

FEBRUARY 1944

CONTEMPORARY  
*Jewish  
Record*

PREFACE TO A PROGRAM

WALDO FRANK

ON A JEWISH SOLDIER'S LETTER

HAROLD J. LASKI

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND THE YOUNGER  
GENERATION OF AMERICAN JEWS

A SYMPOSIUM

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## Under Forty

### *A Symposium on American Literature and the Younger Generation of American Jews*

THE participation of writers of Jewish descent in the development of American letters is a relatively late phenomenon. In the nineteenth century such writers were virtually unknown, and even as late as the first decade of this century scarcely more than half a dozen authors of reputation belonged to the Jewish faith. At that time the majority of Jews living in the United States were newcomers who for obvious reasons were not prepared to contribute creatively to the artistic culture of their new homeland.

But in recent decades much has happened to change this situation. With the coming of age of the children of the Jewish immigrants, we find that quite a few of them are taking their place in the front ranks of American literature. They function in every sphere of literary creation—as poets, novelists, playwrights and critics. Their work is part and parcel of the national literary product, and this is clear evidence of the fact that the American Jews have reached the stage of integration with the native environment. They are spectators no longer but full participants in the cultural life of the country.

When all this has been said, however, there are still some pertinent questions that remain to be asked and certain experiences—sometimes of a transparent and sometimes of a subtle nature—that remain to be defined. The Jewish heritage is historically of so remarkable a character, and its effects are so significant on every level of existence, that the American writer of Jewish descent can hardly dismiss it as irrelevant to his problems. Specifically, has this writer formed a conscious attitude toward his heritage or does he merely “reflect” it in a passive, haphazard, and largely unconscious fashion? Is there any valid sense in

which one can speak of differences between the work of Jews and non-Jews—differences possibly relating both to the choice of literary material and to the imaginative use made of it? Are there certain themes or ideas that are characteristic of modern literature as a whole but toward which the Jew is more responsive, or responsive in a somewhat different way, than his Christian colleagues? Lastly, to what extent, and in what manner, has his awareness of his position as artist and citizen been modified or changed by the revival of anti-Semitism as a powerful force in the political history of our time? To list even a few of such questions is to realize their complexity. Whatever answers might be given will surely hold a psychological no less than an objectively social and cultural meaning.

Our aim in this symposium is to illuminate the various facets of the subject. Accordingly we have invited a representative group of American authors, all under forty years of age, to record their views and experiences, however briefly, in the pages that follow.—THE EDITORS.

#### MURIEL RUKEYSER

I was born in New York, and I always loved the city. I remember an association test in school; the name 'New York' was given, and the others responded 'stone,' 'big,' 'crowds,' 'high.' I thought 'home.' But home did not mean ease and a cottage. It meant clash and growth. My father is a business man—a salesman really, the member of a group that shifts in society according to the period—and during my childhood and adolescence he was in the building business, sharing responsibility in the fierce skyscrapers whose stone climbed up the frames of steel, where short fire was flung and caught by the riveters—sharing excitement in the implacable cranes that dug sand, in the roads leaping out from the city, even in the horrible little real estate developments whose jerry-built walls would lean before a strong wind. I thought of my father as a builder. He was helping to make New York. Even the sidewalk I played on, in front of an apartment house like a huge trunk, was partly made by him.

It is true that we have to reckon the generations of the Jews according to their wanderings. Most of the younger Jewish writers in America are the children of immigrants, and I am not representative of that generation. It has the qualities which Margaret Mead points out as 'second-generation'—split with the parent culture, leaning over back-

ward to be 'American' at its most acceptable. My father's cousin recently stood up at a Town Hall meeting and said, needlessly, "I am an American."

My parents did not migrate from Europe, but from America. My father came to New York from Wisconsin, where his grandfather had gone in 1848. He was brought up among the Western stories—Hill putting the railroads through, Juneau who went to Alaska. His mother had gone to a parochial school before there were any secular schools. His family was large, with many cousins as well as brothers and sisters, and he made most of his friends inside the family, but left as soon as he could. My mother came from Yonkers, which was then a rather English town on the Hudson, and had not yet become an industrial offshoot of New York. Her sisters and brothers, and she herself, were going through an anti-religious reaction against their studious and improvident father. The young man my father and the young woman my mother had no cultural resources to strengthen them. There was not a trace of Jewish culture that I could feel—no stories, no songs, no special food—but then there was not *any* cultural background that could make itself felt. My father had reacted even further from religion after an early tragedy, and art seemed not to mean anything to him. *Julius Caesar* was the only written work he ever mentioned. His friends were of several religions, and so were his business associates. His partner in business was an Italian, an enthusiastic pioneer for fascism here and in Italy.

There was no mark of Judaism in my childhood home except for a silver ceremonial goblet, handed down from a great-grandfather who had been a cantor, and a legend that my mother's family was directly descended from Akiba.

I went to religious school automatically. Once there, I was excited, not by the digests and easy versions of Jewish history or by the smattering of prayer book Hebrew, but by the Bible itself in English. And all this time, I had no idea of what a Christian was. I knew that our maids were Christian, and all the governesses my sister and I ever had were Christian. I did not know what a Jew was, nor that the term could be used in contempt. Once it had been shouted, but to a bunch of us who were ringing doorbells and running, and we knew we could expect scolding if we were caught at that. I was told never to say the name 'Jesus'; I knew there was something about Christians that had color and tenderness and a child in it, and that suffering of some sort

was bound up with all of that. But what I knew of my religion was confined to the trip on Sunday morning across the Park to where the Temple stood, its pale green copper dome rising over the little round lake where other children sailed boats, and where the trees flowered pink in Spring.

Then, suddenly, out of a need or sadness of her own, my mother turned to religion. She cannot be said to have turned back, for she had never known anything like this impulse and response. There was a sudden new insistence, and its force was sharply felt in my family. I began to go to Temple with my mother, instead of to the Museum, and I went every Saturday for seven years. They were years in which I was learning through hostility. I was having a 'sheltered' childhood, and the fact that I played with street-gangs and knew about the prostitutes on the Drive and the house across the street and the chauffeur's private life were breaches which escaped my parents. There were a few sets of books at home, but after I had gone through these, I read whatever the maids recommended. This was the sheltered life, this was a life of comfort. All I knew was that it was not comfortable to me. I was beginning to care about a set of values which poetry was giving me. School could back up some of this; but there was nothing at home or in the Temple to answer me.

I think that many people brought up in reformed Judaism must go starving for two phases of religion: poetry and politics. The sermons I heard were pale and mechanically balanced talks. I grew up among a group of Jews who wished, more than anything else, I think, to be invisible. They were playing possum. They shrank away from the occasional anger of the rabbi, and said that such a man ought not be in that pulpit; they were the people who read Sokolsky's column at breakfast, and agreed with him every time he said that Jews should be quiet and polite, and should never protest; they were the people who felt that Hitler would be all right if he would only leave the Jews alone; they were, later, the people who told van Paassen he was crazy to worry about the Jews in Germany and Poland. They supported big charities. They gave generously of their money. Some of the women even gave their time. But they wanted a religion of reassurance; they listened to the muted organ, and refused to be involved in suffering that demanded resistance, and refused to acknowledge evil. If they had a mission as a responsible and inspired people, they did not want it. It was enough to be Jewish. Charity was about the most they could

give; not struggle; they would neither approach the source nor make the connections.

There was one place where this was done, for me; and that was in the Bible. I sat under the shadowy dome during the drone of the watered-down sermon and the watered-down liturgical music, and I read the Bible. Its clash and poetry and nakedness, its fiery vision of conflict resolved only in God, were true to me, no matter what I was coming to believe about the reality of the world or power or divinity or death or love. The Bible was closer to the city than anything that was going on or could possibly go on in the Temple.

