

JEWISH LABOR BUND

1897 - 1957

Published by the International Jewish Labor Bund,
New York, N. Y., 1958

c 94
2559

JEWISH LABOR BUND



1897 - 1957



Published by the International Jewish Labor Bund,
New York, N. Y., 1958



TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Jewish Labor Bund, 1897-1947 . . . Page 4
2. International Jewish Labor Bund
1947-1957 Page 12
3. Two Ideologies Page 16
4. Summary of the Bund's Ideology . . . Page 20
5. Milestones in the Bund's History . . . Page 22
6. Greetings on the Bund's 60th Anniversary
 - a) from organizations Page 29
 - b) from individuals Page 49
7. Basic Problems of Jewish Life Page 64
8. Bund Organizations and
Representations Page 70
9. Publications of the Bund Page 71
10. Headquarters of the International
Jewish Labor Bund Page 72

JEWISH LABOR BUND

1897-1947

AT THE TURN of the century, the overwhelming majority of European Jews (approximately six million) lived under conditions which made them probably the most oppressed and persecuted minority in Europe. They resided within a "Pale" which they could not leave without permission of the authorities; they were forbidden to engage in agriculture and many trades; and their means of subsistence were pitifully inadequate. Their political rights were even more restricted than those of the other oppressed subjects of the Czarist tyranny. Yet in spite of this oppression, the period was one of social and spiritual upheaval. Two great philosophies, expressed in different social and national movements, had evolved and began to dominate Jewish life and thought: the Socialist labor movement known as the Jewish Labor Bund, and the nationalist movement of Zionism.

Sixty years ago the General Jewish Labor Bund was founded. It was the Bund that aroused the doubly-oppressed Jewish laboring masses from their long torpor and started their revolutionary struggle for human and national dignity, for justice and freedom, for their social and national emancipation, for the Yiddish language, for the modern secular Yiddish culture, for Socialism.

The revolutionary battles of the Bund, the self-sacrificing Socialist activity of the Bund, the armed self-defense against Czarist pogroms, heroic deeds such as that of Hersh Lekert (described later)—these were

the factors out of which grew, afterwards, the spiritual climate in which the tragic, heroic revolt of the Warsaw Ghetto took place.

The Jewish Labor Bund, organized in October, 1897 in Vilna—then part of Czarist Russia and today the capital of Sovietized Lithuania—was the first labor party of the Jewish people. Although the original session of the First World Zionist Congress had been held some weeks earlier, about ten years were to pass before the various Zionist groups were organized into distinct parties in Eastern Europe. Thus in the early days of the twentieth century, the Jewish Labor Bund was the sole Jewish political party among the six million Jews of Czarist Russia.

From its inception, the Bund was an advocate of the ideals of freedom and international Socialism. These were the basic elements of the Bund's struggle against all forms of national oppression, against anti-Semitism, and for the right of the Jews to develop their own national culture in the countries in which they lived. It was a program designed to sustain the values of the Jewish people without harm to other peoples. And it was this program that enabled the Bund to combine the spirit of Socialist internationalism with demands for the rights of the Jewish people.

The Bundists were primarily concerned with the basic political rights, equality and respect for human dignity which had already been achieved by the Western world, as well as with far-reaching economic reforms toward which that world was still aspiring.

The Bund reflected a revolutionary protest against political tyranny and oppression and was also an effort to improve the economic conditions of the poverty-stricken Jewish working masses.

In Jewish life, the Bund was, from the start,

the spokesman of those progressive forces who strove to free the Jewish people from their medieval shackles. The Bund crusaded for a modern way of Jewish life and a secular Jewish educational system. It fought for the prestige of Yiddish as the living language of the Jewish people. The Bund helped to further the development of Yiddish literature and all aspects of modern Jewish culture.

The Bund's relentless struggle for the betterment of the living conditions of Jewish workers, its persistent fight against the tyranny of the Czars for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the huge Russian Empire, its devotion to the lofty ideals of democracy and freedom, of social justice and the international brotherhood of peoples, from the very start roused an accord in the souls and hearts of the Jewish people.

Having adopted such a program, the Bund could exist in Czarist Russia only as an underground organization. But its struggles and activities were to launch a spiritual revolution in Jewish life. Under the guidance of the Bund, the Jewish worker—described by Karl Kautsky as “the pariah among pariahs”—began to strike back at his oppressors. In 1902, five years after the establishment of the Bund, the Bundist Hersh Lekert, a shoemaker, made an attempt on the life of the governor of Vilna, after the Czarist satrap had ordered floggings for the revolutionaries arrested during May Day demonstrations. The governor was wounded by Lekert, who was arrested, sentenced to death, and hanged. He thus became the first Jewish hero in modern times, his name a permanent part of Jewish literature and a legend of contemporary Jewish history.

In 1903 anti-Jewish pogroms, organized by Czarist government officials, swept many of the cities in the Jewish Pale. The Bund organized self-defense groups for armed resistance against violent outbursts of anti-Semitism. Many Bund members gave their lives in the struggle against reaction. This struggle was the first in which Jews consciously launched armed resistance against the onslaughts of anti-Semitism. Its tradition was clearly manifest forty years later in the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto.

The Bund also played a notable role in the Russian Revolution of 1905. Again for the first time, Jewish workers took an active part in the fight for freedom, in strikes, in mass demonstrations, and on the barricades. As a result, the Bund assumed leadership in the struggle for freedom not only of the Jewish workers but of the wide masses of the Jewish population in Czarist Russia.

Jewish Socialists reared in the tradition of the Jewish Labor Bund combined a deep sentiment for the international brotherhood of peoples with an equally deep awareness of Jewish identity. One of the fundamental tenets of the Bund's ideology has been its conviction that Jews are not a homeless people, that they have their homes in the countries where they live, work and feel rooted. The Bund has always held that only through joint action with the non-Jewish Socialist and labor organizations and other progressive elements in the countries where they live, can Jews improve their lot. The Bund further believes that only in a society based on true equality, justice and peace, can the problems of Jewish life be solved.

The Bund became the first Jewish party affiliated with a non-Jewish political organization, in this case the all-Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, as

well as with the Socialist International. During its first years, the Bund was an autonomous organization within the Russian Social Democratic Party. But at the 1903 Congress, where the split between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks occurred, "the powerful Jewish Bund, numerically the largest and best organized body of workmen in Russia" (quoted from Bertram D. Wolfe's *Three Who Made a Revolution*), after having been deprived of its autonomy and other rights, left the Party. Several years later, the Bund, having regained its rights, returned to the Party.

However, the Party itself soon underwent a permanent split. The Bolsheviks and Mensheviks transformed themselves from opposing factions into two hostile parties. Since the democratic Socialist philosophy of the Bund, and especially the idea of Jewish cultural autonomy, was by its very nature contradictory to the dictatorial tenets of Bolshevism, the Bund sided with Menshevism and cooperated with the Menshevik Party.

When the Russian Bolsheviks overthrew the revolutionary but democratic anti-Czarist government and established their totalitarian rule over Russia in November, 1917, it soon became impossible for a social-democratic labor movement to function there. The Bund, the Russian Social Democratic Party, and other opponents of Bolshevism were suppressed.

* * *

After World War I, the Bund in Poland took over the heritage of the Bund in Russia. It conducted its Socialist program with distinction, always faithful to its basic principles. In constant struggle against assimilationist trends, against orthodox religious influence and against Zionism, the Bund in Poland grew steadily

and finally achieved the support of the majority of the three and one-half million Jews of Poland. In 1936-38, in municipal elections held throughout Poland and in elections to the boards of Jewish communities (*Kehillas*), the Bund received the majority of Jewish votes (e.g., in Warsaw 16 out of 20 elected Jewish councilmen were Bundists). The Bund was accepted as the representative of the majority of Polish Jewry.

In Poland the Bund was organized as a regular political party of Jewish workers. It had branches in most of the several hundred cities and towns where Polish Jews lived. The Bundist Youth Leagues, whose core was the *Youth Bund Zukunft* (Future) and the *Skif* (Falcons), were by far the strongest organization among the young Jewish workers and workers' children. The Bund published a widely circulated daily newspaper and a number of weeklies and monthlies, in Yiddish and Polish.

Special attention was given to education, conducted in Yiddish, which included numerous courses, lectures and open forums, among other cultural activities, in addition to the political rallies and meetings in which tens of thousands participated. A network of elementary and secondary schools was maintained by the Jewish labor movement, despite persecution by reactionary governments. All courses were given in Yiddish. The curriculum was secular and permeated with the ideals of democracy, social progress and the international brotherhood of man. These schools reflected the two essential aims of the Bund: secularization of Jewish life and culture, maintenance and development of Yiddish.

On the economic front, there was a 100,000-member Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, about one-quarter of the entire General Federation of Labor in

Poland, with which it was affiliated. It was the strongest organization among Polish Jewry. The overwhelming majority of its members, and consequently the organization itself, were under the political influence of the Bund. The president of the council of the Jewish Trade Unions and its spokesman was Victor Alter, who was murdered, along with Henryk Erlich, by the Soviet regime in 1941.

In their economic struggles, Jews cooperated with their non-Jewish comrades in the General Federation of Labor. In the political area, there were frequent instances of common action by the Bund and the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.). However, both parties existed as independent units. Their traditions, the differences in ideology and, most important, the peculiarities of Polish and Jewish life, stood in the way of full political Socialist unity in Poland.

