end. But

the military budgets are still growing.

To the words of the President about what could be done with the monies wasted on armaments, let us add the words of Premier Khrushchev before the U. N. on September 18, 1959. He showed that 100 million people are in the world's armies, military staffs, ammunitions factories, etc.; that the military budgets of all nations total \$100 billion annually—an amount that would cover the cost of building 150 million new homes for hundreds of millions of people, plus the building of new schools, universities, and so on and on.

Let these facts serve to underscore the vast crime, the immorality, the despicable nature of armaments!

The basic questions here are, of course, the survival of Man, the prevention of the destruction and extinction of the human race, safeguarding it from reaction, anti-Semitism and all racism, preserving its culture and the continued progress of its science, technology, etc. Careful consideration, however, must also be given to the question of the effect of the arms race on the life of the working people and the broad masses in general. Simple, work-a-day questions are often more meaningful than great problems, and it is around these "everyday" issues that the masses must be mobilized.

VESTIGES OF MCCARTHYISM AND THE ANTI-LABOR LAWS

Nevertheless, we must dwell here for a moment on matters of reaction, racism, persecution; the questions of civil rights. Admittedly, we have passed the period when the McCarthyite night of silence and fear darkened our land. The noblest individuals in our country, among them Albert Einstein, in alliance with the best segments of the labor movement and the intelligentsia waged a heroic struggle, with many casualties, especially among Communists, labor leaders and intellectuals, in order to rid our nation of McCarthyism. This struggle, combined with developments on the international scene, helped inflict the well-deserved blows on McCarthyism.

The brighter light of a new dawn spread over the land. But the House Un-American Activities Committee continues its noxious work, as recently evidenced by its attempted "investigations" in California and Puerto Rico. The fascist Smith Act, the McCarran-Walter Act against the foreign born, the Taft-Hartley Act and the "improved" Landrum-Griffin - Kennedy Act against the labor movement are still on the statute books of our land.

The following is worth remembering: the Un-American Activities Committee was set up in 1938, under the sponsorship of some Congressmen who thought—or argued—that it could be used to combat the Nazi movement. After several years of activity, under the chairmanship of the infamous Martin Dies, the Committee was thus characterized by Congressman Samuel Dickstein, in 1941, from the floor of the House: "110 fascist organizations in the United States

have had and now have the key to the back door of the Un-American Activities Committee."

These words can be applied to every Senatorial, Congressional, State or other committee engaged in witch-hunting. They have been and have remained instruments of reactionary, fascist, racist elements. While fascist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Negro groups and individuals have gone untouched, tens of thousands of progressives and liberals have been persecuted. Prof. Lloyd Barenblatt and Dr. Willard Uphaus are now serving prison terms for citing the First Amendment and refusing to divulge the names of others. Thirty other liberals and labor leaders are threatened with imprisonment for similar "crimes". The foreign born are being persecuted under the McCarran-Walter Act. Political prisoners, victims of the Smith Act, the Communist leaders, Henry Winston, Gilbert Green and Robert Thompson, are still in jail. The developments during the night of McCarthyism showed that, as in Nazi Germany, attacks on Communists are soon followed by attacks on Socialists, labor leaders, liberals and intellectuals. No wonder that people like Eleanor Roosevelt and Norman Thomas have demanded the release of the imprisoned Communist leaders.

PERSECUTION OF NEGROES AND TRADE UNIONS

One of the major aims of reaction is to undermine the labor movement, to paralyze the unions. The representatives of monopoly-capital openly declare that the Landrum-Griffin - Kennedy anti-labor law is only a beginning. A number of strikes, including the steel strike, were forced upon the workers. There is open talk of outlawing strikes. In the center of the assault on the labor movement is automation—more profits from labor's production through more mechanization, through intensified exploitation. Automation, that proved to be a blessing in the Socialist world, emerges here as a curse, threatening to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Regardless of the growth of American industry and trade, with employment increasing to 66 million, there are still nearly 4 million workers fully unemployed.

Hand in hand with the persecution of the labor movement, of Communists and others, who fight for improvements for the people, for the Constitutional freedoms of this land, go attacks on the 18 million Negroes, on the millions of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. May 17, 1960, will mark the 6th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation, yet this decision is still sabotaged, as was so dramatically demonstrated in Little Rock and elsewhere. The discrimination against and the persecution of the Negro masses and their organizations continues. Lynchings are once more in evidence, as demonstrated by the horrible lynching of Mack Charles Parker in Mississippi.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE SWASTIKA PLAGUE

Let it once more be emphasized that the struggle for

Negro rights is not simply a humanitarian effort. It is a struggle for America! Lincoln's words are still valid and timely—this nation cannot exist half slave and half free. The forces of American reaction are concentrated in the South and in other areas where Negro persecution is prevalent. Freedom and full equality for the Negro people will strike a death blow against reaction! Only when racism, in general, against the Negro people and others, is eliminated will anti-Semitism be eliminated.

The slums in our large cities are marks of shame, that cry out to the very heavens the crime of discrimination against the Negro masses, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans, and of the injustice and inequality afflicting our society. As part of the general plague of racism in America, anti-Semitism has recently emerged in an aggravated form.

The Jewish masses are aroused. But we must not panic. We must constantly realize that we have before us one of many social evils, one which is closely bound to racism, to the persecution of immigrants and of people with darker skins, and all of which are inextricably bound up with the cold war. It is clear—and it must be made clear to the broadest American masses—that the fight against anti-Semitism is not a Jewish fight exclusively; that the battle against anti-Semitism can and will be won in a coordinated struggle of the Jews in alliance with the labor movement and the broad masses of Americans, in unity with the Negro people. But it is understandable why the Jewish masses are so agitated, —and not only because it is they who are directly affected by the swastika plague. The vapors of Nazism open old wounds, remind us of our families who were exterminated in the ghettos and slaughter camps, remind us of the annihilation of one third of our people.

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

How has the Morning Freiheit dealt with these problems in American life—the problems of the labor movement, of racism and so on?

The Morning Freiheit has been ever vigilant in the struggles against anti-Semitism, in the battles of the Negro people, of the immigrants and foreign born, as can be attested to by anyone who remembers the record of the newspaper even briefly. The manner in which the Morning Freiheit has now taken up the cudgels against the anti-Semitic scum—sharply and energetically, constantly calling for struggle and unity—is by no means exceptional.

Leaf through, in memory, the pages of the Morning Freiheit since the end of World War II. How many hundreds and thousands of times have we pointed to the Nazi monster being nurtured in West Germany! How often have we shown that the rearing of this monster was closely related to the politics of the cold war, to the rearming of West Germany, to the slogan "let bygones be bygones"? Think back to as long ago as 1948, when General Lucius Clay released the "beast of Buchenwald", Ise Koch; think back to all the

Ghetto memorials when we raised the glosan: "Never to forget, never to forgive"; think back to the Jewish World Conference on the rearming of West Germany—in Paris, in 1955—where we had our special representative, I. Freed; remember how we published one expose after another about Globke, Oberlaender, Schroeder and the other Adenauer ministers, about Adenauer's ambassador to Washington, Grewe, and so on and on! We continually issued warnings and calls to action, to resistance!

We would have been happier were the Morning Freiheit not the only Yiddish newspaper that fulfilled its responsibility to the Jewish people and to justice and humanity. Unfortunately we have been, and we remain, the only Yiddish daily publication responsive to its alerting, mobilizing role. It is with pride, however, that we can truthfully say that the Morning Freiheit has faithfully served and will continue to serve the interests of the people!

Has the Morning Freiheit satisfactorily fulfilled its mission as a Jewish people's newspaper with regard to the various other specific issues and questions I have enumerated?

Our general approach, as outlined briefly above, was undoubtedly correct. Nevertheless, there are, I believe, sufficient grounds for criticism that these general American problems were not adequately dealt with on a day to day basis.

Certainly there were, and there are, objective conditions partly responsible for that deficiency. Not only lack of space and staff, but a glut of foreign news and problems regarding the Soviet Union, Poland, China and the other Socialist nations, Israel, the colonial countries, etc., also affected the situation. As a result, a number of matters were somewhat neglected, including questions concerning Cuba, Latin America generally, etc. There are many vital questions which certainly demand greater attention from our staff and more space in our columns. We must state before this convention, that measures must be adopted to improve and extend the coverage of these general American problems.

JEWISH WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES

The Morning Freiheit was founded by the Jewish working masses of America. They were joined by artisans, small businessmen and the like, but Jewish labor was and is the base of the Morning Freiheit.