Now it is much later, and I am being asked questions about my heritage and my writing. But it is not late enough; it is more than ten years since that time, and I have begun to come a little closer to the source and the connections. But just begun. I have moved around this country some, South a few times, west to California, north into Canada. I have lived in the Middle West and Mexico, and once I went to Europe. I have seen Scottsboro and Gauley Bridge, had good years at College, and looked for my first jobs in the middle of the depression. I crossed the frontier into Spain on the first day of the war, and stayed long enough to see Catalonia win its own war and make peace, a peace that could not be held. I have had a government job in wartime, with a division that was undermined from the beginning, making war posters for American distribution. And all the time I have been writing poems, and after each trip I have come back to New York.

I do not know how far I am representative of any group in Jewish life. I was brought up without any reason to be proud of being Jewish, and then was told to be proud; without any reason for shame, and then saw that people were ashamed. I was a fat child, and hated that condition until I grew up and grew into my skin. I saw people feeling toward their Jewishness as I felt toward my size. But I never had that. I saw my religion sharply divided into three divisions: there was the dogma, the ethic, with which I wrestled; there was the poetry and fire, a deepening source of power to me; and there was the organized church, which I saw as torpid and conservative, and which I repudiated. The chief pressures against me, and against what was coming to be my work and belief, came from torpor and conservatism—or from fear, from active reaction, as in the person, again, of my father's cousin, who began to want me to change my name, so that it would

not so much resemble his own. But these people were narrow, on the side of narrowness; whatever grew from the fact that I was Jewish, I would have to live, I knew, for the other side.

My themes and the use I have made of them have depended on my life as a poet, as a woman, as an American and as a Jew. I do not know what part of that is Jewish; I know I have tried to integrate these four aspects, and to solve my work and my personality in terms of all four. I feel that I am at the beginning of that attempt, too. Jewish references have come into some of my poems—the strong cry of the *Shema*, the raw, primitive blast of the *Shofar*, the Friday candles, the tragic migrations, modern tortures and the Warsaw ghetto, Joel and Ezekiel (in terms of John Brown), images started in me by the poetry of the prophets in the English Bible. I have always accepted the fact that the treatment of minorities is a good test of democracy, or any other system; I do not believe that is a particularly Jewish idea. I have wanted Jews, and everyone else, to have social equality anywhere in the world. On the way out of adolescence, I searched, as others do, for ancestors. I felt, then and now, that if one is free, freedom can extend to a certain degree into the past, and one may choose one's ancestors, to go on with their wishes and their fight. But I do not think that Jews are any more responsive to any of these ideas than are Christians. I am not afraid of allies in anything I may undertake, and I would work for my few beliefs with anyone who is willing to work for them.

To live as poet, woman, American, and Jew—this chalks in my position. If the four come together in one person, each strengthens the others. Red-baiting, undercuts at the position of women, anti-intellectual and anti-imaginative drives such as Congress has recently been conducting—these are on the same level as the growing storm of anti-Semitism.

One questions oneself when all these attacks arrive; and one looks at the Jews. The Jews I knew as a child, the Jewish professionals who were able to get out of Europe and come here as refugees, the Jews who could put up with fascism as long as it left them alone, the Jews who objected to a poster against discrimination because it mentioned Jews and Negroes together. The Jews that so many Christians, fighting fascism and all its implications, look sideward at. And then one thinks of the men and women in the Warsaw ghetto, standing as the Loyalists stood in Spain, weaponless against what must have seemed like the thunder and steel of the whole world; one thinks of the men and women,

Jews moving freely in Russia; one thinks of the men and women, planting Palestine and taking a fierce oath never to put down their arms.

To me, the value of my Jewish heritage, in life and in writing, is its value as a guarantee. Once one's responsibility as a Jew is really assumed, one is guaranteed, not only against fascism, but against many kinds of temptation to close the spirit. It is a strong force in oneself against many kinds of hardness which may arrive in the war—the idea that when you throw off insight, you travel light and are equipped for fighting; the idea that it is impractical to plan and create, and that concrete construction and invention are the only practical things, apart from killing. Organized religion has not been able to take a strong stand about these things, any more than it has been able to stand with the Jews in Warsaw, or against the disguised Fascists at home.

But the conflict enlarges and grows, with one's own life and writing swept up in it. And the imagination moves, the spirit opens, one knows again what it is to be Jewish; and what it will always be at its best in one's life and one's writing: memory and fire and poetry and the wandering spirit that never changes in its love of man.

[MURIEL RUKEYSER is known as one of the most distinguished younger poets writing in the modern tradition. Her volumes of verse include *Theory of Flight*, *U.S.I.*, *A Turning Wind*. She has also written a biography, *Willard Gibbs*.]

#### ALFRED KAZIN

WHEN I think of Jews for whom the word meant and means something, I think of Sholem Aleichem and Peretz, the scholars of Vilna, the great hearts of the Jewish Socialist Bund who helped to defend Warsaw. I think of the Hasidim, of some of the people in the stories of I. J. Singer. Of the people who have tried to build a co-operative, not a purely Jewish, culture in certain Palestine communities. Of Bialik and Marc Chagall, of Ernest Bloch; and because of the quality of their "emancipation," of the Nello Roselli who was to be murdered by Mussolini, but not before he had told Fascist Italy "why I cannot be a Zionist"; and Rosa Luxemburg. What I admire in the Jewish tradition, and in certain Jews whom I know, is the texture of a genuine and received Hebrew culture; an indestructible belief in the spiritual foundations of a human life; the feeling for the book; the kind of universal curiosity which springs out of so profound a sense of

nationality (not nationalism) that it lives on the illumination its sources provide, as in the wit of Sholem Aleichem, or in Marc Chagall's bitter fantasy of the Jewish Jesus on the cross, with the prayer-shawl around his loins and angelic rabbis in mourning above him.

I admire these; I have been influenced as a writer and as a person by the idea of them—I only wish I knew how much. But I have never seen much of what I admire in American Jewish culture, or among Jewish writers in America generally. The American Jew can get into such an unhappy limbo—neither completely lost from what he thinks his ancestors had, nor found in what he wants; with an occasional ritual gesture that is like the rigor mortis of an Elks convention. Who is he? What is Jewish in him? What does he believe, especially in these terrible years, that separates him at all from our national habits of acquisitiveness, showiness, and ignorant brag? I do not ask for superior virtue on his part, and honestly no longer expect it. But what a pity that he should feel “different,” when he believes so little; what a stupendous moral pity, historically, that the fascist cutthroats should have their eye on him, too, when he asks for so little—only to be safe, in all the Babbitt-warrens. When even his suffering may be so sterile, as his fears can be so selfish.

“They are spectators no longer but full participants in the cultural life of the country.” I wonder. I think it is about time we stopped confusing the experience of being an immigrant, or an immigrant's son, with the experience of being Jewish. When I read a novel by an American Jew that is at least as grounded in the life it rejects as Farrell's *Studs Lonigan* or Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*, I shall believe in the empirical fact of our participation. But that participation can come only through a quality of understanding and love. I do not see it now—I see the Broadway boys making the over-eager jokes of our self-defense; and the music of Tin Pan Alley and Hollywood; and the sickening plays of the George S. Kaufmans. And those who know so very well what being Jewish means, and then proceed to speak for me. Those who speak with such familiarity—and such easy verbal love—of Jewish qualities, of the Jewish soul, and even of Jewish wretchedness.