In the years before World War II, under the impact of Hitler's Germany, the forces of reaction and anti-Semitism gained steadily in violence and strength. Anti-Jewish boycotts, pogroms, and other outrages followed. The "spirit of Nuremberg" engulfed both wings of Polish reaction, the rulers and their nationalistic opponents. In that atmosphere of anti-Semitic hysteria, numerous Jews, including many who had previously supported the Zionists or Jewish orthodox parties, joined the Bund. They responded to the Bund's call for general strikes, organized in protest against pogroms and attacks on human, civil and political rights of the Polish Jews. Once again, as in Czarist Russia, Jews joined the Bund's resistance squads struggling against the pogrom-makers, in which cause

they were often aided by Polish trade unionists and Socialists.

* * *

Then came the great catastrophe in Jewish history, which hurled Jewish life from its national cultural peak into the abyss of the Nazi inferno.

According to its planned program of genocide, Nazi Germany murdered almost all the Jews of Poland, among them tens of thousands of Bund members. Shmul Zygielbojm, Bund representative in the Polish Parliament-in-Exile in London, committed suicide in 1943 in a tragic attempt to arouse the world to awareness of the imminent annihilation of Polish Jewry.

During the German occupation of Poland in World War II, the Bund in Poland was the first to organize Jewish underground resistance groups. The Jewish underground struggle followed, initiated and inspired by the Bund; the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto; the other Jewish armed revolts, and in the end—six million Jews shot, gassed, electrocuted by Nazi barbarism.

Only a small number of survivors of the Jewish Labor Bund in Poland escaped from the Hitler holocaust.

At the same time, the Communists arrested hundreds of Bundists in the eastern part of Poland occupied by the Red Army, and sent them to forced-labor camps. This Communist offensive against the Bund was climaxed by the murder of the two prominent Bund leaders previously mentioned—Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter.

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH LABOR BUND

1947-1957

AFTER THE annihilation of the Jewish people in Poland and the destruction of most of the European Jewish communities by the Nazis, the Bundists who escaped from Eastern Europe to the West and many of those Bundists already settled there established Bund organizations in the United States, Canada and in many other countries the world over. They decided to reconstitute the Bund; and to this end they convened the first World Conference, which unanimously resolved to establish the International Jewish Labor Bund, to carry on the Bund's still-vital ideological tenets and continue the struggle for the still-valid basic Bund principle that Jewish problems can be solved only within the countries where Jews live through a common struggle for democracy and Socialism by Jews and non-Jews alike. To direct the Bund organizations in various countries, the First World Conference elected a World Coordinating Committee with an Executive in New York and a European Secretariat in Paris.

Though physically weakened by the most evil forces of our time, Nazism and Communism, the Bund retained its deeply-rooted belief in the ultimate worldwide victory of democracy and Socialism. Bundists who miraculously escaped from the gas chambers of Hitler's Germany and the Stalinist slave camps are again at work for the ideals of democracy and Socialism wherever a Jewish community exists.

Since 1947, Bund organizations have been established in Europe—France, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden and England; in Israel—Tel-Aviv, Haifa, Bat-Yam, Bar Sheva, Natanya, Tiberius, Migda-Ashkelon, Kfar Yavne, Ramat-Hashorun, Kiryat-Gat, Lud-Ramle; in Australia—Melbourne and Sydney; in South Africa—Johannesburg; in Canada—Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg; in Mexico—Mexico City; in South America—Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and in the United States—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Miami, Paterson and other smaller communities. There are now 31 Bund organizations in 13 countries with a membership of about 20,000, including members of fraternal organizations controlled or influenced by the Bund.

The Bund now has three publishing houses: *Unser Tsait* in New York, *Shloyme Mendelson Farlag* in Mexico City and *Idbuch* in Buenos Aires. New York's *Unser Tsait* alone has published 31 books. The three Bund publishing houses together have issued a total of 50 volumes in Yiddish.

In addition, the Bund organizations publish a daily newspaper and many periodicals. They include:

Unser Tsait, a monthly, published in New York by the World Coordinating Committee of the Bund, a theoretical organ interpreting post-war general and Jewish problems in the light of Bund ideology, subscribed to by Bundists all over the world.

Unser Shtime, a Yiddish daily, published in Paris as the organ of the Bund in France, with a circulation in all European Jewish communities.

Foroys, a bi-weekly issued by the Bund in Mexico.

Unser Gedank, a bi-weekly published in Buenos Aires.

Unser Gedank, a monthly, published in Melbourne, Australia.

Lebensfragen, a monthly, published in Tel-Aviv by the Bund in Israel.

In addition to these Yiddish publications, the Bund also publishes bulletins in English and in French. The French bulletin is dedicated to the Jewish Bund Youth Movement.

Bund organizations in various countries continue their tradition of promoting the Yiddish language and its literature as part of their efforts to support modern Jewish culture. Bund organizations have established libraries with large collections of Yiddish books. The number of readers and borrowers is substantial and continues to grow. Some of the libraries built by the Bund, like the Franz Kursky Library in Tel-Aviv, serve not only Bund members but wider circles of the Jewish community as well.

Ten years after World War II, the Bund Movement in some countries has its own centers (buildings), educational establishments, youth camps, etc.—in France, Belgium, the United States, Australia, Argentina, Uruguay and the State of Israel.

The Bund Archives of the Jewish labor movement, with headquarters in the Atran Center for Jewish Culture in New York, is a unique department of the International Jewish Labor Bund. The archives contain the largest collection of manuscripts, leaflets, periodicals and other documents pertaining to the Jewish labor movement from its beginning in the nineteenth century. Jewish scholars visit the Archives and use them for their research and historical studies.

The International Jewish Labor Bund has been a member of the Socialist International since its reestab-

lishment. Delegations of the Bund have participated in the conferences, congresses and council meetings of the Socialist International.

The First World Conference in 1947 was followed by two subsequent world conferences, the last one in Montreal in April, 1955. The decisions and resolutions of all the Bund World Conferences reflect a recognition of altered post-war conditions of the world in general and Jewish life in particular.

During the past ten years, despite obstacles, Bundists all over the world have become more active in the political life of the lands they settled in. Bundists are voicing their opinion in local Jewish affairs, cooperating with ideologically related Jewish organizations while remaining true to the ideals of the Bund. A marked increase in Bund activities in the fields of Yiddish culture, schools and the defense of the Yiddish language has been noted. This has been attested to by the Bund's sixtieth-anniversary celebrations in various countries, carried out on a large scale and in a spirit of dedication not only to the Bundist past but also to the Bund's present and future.

TWO IDEOLOGIES

SIXTY YEARS AGO both the Socialist Bund and political Zionism came into existence. Both movements had been slowly maturing within Jewish communities, both reached the stage of organized factors in Jewish life in 1897.

The path leading from 1897 to 1957 is a long one. Both the political and social structure of the entire world have undergone radical changes during these sixty years. But even wider is the chasm between Jewish life in 1897 and Jewish life in 1957. Until the Hitler massacres, more than half of the world's Jewish population had been living in Europe, most of them in Eastern Europe in a state of poverty and political persecution. Today the majority of world Jewry live in Western countries, in conditions of greater well-being and democracy. There has been a radical change in the conditions of Jewish life and in the relationships between Jews and the peoples amongst whom they dwell.

How do we stand today on the sixtieth birthday of the Bund?

Zionism, like most nationalist movements, reflected the views and ideas of the middle class. It echoed in every way the awakening nationalism in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland, with the important difference that it was based on the assumption that Jews harbored an attachment to a homeland which, although they had never seen it, was known to them from the Bible. It was a unique, artificial kind of nationalism—a nationalism without a native soil, and with a

fatherland which existed only in history. Nevertheless it did attract various groups of the Jewish people.

Of the many fundamental distinctions between Zionism and the Bund, only one—probably the most important—will be dealt with within the confines of this review. It is the Zionists' and the Bund's approach to anti-Semitism. Zionism was from its inception primarily a product of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism was its parent, its driving force, its obsession. According to the fundamental theory of Zionism, anti-Semitism is a peculiar disease which has infected—or can infect—all or almost all non-Jews in any country. The mere presence of Jews among Christians is an irritant which generates anti-Semitism, for which there can be no remedy. Therefore the only way to solve this problem—the most important problem of the Jewish people throughout their history—is for Jews to leave the countries of their residence and establish their own state in their historic homeland of Palestine.

The Bund is based on an opposite concept, namely that anti-Semitism is *not* a mysterious and perennial evil. Anti-Semitism has its cause in the economic, political and psychological conditions of society and, like any other human evil, it can be cured by changing the conditions which brought it about. Accordingly, the Bund maintains that the Jewish problem is part of the general problem of mankind and can be solved only by the improvement of the lot of humanity as a whole, not by any special panaceas for Jews.

Instead of an *exodus*, the Bund, therefore, advocates greater cooperation with the non-Jewish world, especially with other underprivileged and suffering peoples. Instead of fear and suspicion of non-Jews inculcated by Zionism, the Bund offers faith in mankind and in the brotherhood of all men. Instead of nationalistic justice, which is often oblivious to the suffering

of those outside a particular group, the Bund teaches *international* justice, which combines justified Jewish claims with respect for the rights of other peoples.

* * *

In accordance with its philosophy, Zionism strove to establish in Palestine an independent Jewish state, and to gather the Jews from all over the world into such a state. The most prominent leaders of Zionism declared the existence of Jewish communities scattered all over the world among other peoples as abnormal and doomed to disintegration. Only the "*ingathering of exiles*" would give the Jews a new start in the world and create conditions for their national and cultural advancement. Yiddish, the language of the majority of Jews for many centuries, was held in contempt by the Zionists long before the establishment of the State of Israel. Zionists advocated ancient Hebrew in lieu of the living Yiddish language.