Let us rid ourselves of the myth about the "disappearance" of the Jewish worker in America. The readers and supporters of the Morning Freiheit in New York, the mainstay of this newspaper; the membership of the New York progressive Jewish mass organizations, served by this newspaper; the members of the Morning Freiheit Committee and of its National Managing Board, are mostly or exclusively workers.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has

about 60 thousand Jewish members in New York; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (men's clothing), about 25 thousand. There are many Jewish members in other needle-trades unions--they comprise a majority of the Furriers' union. Although the concentration of Jewish workers in the needle trades, as well as in the building trades (painting and carpentry) has decreased, they are still employed in significant numbers in those trades. Jewish workers can also be found in the aircraft and auto industries, in the radio and electronic fields, on the docks, in shipbuilding and other industries, in which they formerly could not be found in any significant numbers. Teamsters Local 138, in New York, has about 2 thousand Jewish members. In addition to these workers, there are, of course, the Jewish cab drivers, warehouse workers, and general business and office workers. It is estimated that half of all organized workers in the trade and service industries in New York are Jews; about 35% of all employees in the shoe and clothing stores in Boston are Jews; 25% in Chicago, etc.

The hundreds of thousands of Jews who work for wages and salaries, plus the self-employed individual craftsmen, and their families, make up the majority of the Jewish population of the U. S. If we add the shop-keepers and small businessmen, who labor for their livelihood, we find that the overwhelming majority of American Jews are workers or toilers. These facts must be emphasized, for many reasons.

This is not to say that the Jewish population has not undergone a definite restratification in recent decades. It does not mean that the ranks of the Jewish middle classes, and even "upper classes" have not grown. In a sense, we have had in the case of the Jews a reflection of the general process, by which employment in the "service industries" has grown at the expense of the industrial proletariat. Among Jews, who, for historical reasons, are concentrated in the large cities, this process is intensified and accelerated. The limited, traditional forms of employment open to Jews because of past and present discrimination, have contributed to the intensification of this process. These are problems which necessitate a long overdue, extensive study; it is clear, however, that there are great masses of Jewish wage-earners in the United States.

The language of the majority of American Jewry is English. Here, a drastic transformation has taken place, as we shall see further. There remain, however, great masses of Yiddish-speaking, Yiddish-reading workers in America.

THE PLIGHT OF THE NEEDLE TRADE WORKERS

The United States Census of 1940 listed nearly 2 million Jews as stating that Yiddish was their native tongue. (The 1950 Census had no such heading.) Today, in 1960, the number is certainly much, much smaller; but, no matter how small it is, a great proportion of these Yiddish speaking

people are workers, usually in the needle trades. Yiddish, then, is spoken primarily by proletarian elements.

This particular fact imposes on the Morning Freiheit an ever greater obligation to orient itself towards Jewish workers, to fight for their interests, especially, since the conditions of Jewish workers--again, particularly in the needle trades--have deteriorated during the past few years. These workers, who wrote heroic chapters into the history of the American labor movement, who were in the vanguard of labor's struggles for higher wages and shorter hours, are now, however, among the lowest paid wage workers in this country. It is well known that the state of New York ranks eighteenth among the other states with respect to wage-levels. One of the determining factors is the very low level of wages in the needle trades of New York City. While the economic state of the Jewish, as well as non-Jewish workers in the needle trades is deteriorating, the great mass of union members in these trades is being deprived of its democratic rights.

At a conference of trade union leaders, a few months ago, the Morning Freiheit was criticized for its failure to give full coverage to the problems of Jewish workers and of the labor movement as a whole, or full discussion of the evils that have befallen American workers. This conference was called and sponsored by the Editorial Board of this newspaper. Other discussions with trade union leaders and shop workers were held. As a result of these discussions, we have adopted certain measures to insure greater coverage of these problems. One of these measures is the weekend Trade Union Page, that was instituted this year. This, however, is but one improvement; we are faced with the problem of greater daily coverage of labor developments and problems. Steps have been taken to resolve this problem, by means of columns, articles and various contributions by trade unionists and shop workers; it was decided to secure greater cooperation from workers taking an active part in the trade union movement, and recently, reports from many such workers have appeared in this newspaper. It is our hope that more union leaders and shop workers in various trades will follow suit and keep in close contact with this newspaper, that they will write to us about their shop and union problems. With the help of such people, and with the constant attention of the Editorial Board and its labor department, it will be possible for the Morning Freiheit to properly fulfill one of its most important, most fundamental roles.

It should be stated that the Trade Union Committee, consisting exclusively of workers, that was established by the New York Morning Freiheit Committee at its conference three years ago, had played a vital role in the perfecting of the above-mentioned measures and improvements, to assure the adequate coverage and interpretation of labor developments and problems.

There are still many questions affecting certain trades

that require further clarification, and not alone on the part of the Morning Freiheit.

A great deal must still be done with regard to the perfection of our general orientation, as well as with regard to assuring greater militancy, constructive militancy, convincing militancy. We are against criticism for criticism's sake; against random brickbat-hurling. Positive accomplishments must be recognized as such no matter from what source they come. The Morning Freiheit must courageously and clearly voice the grievances of the workers, of all workers, whether Right or Left. Maintaining a proper balance, this newspaper must constructively and responsibly expose the politics of those who have a harmful influence on the interests of the workers. We must develop an approach that will enable Rightist workers, too, to feel that the Morning Freiheit acts in defense of their vital interests.

It should be stressed that the labor problems faced by the workers of many cities outside New York and throughout the country are not adequately reflected in our newspaper. This is a definite gap that Morning Freiheit Committees and co-workers in Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, and similar centers, must take serious steps to close.

MIDDLE CLASS AND FARMERS

When we dwell on the problems of the Jewish workers, it does not mean we must not keep in mind the plight of the middle classes in the lower income brackets. The petty trades and lower middle classes in general deserve our attention. Their interests are closely tied to the interests of the working masses in the struggle for justice and democracy. This is particularly true of the Jewish middle class, many of whose members are former workers with traditions of struggle. The Jewish middle classes, to a greater extent than the middle class in general, know the meaning of reaction, of fascism—and, of course, of anti-Semitism. The problems of the middle class, as of the Jewish masses as a whole, must have a proper place in our newspaper. This is in the interests of the working class, as well as of the broad masses of the people as a whole. Needless to say, the problems of the Jewish farmer must be illuminated both as part and parcel of the general problem of American agriculture, and as a special manifestation of that general problem.

FOR A HEALTHY JEWISH LIFE

The Morning Freiheit is an American Jewish workers' and people's newspaper. America is our land and home. Here we struggle for the freedoms and progressive traditions of the United States, for its Constitution and Bill of Rights. To this American tradition we add our own progressive traditions, forged during the more than 300 years of Jewish life in America, beginning in 1654, through the American Revolution of 1776, the Civil War, the fight for

the eight-hour day and for unions, the struggles against reaction and for all that would benefit our land, America, and its people.

We strive to build a healthy Jewish life, right here, in our homeland. We are not the only Jewish group so minded. Even American Zionists have begun to orientate themselves both in theory and in fact, toward the premise, that America is the home of American Jews. This is the latest addition to those groups which have always adhered to that position, such as socialists, the so-called rightist groups and the various other people's organizations. We, progressives, have our own place in Jewish life, our own approach to the solution of the problem how to make that life meaningful.

What does that approach imply? It implies first, keeping alive the progressive, Jewish traditions and values in accord with the spirit of the times. It implies being aware of the special role of the Jewish worker, of his place in the general labor movement, during the stormy period at the close of the last century and the beginnings of the present century. It implies keeping alive the poets—classics of that period—Winchevsky, Edelshtat, Bovshover, Morris Rosenfeld—and the literature and culture of the subsequent periods, as represented by the works of Kobrin and Libin, Jacob Gordin and Yohoash, Pinsky and Hirschbein, Olgin and Zhitlovsky, Marmor and Raboy—and the current creative workers and builders of our progressive Jewish culture. It implies keeping with us our great classics of the lands overseas, the best works of Jewish literature and culture in general. It implies keeping alive the socialist traditions of the Jewish masses in America, orienting ourselves toward the American labor movement and American progressives, particularly toward the Negro masses, in the struggle for what is right. It implies heeding the behest of the fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto and the other Ghettos and keeping alive the spirit of the anti-imperialist fighters in struggle that gave birth to the State of Israel. These and other characteristics are the component parts of our own approach—an approach of secular progressive Jews, accenting both its secular and progressive nature.

We are against the conformity that is being foisted on Jewish life—and not only on Jewish life. We are not engaged in any fight against religion. We adhere to the proposition that we must collaborate with religious people in the struggle for peace and civil rights, against anti-Semitism and racism, as well as for other causes for the benefit of the people. We are, however, against the imposition on non-religious Jews, who comprise the majority of American Jews, of a pseudo-religious veneer, that does not accord with their feelings or convictions. That would not only be a violation of democracy and of the beliefs and aspirations of American Jews. What is even more important, such an imposed veneer cannot provide any foundation for the development of a sound Jewish life that would be in harmony with the spirit of the times. No wonder that Zionist and religious

leaders decry the fact that Jewish life in America consists only of a facade, with no real substance behind it.

It would be healthier, it is indeed obligatory, that Jewish life should develop along the lines of pluralism—based on the theory which states that the sum total of many various cultures makes up the treasure-house of what is known as American culture. Not one form of Jewish life, not conformity, but diversity—let every Jewish group make its own contribution. We hold, as pointed out above, that we have our own contribution to make. No, we believe that the contribution we can make is the concern of the people as a whole. In maintaining the above-mentioned traditions and values we are accomplishing a task of the entire people.