The American Jewish writers I admire are scholars and critics—it is so easy, a Rabbi said, for us to be interpreters; and a few poets who may occasionally (as in Karl Shapiro's new poems from Australia) write with great purity and irony on historic Jewish symbols which they have meditated. Most of the playwrights, scenario writers, popular novelists

and lecturers, especially the kind who cry into their literary beer, I would like to shoot. Or the popular book-reviewer, a veritable national personality, who just wants to hate Germans—all Germans. What degradation there, and what naïveté.

Yet the sources of influence are plain, and the loyalties are fascinated with symbols. I think that I have been most deeply influenced by my struggle against a merely imposed faith; and against a sentimental chauvinism. I know how easy it is for the American Jew, at least in my circumstances and of my generation, to confuse his timidity with devotion, his parochialism (or suspiciousness, grounded in the self-driven life of the Pale) with a conscious faith. My parents are Jews—not particularly devout, not particularly conscious of being insincere in their occasional devotion; but Jews for whom the symbols have had a direct and tender meaning, and for whom the code had a plain integrity. I had no such luck. I learned that Jews were “different”—but different, as I had to suppose, only because the ones I knew were always poor and usually scared. I was taught that it was proper to be confirmed—but I never learned what the texts meant: only to repeat them. I went to Jewish religious clubs and met Tammany politicians; to Zionist clubs, and encountered only a dreary middle-class chauvinism. I have never found chauvinism any more attractive in Jews than in anyone else (and I do know the prime cause, and always feel it). Or lack of imagination and sympathy, or the foolish pride that Uzbeks have in those who are only Uzbeks.

I learned long ago to accept the fact that I was Jewish without being a part of any meaningful Jewish life or culture. I have tried to be dignified in my knowledge of it and even to hope that I could be appreciative. But I learned what was more important for me in my apprenticeship as a writer—to follow what I really believed in, not that which would merely move me through associations or naive community feelings. The writing I have been most deeply influenced by—Blake, Melville, Emerson, the seventeenth-century English religious poets, and the Russian novelists—has no direct associations in my mind with Jewish culture; it has every association, of course, with the fact that, like many another American, I have had to make my own culture. When Blake says, “Truth cannot be so uttered as to be understood without being believed,” I know the deep sources of that faith in the Hebrew prophets. But the directness of that insight interests me now, not a fact in history which my mind knows as it knows that Szigetti is

Jewish, and Einstein, and the woman who stepped on my foot in the bus and hates Negroes.

[ALFRED KAZIN is a frequent contributor to literary journals and the author of *On Native Grounds*, a critical study of modern American prose.]

### DELMORE SCHWARTZ

TO BE the child of immigrants from Eastern Europe is in itself a special kind of experience; and an important one to an author. He has heard two languages through childhood, the one spoken with ease at home, and the one spoken with ease in the streets and at school, but spoken poorly at home. Students of speech have explained certain kinds of mispronunciation in terms of this double experience of language. To an author, and especially to a poet, it may give a heightened sensitivity to language, a sense of idiom, and a sense of how much expresses itself through colloquialism. But it also produces in some a fear of mispronunciation; a hesitation in speech; and a sharpened focus upon the characters of the parents. And in some, especially if they are interested in the teaching of literature, the cultivation of a fantastic precision of speech and an accent which is more English than the English accent: nothing is more pathetic and comic than the pride which the parents suffer from when they hear the eloquent son speak in accents worthy of an Oxford don: how can they know that this would be regarded as a caricature by a true don?

To be a Jewish child of immigrants is much modified, if one's childhood has been lived in New York City. It is then possible and it is even likely that one knows only Jews as intimate friends, or intimate friends of one's parents; and one hears about anti-Semitism from time to time, but it is merely something heard about. It is an interesting abstraction, or it is part of the barbarous past. Anti-Semitic episodes occur, but they are not frequent enough to be understood, even when the parents seek to explain them and refer to the horror of persecution in the old country. But this is almost certainly a condition peculiar to New York, and perhaps peculiar to the period between 1920 and 1933, when "Abie's Irish Rose" was an unparalleled hit. A true knowledge of what it is to be a Jew is obscured by this, by the easy contempt for all kinds of immigrants which dominates the national humor, and by the Jewish jokes that the parents tell. Perhaps a further qualification is necessary,

and one should say that this kind of blunting of the fact of Jewishness is peculiar to the lower middle class, where there is little social aspiration, and where, on the other hand, the tenement house or slum has not produced the rage of the street gangs.

And then, so far as a positive inheritance of the Jewish heritage is concerned, it is directed, in the lower middle class at least, to the day of confirmation, which for the child is likely to be only the most important of birthday parties, the one for which he must go to Hebrew school (this is the phrase), and learn by rote from teachers who speak broken English certain passages in a dead language. The contrast between the authority of the public school teachers and the weakness of the Hebrew school teacher is one which makes the child wonder what reason can justify the emphasis upon Jewishness. I remember my own extreme admiration for the rabbi who spoke to us on Sundays. It seemed to me that he could prove or disprove anything, and that he could find a profound meaning in any story or incident. But I took this to be a personal gift; he was a very wise man; he seemed more intelligent than any of the teachers in public school. But then I merely wondered why he limited himself to what we then called the temple, and I had no way of knowing that his dialectical and interpretative skills were an inheritance.

SO FAR I have spoken of what I take to be an experience which is common to a Jew in New York, of the lower middle class and in a family of immigrants from Eastern Europe. I do not know how typical this account is, but I cannot suppose that it is peculiar to myself.

For myself I should say that the fact of Jewishness was a matter of naive and innocent pride, untouched by any sense of fear. This was the consequence of ignorance, and it was this pure pride which continued until I went to a school which was not in New York City. There too, however, my ignorance of the character of anti-Semitism was increased, in a way, by a personal weakness, namely, the weakness of supposing that when anyone did not like me, the reason was my personal character and behavior. The habit of supposing that much of the quality of one's experience is chiefly personal in origin is a great weakness; and yet a weakness which protects one, and which, once it is surmounted, becomes a source of strength. If one is regarded as *peculiar* and if one is *left out* of the social life only by Christian boys and girls, then one is tempted to be impersonal and to be sure that each

time it is the consequence of being a Jew. But by contrast, if one is regarded as peculiar and if one is also left out of the social life by Jews, if this experience is one which one finds in one's family also, then one is ignorant of the distinction between the two kinds of being left out. Thus it was the revival of political anti-Semitism which illuminated for me the difference between being left out by Christians and by Jews. It was then that I was able to understand the social anti-Semitism which had always been part of my experience without my understanding that it was certainly present. It was also then possible to understand the important distinction between social anti-Semitism and the political kind to which so much attention has been drawn in recent years.

ALL of this ignorance and growing recognition has been important to me as an author. For I would like to think that my chief motive as an author is an effort to understand the causes of my experience; I would like to understand more and more what has happened to me. My ignorance, my weakness of being too personal, my self-concern—each of these traits in itself an evil—helped me to regard my own experience with other human beings as a common and universal thing, and not local or regional or racial. And this was a good thing for a time, although if it had continued, the evil effects of ignorance would have been an increasing weakness. And then, when I knew enough to distinguish between the different kinds of alienation, this knowledge illuminated my own mind for me in the most fruitful way, fruitful at least in terms of what my aims have been. I understood my own personal squint at experience; and the fact of being a Jew became available to me as a central symbol of alienation, bias, point of view, and certain other characteristics which are the peculiar marks of modern life, and as I think now, the essential ones. And thus I have to say (with gratitude and yet diffidence because it has been so different for other Jews, different to the point of death) that the fact of Jewishness has been nothing but an ever-growing good to me, and it seems clear to me now that it can be, at least for me, nothing but a fruitful and inexhaustible inheritance.