The leading principle of the Bund has always been that the struggle for Socialism and democracy in the countries where Jews live, rather than an independent Jewish State, is the way to the solution of the Jewish problem.

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

As a consequence of such a philosophy, the Bund believes in joining the Socialist movements of the countries where Jews live, in sharing the struggle for

democracy and liberty which freedom-loving people are engaged in everywhere.

Contrary to the Zionist tenet that Jews are everywhere strangers, the Bund believes that Jews, although they are of a different and distinct national origin, are—or should be—equal citizens of their countries, and that they should unite with all other citizens in the common struggle for the victory of labor, democracy and Socialism.

SUMMARY OF THE BUND'S IDEOLOGY

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

1. Jews are dispersed throughout the world, and are a distinct nationality, though without a common state. They will remain in this situation in the foreseeable future. They cannot be remade into a one-state nation.

2. The State of Israel does not represent the entire Jewish people. It does not solve the Jewish problem. Even now, the population of Israel is less than 15 per cent of world Jewry. Consequently, Israeli leaders are not in the position to assert Zionist claims of leadership over world Jewry, and their policies of Hebraization of Jewish life and of downgrading all Jewish communities outside Israel (including those in democratic countries, such as the U.S.A.) as places of *exile* are harmful and fallacious.

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

4. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish people live outside Israel; almost half of all Jews live in the United States. Jewish problems must be solved in the countries in which Jews live.

5. Assimilation is an escape for individuals, not a solution for a whole people with a distinctive national culture and identity. Pluralism is the life-blood of real democracy, and this principle applies to national and cultural life within countries as well.

6. Jewish national problems arising within the countries where Jews reside can be solved on the basis of freedom and democracy—more securely, by democratic Socialism—which will guarantee Jews the rights of freedom and equality, including the right to a free, autonomous self-determination to maintain their own Jewish identity and national culture. Within the Jewish community the Bund strives for a secularized Jewish culture in the Yiddish language.

7. Two criteria of Jewish policies—one for Israel, another for the *Diaspora*—should not be followed. Wherever Jews live—whether as a national minority throughout the world or as a majority in Israel—Jewish policy, certainly Jewish Socialist policy, should be based on the same principles of freedom, democracy, international justice and brotherhood.

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

MILESTONES IN THE BUND'S HISTORY

- 1884-1892—Jewish Socialist groups are organized in Minsk, Vilna, Warsaw and other cities of the Russian Empire; first fights of Jewish workers for a twelve-hour working day.
- 1892 — First clandestine May Day celebration of Jewish workers organized by the forerunners and pioneers of the Bund in Vilna.
- 1893-1896—A plan is born to establish a country-wide independent Jewish labor organization; first conferences of Jewish Socialists in Vilna, Minsk. First Jewish Socialist brochures. "Jargonic" committees organized to spread Yiddish literature; first pamphlets in Yiddish; first arrests of Jewish Socialists. Jewish workers of Russia represented for the first time at the International Socialist Congress in London (1896, by Vera Zassulitch, P. Axelrod, Rosalia Plechanow).
- 1897 — First National Convention of Jewish Socialists held in Vilna proclaims the establishment of the "General Jewish Labor Bund." The already appearing clandestine *Arbeiter Shtime* becomes the Bund's clandestine central organ.
- 1898 — The Bund helps to found the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and joins it as an autonomous organization. Arrests of the first Central Committee of the Bund

and of the R.S.D.L.P. and of many other Bund and Party workers. Second National Convention of the Jewish Labor Bund held in Kovno. "Committee of the Bund Abroad," Geneva, Switzerland, and the Bund Archives are established.

- 1899 — The Third Convention of the Bund held in Kovno; on the agenda the problem of Jewish national rights.
- 1900 — The Bund participates in the Congress of the Socialist International in Paris.
- 1901 — The Fourth Convention of the Bund held in Bialystok. It proclaims that Russia should become a federation of all nationalities, with autonomy granted for all of them, and that "the concept of nationality should be applied also to the Jewish people."
- 1902 — Hersh Lekert, a shoemaker, member of the Bund, shoots at the governor of Vilna for flogging Jewish May Day demonstrators. Hersh Lekert pays with his life for this deed. For the first time the Bund calls the Jews for self-defense and resistance against pogroms.
- 1903 — Fifth Convention of the Bund held in Zurich. Conflict with the R.S.D.L.P. over the inner structure of the Russian S.D. Party at its Congress in London; as a result, the Bund leaves the Party. The Bund organizes the first armed resistance groups against pogroms.
- 1905 — The Bund takes active part in the democratic Russian Revolution and distinguishes itself by its relentless struggle for the liber-

- ation of oppressed people in the Czarist empire. In Lodz, called the Manchester of Russia, the Bund leads the Jewish weavers in a revolutionary battle behind street barricades. The Sixth Convention of the Bund held in Zurich; final formulation of the program of national cultural autonomy for Jewish people. Founding of the Jewish Social Democratic Party, in Galicia, Austria (the Galician Bund).
- 1906 — First daily newspaper of the Bund in Yiddish (closed in 1907 by the Czarist regime). The Seventh Convention of the Bund held in Lemberg. The Bund re-enters R.S.D.L.P. as an autonomous organization.
- 1908 — The Bund participates in the general Jewish conference held in Chernowitz, which proclaims Yiddish as a national language of the Jewish people.
- 1912-1913—The Bund organizes a protest campaign which culminates in a call for a general strike of Jewish workingmen against the notorious ritual blood-trial instigated by the Czarist regime (Beilis trial, Kiev).
- 1917 — The Bund takes an active part in the Russian March Revolution. Henryk Erlich elected member of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Councils (Soviets) in Russia, is one of the three delegates to the West to discuss peace without indemnity and territorial aggrandizement. Mark Liber, a leader of the Bund, becomes one of the most prominent spokesmen of the democratic Revolution (later arrested and

- murdered by the Bolsheviks). The Bund—together with other Socialists—leaves the Second Congress of the Soviets in protest of the seizure of power by Bolsheviks. The Eighth Convention of the Bund held in Petrograd. The Bund established in Poland (at a conference in Lublin, December, 1917).
- 1919 — Differences of attitude toward the October Revolution. Bolshevik government adopts terrorist measures against Bundists faithful to the ideals of democratic Socialism. Independent Poland becomes the new center of Bundist activities.
- 1920 — First Unity Convention of the Polish Bund held in Krakow; amalgamation with Galician Bund. Polish-Soviet war. Henryk Erlich publicly demands peace negotiations in Warsaw City Council. Persecution of the Bund movement in Poland and arrests of Bundists.
- 1921 — Second National Convention of the Polish Bund held in Danzig. Differences among delegates in attitude toward Communist International and its 21 "joining conditions." The overwhelming majority rejects the fundamental demand of the Comintern to split the Bund. Victor Alter arrested in Moscow during the Third Congress of the Communist International, is freed after a ten-day hunger strike.
- 1921-1929—The Bund movement in Poland grows. The Bund's Youth Movement *Zukunft* gains great strength. A net of Yiddish secu-

- lar schools under the auspices of *Tsisho* (Central Jewish School Organization), mostly influenced by the Bund, established; National Council of Jewish Trade Unions, controlled by the Bund, founded. Right to work—a campaign against discrimination of Jewish workers and the right to employment—proclaimed in 1924.
- 1930 — National Convention of the Bund, held in Lodz, decides to join the Socialist International.
- 1930-1938—Growth of reactionary forces and anti-Semitism in Poland; the Bund proclaims a general Jewish strike on March 17, 1936, against an anti-Jewish pogrom in Przytyk. The Bund is victorious in the elections of the City Council and the aldermen of Jewish communities (*Kehillas*); in 1938 the Bund wins 16 out of 20 Jewish seats in Warsaw City Council; similar results in other important cities; the Bund becomes the strongest Jewish party in Poland.
- 1939 — Nazi Germany's occupation of Poland. The Bund organizes the first Jewish underground movement. Shmul Zygielbojm urges Jews not to go voluntarily to the ghettos; the German rulers of Warsaw take him as one of the hostages of the city's population. In Soviet-occupied eastern Poland, H. Erlich and V. Alter are captured by the Communists. Soviet police in the Polish areas arrest and liquidate many Bundist leaders and Party workers.
- 1941 — A representation of the underground Bund in Poland is established in New

York. First issue of *Unser Tsait*, the central organ of the Bund, appears in New York. Erlich and Alter released from Soviet prison after German invasion of Russia, but, after several weeks, in December, 1941, re-arrested and executed.

- 1942-1944—The Bund underground and resistance movements spread. Appearance of illegal Yiddish and Polish publications of the Bund. Nazi Germany annihilates the Jews in Poland. The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto; leading role of the Bund. In London, Shmul Zygielbojm becomes representative of the Bund in the Polish Parliament in Exile; commits suicide on May 11, 1948, to call attention of the free world to the mass murder of Jews in Poland. Dr. Emanuel Scherer replaces Shmul Zygielbojm in the Polish Parliament in Exile.
- 1945-1947—After the end of World War II, the Bund in Poland again established. Carries on widespread political and cultural activities. In 1948 the Bund in Poland liquidated under the Communist terror.
- 1947 — First World Conference of Bundist Organizations in various countries held in Brussels, Belgium; establishment of the World Coordinating Committee of the Bund.
- 1948 — Second World Conference of Bund Organizations held in New York.
- 1949-1950—Bund organizations grow in the Jewish communities of the Western world.
- 1951 — Convention of Bund in Israel. Appearance of the *Lebnsfragen*, monthly of the Bund

- in the State of Israel, in the Yiddish language.
- 1955 — Third World Conference of Bund Organizations held in Montreal, Canada.
- 1957 — Celebrations of the 60th Anniversary of the Bund in Jewish communities throughout the world. Second National Convention of Bund in U.S.A. and Canada.
-

GREETINGS ON THE BUND'S 60th ANNIVERSARY FROM ORGANIZATIONS

(Due to the scarcity of space and technical requirements, we were compelled to abridge some greetings. No one could possibly regret this necessity more than we do. We hope that our well-wishers and friends will forgive us.)