JEWISH CULTURE

We pay special attention to Jewish culture in the Yiddish language. We remember "how many tears were shed into these words and letters"—tears of generations. We remember, too, the endless struggles represented by those letters. From Winchevsky's "In Di Gasn Mit Di Masn" (With the Masses Into the Streets), to Peretz's "Yom-Tov Bletlech" (Holiday Pages), to Olgin's revolutionary manifestoes, to "Zog Nit Kaynmol" (Never Say This is the End), the hymns of the Jewish Partisans—Yiddish, the language of the masses that was so despised by the bourgeoisie, was the language of heroism, self-sacrifice and progress.

Jewish culture in America was born in the course of struggles for the 8-hour day, against the sweatshop, during the 1880's. It developed in close intercommunion with the Yiddish literature of Russia, where Yiddish creative works were sprouting out of meetings and assembly places. That literature embodied the motives of revolt which were inspiring the workers at the time and which were articulated in the songs of Winchevsky and Edelshtat.

The revolution of 1905 and later the October Revolution raised Yiddish culture to new heights. They influenced the development of an entire school of American-Jewish revolutionary and progressive writers, who kept close interrelations with the Soviet-Yiddish writers, whose creative works were and are part and parcel of the cultural heritage of the Jewish masses of this country.

The Morning Freiheit itself is an embodiment of these progressive traditions of the Yiddish language. Winchevsky and Olgin were among its founders, and it has held their names high for nearly 38 years now.

We are not speculating about the life-span of Yiddish. We deem such speculations to be abhorrent. Over fifty years have passed since Israel Zangwill published his drama, "The Melting Pot." And already at that time predictions were made about the speedy disappearance of the Yiddish language. Karl Kautsky developed that theory a little later, in his book "Are the Jews A Race?", and he "predicted" the imminent assimilation of the Jews. For American Jewry, the vulgar Social-Democrats, like Abra-

ham Cahan (editor of the "Jewish Daily Forward") echoed that theory. At that time the U.S. Census of 1910 listed 1,050,000 Jews who recorded Yiddish as their native tongue. In 1920, the census was 1,092,000; in 1930 - 1,223,000; in 1940 - 1,751,000. (No such question appeared in the 1950 census). The period following immediately after 1910 and 1920 saw a remarkable flowering of Yiddish literature, publications, and theater both in the United States and in other countries.

The increase in the number of Yiddish speaking Jews that took place between 1930 and 1940 is significant. Immigration had been practically cut off since 1924, yet the Census of 1940 showed a half million more people, listing Yiddish as their native tongue, than in 1930. We may surmise that the rise of Nazism and the struggles against that plague in the 30's strengthened the attachment of the Jews to the Yiddish language.

"FORECASTS" AND "GUARANTEES" CONCERNING YIDDISH

There is a lesson for our times. It is clear that the proportion of Yiddish-speaking people has declined greatly. We will see later precisely to what extent. We will also see that integration does not betoken assimilation. It would be correct to say that bourgeois nationalism, the influences of Zionism are stronger among the English-speaking Jews, than among the Yiddish-speaking people in the U.S. The process of integration of the Jews into the language of the respective national language has been taking place in Europe as well. Nazism, with its slaughters, sharply reduced the number of Yiddish-speaking people, and yet, huge masses of Jews in Europe, attend Yiddish concerts and performances. We see now, after the Nazi slaughter, something of that which stimulated Yiddish during the 30's—the "Zog Nit Kaynmol" ("Never Say That You Have Reached the End")—that has become a rallying cry resounding in many lands. And we see among certain segments of American Jewish youth an awakening interest in Yiddish, as evidenced by the Yiddish clubs in many New York City high schools and Yiddish faculties in a number of universities (Columbia, New York University, Brandeis, and others).

We do not support Yiddish for the sake of Yiddish—we support its progressive content. We have been, and are, opponents of the nationalist position—of national-cultural autonomy. We are concerned primarily with the needs and aspirations of the Yiddish-speaking masses, or of those for whom Yiddish is a better expression of progressive Jewish traditions, although their native tongue is English. We are for progressive culture. As Olgin pointed out in his essay, "Yiddish and We," written as a contribution to a discussion on Yiddish, as far back as 1928: If our approach is kept alive, our work will continue; we do not lament the "twilight"—we are building progressive Jewish culture!

We are not engaged in making predictions and we give no

guarantees. We are engaged in important mass-work!

Inasmuch as the Morning Freiheit itself is a product of progressive Jewish culture, the support of this newspaper, circulating it is an effective means for upbuilding of progressive Jewish culture.

CLUBS, CHORUSES, YKUF, SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN

The Morning Freiheit is squarely behind the building of Jewish culture in Yiddish. We cherish the work of the YKUF, of the Reading Circles, of the Folk Choruses and the entire Jewish Music Alliance, of the Progressive Children's Schools. Almost all of these institutions were built with the help of the Morning Freiheit, and they carry on their activities with its help.

During the McCarthyite pogrom, inflicted on one of the greatest organizations created by the Jewish masses of America—the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, component part of the International Workers' Order, a sharp crisis developed among progressive Jewish elements. The question arose: will the Jews of America really remain without a progressive mass-base? The answer was given by the tried and true cadres of leading progressive Jewish workers. The clubs that were established after the pogrom on the JPFO, are a continuation of all the positive values wrought by the Jewish workers of America in the years of mass Jewish immigrations, since the early 1880's and especially after the Revolution of 1905 and World War I. History, as it appraises the dark 1950's, the McCarthy period, will realize the significant role played by the Clubs then and at present. The Morning Freiheit stands ready to serve the Clubs and Societies, and will do all in its power to assist them in achieving a significant gain in membership, now that the improved political climate makes it possible, as well as in further improving the quality of their work. The Morning Freiheit has the same positive attitude toward the progressive Jewish women's organizations, and seeks to aid them in their further development.

We will discuss the general Yiddish press later; but culture includes many areas: painting, the graphic arts in general, the theater. For a number of reasons, these various forms and expressions of culture are not sufficiently dealt with in the pages of the Morning Freiheit. The Jewish theater in America must have more space; there is not enough attention paid to the re-establishment of the Jewish Theater Ensemble, or the development of new groups. This is particularly necessary in view of the terror of East Broadway which intimidates Jewish artists, actors and musicians, and prevents their appearing before progressive organizations. It appears to be about time for these artists to rid themselves of this intimidation, and help end the manifestations of McCarthyism in the Jewish community.

Although we emphasize Jewish cultural work in Yiddish, we cannot close our eyes to the American Jewish influences

and tendencies. We are against the ghettoization of Jewish life as a whole, and we cannot shut ourselves up in a "Yiddish ghetto", behind barriers separating us from the masses around us, even if they did not comprise the majority. We must remember that through the ages, Jewish culture has also been developed in many other languages. In modern times we had the historian Graetz in German, the historian Dubnov in Russian; we had Einstein and Feuchtwanger, whose language was German. We have Jewish culture in Hebrew, in Russian, in English, in French, in Spanish. All of these, together, comprise the riches of Jewish culture.

YIDDISH AND ENGLISH

This is not merely a theoretical question for us. It is a question, if we may say so, of co-existence in Jewish life—of co-existence with the overwhelming majority. Eighty percent of the Jews in America are native-born. They speak English. This is a fact—whether we like it or not. These 80% are our neighbors, our co-workers in factories and offices, and they include our own children and grandchildren.

It would be worthwhile to note that, while the 80% of English speaking Jews include over a million children and youngsters, the remaining 20% who are Yiddish-speaking consist exclusively of adults, many of whom are socially active people. Qualitatively, then, the significance of this 20% is much greater than their numbers might imply. It is also significant that the Yiddish speaking 20% are concentrated in the large cities, primarily in New York, the center of Jewish life. But this does not alter the fact of the transformation of Jewish life with respect to its language.

The question before us: what can we do, in English, to instill our approach to Jewish life, to its meaning and content? And this question must also be raised in the following different way: What do we know about the life of the overwhelming majority of Jews whose language is English?

Here we must be strongly self-critical. The Morning Freiheit carries practically no reports on the activities of B'nai B'rith, an organization with about a half million members, or of Hadassah—with 350 thousand members, or of the Zionist movement generally. We pay little or no attention to the Workmen's Circle or to the Jewish National Workers' Alliance (Farband). There are over 100 weekly or monthly Jewish-English publications—what is their character? There are published annually about 200 books dealing with Jewish questions or on Jewish themes—what do we know of them?

This dearth of information about Jewish life outside of progressive circles, is a serious negative aspect of the work of the Morning Freiheit. It must be the responsibility of the editorial staff, of co-workers within the staff and outside of it, throughout the land, to remedy this serious failing. Especially since "they"—meaning elements of different trends of opinion—do not let "us" alone but are continually seeking to influence us and our children.