[DELMORE SCHWARTZ, who teaches English at Harvard University, writes poetry, fiction, and literary criticism. He is the author of *In Dreams Begin Responsibilities* and *Shenandoah*. His most recent book is *Genesis*, a narrative poem of a Jewish childhood in New York.]

## LIONEL TRILLING

IT IS never possible for a Jew of my generation to "escape" his Jewish origin. In order to be sure of this I have only to remember how, when I was a child beginning to read for pleasure, certain words would leap magnetically to my eye from the page before I had reached them in the text. One such word was "snake"; others were words of such sexual explicitness as a child is likely to meet in his reading; and there was the word "Jew." These were words, that is, which struck straight to the unconscious, where fear, shame, attraction and repulsion are indistinguishable. Yet there was no dramatic or even specific reason why the word "Jew" should produce (as it still produces) so deep, so visceral, a reverberation. I was never a victim of prejudice or persecution. My family was fairly well established; although my parents were orthodox in the form of their religion they had a strong impulse to partake of the general life and to want it for me. My childhood was spent in a comfortable New York suburb where a Jewish group formed around the synagogue an active community large enough to be both interesting and protective; at the same time we Jewish children were perfectly at home in the pleasant public school. Those were days in which Jews lived with an ampler hope than now; yet even then the word "Jew" could have for a Jewish child an emotional charge as strong as I have described.

A childhood feeling so intense obviously does not disappear. It is clear to me that my existence as a Jew is one of the shaping conditions of my temperament, and therefore I suppose it must have its effect on my intellect. Yet I cannot discover anything in my professional intellectual life which I can specifically trace back to my Jewish birth and rearing. I do not think of myself as a "Jewish writer." I do not have it in mind to serve by my writing any Jewish purpose. I should resent it if a critic of my work were to discover in it either faults or virtues which he called Jewish.

In what I might call my life as a citizen my being Jewish exists as a point of honor. The phrase is grandiloquent although I do not mean it to be. I can have no pride in seeing a long tradition, often great and heroic, reduced to this small status in me, for I give only a limited respect to points of honor: they are usually mortuary and monumental, they have being without desire. For me the point of honor consists in feeling that I would not, even if I could, deny or escape being Jewish.

Surely it is at once clear how minimal such a position is—how much it hangs upon only a resistance (and even only a passive one) to the stupidity and brutality which make the Jewish situation so bad as it is.

The position I have described as mine is perhaps the position of most American writers of Jewish birth. It creates no surprise and no resentment until it is formulated. And when it is formulated it has, I suppose, a certain gracelessness—if only because millions of Jews are suffering simply because they have the heritage that I so minimize in my own intellectual life. I do not want to “answer” this confrontation—to do so, except at great length and with many modulations, could only make the position appear more graceless than it must seem to some. I would say, however, that we are on all sides required to imagine the unimaginable sufferings of masses of men and that while the most common failure of the imagination will certainly be insensibility, there is also the failure of merely symbolic action, of mere guilty gesture.

But the position I have described brings with it no feeling of guilt toward the American Jewish community. I hope I have enough knowledge and sympathy to understand what has led this community to its impasse of sterility, but understanding does not mitigate the perception of the unhappy fact. If what I have called my “point of honor” is minimal and even negative, if, that is, it does not *want* enough and is nothing more than a resistance to an external force, it seems to me that the position of the American Jewish community is to be described in much the same way. There is, I know, much show and talk of affirmation, but only to the end that the negative, or neuter, elements may be made more acceptable. As I see it, the great fact for American Jews is their exclusion from certain parts of the general life and every activity of Jewish life seems to be a response to this fact.

Jewish religion is, I am sure, very liberal and intelligent and modern. Its function is to provide, chiefly for people of no strong religious impulse, a social and rational defense against the world's hostility. A laudable purpose surely, but not a sufficient basis for a religion; and one has only to have the experience of modern Judaism trying to deal with a death ritual to have the sense of its deep inner uncertainty, its lack of grasp of life which must eventually make even its rational social purpose quite abortive. Modern Jewish religion at its best may indeed be intelligent and soaked in university knowledge, but out of it there has not come a single voice with the note of authority—of philosophical, or poetic, or even of rhetorical, let alone of religious, authority.

Of Jewish cultural movements I know something at first hand, for I once served as a minor editor of a notable journal of Jewish culture. The effort this journal represented was, it even now seems to me, a generous one; but its results were sterile at best. I was deep in—and even contributed to—the literature of Jewish self-realization of which Ludwig Lewisohn was the best-known exponent. This was a literature which attacked the sin of “escaping” the Jewish heritage; its effect, it seems to me, was to make easier the sin of “adjustment” on a wholly neurotic basis. It fostered a willingness to accept exclusion and even to intensify it, a willingness to be provincial and parochial. It is in part accountable for the fact that the Jewish social group on its middle and wealthy levels—that is, where there is enough leisure to allow a conscious consideration of social and spiritual problems—is now one of the most self-indulgent and self-admiring groups it is possible to imagine.

To describe this situation is almost to account for it. And to account for it is, in one sense, to forgive it. But in one sense only: for history does not forgive the results of the unfortunate conditions it brings, and, contrary to the popular belief, suffering does not confer virtue. As the Jewish community now exists, it can give no sustenance to the American artist or intellectual who is born a Jew. And so far as I am aware, it has not done so in the past. I know of writers who have used their Jewish experience as the subject of excellent work; I know of no writer in English who has added a micromillimetre to his stature by “realizing his Jewishness,” although I know of some who have curtailed their promise by trying to heighten their Jewish consciousness.

[LIONEL TRILLING, assistant professor of English at Columbia University, is the author of *Matthew Arnold*, a critical study, and *E. M. Forster*, a volume in the “Makers of Modern Literature” series, published by New Directions.]

#### BEN FIELD

IN MY father's house I remember the Saturday evenings. The family circle. The good friends—the editor of a farm magazine, the family physician, and the Hebrew teacher. These men spoke three or four languages fluently. Often one of them read a chapter of a novel, a short story, perhaps a bit of verse. All of them at one time or another rode the pen. They read their own work, they read the classics. On the wall hung a picture of Mendele, the father of Yiddish literature.

small wonder that at an early age I, too, leaped on the pen and pipped over reams of paper. An American boy, educated in New York, playing ball in its streets, I chose for my early sketches subjects which the family circle understood and approved of—the grandeur of the ghetto Jew, the pious mother forsaken by her American-children. The stories were sentimental, enveloping the reader like a blanket. The choice of subject matter, the treatment of plot and character showed the touch of a Jewish child of the middle class, sheltered from the winds of the world.

At the time that I was teething as a writer, I began also to crack the door and venture out into America. I was fifteen when I left the city and got my first job on a farm. The life of labor, the grind in which men and women repeat their weary steps as in a horse-thresher, this was a tremendous revelation to me. For a long time this turn in my life had little effect on my writing. Not long after the crash of 1929, however, these experiences began to bear fruit. I wrote a couple of stories which showed the new tendencies. One described the trials of a Jewish working class girl who looks for a job. The other, a farm story, told about a Jewish radical and farm worker who puts to the author the question of his obligations to the society in which he lives; it ended symbolically with the author leaving the farm and boarding a train where he sits with workers on their way to the mill.

The next decade was spent by the author in working out the implications of these stories, and in his further Americanization. I worked in various parts of the country as a farm hand and traveled in almost every state. I became a farm organizer. I participated in strikes. I spoke on street corners. I contributed to labor publications like the *Family Worker* and the *New Masses*, and to *Producers News* and the *Farmers National Weekly*, champions of the small farmer.