The Socialist International

Australia—*Australian Labor Party*

Austria—*Socialist Party of Austria*

Belgium—*Belgian Socialist Party*

Canada—*Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF)*

Denmark—*Social Democratic Party of Denmark*

Esthonia—*Esthonian Socialist Party in Exile*

France—*Socialist Party of France*

Germany—*Social Democratic Party of Germany*

Great Britain—*The Labour Party*

Great Britain—*Workers' Circle*

Holland—*Dutch Labor Party*

Hungary—*Social Democratic Party of Hungary in Exile*

Italy—*Social Democratic Party of Italy*

Jamaica—*The People's National Party of Jamaica*

Japan—*Social Democratic Party of Japan*

Norway—*The Norwegian Labor Party*

Poland—*Polish Socialist Party*

Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe

Sweden—*Social Democratic Party*

U.S.A.—*Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Organization*

U.S.A.—*International League for the Rights of Man*
U.S.A.—*Jewish Labor Committee*
U.S.A.—*Jewish Socialist Verband*
U.S.A.—*Socialist Party of U.S.A.*
U.S.A.—*United Hebrew Trades*
U.S.A.—*Workmen's Circle*
U.S.A.—*Yiddish P.E.N. Club*

The Socialist International sends to its member party, the International Jewish Labor Bund, its warm congratulations and best wishes on the Bund's 60th Anniversary.

It recalls the devotion to the cause of Socialism which the members of the Bund have displayed throughout its long history and their tremendous contribution in the pioneering struggles of the labor movement. It recalls the sacrifices at the hands of Nazis and Communists alike, in particular in Poland. The lives of Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter are not lost but their example is a beacon for future generations. Their names are immortal in the history of Socialism.

The Socialist International sends the Bund best wishes for the success of its celebrations.

ALSING ANDERSEN, *Chairman*

ALBERT CARTHY, *Secretary*
Socialist International

It gives me great pride and pleasure to send greetings, as Chairman of the Socialist International and Secretary of the British Labour Party, to the International Jewish Labor Bund on its 60th Anniversary, and to take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation of the Bund's services to the cause of world Socialism.

Born of resistance to Czarist tyranny, the Bund has fought no less valiantly against successive oppressors—Communist and Fascist. Too great tribute can never be paid to the heroism of the Jewish people, among them members of the Bund, in the face of relentless persecution. Undaunted by the savage treatment meted out to so many of their number, they have braved exile and death in order that our common ideal of democratic Socialism might prevail and that the spiritual, cultural and material advancement of the Jewish people might come to full flower along with the security, liberty and well-being of all peoples.

Social democracy is a mighty force in the world today, but we must strive to make it mightier. Communist and Fascist oppression and anti-Semitism are still rife in many countries; many of our comrades suffer imprisonment or death for the sake of their political ideals and faith. We must use all our efforts to win victory for Socialism, which alone can insure liberty and justice throughout the world.

In all its endeavors the international Socialist movement can take heart from the achievements of the Bund, which has enriched our movement by its example. We have many obstacles and difficulties to overcome, but I know that if we face them in a spirit of true comradeship and with the unfaltering faith displayed by our comrades in the Bund, we shall win through to realize the brightest hopes of mankind.

MORGAN PHILLIPS

Secretary, British Labour Party

Former Chairman, Socialist International

Congratulations to the Bund on attaining 60 years of activity in advocacy of a principle based upon Socialist theory and ideology.

Sincere gratitude, appreciation and understanding should be added to congratulations by all capable of appreciating the magnificent opposition presented to all forms of deceitfulness and tyranny so deliberately conceived by the few in order to retain power to perpetuate exploitation of the many.

May the irrefutable logic of the Bund's guiding principle of democratic Socialism and the sincerity which has enabled so many to withstand oppression and hardship in its attainment, enable anniversaries in the near future to be held in an atmosphere wherein the attainment of the ideals which the Bund has always so courageously upheld may be realized.

R. BALCOMBE, *Asst. Sec'y*
Australian Labor Party

On behalf of the Socialist Party of Austria, I send you the following greetings. For more than a generation the Jewish Labor Bund struggled for freedom and dignity of man within a world of hatred and ignorance. In Eastern Europe the Bund challenged the evil forces of the Czar and the Communist movement. Later the Bund braved Polish and German fascism. In spite of endless persecutions, the Jewish Labor Bund never abandoned the fight for democracy.

The workers and toilers of Austria, who during World War II fought for the independence of their country, beheld with admiration and compassion the heroic uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto, under the leadership of the Jewish Labor Bund. We, Austrian Socialists who live on the border of the free demo-

cratic world, are proud to fight together with the International Jewish Labor Bund for the ideals of humanitarian Socialism. Together with you we believe in the victory of reason, in the victory of democratic Socialism.

OTTO PROBST, *General Sec'y*
Socialist Party of Austria

On behalf of the Socialist Party of Belgium I congratulate the Jewish Labor Bund.

Since 1905, the Bund has been in the vanguard of the Socialist struggle in the countries where it organized groups and where its members participated in the activities of the local Socialist parties in the moments of danger. The Bund itself has known years of bloody persecutions in numerous countries before and after 1905.

Hitler had his predecessors in Russia as well as in France and especially in North Africa—in Germany as well as in Austria. The persecutions increased in Central Europe and from there spread to Belgium where during the years of World War II thousands of Jews were assassinated.

The Bund was among those who originated the resistance movement. Suffice it to recall the executions in Poland where the leaders of your party paid with their lives for their devotion to the democratic conception of Socialism.

The Bund well deserves the expression of solidarity which is characteristic of our movement.

C. HUYSMANS
Belgian Socialist Party

Please accept my own sincere good wishes and those of the Social Democratic Party (CCF) of Quebec to members of the International Jewish Labor Bund on its 60th Anniversary.

Last year, Montreal, my home city, played host to your International Convention and I was honored to meet a number of your leaders.

The history of the Bund has been an illustrious one. It has fought for freedom and democracy against totalitarianism from both the Left and the Right. The price paid by its members has been heavy. Despite the hard road it has trodden, however, it continues to fight.

The Social Democratic Party (CCF) of Quebec salutes the Bund and wishes it many more years of progress towards the social and ideological goals our two organizations have in common.

THERESE CASGRAIN
Provincial Leader (CCF), Quebec

In the history of the Socialist movement the Bund has a prominent place.

This year, when the Bund is celebrating the 60th Anniversary of its existence, the Danish Democratic Socialists also wish to extend thanks for the work which has been done and for the great example which has been set.

OLAF CARLSSON
*Sec'y, Social Democratic Party of
Denmark*

In connection with the 60th Anniversary of the International Jewish Labor Bund, we send our most

heartfelt congratulations and wish you the best success in the fight for Socialism. The Esthonian Socialist movement remembers your help and service during the establishment of the Esthonian labor movement in 1905, and your brave members with their Socialist messages to our students in the University of Dorpat. We hope that our joint fight for democratic Socialism will be successful. Long Live Democratic Socialism.

JOHANNES MIHKELSON
*Chairman, Esthonian Socialist Party
in Exile*

On behalf of the Secretariat and of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.), I have the great pleasure of sending our fraternal greetings to the Jewish Labor Bund on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of its founding.

Born of spontaneous popular resistance against the Czarist oppression, the Bund was always present during the most glorious and most dramatic hours of the struggle waged by the Socialists against the evil forces of totalitarianism, of racism and of imperialism of all shades. This heroic struggle was tragically marked by the sacrifices of thousands of your comrades. Among the most illustrious, the names of Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter remain in the memories and in the hearts of French Socialists.

We can never forget the part played by the Jewish underground movement in our common struggle against the Nazi invaders.

Thus, thinking of your martyrs and linking their memories with those of all Socialists who perished in defense of liberty and peace, we wish on this Anniversary to express our complete solidarity with your

organization. We send you our most sincere wishes for the prosperity of the Bund, and for the universal victory of Socialism.

PIERRE HERBAUT

Acting Sec'y-General, Socialist Party of France (S.F.I.O.)

We are deeply moved to learn that the Jewish Labor Bund is now celebrating its 60th Anniversary. The history of the Bund is rich in battles, frustrations and victories. The destiny of the Bund cannot be compared to any other organization: persecuted by Czarist tyranny, terrorized by the Soviet regime and almost annihilated physically by the Nazis. The untold crimes committed by the Nazis in the name of the German people upon our comrades of the Bund, fills us Social Democrats with sorrow and shame. We, Social Democrats, convey our heartfelt wishes to you on your Anniversary. We know that there can be no real restitution for crimes committed against the Jews in Europe. Compensation given for some material damage can eradicate only an insignificant part of the injuries suffered by the Jewish people under the Hitler regime.