PROGRESSIVE AND REACTIONARY TENDENCIES

We are witnessing two trends in American Jewish life. On the one hand, there are the broad, liberal elements. It is a fact, for instance, that a large number of Jews voted for and supported Roosevelt. Noted Jewish individuals, among them rabbis, took part in the struggle against McCarthyism, for the Rosenbergs, for Morton Sobell, and against the cold war. Diverse Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, possess a praiseworthy record in the struggle for Negro rights. These organizations filed briefs with the Supreme Court in preparation for the historical decision handed down by the Court in 1954, for the abolishing of segregation. The voices of many Jewish notables are heard in the campaigns against nuclear weapons testing, and for co-existence.

This, on the one hand; on the other, we see a strengthening of the forces of nationalism, chauvinism, and outright obscurantism and reaction—aided and abetted by the influence of political Zionism. The State of Israel is used as a means of inculcating chauvinism, of separating the Jewish masses from the non-Jewish. This propaganda is overwhelmingly conducted in English. We will subsequently examine more closely the question of Zionism and the role of the State of Israel. It is clear, however, that the justified sympathies of the American Jewish masses towards Israel are being exploited for harmful purposes. This is demonstrated, for example, by the absence of significant protests from the American Jews against the re-arming of Western Germany. This silent acquiescence was a de facto support of the policies of the State Department. The same tendency was reflected in their attempt to characterize Adenauer as a pillar of the "free world." Because of these influences, we have not seen among American Jews as widespread and impressive protests against the swastika plagues as those which took place in England, in France, and in other countries.

Earlier, in passing, we referred to elements among American Jews of the bourgeoisie and even of monopoly capital. These elements seek to exert their influence on the broad masses of American Jews through the Welfare Boards, United Jewish Appeal and other agencies, that annually collect over 200 million dollars for charity, for Israel, for religious and other purposes, for culture—their culture—almost exclusively in English. Many of these elements, although not themselves religious, contribute money to synagogues and temples, in order to bring others under the influence of religion; they even support the rule of theocracy in Israel.

"INTEGRATION" AND "ASSIMILATION"

Permit me at this point, to underline the differences between the terms "integration" and "assimilation". American Jews are, for the most part, integrated into American culture (or should I say "culture") but they are not assim-

lated. American Jewish life has never been so organized as it is today. The figures mentioned above about B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, the Jewish-English press, the Jewish books in English, do not tell the whole story. Life has shown that Kautsky's predictions of fifty years ago were without foundation. This is not to say that there is no assimilation whatever—though it is very insignificant. This is also not to say that bourgeois elements do not preach Anglo-Saxon assimilation. The dominant elements, however, are those of political Zionism, who spread nationalism, chauvinism, and seek to separate the broad Jewish masses from the non-Jewish. At the same time, these Zionist leaders orient themselves toward American capitalism and imperialism. We have, then, currents which are harmful in many respects, and which certainly hamper the development of a healthy Jewish life.

I would like to dwell, for a moment, on two books, which vividly illustrate the forms of this propaganda: Leon Uris' "Exodus", and Herman Wouk's "This Is My God." One lesson that we can learn from "Exodus" is that the Jewish masses, particularly the youth, are greatly interested in Jewish history, especially in the heroic moments of Jewish history (let us keep this in mind later, when we consider a speech made by George Dimitrov). Leon Uris presents such a glimpse of Jewish history; of the suffering of the Jewish people under Hitler; of the struggle in the Ghettos—in a melodramatic, falsified manner. According to him, only Zionists participated in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Yiddish is, to him, a "bastard German." He preaches Zionism; the Ben Gurion line of obliterating 2000 years of Jewish life. No wonder Ben Gurion called "Exodus" extraordinary propaganda. "Congress Bi-Weekly" declared that all the tons of Zionist propaganda did not accomplish as much as "Exodus", and that all the efforts to implant religion did not have as much effect as Herman Wouk's book.

SCHOOL FOR CHILDREN AND YESHIVAS

And not simply religion. We are witnessing a growth, in this country, of what is called "Williamsburg" or "Satmarism"—extreme type of Hassidism—fanaticism that reminds one of the Hassidic towns of old Poland. This fanaticism deliberately is developed and spread, extending its influence over tens of thousands of young people. The enrollment of Yeshivas alone is now about 45 thousand.

This brings us to another area: the registration in Jewish Children's Schools in the United States for this past year was 553 thousand. Only about 15 thousand of these children—somewhat less than 3 percent—were enrolled in the various secular schools, Progressive, Workmen's Circle, Farband, and Sholem Aleichem. More than 97% are in the schools of temples and synagogues, in the Talmud Torahs and Yeshivas.

All these facts should make clear for us the danger of insulating ourselves in our own sphere, of engaging in only

long accepted forms of work, of cultural activity only in Yiddish, etc. This isolation is both dangerous to the progressive Jewish movement itself, and it also leaves the field of mass work free for the chauvinists and obscurantists, permits the unchecked growth of the weeds of conformity and coarse materialism, depriving Jewish life of spiritual, and humanistic values.

It is the duty of progressive Jews, Yiddish-speaking and English-speaking alike, to take an active part in Jewish life, in the life of the community, to work together with other elements in the fight for peace, for civil rights, against anti-Semitism and racism, against inflation, for Ghetto memorials, to insure the independence of Israel, and also around local issues. More contact with other elements, on whatever positive basis possible, even of a local or narrow character, including welfare causes, is the demand of the moment. And we must remember to approach other elements with tolerance, forgetting old scores and scars.

Unity in work and contact does not mean giving up one's own principles or positions, but this must not obstruct united action with principled opponents on specific issues, on which we can find ways of working together.

It is also clear, then, that an important aspect in the work of introducing to the broad Jewish masses our approach to Jewish problems, introducing them to the treasures of Yiddish culture, is activity in English, too.

ENGLISH PAGES OF MORNING FREIHEIT

On the question of the English section of the Morning Freiheit, much has been said at discussions held prior to this convention—exceptionally broad, significant discussion—and at various press committee conferences. I have no intention of dismissing the criticisms of the two English pages. There is some justification of the contention that these pages aren't read by very many people, that the English-speaking people want a publication entirely in English. Irrespective of this criticism, it seems to me that the opposition to the publication of these pages is due, to a certain extent, to an unwillingness or inability to look around, and to an attitude that we can do with what we have had up to now, and no changes or innovations are needed. That is to say: we don't have to bother with other people, we don't have to make it possible for others to know about our position and approach to various questions (and I'm thinking particularly of Jewish issues, on which progressive English publications generally shed no light).

The English section, I would say, is a sort of window to the outside world. To the extent that it gives us an opportunity to attract however limited a number of additional readers, especially among English-reading people, it is all to the good. This, one might say, is the main thing, but it is by no means all. Without the English section, it would be impossible for those who wish to know our position on cer-

tain questions, to make themselves aware of it. Without this section, it becomes impossible to make certain institutions aware of our position on certain Jewish problems—institutions like, for instance, the American Jewish Congress, or B'nai B'rith, or Hadassah, or similar organizations, or the Anglo-Jewish press.

Progressive Jews have an important monthly magazine—"Jewish Currents"—which deserves their support. This journal, formerly called "Jewish Life", was, as is known, founded through the efforts of the Morning Freiheit. This is an important and necessary journal. It recently showed definite growth, which we greet. But a monthly publication is not enough, especially when we are faced with such pressing, burning problems, as those created by the swastika-plague, for instance, demanding prompt, effective action.

AGAINST NIHILISM

We referred earlier to the dangers of chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism, which lead to obscurantism and which are harmful to Jewish life here in America, and, to a certain extent also, to the State of Israel. But bourgeois nationalism is one thing, and the national interests of the people are something else again. To some degree, the fault for the predominance of chauvinism lies with those progressive elements that view Jewish work as the domain of "professional Jews", and hold that Jewish problems are either non-existent or insignificant.

We must say, that these people often do not know what is going on around them, although they may have the best intentions. We must also say, that it is difficult to comprehend those who dismiss Jewish problems with a wave of their hands—with the statement that other problems, problems of racism generally, are more important. Of course, not all problems are of equal importance and the general problems of racism are certainly very important; the solution of the problem of anti-Semitism depends on the solution of these general problems. But the people who seem to experience such great difficulties in comprehending the problems of Jewish life, should remember the following "trifling" fact: one third of the Jewish people was destroyed in gas chambers, and in various other horrible ways. How can any one be insensitive to such a catastrophe, even if it would have happened to other people, and not to their own people? How can one be so insensitive to a catastrophe that left such deep wounds in tens of thousands of American Jewish homes? Is a new swastika-plague really necessary to wake up the people who are usually indifferent to the state of mind of the Jewish masses? And to what avail is such awakening? So that they can immediately return to their state of indifference towards Jewish problems?

In this connection it seems to me to be necessary to refer some people to a speech made by one of the heroes of our time—the heroic anti-fascist George Dimitrov, who, in

1935, pointed out the danger of nihilism—of having a negative approach to the history of one's own people, to its traditions and heroic struggles.