This was a period of struggle, of confusion and mistakes; but it was also a period of a growing awareness of America. I began to see in a deeper light the qualities of the average American man and woman and the rich drama of their life. In spite of slanderous attacks on the group of honest and courageous writers with whom I was associated and though we were pronounced dead and given a mass burial by hostile critics, I continued to overcome weaknesses as a craftsman, and at the end of the decade set to work on my farm novel, *The Outside Leaf*. This is a novel which gathers the two main threads of my life. It is an American novel. It could have been written only by a writer of Jewish

descent. It is indisputably the work of a man conscious of Jewish traditions. In portraying the scholarly, witty, and kindly Israel Miller, I had returned to my father's house.

Yes, I had returned to my father's house. But my father's house had changed. I had changed. The world of 1940 was planet years removed from the world of my childhood.

The rise of Soviet power and German fascism, the positive and negative poles of this era, had had a profound influence on most Jews. Anti-Semitism had forged a greater unity among Jews and had compelled them to seek for allies in their fight. The Jews in America, particularly the younger generation, had begun working with the American grain. They had begun participating more freely and actively in every phase of the life in their new homeland, and preparing themselves, unconsciously except in the case of the most progressive groups, for the terrific struggle which lay ahead of them.

My work during the 30's reflected some of these changes, though my interest in things Jewish still slumbered. In a collection of farm stories, *The Cock's Funeral*, published in 1937, most of the people are non-Jews. To a casual reader these stories could have been written by a young man who had never lived in my father's house.

I submit, however, that in my devotion to the underdog, in the wrath against the despoilers of the people, in the mysticism and religious fervor which color the tale of a schoolboy who goes to a country fair, I was expressing, even if in an unconscious fashion, my heritage as a son of the people of the Book, of the people of the prophets.

There is little doubt that the outbreak of the Second World War hastened my return to the house where I was born. The atrocities of the Nazis quickened my feelings. I reexamined my position as regards the Jewish question. Gradually I was strengthened in the conviction that the Jewish identity must be reasserted in many of its manifestations as a positive contribution to American culture and democracy and as a weapon against native fascism. Then I saw that I had made some growth toward understanding the little people, the little Jews who are always among the first victims of fascism. Then I recognized that my education as an American had helped to reeducate me as a Jew.

I look around and see how fortunate is the American writer of Jewish birth. He sits on two knees, he is suckled by two great breasts. Walt Whitman is his own, and so is Sholem Aleichem. He is at home wherever the melting pot seethes and bubbles. He is quickest to call

brother the child of those immigrants whose experiences parallel those of his parents. Armed with a double-edged sword, the American Jewish writer stands out as a champion of the oppressed everywhere. The keystone of my ideology, which is a devotion to the cause of the common man, is in the spirit of true Americanism and Judaism. This devotion is proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and in the prayer of the Jew who asks the Lord to raise the needy from the dung-hill. It glows in the life and work of the towering figures of Lincoln and Hillel, both of whom labored with their hands in their youth and were woodcutters. This concern with the needs of the average man has always moved me as a writer. It is the driving force behind my new stories about the little people, the tailor, the shoemaker, the painter, the teacher; stories for a book which, I hope, will bring the Jew and his fellow American closer together, bound as I am to both by the nearest of ties.

<sup>B:</sup>BEN FIELD has written a good many stories on Jewish themes, but he is best known for his stories of farm life. The two themes are combined in his first novel, *The Outside Leaf*, published in 1943.]

### LOUIS KRONENBERGER

THE invitation to take part in this symposium made me realize that I had previously never connected my race with my profession—that I had never thought of myself as a Jewish writer. Doubtless much that I have written is colored by the fact that I am a Jew, but nothing—in the conscious sense—stems from it; creatively my Jewishness has been rather a fact than a force. Perhaps in mentioning all this I am quite missing the point of the symposium, but I mention it to suggest my stance—and because I have never regarded most other Jews who write as Jewish writers either. At any rate, I have never thought of a body of writing in America that could primarily be termed Jewish writing. The Jewishness of certain writers has, to be sure, been inescapable, from their having drawn on their own backgrounds or chosen Jewish subject-matter; but few even of these are “Jewish” writers in any deeply temperamental or subjective sense. No vital Jewish element has been infused into American literature as, let us say, a Celtic element has been infused into English literature, or a Negro element into American music. Even Jewish humor, which has had an enormous folk influence,

has not appreciably had an artistic one: where it rises from, say, the level of Montague Glass to that of Arthur Kober, it is still isolated by accent and local color—and still temperamentally divorced from the author. Contrariwise, the humor of an S. J. Perelman hardly seems Jewish at all. Perhaps our most insistently Jewish writer has been Ludwig Lewisohn; but the effect in him is not one of spontaneous Jewishness—it is one of burdened race-consciousness, and has warped Lewisohn artistically, not warmed him. The palpably Jewish qualities in American literature have been either folkish or polemical; outside the Yiddish language there has been no genuine sense of a Jewish culture or a Jewish spirit. The quality you find in even a Sholem Asch or an I. J. Singer does not exist among American Jews who write in English; and the most talented of them have shown no desire to capture it.

Nor have such spiritual crises as might have animated major Jewish writing existed either. Thus the problem of loss of faith among Jews has almost always emerged as no more than a family conflict between a pious older generation and an agnostic younger one. I know of no Jewish writer who has been inwardly lacerated by religious doubts, as many Catholic writers have been: he has merely had to cut loose from something, not cut a part of himself away. And no American Jew after Lewisohn has, even nostalgically, tried to cling to Jewish ways and fight off American ones: as there has been no acute spiritual struggle, so there has been no acute cultural one. So far as I know, there has never been a cultural dilemma even for the Jewish man of letters. What Jewish critic (I am not speaking of Jewish scholars) has seemed to hesitate between Montaigne and Maimonides?

Of course the *problem* of the Jew stalks contemporary literature in many realistic and symbolic forms—the Jew as rebel, as alien, as victim, as sycophant, as Puritan. But these are in some sense traditional roles, as freely drawn upon by Gentile as by Jewish writers; and though the events of the last ten or fifteen years have given them sterner meaning, in themselves they do not provide a mutation. What these events have done, in the case of most Jewish writers, is to send them from effects to causes. The racial predicament has obviously helped turn many Jewish writers into impassioned liberals and radicals; but by doing so it has made them the less Jewish in their approach. For they have seen anti-Semitism as but one facet of intolerance, and discrimination as but one facet of injustice. All this, among Jewish writers, has fostered

what might be termed a moral assimilation, in contrast to the old embittered isolationism of the ghetto; in contrast, as well, to the callous efforts of many Jewish plutocrats merely to save their own necks. A social conscience is today a distinguishing mark of American Jewish writers; and partly, no one can doubt, because they are Jews.

As to the many qualities traditionally associated with the Jews—skepticism, humor, melancholy, prophecy, brilliance, bitterness, pity, irony—there is plenty of evidence of them in many Jewish writers. Yet quite as many Jews lack a number of these qualities as have them, and perhaps as many non-Jews have them as Jews. Any search for labels in a group that includes, let us say, Ben Hecht, Jerome Weidman, Lillian Hellman, Waldo Frank, Lionel Trilling, Howard Fast, Muriel Rukeyser, Marcia Davenport, Alfred Kazin and Nathanael West, is predicated of a wish to find them rather than an indication that they are there. What is more generally true of creative Jewish writers—many of them second-generation Americans—is that their subject-matter, in terms of American life, is more peripheral than central. This even applies to what may well be the most individual contribution of Jews to contemporary literature—that body of work involving New York City. It seems much more parochial than metropolitan. Though Jewish writers are more and more assimilated to American life, not many have those deep roots that are regarded—to the point of platitude—as the soundest basis for major accomplishment. Even that marked quality of rebelliousness in Jews has failed to achieve great dimensions because it still lacks a perfect poise and disinterestedness: it does not sound the note of a Thoreau or Wendell Phillips. On the other hand, with its passionate personal feeling and high social voltage, it finds a quick outlet in drama; which may help to explain why Jewish writers—Lillian Hellman, Clifford Odets, Albert Maltz, Irwin Shaw, Elmer Rice and others—have achieved their most perceptible effect in the theater. At the other end of the line, in criticism, they have had a perceptible effect also. In both fields, and to some extent in poetry, Jews have been part of the advance guard.