We shall never forget the great example of moral strength and Socialist conviction which the Bund rendered in 1947, when its representatives abstained from voting against admitting the German Socialists in COMISCO. If there were an organization justified to vote against such an inclusion, it was the Bund. The motivation for this attitude which Comrade Hersch gave in his address in Frankfurt-am-Main, July, 1951, at the Congress of the reestablished Socialist Inter-

national, bears witness how deeply Socialist internationalism is rooted in the hearts of Bund comrades. The Bund is for us one of the most inspiring examples of an attitude which contains no contradictions between ideal and practice, an attitude which every Socialist organization should strive to emulate.

We hope, and whole-heartedly wish, that the Bund will continue its magnificent contribution to the cause of international Socialism, and in this spirit we greet you.

ERICH OLLENHAUER

Chairman

WILHELM MELLIES

Vice Chairman

WILLI EICHLER

*Member of the Executive
German Social Democratic Party*

The Central Committee of the Workers' Circle sends hearty greetings to the Bund on the occasion of its 60th Anniversary celebration.

We appreciate the great work your organization has accomplished in its 60 years of activity for Socialism.

We also recognize the splendid work of our Bundist comrades for the Workers' Circle in England. We owe a great debt for their devotion to the causes we all have at heart.

We wish you many more years of activity for Socialism.

S. LEVER

General Sec'y, Workers' Circle, Gt. Britain

On your 60th Anniversary we are thankful for your contribution to the development of democratic Socialism. Congratulations and best wishes for continued success.

ALFRED MOZER
Dutch Labor Party

When I attended the international conferences of the Socialist labor movement, I had the opportunity to meet the delegates of the Jewish Labor Bund.

By friendly talks and by personal meetings I became well acquainted with their aims and with the fate of those whom they represented. I knew that the burden of the Jewish workers was an extremely heavy one even before the Nazi madness, partly because they were Jews, partly because they were workers. What happened during the dark, barbaric years of Hitlerism is history now; but we can never forget the sufferings of the Jews throughout Europe. Many of our Jewish brothers who participated in the struggle for the rights of the workers, and for the betterment of their lot, were tortured and murdered. Their lives, their fight, will remain always as a shining symbol.

On the 60th Anniversary of the Jewish Labor Bund I greet the organization with all the feelings of my heart and wish you much success in the work you will undertake during the years to come.

ANNA KETHLY
Nat'l Representation of Free Hungary

On the occasion of your 60th Anniversary, we are sending fraternal greetings and wish you success in

your struggle for the victory of justice and freedom. The International Jewish Labor Bund, which was created in Czarist Russia, fought from the very start for democracy and Socialism. The Jewish labor movement has shown many examples of Socialist morality and thought throughout the sixty years of its history.

GIUSEPPE SARAGAT
Social Democratic Party of Italy

The People's National Party of Jamaica greets the Jewish Socialist Labor Bund on the celebration of its 60th Anniversary.

The history of the Bund shows that its struggles have been many, and that its courage and determination to survive have been persistent and courageous.

The People's National Party is aware of the importance of the great work which lies ahead of the Bund and agrees with the leading principle of the Bund which has always been that "the struggle for Socialism and democracy in countries where Jews live, rather than an independent Jewish state, is the world-wide solution to the Jewish problem."

The Party hopes that the belief of the International Jewish Labor Bund, "that only the victory of democratic Socialism will erase anti-Semitism and create proper conditions for the security, national and cultural advancement of the Jews in the countries where they live and will continue to live," will one day become a fact.

The comrades of the People's National Party greet the comrades of the International Jewish Labor Bund in the spirit of Socialist solidarity.

The People's National Party of Jamaica

On behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, I extend my hearty congratulations to comrades who are celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the International Jewish Labor Bund.

We, together with the Socialist and the Asiatic Internationals, have been strenuously striving for Socialism as well as for world peace. However, there are some problems we should settle in order to make further steps toward our ultimate goals. I firmly believe that the Bund, with such a splendid history of sixty years, will continue to be one of the leading spirits of the Socialist movement.

MOSABURO SUZUKI

Chairman, Social Democratic Party of Japan

Greetings and good wishes to the International Jewish Labor Bund on the occasion of its 60th Anniversary. We pay homage to the unyielding spirit of struggle against dictatorship and suppression which has imbued your organization through six decades and which prevailed through the awful years of persecution by tyrants of various brands. We hope with you for the international victory of democratic Socialism which will insure the conditions for a good life for both Jews and non-Jews throughout the world, and we congratulate the Bund for sixty years of dedicated work toward that end.

HAAKON LIE

Sec'y-General, Norwegian Labor Party

The Social Democratic Party of Sweden sends its best greetings on the 60th Anniversary of the Jewish Labor Bund.

Social Democratic Party of Sweden

To have ignored the existence of the Jewish problem in Poland was a sheer impossibility: there were about 3,350,000 Jews in pre-war Poland. To have excluded them from Polish life would have been a futile attempt, foolish and criminal. On the other hand, amalgamation with the Polish ethnic majority, though feasible for individuals, was not practicable as a general solution. Emigration, whether to Israel or to any other country, could have achieved considerable impetus, but could never have solved the Jewish problem in its entirety. Limiting Jewish interests to their religion would have been equivalent to keeping them within a spiritual ghetto. There existed, however, an adequate solution: it was for the Jews to remain Jews, proud of their identity, to uphold and develop the Jewish language and Jewish secular culture generally, while at the same time taking full part in the life of the country and accepting it as their fatherland. The Jewish Socialists of the Bund advocated the latter solution; what is more, they made it a reality. Polish Socialists of the P.P.S. also accepted this solution. No one else could have done it: only among the Socialists on both sides were there bonds of a common ideal. Their program proclaimed: "Workers of all countries unite," and to unite within one's own country was even more imperative.

The history of the Jewish Labor Bund became part and parcel of the history of the Polish Socialist move-

ment. Events have been cruel to both movements, to the Polish Socialist Party and to the Jewish Labor Bund. After having fought to the bitter end against the whole might of the German Third Reich and having borne immense sacrifices, instead of enjoying the fruits of victory both the Polish and the Jewish Socialist movements have been destroyed by the Communist dictatorship. But can a dictatorship annihilate a creed which has been formed over decades? Polish workers have remained faithful to the spiritual legacy of Limanowski, Daszynski, Niedzialkowski and Puzak. Sooner or later, the Communist dictatorship will come to an end, and a free Polish Socialist Party will again exist on Polish soil. The Jewish workers' masses have been exterminated by the German Nazi invaders, but the past of the Jewish Bund will live on, incorporated into the history of the Polish Socialist movement. Bundist fighters, from Hersh Leckert to Michael Klepfish, will be revered forever by the workers of Poland. So will be the great leaders of the Bund, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter. And so will be the man who sacrificed himself in an attempt to call the attention of the free world to the extermination of Polish Jewry, Shmul Zygielbojm.

On behalf of the Polish Socialist Party this is my message to you of the Jewish Bund: From the very bottom of our hearts we thank you. You have been good comrades, loyal to our common Polish fatherland and loyal to our common creed of Socialism. Glory to those who fell in the battle, they shall never be forgotten. To those who survived and carry on under the old banner: best wishes and fraternal greetings. We salute you, wherever you may be. Long Live the Bund!

ADAM CIOLKOSZ, *Member of
Central Committee of the
Polish Socialist Party*

On behalf of the Socialist Union of Central-Eastern Europe I should like to convey to you sincere congratulations and warmest greetings on the occasion of your 60th Anniversary, and to recall the close links which existed for years between many of our member parties and your organization in the common struggle for Socialism and friendship between nations. We have also noted with gratitude the moral support and solidarity which you have demonstrated on many occasions with the aspirations of the oppressed peoples in Central and Eastern Europe and their unceasing struggle for freedom.

VILEM BERNARD

*Sec'y, Socialist Union of Central-Eastern
Europe*

Our best wishes to the Jewish Labor Bund—the movement dedicated to a more just order and a Jewish cultural life based on the Yiddish language.

M. SCHECHTER

*Freeland League for Jewish Territorial
Organization, U.S.A.*

It is a satisfaction to salute the Bund on the occasion of its 60th birthday, when it celebrates principles which our international agency shares so wholly. You have had the hard road of sacrifice in an historic struggle against the tyrants of Right and Left. We have had the shorter and easier road of those who aid in that struggle without personal danger and sacrifice. But our involvement in it is none the less. It takes us all, from all sides, to advance the goals of

democratic freedom. Only the persistence and courage of those who feel democracy deeply can be the instruments for its ultimate triumph.

Addressing you as representatives of the Jewish community, we may observe what you know better than we, that only as everybody's rights and liberties are secure can Jews be sure of theirs. Liberties are indivisible.

The ceaseless task of preserving them is our common obligation, in which we count as allies an organization with your ancient and honorable record of no compromise with tyranny.

ROGER BALDWIN

The International League for the Rights of Man, U.S.A.

We regard the sixty years of the Bund as an important period in Jewish history. The ideals of the Bund, the comrades of the Bund, the tens of thousands of Bundists who came to the shores of the United States with the waves of immigration during the span of half a century, brought their contribution to the Jewish labor movement in America, to the life of the Jewish masses here.

We are proud of our fraternal ties with the general American labor movement. We are part of it. We are carrying out an important assignment in the fight against discrimination and the forces of dictatorship, for brotherhood, and for democracy in the American labor movement with its millions of members.