I regrettably have had the rather unpleasant experience when I called the attention of some people to Dimitrov's speech to hear them retort that it was pertinent then, but not now... Clearly, this is a false and harmful approach. But we may also add, that the years since 1935 "only" brought World War II, with the slaughter of millions of Russians, Poles, Czechs, and other peoples—and six million Jews; they also brought countless heroic struggles by all peoples, and the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto, in the Bialostock and other ghettos, and in the slaughter-camps!

It is clear from what Dimitrov said and reality substantiated, especially since the rise of Nazism-fascism, that consistently progressive people must be concerned about the national interests of their own people. Jewish anti-fascists that desert this position, cannot be a factor in the struggles of the Jewish masses! Such progressives play into the hands of the chauvinists—not only because they leave the field clear for them, but also because the indifference on the part of progressives to the problems of the Jewish masses discredits progressivism per se in the eyes of these masses. A truly progressive person is one who is concerned with the interests of his people and who is sensitive to their sufferings and seeks to keep alive the best, the most progressive aspects of the history and traditions of his people.

PROBLEMS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE

American Jews, all Jews, including progressive ones, have a justified interest in the Jewish communities of other countries, and a justified interest in Israel. This is not only because American Jews have relatives in many of these lands. Again, we need only look at the recent swastika-plagues, to see how anti-Jewish manifestations in one country re-echo among the Jews of another country; not only among the Jews, but primarily among them.

Progressive Jewish elements in America closely follow the struggles of progressive Jewish elements in other countries, and are interested in the accomplishments of various communities in the area of progressive Jewish culture. The current Sholem Aleichem Exhibit in the UNESCO Building in Paris, for example, organized by the Sholem Aleichem Committee of France, received the help of supporters of Jewish culture in many lands. The Sholem Aleichem celebrations in the Soviet Union resounded in Jewish communities throughout the world, and the volume of Sholem Aleichem in Yiddish published in Moscow, was joyously welcomed by Yiddish readers in America and many other lands.

The ghetto memorials, held every April in Warsaw, attract the fervent interest of Jews in other countries, especially of stalwart anti-fascists, who maintain the watch-

word, "Never to forget, never to forgive." The annual ghetto memorials held in America and the memorials in Poland and many other lands reverberate as mutual calls to action for the Jewish communities. Delegations from 17 countries, including the Soviet Union, came to the memorial in Warsaw, in April, 1958, commemorating the 15th anniversary of the ghetto uprising. A Soviet delegation, together with the delegations of other countries, came to Paris to the unveiling of the monument to Jewish martyrs.

To continue: the Jewish masses in America, as in other countries, have a rightful interest in Israel. In their particular way, they took part in the struggle for Israel's birth in 1947-48. Significant sections of American Jewry are worried about Ben Gurion's dangerous policies that are injurious to Israel, and in various ways express their solidarity with the progressive elements in Israel.

It is worthwhile to note the greetings sent to this convention by the progressive elements of Israel, by their newspaper "Free Israel", as well as the greetings sent by progressives in other lands. These greetings speak of the Jewish people and of the common interests shared by progressive Jewish elements in many countries.

NOT "NATION" BUT "PEOPLE"

One could bring many more facts, but these examples will suffice in developing a definite position. We cannot find any formulation, other than that which we advanced three years ago, in our report to the Morning Freiheit convention in January, 1957, as well as on other occasions. We emphasized that there is a Jewish people, which exists and is rooted in various lands—homelands. These Jewish communities are linked by ties that cross oceans and national boundaries, linked by the common history of the Jewish people—common traditions, common psychological traits, common culture—in Yiddish and in other languages, linked by persecutions and anti-Semitism, through heroic struggles, and also, among certain elements, through religion.

Certainly and without a doubt: we are dealing with a people, and not a nation. Nation is a politico-economic territorial concept. American Jews, for example, are part of the American nation; they are not, and cannot be part of any other nation. Any other position, besides being unscientific, would create ambiguity and conflict.

It is true that chauvinism, political Zionism, underlines the term "Jewish people" for its own purposes. The implication is that the Jews are a kind of "world-people", a people unto itself, totally unattached, separated from the mass struggles in the lands in which Jews live. The end result is a harmful position—one from which American Zionism has had to retreat—that Jews are almost foreigners in their own homelands. It also implies among certain non-Zionists, who have nevertheless become steeped in nationalism, the metaphysical concept of "world people." That con-

cept is just as harmful and has the same undermining effect on the position of the Jewish masses in the lands which are their homes.

It depends on how the concept "Jewish people" is used. In every people, various sections use the same national terms, ascribing to them different meanings.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

It is evident from the above-mentioned examples and again from the recent swastika-plague, that every position that denies or hampers the natural interests of one Jewish community in another, can have an effect contrary to what it seeks to accomplish; it can only play into the hands of the chauvinists.

From the standpoint of interrelationships between different national Jewish communities, the participation of progressive elements in America and other countries in the activities of the World Jewish Congress, during World War II and immediately thereafter, and in its organizations in various lands, such as the American Jewish Congress in this country, was correct. It was also proper that representatives of Jews in Poland, Rumania, Hungary and other Socialist countries, participated in the meeting of the World Jewish Congress at Monterey, Switzerland, immediately after the end of the war. The cold war policy of the leadership of the World Congress made it impossible—one may assume—for representatives from Socialist countries to continue to participate in the World Jewish Congress. Enlisting in the cold war, the American Jewish Congress of this country excluded the progressive elements from its ranks. Jewish Congress leadership in Canada, France and other countries followed suit.

With the relaxing of international tensions, slight changes have taken place within the World Jewish Congress—only slight changes as yet. At the World Jewish Congress session held at Stockholm, in August, 1959, there were representatives of the Alliance of Jewish cultural organizations of Poland—as observers. To a large extent, credit is due them for the fact that at this convention of Jewish representatives from over 40 countries, there were taken up the questions of the cold war, German rearmament, the role of the Soviet Union and other Socialist lands in the struggle for peace. The importance of the struggle against Nazism and anti-Semitism in Western Germany was emphasized at the Stockholm assembly, and the arms deal between the Ben Gurion government and the Adenauer-Globke regime was exposed and condemned, so that Jews the world over and the world public in general, should discern their real significance. The President of the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, was severely criticized for his noxious position on the question of Western Germany.

Thanks to the efforts of the Polish delegation, in conjunction with delegations from other countries, the Stockholm session of the Congress adopted resolutions for peace,

and against nuclear testing. The Congress welcomed Premier Khrushchev's visit to America and spoke out for co-existence. The World Jewish Congress thereby gave expression to the feelings of the Jewish masses in many lands.

We can imagine what would have been accomplished at that session, had the voices of the progressive Jewish elements of America, Canada, France and other countries also been heard; the longing for peace of the Jewish masses the world over would have been more fully expressed.

We must recognize that the World Jewish Congress suffers from a serious, inner shortcoming, which makes the participation of delegations from Socialist lands much more difficult than one might think. To a large extent, the Congress is a duplication of the Zionist movement, with a leadership that is tied to the harmful Ben Gurion policies. The President of the Congress, Dr. N. Goldmann, is also the President of the World Zionist Organization. In spite of his many disputes with Ben Gurion, Dr. Goldmann, at the Stockholm session, firmly supported the Adenauer regime. He succeeded in preventing the adoption of a resolution against the rearmament of Western Germany. A special resolution, which expressed "serious concern" about the fact that "former Nazis again hold key positions in administrative and legislative offices in the West German republic," did, however, praise Adenauer, the head of the "republic" for maintaining the reparation payments... Due to the efforts of Dr. Goldmann, the session declined to adopt a resolution condemning the arms deal between Ben Gurion and the Adenauer regime, in which "former" Nazis occupy key posts.

The harmful role played by Dr. N. Goldmann was recently demonstrated during the swastika-plague, when he sought in every possible way to absolve the Adenauer government, in spite of the fact that it has so many "former" Nazis in key posts. Prior to this, at a meeting of the Zionist Action Committee, in Jerusalem, in December, 1959, Dr. Goldmann retreated from his previous anti-cold-war position and expressed the idea that although the cold war was not good, it was not clear that its cessation would benefit Israel. Here, before the highest body of political Zionism, Dr. Goldmann spoke differently about the cold war than he had in Stockholm.

Besides being a duplication of the Zionist movement, the World Jewish Congress suffers from another inner failing: discrimination against progressive Jewish elements in the U. S., Canada, France and other countries, on the part of the local subdivisions of the World Jewish Congress—the American Jewish Congress, the Canadian, and so on. At the same time that the leadership of the World Jewish Congress sends invitations to Jewish communities in Socialist lands, it itself, in its subdivisions, adheres to the methods of McCarthyism. This undermines the very basis for Jewish unity within various countries. The remnants of McCarthyism in

Jewish life must be eliminated--discrimination must be ended!