If we partly differentiate Jewish writers by saying they have not known the highest blessings of a long American tradition, we can partly differentiate them again by saying that in general they have escaped the minor curses of that tradition. Braving literature on their own, they have not often been enslaved by literary gentility or undue conservatism. Melville and Whitman have had no Jewish heirs to

stand beside them; but neither, in the main, have Henry van Dyke and Thomas Bailey Aldrich. But between these two extremes the Jews, while perhaps favoring a few particular roles, have played almost all of those that exist—and increasingly in the native manner.

[LOUIS KRONENBERGER, drama-critic of the newspaper *PM* and *Time* magazine, is the author of *Kings and Desperate Men*, a study of eighteenth century England.]

### ALBERT HALPER

FIFTEEN years ago, when I had decided I had had my fill of American business and all its celebrated opportunity and had resolved to plunge into the only field I was interested in—writing—if anybody had questioned me about my descent in relation to my future work, I should have answered: "Hell, I want to become a good American writer, what has being a Jew got to do with it?"

In a young man's life fifteen years is a long time. During that period I have witnessed fascism come to flower, reactionary big business hit its stride and the manufacture and dissemination of anti-Semitism, linked with fascism and big business, assume astounding proportions in our civic life.

Today, fifteen years older than I was during that autumn of 1928, and a little wiser, I hope, I have no quip on my lips when asked the question: "As a Jewish writer under forty, do you feel you are any different than your Christian colleagues?"

Alas, my friends, I *am* different. Hitler has made me different, Chamberlainism has made me different, the war has made me different, and the coming post-war decades will make me still more different.

If asked to elucidate on the point, all I can say is: when I now sit down to write a story, or a novel, with yesterday's headlines still printed on my brain, I hear the cries of five million expiring Jews outside my window.

I don't want to sound hysterical. I am not a hysterical person. I do not attend Zionist rallies, nor do I try my hand at clever ads for Jewish charities. I do not pester my gentile friends about the plight of these five million expiring Jews, nor do I allow the cries of these dying Jews to interfere with my appetite. Hell, my gentile friends are as intelligent as I am. They know that the betrayal of the Jews is part of the whole stinking hypocritical betrayal of the world. In time, a man learns to

eat his dinner sitting on a garbage dump. Right now the world is a garbage dump—and a man who is not under it has to eat if he wants to keep going.

Like many other writers, I have never allowed myself to fall for the sentimental slop which is always boiling over from inter-faith pulpits and forums. I have never believed that the upper middle class and its leaders were champions of Judaism, nor that big businessmen who acted as heads of vigorous charity drives were in a position to step up to the microphones as the voices of Israel. When I hear the cries of five million expiring Jews outside my window they are always moans of poor Jews. They come up to me like the sad sounds of falling rain. They beg me to tell of them, to speak for them.

A writing man is a man first or he isn't one. A Jewish writer has a heart in his breast, or he has a hard, indifferent, moneyed stone under his ribs. I am not equipped to tell of the massacre of the Jewish people. I never witnessed a pogrom. I never saw sixty thousand Jews mowed down by Axis machine gun bullets near a convenient ravine.

But here in America I, and other writers, are witnessing every day a different kind of pogrom—the pogrom against human decency. And it is not limited to Jews. It is also directed against Negroes, against labor and against little people who earn under five thousand dollars a year. Unaccompanied by the rattle of machine guns, it is played, instead, against the muted legal obligatos of “free enterprise.”

I am in deadly earnest. The enemy is in deadly earnest here. Being a Jew has helped me to see the terrifying deadliness of the whole business. We Jews are like undertakers: we have been to so many funerals, including our own, that we can smell a corpse quicker than any gentile can.

That is why I as a writer, as a Jewish writer, do not think I am the same as my Christian colleagues. Not with fifteen years of harrowing education at my back, not with a couple thousand more years of historical shadows flitting in the wings besides.

Briefly, it seems to me that a Jewish writer under forty (there is no use worrying over the older writers, they are either doing good work or they are already creatively dead), is in a spot. It is no new spot. It has always been there, but the present times have made it more visible, that's all. The spot is this: get on the production line or there might not be any more production line.

In short, I think any writer worth his salt will try today to produce

work that will mean something to his time. It doesn't necessarily have to be about Jews. If it deals honestly with the time in which we are living, that will be enough. For the time is blanketing all of us, Jew and gentile alike: we will all drown or float together on the crowded raft holding us all.

Jews, I think, will be the first to write about the present in a way which the time calls for. They will be the first because of their undertakers' noses. Do not forget that it was Kafka, a European Jew, who detected the smell of fascism as far back as 1919, and wrote about it.

So, we Jewish writers, because of our equipment (or heritage, if you want to call it that), ought to get going. We ought to get going not because of the cries rising up to us outside our windows, but because our time is shorter than that of our Christian colleagues, and because of the possibility of the human race being forced to dig its own grave if it is not awakened from its somnambulism.

[ALBERT HALPER is the author of *Union Square*, *On the Shore*, *The Foundry*, *The Chute*, *Only an Inch from Glory*, and other works of fiction.]

## HOWARD FAST

I AM asked to state and explain the relationship between my writing and something that is called a “Jewish Heritage.” The quotes are used with neither levity nor disdain, but rather as an indication of my own uncertainty as to just what a Jewish heritage consists of. And in my case, this becomes all the more puzzling, since I have been occupied—and to an extent, preoccupied—by the American heritage.

If I understand a Jewish heritage to be cultural in value and historical in content, then I give a certain answer. To put it a little more fully, if a Jewish heritage consists of Jewish learning, Jewish tradition, Jewish religious influences, a Jewish historical memory, and a sense of my importance and insularity in this world as a Jew, then my answer is no, flatly. Taking the Jewish heritage in that sense, I think I can say honestly and assuredly that my work bears no relationship to it. I say this to make no point, but simply because I have been more or less untouched by these influences.

If, on the other hand, a Jewish heritage is interpreted to mean something entirely different—then it has indeed a close relationship to all my work. I mean by this that some might consider it a Jew's heritage to

know intimately all the forces of hate and persecution. Chauvinism, as practiced by others upon him, might be considered the heritage of a Jew, and thereby might come a more intimate and more painful knowledge of it. Race hatred with all its evil—that too a Jew knows, and the age-old attack upon the liberty of the individual might well be considered a part of his heritage.

An extraordinary knowledge of all the forces, which through the centuries, have attempted to destroy the spirit and the hopes and the aspirations of mankind seems to me a part of the Jewish heritage—a part understood by some Jews at least—and to that heritage I owe much.

But when I write, I make no attempt to see things through the eyes of a Jew. It seems to me that too many Jews fall into a sort of soul-sickness, whereby they become the center of a universe—a dark universe where forces are pro-Jewish or anti-Jewish, where Jews are hated or persecuted or tolerated or loved—and so on, ad infinitum. The logical end for this sort of thing is on one hand the dark and neurotic world of a Ludwig Lewisohn or on the other the savage, irrational, semi-fascistic world of a Ben Hecht.

For me, a Jew is a man. He is persecuted; so are other minorities. He is libeled; so are others. There is discrimination against him; is there none against the Negroes? He has been murdered, tortured, driven across the face of the earth, but isn't that the fate of millions who are not Jewish?