Devoted in our faith in Jewish creative survival, in Jewish secular culture, we are active in the Jewish

community of America, in the federated, joint activities of Jewish national organizations here in our country.

JACOB PAT, *Executive Sec'y*
Jewish Labor Committee, U.S.A.

On the 60th Anniversary of the Bund, which is the anniversary of the whole Jewish Socialist movement, we are again faced with the same human and national problems, which, at the beginning of the 20th century, haunted Jewish communities—i.e. to be the bearers, the warriors and the fighters for the ideals of international Socialism among the Jews; to imbue and fortify the Jewish masses with the spirit of international Socialism, to deliver them from despondency which creates false illusions and licentiousness, to ally the Jewish masses with the most advanced elements in humanity, who fight against all forms of national and racial discrimination and social injustice.

I. LEVIN-SHATZKES, *Gen'l Sec'y*
Jewish Socialist Farband, U.S.A.

It is, I think, a marvelous proof of the Bund's strength, its endurance, and its devotion to Socialism, that through sixty turbulent and tragic years it has perpetuated its message, and that at the end of that time it is still eager to bring to the world a knowledge of democratic Socialism and a faith in the Socialist

philosophy as essential to liberty, equality, and fraternity in the conquest of poverty.

Greetings to the International Jewish Labor Bund.

NORMAN THOMAS
Socialist Party of U.S.A.

In all the difficult moments in which Jews have found themselves through the centuries, they have sought to gain their freedom as Jews. It was a struggle against a non-Jewish oppressor. In an oversimplified way, it looked like a world in which Jews were opposed by the non-Jews.

The Socialist thinkers of the nineteenth century had a different view of history. They saw it as a struggle between the oppressed and their oppressors, the people against the tyrants, the exploited against the exploiters. When this view was applied to Jewish life, it suggested to thoughtful Jews that they belonged in the ranks of those people, regardless of nation, race or religion, who sought to erase exploitation and tyranny from our society and supplant it with cooperation, democracy and brotherhood.

It was this inspiring goal of human society which was brought into Jewish life by the Bund in 1897.

The Bund has been a great teacher and its teachings continue as an inspiring tradition. We of the American labor movement and of the United Hebrew Trades know how indebted we are to the thousands of Jews who brought their Bundism to this country and poured its vision, its idealism, and its strength into Jewish and American life.

On this 60th Anniversary of the Bund we express our gratitude for all it has given to the labor movement.

WILLIAM WOLPERT
*Executive Sec'y, United Hebrew
Trades, U.S.A.*

The history of the Bund is the history of the new Jewish life which began in the dark days of Czarist Russia. The Bund aroused the Jewish masses, deprived of their rights and disheartened, to fight for a free, happy and just world.

The Bund wrote a glorious page in the history of our people. Its heroism was admired not only by its followers but by its opponents as well. The immigration to America at the beginning of the 20th century brought to this country tens of thousands of Bundists who were inspired by the great humanitarian idealism of the Bund. Here they helped build and strengthen the Workmen's Circle, the trade union movement, the *Forward* and everything that is spiritually tied to our movement.

With great joy we celebrate this holiday, the 60th Anniversary of the Bund's birth. Greetings to all!

J. T. ZUKERMAN, *President*
N. CHANIN, *General Secretary*
*Nat'l Executive Committee, Workmen's
Circle, U.S.A.*

The Yiddish P.E.N. Club (World Center in New York) greets the Bund, which has always given support to Yiddish literature.

SHLOIME BICKEL, *President*
ELIEZER GREENBERG, *Vice-President*
L. FEINBERG, *Secretary*
Yiddish P.E.N. Club

GREETINGS ON THE BUND'S 60th ANNIVERSARY FROM INDIVIDUALS

Ancevich, Dr. F.—*CCF, Ontario, Canada*
Andersen, Alsing—*Chairman, Socialist International*
Attlee, Lord Clement—*London*
Balabonoff, Angelica—*Italian Social Democratic Party*
Brockway, Fenner, M.P.—*Great Britain*
Bryden, Ken—*Prov. Sec'y, CCF, Toronto, Canada*
Calwell, Arthur A., M.P.—*Australian Labor Party*
Dubinsky, David—*President, International Ladies Gar-
ment Workers Union, U.S.A.*
Eichler, Willi—*Member, Executive Committee of
the German Socialist Party*
Gaitskell, Hugh, M.P.—*Great Britain*
Gotthelf, Herta—*Women's Division of the German
Social Democratic Party*
Griffiths, James, M.P.—*Great Britain*
Hardman, J. B. S.—*Columbia University, New York*
Hollander, Louis—*Vice-President, Amalgamated Cloth-
ing Workers of America (ACWA)*
McDonald, Donald C., M.P.P.—*Ontario, Canada*
Pankin, Judge Jacob—*New York City*
Pollack, Oscar—*Editor-in-Chief, Arbeiter Zeitung,
Vienna*
Summerskill, Dr. E., M.P.—*Great Britain*
Tripovich, J. M.—*State Secretary, Australian Labor
Party*
Wittlin, Jozef—*Polish writer, New York*

Born in the struggle against the rulers of the Czarist period, it is a great tragedy that the Bund was made homeless and its adherents suppressed by those who won the victory in the Russian Revolution. However, the seeds which have been sown through devoted and persevering work for democratic Socialism have given the activities of the Bund a lasting importance and have inspired the Socialist movement as a whole.

On the occasion of the Bund's 60th Anniversary, I am sending my cordial congratulations.

ALSING ANDERSEN
Chairman, Socialist International

I am deeply convinced that the flame of genuine Socialism represented by the Bund will continue to light the way to those who, in spite of the most terrible losses and sacrifices in the past sixty years, did not lose their faith in a better future for mankind.

DR. F. ANCEVICH
*Chairman, Ethnic Council of C.C.F.,
Ontario, Canada*

I should like to add mine to the many congratulations which you will receive on completing 60 years' work for democratic Socialism. Long May You Flourish.

LORD CLEMENT ATTLEE
London, England

As the workers' movement in the majority of countries lost its clandestine character and became a recognized and legal mass organization, its anniversaries became traditional jubilee gatherings that, naturally, lost the revolutionary class distinction which made them so different from all other holidays. In this respect the Jewish Labor Bund is an exception. Its very existence, the very fact that the Bund still remains, that the Bund, since its establishment, has resisted successfully for many decades all the forces that have tried for a variety of reasons, and by a variety of means, to destroy the Bund, bears witness that the Bund's approach to Socialism, its stamina and revolutionary spirit, were authentic.

I am full of admiration for the fortitude and devotion of those comrades of the Bund who took upon themselves the responsibility of leading the Bund under the perverse circumstances of World War II. Those who were denied the possibility of sharing the Socialist faith with these comrades could not feel the excitement of being a link in the chain of people who are united ideologically and politically to fight for one cause. All the setbacks during the last decades, which diminished the hopes of the Socialists in various countries, were particularly difficult for the members of the Bund, who tried to remain faithful to their ideals in spite of the dangers and persecutions and the nationalistic trend prevalent after World War II. That is why the 60th Anniversary of the Bund is a revolutionary event, and a direct or indirect participation in your anniversary should be a duty for Socialists everywhere, and a source of their belief in indestructible Socialism.

While I am writing these few lines, I see before me the images of my dear friends Erlich and Alter,

my co-workers in the Socialist International, who fell as martyrs for our ideals.

ANGELICA BALABANOFF
Rome, Italy

I am very glad to send the International Jewish Labor Bund a message of greeting on its 60th Anniversary. I have had the closest association with the Bund for 30 years. The memory is still vivid of a visit to Warsaw under its auspices in 1932, and for many years I acted closely with the Bund on the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International. This political alliance was made deeper by my affection and admiration for Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter. As I write, I think of the many times I have enjoyed their comradeship, both in Europe and in Britain. Their assassination in Russia was one of the most callous crimes of Stalin. It was an act of treachery which one cannot forget. I rejoice that the spirit of your movement, which has contributed so much to freedom and to Socialism in the last 60 years, still lives and inspires.

FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P.
British Labour Party

The Provincial Council of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Ontario Section) extends to the Jewish Socialist Bund our heartiest congratulations on the occasion of your 60th Anniversary. We admire the great contribution you have made in the past to the cause of human brotherhood and we are

confident that you will meet with success in your work in the future.

KEN BRYDEN
*Provincial Secretary of C.C.F.
Toronto, Canada*

The Jewish Labor Bund has won the acclaim of the workers of the world for its heroic endeavor and steadfast adherence to principle over the past 60 years against the forces of tyranny and reaction.

The struggle of the Bund against Czarism, which it was founded to resist, and, later, against Communism and Nazism, are among the finest chapters in working-class and democratic history.

The many bloody tragedies and the long-sustained sufferings of many members of the Bund in Russia and Poland under Hitler and Stalin are a warning to workers everywhere to be on their guard against all forms of totalitarianism always.

As an Australian wartime Minister of State, I helped the late Jacob Waks and his friends to publish the dreadful story of the assassination by the Soviets of Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter.

Some hundreds of Bundists who found themselves stranded and endangered in China at the end of World War II found a new home in Australia through the work of Messrs. Waks and Burstin and other fellow Bundists. As Minister for Immigration at that time, I gave the necessary landing permits. All the people concerned became and remained good Australian citizens.

If, at any time in the future, I can again help the

Bund in its work for the Jewish masses, I shall indeed be happy.

ARTHUR A. CALWELL, M.P.
Australian Labor Party

I cherish the memories of my association with the Bund in my early years in Poland. They are a continuing reminder of the common human struggle spearheaded by the Bund to liberate mankind and create a new way of life.