JEWISH UNITY

The problem of Jewish unity in the struggle against anti-Semitism and Nazism is now of the most immediate and urgent importance as we can see from the united demonstrations against the swastika-plague in England and France, as well as from the evidence of certain prevailing moods among the general strata of the Jewish population in America. These moods found expression in a front page editorial in the "Day", on January 22, under the headline: "Jewish Disunity in America in Serious Times." The editorial points out that, while in England and Argentina and other countries demonstrations took place against the swastika-plague, "we, in America, have demonstrated confusion, the lack of organization of American Jewry." The leadership of the progressive Jewish clubs and societies throughout the land were correct, when they reacted positively to this editorial, and pointed out in their communication to the President of the American Jewish Congress, Dr. Joachim Printz, that it is time to arrange for united action by all Jewish organizations.

Let us herein state that the position taken by Dr. Printz during the swastika-plague differed from that taken by Dr. Goldmann—it was more outspoken in its opposition to Nazism - anti-Semitism in Western Germany. Let us also point out the great accomplishment of the clubs and societies, the Emma Lazarus Women's Federation, the Federation of Polish Jews in America, and other progressive organizations, which were the guiding force in the movement that brought about the demonstration against Nazism-anti-Semitism in Union Square, in New York, on January 26th. In October, 1959, these organizations called a meeting in New York to protest the arms deal between the Israeli and Adenauer governments; this is to the credit of those organizations. They have again shown their importance; they have again shown that, in the struggle for unity, one must have one's own base: the stronger the base, the more successful the struggle.

Jewish unity is the pressing demand of the moment. Once again, such unity does not mean denying one's own principles. It means, rather, as in the case of self-defense during a pogrom, or as it was in the Ghetto, that people of various persuasions, all facing certain cardinal problems, can and must work together on questions involving all of them. The session of the World Jewish Congress in Stockholm is again an example: irrespective of the difficult position the Polish delegation and other delegations found themselves in, a number of positive results emerged, as we have pointed out.

It is now the task of every Jew cherishing the interests of the people to take a stand for Jewish unity in the struggle against the enemies of the people—Nazism-fascism and

anti-Semitism. We, here, at this great convention of the Jewish workers' and people's newspaper, the Morning Freiheit, that has called for such unity for years—we here now issue a call to every individual, regardless of political persuasion, to help organize Jewish unity, that will bring to the streets of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other cities, hundreds of thousands of Jews, and non-Jews, in mass demonstrations, in the struggle against the cursed swastika and its wellspring—the cold war.

The Jewish masses want unity, want action! They painfully and sorrowfully view "Jewish disunity in serious times!" Now is the time to put an end to that disunity! We appeal to the broad Jewish masses in America: heed our call! Let the Jews of America and the masses of non-Jews forge a united front with the masses in France and England, who have already answered the call of the day! Let our words resound in Washington: an end to the Hitler heritage! An end to the scourge of the swastika! An end to the anti-Semitic propaganda! An end to racism!

THE STATE OF ISRAEL

We come to the State of Israel, after we have dealt with American and labor problems, with Jewish affairs here, with Jewish culture and with the struggle for unity. We believe that the State of Israel is one of the world's Jewish communities—definitely not the center of Jewish life—an important community with important, positive characteristics, but one of the Jewish communities of the world, and to which we, of course, have a positive approach.

Our approach to Israel is a positive one, and has always been so. In our report to the 30th anniversary celebration of the Morning Freiheit, 8 years ago, we declared: "Our position towards Israel has not changed since the time we fought for its establishment by the UN, and sought to mobilize assistance in the war which was forced upon Israel." In the pages of the Morning Freiheit, in the early 40's, even before the UN was established, we stated that the (then) Palestine question could only be resolved by the great powers, including the Soviet Union. The Zionist leaders stood, at that time, on the so-called Biltmore Program, whereby Palestine would have become a part of the British Commonwealth. Even when the UN began hearings on the Palestine question, Zionist leaders, led by Dr. Chaim Weitzmann, called for a Commonwealth solution.

We supported the struggle for the establishment of the State of Israel, and for the victory of Israel in the War of 1948. We believed, and believe to this day, that this was a progressive, anti-imperialist struggle, for the national independence of the people of Israel. We emphasized this in our report three years ago; we pointed out that the Morning Freiheit does not cease to stress that Israel is here to stay and that "this must be made clear to all the great powers, and particularly to the Arab nations: Israel is here, and shall remain!"

But this is not all. I would permit myself to say that it is we, above all, who have a truly positive attitude towards Israel. I became convinced of this during my visit to Israel about six months ago. Our positive approach expresses itself in the fact that it is the people of Israel who are our primary and overriding concern; the toiling people and their difficult problems are our concern. Israel, for us, is not a means of appeasing our consciences or expressing our Jewishness by check-giving, or bond-buying or listening to sentimental "Exodus"-like reports. We want to see a healthy and blossoming Israel, an independent Israel, a progressive Israel—a land truly fulfilling the promise of the social prophets—a land of social and national justice!

TRUE FRIENDS OF ISRAEL

True friends of Israel cannot be indifferent to the harmful policies of the Ben Gurion government, cannot ignore the fact that the Adenauer payments and the arms deal with the Adenauer-Globke regime, thoroughly abhorrent and shameful in themselves, also are the cause of demoralization among segments of Israeli youth, dull their feelings about the extermination of six million Jews. True friends of Israel cannot view indifferently the foisting of the rabbinical theocracy on the backs of the masses of Israel. or the floundering of the Kibbutzim under the heavy burden of interest payments, cannot ignore the discrimination against the Arab minority.

Many more facts could be pointed out, which true friends of Israel must take into consideration. But let us emphatically state the following: true friends of Israel must work for Israel's participation and cooperation with the peoples of Asia and Africa in the struggle for liberation! True friends of Israel must fight for a secure peace, so that Israel must be secure in a world of peace!

Israel has achieved much. About one million Jews, many of them driven and persecuted, have arrived since 1948. A great deal has been accomplished, regardless of the fact that much of it has been done with foreign capital, or according to the whim of wealthy individuals who wanted their names advertised in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, or other places, discounting the fact that occasionally, the buildings they construct do not conform to the economic state of the land, are perhaps too luxurious, too improvident considering that the broad masses suffer so much want. The fact is, nevertheless, that Jewish workers, engineers, technicians built all of these houses, buildings and colonies. Desert areas were made fruitful. It was demonstrated in Israel, just as it had been demonstrated in a different way in America and, of course, in the Socialist countries, that the Jewish working masses can build!

The Jewish community in Israel possesses an important characteristic that is not possessed by any other Jewish community. There is an Israeli nation. True, it is not exclusively a Jewish nation; the Arabs in Israel, about 10%

—200 thousand in a population of 2 million—are also Israelis, even if their citizenship rights are restricted. But the overwhelming majority in this Israeli nation is Jewish. Anti-Semitism presents no problem here (the Arabs are also Semites). These aspects must be appreciated. But, the late Labor Zionist leader, Chaim Greenberg, was correct, when he said: The mere existence of a nation is not enough. It must be a nation of social justice!

Our criticism of Israelis like our criticism of America: we are not satisfied merely with growth and construction—we want to know how these are reflected in the life of the masses. But with all the negative aspects that we have pointed out with respect to Israel—and there are regrettably many such negative aspects—we must remember: neither Israel nor certainly the people of Israel are to be blamed for them—the regime is to be blamed! A regime can and should and must pass—the people remain, and it is the people whom we must help.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL: ITS RIGHTS AND DUTIES

We must help the people of Israel. This help must first be expressed through a proper political approach. All the huge sums of money cannot help—and do not help—eliminate the hardships endured by the masses of Israel. James P. Warburg was right when he refused to support the United Jewish Appeal, as long as the monies collected by the Appeal went to support the Ben Gurion government, whose policies, according to Warburg's correct evaluation, are against the interests of peace. With the huge sums Israel has received since 1948—and these sums were estimated during the last election campaign to have amounted to four billion dollars, a fantastic sum for so small a country—Israel still finds itself in political isolation, as Dr. Goldmann stated before the meeting of the Action Committee of the World Zionist Organization in Jerusalem, in December, 1959.

The approach that Israel is an "outpost of the West" in Asia—an area where the West is hated—must be combatted. Israel must cooperate with the countries of Africa and Asia! Israeli representatives at the UN must vote with these countries, against colonialism and imperialism! The abhorrent arms deal with the neo-Nazis must be abrogated! Israel must adhere to a policy of neutrality, of friendship with both East and West. The anti-Soviet rantings by the Ben Gurion government, and the press and radio supporting the government, must cease!

The rights of Israel must be defended. This includes the right of free navigation through the Suez Canal. The Morning Freiheit has repeatedly demanded this, as it has demanded an end to the boycott of Israel, a boycott to which the Navy Department of Washington rendered aid and comfort. Israel has a right to develop, to engage in peaceful construction. But there are no rights without responsibilities. The slogan that Israel is an outpost of the West

undermines these rights. Also, all the eloquent speeches about peace with her neighbors mean nothing, as long as Israel persists in discriminatory policies against the Israeli Arabs (many parties in Israel are against these policies, but the Ben Gurion government refuses to abandon its discriminatory line).