Perhaps, if I had been more with Jews I would have written more of them—but even had that been the case, I don't think the direction of my writing would have been different. I note that in almost all of the questions asked, there is an air of generalization, which would almost automatically require a generalized answer. As, for instance, a valid difference between the work of Jews and non-Jews. I, for one, see no valid difference, certainly no one from which any conclusion can be drawn. Does the Jew choose certain themes? I think Jews, as non-Jews, write of what they know or believe.

While avoiding generalizations, it must be admitted that a number of Jewish writers who wallowed in their Jewishness are waking up and beginning to realize that there are certain forces outside of their own egos. Lewis Browne leaves mysticism long enough to write an anti-fascist novel, and Ben Hecht, discovering suddenly that he has authored one of the most viciously anti-Semitic novels in existence,

tries to atone. Others are opening their eyes, and I think that good will come of it. When a Jewish artist stops nursing his hurt soul and discovers that he has a brain and two hands to fight with, and that he does not have to fight alone, he is a step on the way to destroying anti-Semitism.

For myself, I write as an American and as a Jew, and I've found no contradiction. Fortunately or unfortunately, depending upon one's point of view, I was raised singularly free of religious prejudice or instruction; I escaped most of the Jewish mores and most of the fears. Thus, as anti-Semitism went to work upon me, as it does upon all Jews, I was able to see the machine objectively. I could not, nor did I desire to, go groping back into a Jewish past and rear the dangerous and always vulnerable walls of "an Island Within." For me, that past did not exist—and as I found it, through reading or hearsay, it held nothing attractive, nothing that I wanted.

The walled ghetto was destroyed; there are other ghettos, for Jew and Gentile, for black and white—and if men of good will relax even a moment those ghetto walls will rear themselves and bind us in, body and soul.

A Jew is nothing special; I see him as no better, no worse than other human beings—no wiser, no more foolish. If he is distinguished by anything, it is by the fact that through his religion and situation he offered a fine target for political reaction. Then I say—let him fight that reaction, and there is his only salvation. Let him join with all others who fight reaction, who fight for decency and democracy.

Jewish writers in Germany, and latterly Jewish writers in America, discovered how slick and easy it was to lampoon the Jew, to treat him as an animal, to wallow in a mystical appraisal of his divine or deadly place in the world. They fed the fires of anti-Semitism, contemplated their navels, and repeated blithely, "I'm special."

A Jew isn't special, nor do I consider a Jewish writer to be such. I write of people, and sometimes they are Jewish and sometimes they are not. In either case, they have the faults, the ambitions, greeds, hungers and hopes of human beings.

[HOWARD FAST, whose latest novel is *Citizen Tom Paine*, has in recent years gained wide recognition for his fictional use of American historical themes.]

## DAVID DAICHES\*

TO GIVE an adequate answer to the questions posed by the editors of this symposium I should have to write a complete autobiography. The whole complex of emotions and attitudes developed by a member of an orthodox Jewish family brought up in Britain or America cannot be simply defined or even easily understood. I doubt, too, whether anyone can tell the whole truth about himself in this respect however honest he tries to be. Nevertheless, in the few pages at my disposal I shall try to present as simply and as candidly as I can the principal influences which my Jewish background has had on my literary work.

I was brought up in Edinburgh, Scotland, a city with a Jewish population of not more than four hundred families. The academic and professional atmosphere of the Scottish capital harmonized very readily with the traditions of my own family, a rabbinical family of some antiquity. Scotland, as my father used to take pleasure in pointing out, was one of the few countries in Europe that had never at any period in its history persecuted the Jews. The traditions of the Scottish Church, with its love of the Old Testament and its genuine respect for and interest in "the people of the Book," helped to ensure that throughout my childhood—at school, and playing with the neighborhood children in the streets and parks—I never came across the slightest trace of any anti-Jewish feeling. Indeed, my own experience confirmed the view that my parents, perhaps unconsciously, presented to me—that anti-Semitism was a phenomenon of the bad old days, to be read about only in history books. Even today, when anti-Semitism has grown to dimensions undreamed of in my childhood, I find it difficult to think of except as a problem for *other* Jews; that is to say, it is my problem, but because it concerns those other Jews rather than myself. I recognize, of course, how fatuous this position is, yet I am constantly catching myself making this assumption.

My father, a rabbi and scholar who moved—as he still does—with ease and dignity among the academic and civic worthies of Edinburgh, combined the qualities of an orthodox rabbi with those of a modern Kantian: as a student, he had written a doctor's thesis on David Hume, and in later years devoted his attention to reconciling Kantian ethics with

\*Although Mr. Daiches was born and educated in Scotland, he has now lived long enough in this country to be regarded as an "associate American."—Ed.

the principles of rabbinical Judaism. I was thus brought up to regard Judaism as a living philosophy expressed through traditional symbols. At school and university I would discuss with my friends (who as a rule were non-Jewish) differences between the Christian and Jewish faiths: I never felt the slightest constraint or embarrassment in doing so, and though I was conscious of a two-fold loyalty—to Jewish and to British traditions—I did not, as a youngster, feel that this dual loyalty was anything but an advantage.

MY APPROACH to Judaism was thus philosophical and scholarly. I was encouraged to read and to argue, and my questions were generally answered both by oral arguments and by references to philosophical or academic works which I could consult in my father's library. My mother, whose cultivated literary taste and wide reading in the English classics had encouraged me to read almost all the nineteenth century English novelists and poets before I left high school, presided (to a degree she has never appreciated) over the more aesthetic aspect of my early education. The specifically Jewish aspect I always associated both with rigorous mental discipline and scholarship and with the emotions aroused by Jewish ceremonial.

Thus the particular Jewish background in which I was brought up tended to make me equate—with Socrates—knowledge with virtue. I do not know whether rabbinical Judaism always produces a contempt for ignorance and irrationality, but its influence on me was certainly to make me something of an intellectual snob.

But my Jewish studies had another influence too. My father lectured on the Hebrew text of the Old Testament prophets on Sunday mornings, concentrating on those passionate pleas for righteousness and social justice in which they abound: I learned whole chapters by heart in the sonorous Hebrew, and they have rung in my ears ever since. Later, when as a graduate student at Oxford I developed, somewhat belatedly, a keen political consciousness, modern Socialist teaching seemed to round out those ancient utterances, and my turn to the Left was due as much to the Hebrew prophets as to Marx. Today, my political creed of humanistic and democratic Socialism probably owes more to my father's interpretation of traditional Judaism than either he or I realize. The essentially humanist nature of rabbinic ethics has probably influenced my approach to aesthetic theory in a way I shall never be able to determine precisely.

The story is not all so simple as that. As I grew older I slowly began to feel that my dual loyalty was posing almost insoluble problems. I was brought up in Scotland; I was happy there, and conscious of no hostility. Yet the Zionists, with whose thought I was brought into close and frequent contact, maintained with considerable reason that the spiritual home of all Jews was Palestine, and went on to claim it as a national home as well. Was I, then, but a tolerated alien national in the country to which I was so attached?

This question worried me insistently throughout my years as a student at the University of Edinburgh, with the result that I turned more and more passionately to British—and more particularly Scottish—literature and history, with the only half-conscious thought that if I had less right to be living in the country than those whose ancestors had lived there, I could compensate for that by knowing more about the country and its traditions than any genuine Scotsman. I studied English literature and history at the University of Edinburgh with enthusiasm; I started to build up a library in Scottish history and literature, and went so far as to study Gaelic, so that I would know more of Scottish affairs than my non-Jewish colleagues. This did not mean that I lost interest in Jewish matters: when I left Edinburgh University to go south to Oxford—where, as a Scotsman arrived in England I at first felt very much out of water—I wrote my Ph.D. thesis on the development and sources of the Authorized Version of the Bible, thus neatly combining my studies in English literature with my Hebrew studies. (At Edinburgh I had specialized in seventeenth century English literature under Sir Herbert Grierson.) But it did mean that I was coming more and more to the resolve to become, among other things, an authority on Scottish literature and its background. There was much work waiting to be done in this field, and to do part of it would be my repayment to Scotland for having fostered me, and my justification for claiming it as my country.