Wars and catastrophes, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary upheavals, Nazism and Communism could not diminish the historic role played by the Bund.

I salute the Bund on its 60th Anniversary.

DAVID DUBINSKY
President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, U.S.A.

I am greatly honored to participate in the celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Bund.

I greet you in heartiest Socialist unity and ask you to accept my heartfelt best wishes.

WILLI EICHLER
*Member of the Executive Committee,
Social Democratic Party of Germany*

We take great pleasure in sending our congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the International Jewish Labor Bund.

We in the British Labour Movement greatly admire the tenacity and the strength of purpose which have kept your movement alive and ensured its steady growth during so many years and in spite of so much tribulation. Through successive waves of persecution, first from the Czarist reactionaries in Russia, later from fascists and Communists in Poland and elsewhere, you have constantly upheld the need for racial tolerance which is among the basic principles of social democracy.

Your struggle has been a noble example to us all, and we know that you will continue to make your own special contribution to the work of the international Socialist movement in the years to come.

HUGH GAITSKELL, M.P.
JAMES GRIFFITHS, M.P.
*Parliamentary Labour Party,
Great Britain*

It is a particular joy and honor for me to send you on this, the 60th Anniversary of your founding, my friendliest greetings and good wishes. The Bund gave the Socialist International so many outstanding workers and fighters and has earned for itself such a glorious record in the struggle against exploitation, oppression and injustice of every kind that it would be superfluous for me to repeat it here.

But I do wish to emphasize the deep impression that has always been made upon me by the truly Socialist way of life of our comrades of the Bund whenever I had the pleasure of meeting them. I shall never forget your Comrade Zygielbojm, who made an especially deep impression upon us Socialists in exile from many countries who were then in London. The photograph

of his young daughter, who was murdered by the Nazis, still hangs in my Women's Bureau office of the German Social-Democratic Party—a reminder to us German Socialists to do everything to prevent the recurrence of such shameful barbarism as that which came out of our country.

I greet you in heartfelt, fraternal unity of spirit.

HERTA GOTTHELF, *Women's Div.*
Social Democratic Party of Germany

I joined the Socialist movement in 1902, in Czarist Russia. The organization of the Bund attracted me by the realistic, pragmatic quality of its leadership and outlook, more so than the then-functioning All-Russian Social Democratic Labor Party.

Like all revolutionary parties, the Bund demanded of its adherents strict compliance with decisions and discipline in action, but it did not paralyze the will and the initiative of its members. Its overall leadership was practical without being cynical. It was committed to an abiding program, yet free from dogmatism and bookish orthodoxy. The Bund organization was closely cohered by the faith in revolutionary Socialist objectives which it endeavored to achieve, but it eschewed illusion and daydreaming. Intellectual honesty within and outside was the rule of behavior.

I shall forever consider myself deeply in debt to the Bund for the intellectual guidance I found in its ranks at the formative, critical stage of my youth.

J. B. S. HARDMAN
Columbia University, New York

Though I personally was never a member of the Bund—I had left my little town in Galicia as a child, and learned of the existence of the Galician Bund when I was already in America and was old enough to enter a tailoring shop to learn the trade—I do know that many prominent leaders of the Jewish trade union movement in America were reared and educated by the General Jewish Labor Bund of Lithuania, Poland and Russia.

Before the outbreak of World War II, when the Bund in Poland led the fight of the Jewish laboring masses for their economic, political and social liberation, I would often marvel at the spiritual strength of the Bund movement. My respect for the Bund was even increased when I became acquainted with Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, who fell victims to Stalin's bloody Communist rule. I knew that the struggle which the Polish Bund carried on against the Polish fascist government, against anti-Semitism and race-hatred, had to be paid for in martyrdom, but fighters for freedom should be ready to pay a dear price, and this readiness the Bund always had.

As one of the great Jewish labor family, I am proud of the fact that one of the best sons of the Jewish people, the Bundist Shmul Zygielbojm, he who voluntarily gave his life as a protest against Hitler's murder of the Jewish people, was a member of our union during the few years he lived in New York.

Now after World War II, after the massacre by Hitler Germany of the Jewish population of Poland and Eastern Europe, I admire the courage and consistency of the Bund in continuing to struggle for its democratic Socialist and internationalist convictions.

I join my voice to that of all those who understand the significance of 60 years of the Bund, the role of the

Bund in Jewish Socialism and in modern Jewish life generally.

LOUIS HOLLANDER, *Vice-President
and Gen'l Mgr., N.Y. Joint Board,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of
America
President, N.Y. State C.I.O.*

Warmest greetings on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Jewish Labor Bund. Your pioneering work helped to rescue the working people from the conditions of years ago. Together we shall go forward to realize fully the Socialist dream of a just society.

DONALD C. MACDONALD, M.P.P.
Ontario CCF Leader

Sixty years ago, most American Social Democrats were immigrants or of immigrant stock. We came largely from Russia and Russian Poland.

It was natural for Social Democrats to glorify the revolutionary movement in Russia. We knew of the achievements of the Social Democrats in Germany. We revered Marx and Engels and what they pronounced was gospel.

We lived by what we learned from Germany and France. That was equally true of Jewish workers in Russia. Britain in its own way was taking strides along the path leading to a better world, to a classless society.

The English trade union movement was becoming more and more aggressive toward its industrial exploit-

ers and its inherited landlordism.

Kier Hardy emerged from the mine pits and raised the banner of Socialism for England.

The Bund was eight years old before labor in England formed the Labor Party, which has since taken over the British government several times and gave to English labor and the English people a welfare state.

The Bund drew inspiration from the Socialist International as the Socialist International drew courage from the Bund.

The Bund became known to us at the beginning of the century. It, too, had its theoreticians as it had its heroes, Leckert, Noach, Medem and so many others who sank their personal comforts and ambitions in the service of the Bund. To them the Bund was the means to propagate Socialist ideals in the fight for Social Democracy.

Henryk Erlich was the embodiment of the spirit of the Bund. I saw him at work in the editorial rooms of the *Folkszeitung* in Warsaw, advising comrades, planning activities, living for the Bund.

The Bund, born 60 years ago, wrote glorious pages in the history of the Socialist movement.

It need not live in the past. The need for its services now is as great, if not greater, than ever.

JUDGE JACOB PENKIN
New York City

The anniversary of the Bund brings to mind a historic accomplishment, which occupies a special place in the history of the international labor movement. There was hardly another party whose difficulties were as great as yours; there was hardly another one

which took the basic international principles of Socialism so seriously.

As one who had the opportunity to get a close view of the activities, in the Socialist International, of your representatives, particularly of Erlich and Alter; as a friend of your Shmul Zygielbojm, who couldn't endure exile after the heroic Warsaw Ghetto uprising, and as one who with the entire Socialist Party of Austria has always been permeated with good-neighborly and brotherly feelings toward the Polish and the Jewish Socialists of Poland, I send the Bund my best wishes—an expression of grateful recognition and Socialist hope.

OSCAR POLLACK

*Editor-in-Chief, Arbeiter Zeitung
Vienna, Austria*

It gives me great pleasure to join with other friends of the Bund, the Jewish Socialist Labor Movement, in congratulating you on your 60th Anniversary.

Those of us who are members of the Socialist International always recognize the honesty, sincerity and enthusiasm for our common cause manifested by representatives of the Bund. Over the last half century great changes have taken place in the world, but the most striking of these is the growing political awareness of the workers of the importance of an international Socialist approach, both economic and military, to the problems of our country. Let us hope that the day is not far distant when we shall have established together a form of world society in which poverty, hunger and disease are no more.

EDITH SUMMERSKILL, M.P.

British Labour Party

The Labor Party acknowledges the long record of service that the Jewish Socialist movement, the Bund, has contributed to the world acceptance of democratic Socialism, the abolition of anti-Semitism and the creation of proper conditions of security for all peoples of the world.

The Victorian branch extends its congratulations to the Bund in the celebration of its 60th Anniversary and fraternal greetings.

J. M. TRIPOVICH, *State Secretary
Australian Labor Party*

On the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Jewish Labor Bund I would like to join in sending my most sincere wishes to this worthy organization which was so active in Czarist Russia and in independent Poland as well, to its famous and enlightened leaders.

It is customary to wish on such occasions continuing years of fruitful and successful activities. Unfortunately there no longer exist Bundists in Russia or in Poland, and if a few do live in these countries they are either persecuted or in hiding. Furthermore, the fate of the Jewish workers in Poland as well as the fate of the remaining Jews in the countries under Communist rule seems to be sealed.

Please forgive me for saddening the jubilee mood by mourning thoughts about the millions of Polish Jews, Bundists and non-Bundists, exterminated by the Nazis, about hundred of thousands who died in the Soviet labor camps and in the Warsaw uprisings, among whom the Bundists played such an outstanding part.

The monstrous crime committed by the Soviets on the great Bundist leaders H. Erlich and V. Alter, a crime born, organized, and committed in a climate of base lies, is a crying outrage, because the so-called "conscience of the world" failed.

I had the honor of meeting in New York Shmul Zygielbojm, I had the honor of shaking his hand, the hand he used to take his own life shortly afterward. This representative of the Jewish workers of Poland, which was occupied and ruined by the Nazis, chose voluntary death, since he could not stir the conscience of the world by other means, in order to force the world to save at least the Jewish children. Had he lived in a time when the tragedy of a noble individual offering his life for millions of his fellowmen was still capable of waking the conscience of mankind, then the death of Shmul Zygielbojm and the circumstances preceding his sacrifice would find a modern Shakespeare.