The best and most effective help for Israel consists of political help, of the struggle for peace. But this certainly does not exclude material help as an expression of solidarity with the progressive elements, with the Kibbutzim which are subjected to persecution. Such is the help for the children's homes in Israel, given by the Emma Lazarus Federation, the clubs and societies; such is the aid given by the Brainin Clinic Committee in this country to the Brainin Clinic in Israel; such is the help given the Kibbutz Yad Hannah, that is subjected to persecution, and similar aid to other institutions of the masses of the people.

We have seen that our emphasis must be on the work needed for the building of a sound Jewish community in this country. It is therefore clear that our aid to Israel must be arranged on a basis corresponding to the situation in which we find ourselves here, so that our work and institutions in this country may not be hindered. It is to be hoped that through these aid activities in behalf of Israel, we will be able to reach elements outside the ranks of the progressive organizations, and thus be able to implant among these elements a constructive attitude towards the State of Israel and the people of Israel.

There are progressive people whose material help to Israel takes other forms than the children's homes or the Brainin Clinic. Ideological differences with them on this point must in no way hinder our friendly cooperation with them for the benefit of progressive institutions.

THE ROLE OF ZIONISM

James P. Warburg protested the United Jewish Appeal's support of the political parties in Israel, including the Herut party, which is labeled in Israel as extremist-chauvinist and which maintains that Israel's territory must be expanded at the expense of her neighbors, especially Jordan. The broad Jewish masses must be made aware of this. The United Jewish Appeal cannot pretend to be merely a charitable organization, as long as it proposes to support the Herut and other parties.

In coming into contact with supporters of the United Jewish Appeal or Zionists generally, and making them aware of these questions and of the role of the Ben Gurion government, one must keep in mind that their primary desire is to help Israel. Political Zionism is very often of no concern to them, and they may frequently disagree with the policies of the Ben Gurion government. They must be made aware of these problems, but even our differences with them must not hinder our co-participation with them on problems of mutual interest, such as questions of anti-Semitism and war.

Three years ago we already had the opportunity to point out that a distinction must be made between the supporters of Zionism and its leaders, as well as between leaders and leaders. We periodically hear statements from such Zionist leaders as Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver against the cold war and for co-existence, even if such statements are not always entirely consistent. At the same time, it must be clear that political Zionism plays a harmful role.

The line of political Zionism prevents the building of a sound Jewish community in the United States. According to this line, the attention of the masses is continually directed towards Israel. Theoretically, or in practice, Zionism is against Yiddish culture, against Yiddish; against all progressive Jewish culture, whether in Yiddish or in English. Political Zionism tries to keep Israel tied to the coat-tails of the State Department. That is why Adenauer is being supported both by Ben Gurion, as well as by Dr. N. Goldmann.

The Zionist movement everywhere, and particularly in America, is going through a severe crisis. The slogan "Ingathering of the Exiles" has come into conflict with reality. American Zionists were forced officially to "concede" that America is the home of American Jews. They were continually attacked by Ben Gurion, who speaks of the bankruptcy of the Zionist movement. Recently, he labeled all Zionists who have no intention to settle in Israel as assimilationists. Although the slogan "ingathering of the exiles" has been abandoned in America and certain other countries, Zionist leaders are seeking by all means to apply the "ingathering" fallacy to the Socialist countries. Here, most of the Zionist leaders join hands with Ben Gurion.

SOVIET UNION SLANDERED

This is one of the reasons for their sharpened anti-Sovietism. There are variations in their anti-Soviet attitude, and there are certain exceptions. For instance, the president of the Zionist Federation of France, Andre Blumel, who has on numerous occasions taken a stand against anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism, is active in the Franco-Soviet Friendship Society. Blumel was chairman of the World Jewish Conference against the re-arming of Western Germany, in Paris, in 1955. These exceptions, some of them perhaps also in our own country, must be remembered, but as a general rule, the Zionist leadership is sharply anti-Soviet. This stems from its cooperation with the State Department and with the Adenauer regime. The fact that Ben Gurion is a right wing social democrat also plays a role. The slogan "ingathering of the exiles", as James P. Warburg has pointed out, leads to artificially created "emergencies"—with regard to the Polish and Rumanian Jews, and always with regard to the Soviet Jews. It is in accordance with this line that the clamor of alleged anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is raised.

Even if I had not had the opportunity to spend 10 weeks in the Soviet Union recently, I would have been able, on the 28

basis of facts, to denounce these allegations for what they are--slanders! But, in addition, basing myself on the reality with which I came face to face during my stay in the Soviet Union, I state here--that every charge of anti-Semitism against the Soviet government or Soviet institutions must be indignantly rejected by all honest people!

If additional evidence were needed, it has just been provided, in the statements in the Soviet press during the swastika-plague, and, most importantly, in the statement of the head of the Soviet government, Premier Khrushchev, in his speech before the Soviet Parliament, January 14th. He condemned the anti-Semitic outbreaks and Hitlerism *per se*, and recalled the historic struggles of Lenin and the Bolsheviks against anti-Semitism and pogroms.

In my articles, cables and various reports that I sent from the Soviet Union, as well as in the articles of our contributing writer, Abraham Bick, who has just returned from the Soviet Union, and in the letters and news reports of our Moscow correspondent, S. Rabinovitch, the slanders were and are rejected and exposed, with the help of the facts of daily life. The Morning Freiheit, and only the Morning Freiheit, among all the daily and weekly Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish newspapers in this country, continually calls attention to the role of the Jews in the upbuilding of Socialism, in industry and culture, the number who have received citations, Lenin prizes. Let us remember the statement Premier Khrushchev publicly made during his visit to America, that Jews occupy a worthy place in the development of sputniks and rockets.

Premier Khrushchev also said, however, at another occasion, and I refer to his speech at the Writers' Conference, in May 1949, that "we do not at all claim that we have done away with all the survivals of the past." The Soviet Union must be considered, not as a kind of Utopia, where every problem has been solved, but as a land where the new order, communism, is being built in a struggle with the survivals of the past as well as with the influences and acts of sabotage from outside, from bands in Western Germany and also in America, anti-Semitic and generally counter-revolutionary bands. Let us remember: the cold war makes itself felt in deeds, not merely in theories. In the heritage of the past, there certainly are anti-Semitic relics from Czarist times, from the time of the Nazi occupation, from the Beria period and the infamous Doctors' trial--relics that must be eliminated, and that are being eliminated, through the building of a new order, through the cultural revolution that is taking place in the Soviet Union, through publication of translations of Yiddish literature in millions of copies, through Sholem Aleichem celebrations--all sponsored by the government--and through other means. Statements such as the one Premier Khrushchev made before the Soviet Parliament have great significance in the struggle against cold-war-mongers. Every public statement of that character, every statement in the Soviet press against anti-

Semitism, is a great contribution to the struggle against cold war propaganda.

JEWISH CULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION

The cold war forces make capital of the question of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. They don't really care much about that culture; they have always sought to decry it, because it was aimed against them, is aimed against them. A resurgence of Soviet Jewish culture would be quite tragic for them. Therefore, they are silent about the recent achievements, like the publishing of volumes of Peretz and Mendele in Yiddish.

The Morning Freiheit takes note of these achievements, and expresses the desires of the progressive Jewish elements in this country, to see, as quickly as possible, a resurgence of Soviet-Jewish culture. This is also the often expressed hope of progressive Jewish elements in other countries.

We are aware of all that has already been done in the area of Soviet-Jewish culture, including the above-mentioned Sholem Aleichem celebrations, the volumes of I. L. Peretz and Mendele Mocher Sforim, published in Yiddish, the huge number of translations of Yiddish literature into Russian and other Soviet languages, the growing number of concerts and presentations, as were recently reported by the Morning Freiheit correspondents from Moscow and Vilna, as well as various other cultural activities. We also greet the arrival of Nechamah Lifshitz and other Soviet-Jewish artists in Paris and Vienna, to present concerts in Yiddish, and we look forward to seeing them in America; we also greet the artistic works of the Soviet-Jewish artist Tanchum Kaplan.

We await the works of Soviet-Jewish writers, in Yiddish, both of contemporary writers and of those who perished; their works have always nourished Yiddish readers in this country. We await a faster tempo in the growth of Soviet-Yiddish culture, in the reestablishment of institutions which were unlawfully destroyed during the Beria period, institutions with which progressive people here who visit the Soviet Union can come in contact. It is impossible that the synagogue should be the address of Soviet Jews.

Three years ago we pointed to the serious crisis that developed soon after the 20th Congress, and showed how the Morning Freiheit, through its position on the question of Soviet-Yiddish culture, helped safeguard the base of progressive Jewish elements in the United States. The Morning Freiheit itself was maintained. Important positions in the struggle for peace and co-existence were maintained thanks to its approach on this subject.

It is understandable that changing objective conditions have brought changes in the approach to this question. Firstly, as shown above, definite advances have been made in Soviet-Yiddish culture, no matter how slowly. Secondly, continual harping on this question can create an atmosphere

that no true fighter for peace would want to create. Today, the problem is at a different stage: on occasion, and this is such an occasion, we must express the sentiments of the Jewish masses on the subject of Soviet-Jewish culture. But above all we must always realize that our major task is to get rid of the cold war.

Nothing should be done that may tend to hamper the all-decisive struggle that will resolve many problems, including the problems of Soviet-Yiddish culture--the all-decisive struggle for peace, in which the Soviet Union is playing so vital a role. Millions of Americans have begun to fully understand that role. They joyfully welcomed, as we did, the visit of the Moissejev Dance Group and the other artists--the Bolshoi, the Moscow Symphony. American artists, symphony orchestras, have visited and are visiting the Soviet Union. Cultural exchanges are being strengthened, and relations between our country and the Soviet Union are improving in many areas. A vital part in this was Premier Khrushchev's visit to this country. We, long-time fighters for co-existence, long-time friends of the Soviet Union, rejoice at these developments, and in this decisive moment, no action should be taken that may lead to misunderstanding.

Let there be an end to the cold war! This will open new horizons for contacts and exchanges, mutual visits to develop better understanding, including contacts and exchanges between American progressive Jewish writers and cultural leaders and their counterparts in the Soviet Union.

We joyfully accept the greeting that Soviet-Yiddish writers have sent to this Convention! Let this be a beginning of increased contact!

Likewise, we joyfully accept the greetings sent by the "Folkshtime" of Warsaw and the Cultural Organization of Polish Jews! We joyfully accept the greetings sent by the Jews of Rumania--by the Federation of Jewish Communities in Bucharest--the Yiddish theater in Jas, the greetings sent by the progressive mass organizations of France, the "Union", and its newspaper, "Naye Presse", the greetings sent by "Free Israel", in Tel Aviv, by "Undzer Stimme", in Brazil, and other foreign publications and institutions. We joyfully welcome the special representative of the Canadian "Vocheblatt", in Toronto, the editor of the paper, J. Gershman!

THE MORNING FREIHEIT

This year is the 90th anniversary of the Yiddish press in America, beginning with the publication of "The Yiddishe Zeitung" in New York, in 1870. Since then, a number of Yiddish newspapers have written notable chapters in the story of 90 years of the Yiddish press. Beginning with the "Arbeiter Zeitung", and the "Abend Blatt", most Yiddish newspapers in the USA were socialist or socialist oriented. Whatever their faults, these newspapers played a positive role--and that includes the Jewish Daily Forward in certain periods--aiding the Jewish workers in their fight against the

sweat-shop, in the building of unions, the Workmen's Circle and other organizations, aiding in campaigns against the pogroms of Old Russia and in support of the Russian revolutionary movement.

Much water has flowed under the bridge since those times. The current "East Broadway" Yiddish press (Jewish Daily Forward and Day-Morning Journal) cares little about class struggle, about revolutionary movements, socialism. Regrettably, they stand squarely with the cold war forces. They outdo the general capitalist press in their anti-Soviet slanders. They were bitterly antagonistic during Premier Khrushchev's visit here. They seek to implant obscurantism into Jewish life. McCarthyism guides their approach to progressive organizations and undertakings.

Let me in this connection draw attention to a development of a few days ago. Although the general press reported the demonstration against anti-Semitism-Nazism on Union Square, January 26, the "East Broadway" press gave it scant attention. The slander that "communists" are responsible for the swastika-plague was eagerly lapped up by these newspapers, more than by the general press. These are painful developments but such is the role of this press, unfortunately.

These facts emphasize the indescribably vital role played by the Morning Freiheit. It can be rightfully said that the Morning Freiheit continues the best traditions of the Yiddish press in America. The program of the Morning Freiheit, that I have proposed here on behalf of the editorial board, tells us that this newspaper has remained true to the principles on which it was founded, April 2, 1922, continually moving with the times, reflecting the most important aspects of the given moment, ever in the interests of the people.

THE TASK OF THE MOMENT: NEW READERS

The demands of the moment--the struggle for America, for the labor movement, for a sound Jewish community, against Nazism-anti-Semitism, for unity, for peace--make support of the Morning Freiheit a political and social task of prime importance. More and more people realize this as witnessed by the success of this year's fund drive. The financial campaign is of decisive importance. But even more important is the campaign for new readers! And let us clearly state here: we haven't enough readers! There are too many Jewish workers and toiling people who should read the paper but who do not!

We must have more readers! We can have more readers! We have earned that by our role in Jewish life. Suffice to refer to our role in the recent campaign against the swastika-plague! What do we lack, then? We lack, if I may say so, the inner drive on the part of our thousands of friends and supporters! The inner drive that would continually remind our friends that they must get new readers for the Morning Freiheit, from whomever they come in con-

tact with!

Let us speak with people, show them articles in the paper, let us speak to them with tolerance and patience, remembering at all times that we are speaking to rank-and-filers, to people whose politics may be different from ours, but whose interests are the same.

WHAT KIND OF NEWSPAPER IS THE MORNING FREIHEIT

At our 30th anniversary we said: "The Morning Freiheit is a progressive Yiddish, workers' and people's newspaper, a consistently anti-fascist paper, that reflects the interests of the broad masses of Jews in America." The experiences of recent years and recent days has again confirmed this.

Three years ago we emphasized what we had said eight years ago, and added: "The Morning Freiheit is a progressive, independent Yiddish workers' and people's newspaper. It is controlled only by you, the representatives of the broad Jewish masses. We are bound to no one else but you." We would like to reemphasize this. We have no other interests save the interests which you represent, the interests of the people!

We said three years ago, and we say again now: the Morning Freiheit is open to any worker who wishes to voice his opinions and grievances so long as it helps clarify the problems of workers, all workers, Right or Left. We call on all workers to express their opinions in the columns of the Morning Freiheit, their opinions about shops and unions, about the burning problems facing America, facing the world, facing the Jewish people.

The Morning Freiheit is small in size and format, but, I think we have a right to say, large in its content. This is not easy to accomplish. We are faced with serious problems with which we have been beset for a long time--of strengthening our personnel. It is evident, however, that regardless of the great difficulties which they face in carrying out their work, the staff of the Morning Freiheit loyally fulfill their tasks. They have earned our recognition! And we extend this appreciation also to those who send in or bring in their articles, as well as to the shop-workers, whose contributions are printed in the Morning Freiheit.

UNEXCELLED CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ABROAD

Recently, the Morning Freiheit, thanks to the improved climate, has been enriched with material which we could not obtain before, or could obtain only to a very limited extent--material from our own staff members who visited Europe and Israel. We had important articles on these visits by R. Youkelson, D. Matis, and recently by Abraham Bick. I had the privilege of an extended tour of the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania and Israel. The poet, M. A. Suhl, is currently in Europe, and sends us articles and poems.

These visits helped establish better contacts, and we now are getting a mass of important material from our staff abroad. During my trip to the Soviet Union, it was possible to engage a constant Soviet correspondent for the Morning

Freiheit, S. Rabinovitch, who travels to the Ukraine and Byelorussia for the Morning Freiheit. Improved contacts were established in Poland, Rumania and Israel.

This material gives us better opportunities to win new readers. The problem before us, in my opinion, is to initiate an extensive circulation campaign. Great moments demand great goals--and we are currently in a great era in the history of humanity!

It is a moment when a new world is rising. The Morning Freiheit is a people's newspaper, but as Olgin--one of the founders of the Morning Freiheit and its editor for many years--said in his essay, "Respect for the People": "Whoever wishes to work with the people in its march to the sun, must have respect for the spirit of the people, which is a spirit of social justice and freedom." One must be "imbued," he said, "with the pain and with the longing and with the hope and with the inherent power of the people." The works of our classicists are imbued with this longing and aspiration. This longing and hope is in the songs of Winchevsky and other poets. And this yearning of generations for social justice, for Socialism, is becoming reality in our time.

The hopes of all humanity are bound to the socialist sector of the world; bound to the efforts of the Soviet Union and other nations, and of the American people, for peace.

There is a film now being shown: "On the Beach." The film depicts streets and houses and automobiles and parks--all as usual. But without people, without animals, without birds. A leaden silence reigns, barren, cold--death! Everything has been poisoned by atom radiation. The film ends with a picture of a square where a mass had previously been celebrated, but which now shows no sign of a living being. A placard, waved by the poisonous wind, reads: "Brother, there's still time." But, time was lost, it is too late, the world has already been destroyed.

That is what appears on the screen... But we say, now, together with the broad masses of the American people, with the masses of the peoples of the Socialist countries and all countries: There is still time--to live! And not only time to save the world, but to open new horizons, to rise higher and higher, to go further and further--to the new life of freedom and justice for our land, for all lands, for all peoples, and for the Jewish people.

To this sacred task the Morning Freiheit is dedicated, with renewed courage and fresh hope.

JEWS IN THE USA

Report delivered by Paul Novick, editor-in-chief of the Jewish daily Morning Freiheit, at the National Convention of Morning Freiheit Committees, held at the Fraternal Clubhouse, New York, January 30-31, 1960.