How would it be possible not to think, on this 60th Anniversary of the Bund, of its heroic leaders who became not only the martyrs of the Bund but of all mankind?

I also had the honor of being close to another man of great stature—Shloyme Mendelson. Although he did not die as a martyr, he also devoted his life to defending justice, freedom and highest ideals of mankind.

Is this 60th Anniversary of the Bund only an homage paid to the dead? Not at all. In the humble understanding of the writer, removed from politics, the

jubilee of the Bund is first of all a celebration of pride for the heirs of the ideals for which the martyrs of the Bund sacrificed their lives.

I wish therefore to the Bund and its present leaders that victory of justice, liberty and fraternity without which any people, any human society, cannot truly live.

JOSEPH WITTLIN
New York City

BASIC PROBLEMS OF JEWISH LIFE

Statement adopted by the Third World Conference of the Bund, Montreal, April 8-15, 1955.

1. Jewish Life Throughout the World

JEWISH life throughout the world faces many difficulties and dangers. After the national catastrophe in which a third of our people were murdered and our national creativity drastically crippled, after the extinction by terror in the Soviet Union of national Jewish life, even in its distorted Communist form, the responsibility for the survival, the continuity and the further cultural development of the Jewish people rests on the Jewish communities in the free world.

Jews are a world people. Jewish communities dispersed throughout the world constitute the Jewish people, united by common history and cultural heritage, by the sense of belonging to one people, by tradition and language, by the dangers of reaction and anti-Semitism. Each of these communities must, to its fullest capacity, contribute to the survival and development of Jewish life in those countries where Jews live, where they are rooted and permanently established.

Dangers from within and from without threaten the Jewish people in various countries. The continued strengthening of the democratic way of life, the broadening of democratic rights and freedoms, the steady

decline of discrimination and anti-Semitism, are gradually eliminating the external hazards and creating better conditions for an undisturbed advancement of Jewish life. These conditions are especially favorable in the United States, where the world's largest Jewish community enjoys the benefits of American democracy.

However, some segments of Jews in the democratic countries have unfortunately used the privileges of freedom and democracy not to strengthen, but to escape from Jewish life; not to enhance the national cultural development of their own people, but to assimilate and thus endanger the spiritual survival of our whole people. The Third World Conference of the Bund calls for a consistent struggle against all forms of assimilation, for the advancement and strengthening of Jewish national life, for the support of Yiddish, for secular Yiddish culture and Jewish education.

Jewish life is also threatened by another grave danger from within, Zionism. Zionism disseminates despair and disbelief in our national survival outside of Israel. The propaganda for Hebrew has become a weapon against Yiddish. Campaigns for Israel have been conducted to such an extent as to drain the Jewish communities of their national creativity. Zionism regards Jewish communities outside of Israel as colonies, a hinterland for the State of Israel. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish people throughout the world are to be exploited for the sake of the small minority in Israel.

* * *

2. The State of Israel

Israel is a significant fact in Jewish life. As a self-contained, self-governing Jewish community, Israel can play an affirmative role in Jewish life only if:

1. The Zionist leaders in Israel stop regarding Israel as the home of the entire Jewish people, and all Jews in the world as her potential citizens;

2. The concern for the Jewish community in Israel is subordinated to the well-being of the Jewish people the world over;

3. The State of Israel applies toward all its citizens, Jews and non-Jews alike, the same democratic principles which we demand in those countries where we are a minority;

4. Israel so conducts her domestic and foreign policy as to remove all hindrances, from her side, to the establishment of a just Israeli-Arab peace, which is a question of life and death for the 1,500,000 Jews in Israel;

5. Yiddish is taught in all the schools in Israel and the Yiddish language enjoys all rights in public life.

The State of Israel has not solved the Jewish problem. In fact, the Zionist policy conducted by Israel and the Zionist outlook of the Israeli government complicate the situation of Jews throughout the world and even in Israel herself. Israel's ideology and policy are molded by the Zionists, who deny the possibility of continued Jewish peoplehood outside the State of

Israel, who regard the Jewish state as the solution of the Jewish problem and Hebrew as the only national language of the Jewish people.

Zionism as an ideology and government policy also endangers the Jews in Israel. Zionist aspirations hinder the economic stabilization of the country and the peaceful solution of the conflict between Israel and her Arab neighbors. The gravest danger that threatens Israel is a new Arab-Israeli war. Such a war could wipe out the entire Israel community, which would be a catastrophe for the Jewish people the world over. Zionist nationalism on one hand, Arab nationalism and reaction on the other hand, each in its own way and fashion, prevent the establishment of peaceful cooperation between Jews and Arabs. To facilitate the conclusion of a peace treaty, Israel should recognize the moral right of the Arab refugees to repatriation and compensation and accept far-reaching compromises to solve the Arab refugee problem.

Hence, the aim of the Bund in Israel is to propagate the ideals of international Socialism, to combat Zionism in all its forms, and to strive for a true Socialist way of life, based on democracy and social justice for all inhabitants, regardless of their nationality. The Bund in Israel struggles for a Socialist state which will remove all forms of theocracy, grant equal rights to Yiddish and pursue a consistent peace policy leading to a Jewish-Arab Federation. The Jews in such a state can and should become a faithful and loyal segment of the entire Jewish world people.

* * *

3. Conditions for Survival

The Conference calls on the Jewish working population everywhere to continue to combat Zionism and the Zionist tendencies which weaken our national resources and aim toward the *gleichschaltung* of Jewish communal life.

"Hereness," the sense of belonging to the countries where Jews have established their permanent homes must infuse Jewish life throughout the world. Mutual concern for one another, characteristic of Jewish communities the world over, is the result of their awareness of belonging to one people. But no single Jewish community is larger or more important than the whole people. Specific interest in one Jewish community should not diminish our concern for the Jewish people as a whole.

Socialism, a world order of economic and political freedom and brotherhood of nations, will promote our national cultural growth and ensure the future of the Jewish people. Our joint efforts with the progressive non-Jewish world, our solidarity with the international Socialist movement and with the labor movement of the countries in which we live, will secure the advancement of the various Jewish communities the world over as well as the progress of the Jewish people as a whole.

A determined will for national self-preservation is essential for our survival. A Socialist society will provide favorable conditions for an autonomous Jewish way of life, for our national future. But a determined will for national self-preservation must exist

for the Jewish people to utilize the existing and future opportunities for the maintenance, development and progress of Jewish life.

The Third World Conference of the Bund appeals to the Jewish working people to avoid the pitfalls of assimilation and Jewish nationalism, to shun compromises with clericalism in all its forms, and to build the national future of the Jewish people throughout the world in harmony with the spirit of international democratic Socialism, on the foundations of secularism, progress and social justice.

BUND ORGANIZATIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS

A. ORGANIZATIONS:

Australia — Melbourne, Sydney
Africa — Johannesburg
Argentina — Buenos Aires
Belgium — Brussels
Brazil — Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Santos
Canada — Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg
England — London
France — Paris
Israel — Tel-Aviv, Haifa, Bar Sheva
Mexico — Mexico City
Sweden — Stockholm
Uruguay — Montevideo
United States — New York City, Chicago, Ill., Los Angeles, Calif., Philadelphia, Pa., Miami Beach, Fla.

B. REPRESENTATIONS:

Brazil — Bahia, Santa Angela
Colombia — Bogota
Israel — Natanya, Tiberias, Migdal Ashkelon, Bat Yam, Kvar Yavne Ramat Hashorun, Kiryat-Gat, Lud-Ramle
Switzerland — Geneva
United States — Passaic, N. J., Paterson, N. J., Kansas City, Mo., Pittsburgh, Pa., Cleveland, Ohio, Albany, N. Y.
Venezuela — Caracas

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BUND

Unser Tsait (monthly), central organ of the Bund
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Unser Shtime (daily)
20, rue Ferdinand Duval
Paris 4, France

Foroys (bi-weekly)
La Place 26-2
Mexico, D. F.

Unser Gedank (bi-weekly)
Viamonte 2296
Capitol Federal
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Unser Gedank
B. Wiener
366 Beaconsfield Pde,
St. Kilda, Vic.
Melbourne, Australia

Lebnsfragen (monthly)
Rechov Kalisher 48,
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Jewish Labor Bund Bulletin (English)
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Bulletin of the Jewish Youth Movement (French)
U. S. J.
110, rue Vieille-du-Temple
Paris 3, France.

**HEADQUARTERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL
JEWISH LABOR BUND,
PUBLISHING HOUSES, Etc.**

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH LABOR BUND,
MEMBER-PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

World Coordinating Committee
of the International Jewish Labor Bund
25 East 78th St., New York 21, N. Y.

Relief Committee of the General Jewish Workers'
Union of Poland
25 East 78th St., New York 21, N. Y.

Central Bureau of Bund Organizations
in the United States and Canada.
25 East 78th St., New York 21, N. Y.

Bund Archives of the Jewish Labor Movement,
Dedicated to Franz Kursky
25 East 78th St., New York 21, N. Y.

Farlag Unser Tsait, Publishing House
25 East 78th St., New York 21, N. Y.

History of the Jewish Labor Bund,
Research and Publication Committee
25 East 78th St., New York 21, N. Y.

Shloyme Mendelson Farlag, Publishing House
La Place 26-2, Mexico, D.F.

Idbuch Publishing House
Boulogne-sur-Mer 671-75, Buenos Aires, Argentina