It was in my student days that I first really explored the Highlands and Islands and became familiar with the Highland and Gaelic tradition—as distinct from the Lowland tradition—in Scottish life and letters. My parents readily accepted this enthusiasm, though not perhaps realizing its origin, and often we spent our holidays in some lonely and magnificent spot in Western Ross where few if any Jews had ever before set foot. One of the most vivid symbols of my youth is the clear picture

that I still have of my mother lighting the Friday night candles in a remote Highland cottage, before a window looking out over the sea and the islands of the Hebrides. Unconsciously I felt that those who lit Sabbath candles in the Hebrides had to prove their right to do so with equanimity by knowing more about Scotland, and by loving the country more passionately, than any ordinary Scot need do.

My Jewishness has thus had several distinct effects on my attitude and so on my literary work. First, the rabbinical tradition of ratiocination, scholarship, and humanism, has had an important effect on my academic studies and on my pretensions as a scholar and critic. I am certain that my perpetual quest for ultimate values and standards in literature, and my impatience with those who confuse historical with critical statements, owe something to this source. Secondly, my close study of the Hebrew prophets has influenced my social thought and helped me to interpret the lesson I, like so many others, have learned from modern social history in what is perhaps a rather unusual way; for I flatter myself that I am a Socialist with a difference. This has led to my interest in the social background of English literature, and to general problems of literary historiography, on which I have written a good deal. Thirdly, the fact that I am a Jew has produced in me a strong urge to justify my love of Scotland by knowing as much about the country and its history as I can and making some significant contribution to Scottish letters. I have for some time been working sporadically on an ambitious history of Scottish literature: if I had not been a Jew brought up in Edinburgh I am sure I would never have developed the ambition to write this work. For neither as a Jew alone nor as a Scotsman alone would I have felt the peculiar urge to make that kind of contribution.

I might conclude by mentioning that I came to the United States a few years ago on the invitation of the University of Chicago, and at present I am working for the British Government in New York. But unless something quite unexpected happens to make me change my plans, I shall eventually return with my wife and children to settle in Scotland. Had I not been a Jew, I might have been content to settle in this country, where I have been very happy. But as a Jew brought up in Scotland I feel a responsibility to as well as an affection for that country which I cannot ignore. The Wandering Jew, having established, by residence, research, and the supreme test of love, his right to the corner of the earth where he happened, by a freak of history,

to alight, cannot easily decide to start the same difficult and subtle process all over again.

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### CLEMENT GREENBERG

THIS writer has no more of a conscious position toward his Jewish heritage than the average American Jew—which is to say, hardly any. Perhaps he has even less than that. His father and mother repudiated a good deal of the Jewish heritage for him in advance by becoming free-thinking socialists who maintained only their Yiddish, certain vestiges of folk life in the Pale, and an insistence upon specifying themselves as Jews—i.e., to change one's name because it is too Jewish is shameful. Nevertheless the reflection in my writing of the Jewish heritage—is *heritage* the right word?—though it may be passive and unconscious, is certainly not haphazard. I believe that a quality of Jewishness is present in every word I write, as it is in almost every word of every other contemporary American Jewish writer. It may be said that this quality derives from a heritage and not from a racial psychology, but it is very informal, being transmitted mostly through mother's milk and the habits and talk of the family.

The differences between the work of Jewish and non-Jewish writers can be attributed in part to the Jewish past and in part to the contemporary Jewish plight. There is a Jewish bias toward the abstract, the tendency to conceptualize as much as possible, and then there is a certain *Schwärmerei*, a state of perpetual and exalted surprise—sometimes disgust—at the sensuous and sentimental data of existence which others take for granted. This is probably connected with the Jew's chronic conception of himself as a wanderer even when he has lived in the same place all his life. But this is not too specifically Jewish, as Saroyan, an Armenian, outdoes any Jew in this vein. Centuries of existence as an insecure minority make people conceive of themselves as always coming into the world from outside it.

It is difficult to separate the Jewish plight from the Jewish past, but there are certain differences between the work of Jewish and non-Jewish writers in this country which arise almost entirely from the

situation of Jews in America here and now. American Jewish novelists and poets have in common their preoccupation with the autobiographical. Again and again they describe escapes or better, flights, from the restriction or squalor of the Brooklyns and Bronxes to the wide open world which rewards the successful fugitive with space, importance, and wealth. Sometimes it is flight from loneliness into identification with a cause. Flight—as well as its converse, pursuit—is of course a great American theme, but the Jewish writer sets himself off by the more concerned and more immediately and materially personal way he treats it. His writing becomes essentially a career which provides him with the means of flight. "This writing is my wings away." It is for this reason that the American Jewish writer is so reluctant to surrender himself to a truly personal relation with an objective theme. His personal relation is to the success of his writing; the writing becomes almost altogether a way of coping with the world. All writing is that to a certain extent, but there is a limit which is overstepped by the Jewish writer. He is too open to the corruption of success. It is characteristic of American writers in general to suffer this liability, but again, the Jewish writer is forced to the crux of the problem by the greater social pressure upon him. He is unable to withhold himself from the need and the temptation to prove himself in every possible social direction. His real need, of course, is a greater feeling of integration with society, which will by the inevitable antithesis make him less dependent upon its approbation and rewards. I do not believe this will be possible for him except under socialism. Thus his plight becomes like every other plight today, a version of the alienation of man under capitalism; all plights merge, and that of the Jew has become less particular because it turns more and more into an intensified expression of a general one.

The problem of integration as solved by the non-writing Jew in this country—and some sort of solution it is—only adds to the difficulties of the writing Jew. Jewish life in America has become, *for reasons of security*, so solidly, so rigidly, restrictedly and suffocatingly middle-class that behavior within it is a pattern from which personality can deviate in only a mechanical and hardly ever in a temperamental sense. It is a way of life that clings even to those who escape from it in their opinions and vocations. No people on earth are more correct, more staid, more provincial, more commonplace, more inexperienced; none observe more strictly the letter of every code that is respectable; no

people do so completely and habitually what is expected of them: doctor, lawyer, dentist, businessman, school teacher, etc., etc. (The fault is not theirs but that is immaterial for the moment.) The reaction of the unexceptionable Jew to the exceptions proves how exceptionable these are. The result of this situation, paradoxically, is to increase further the pervasiveness of the autobiographical in American Jewish writing. The Jewish writer suffers from the unavailability of a sufficient variety of observed experience. He is forced to write, if he is serious, the way the pelican feeds its young, striking his own breast to draw the blood of his theme. (This is perhaps responsible for the exhibitionism in so much American Jewish writing.)

Such are the liabilities of the American Jewish writer. His assets lie mostly in an area that has a direct relation to himself but only an indirect one to his writing. The Jew has at least a way of life, a code of behavior, a felt if not conscious standard to which he conforms and which protects him from the ravages of Bohemianism. The trouble is, as I have indicated, that this code is too utterly middle-class to inform the Jewish writer's attitude to what he writes about. He is hard put to justify it to himself, much less criticize society in its terms. The Jew hangs on to it because as the member of a minority under hostile pressure he requires it for the struggle.

[CLEMENT GREENBERG, who reviews art regularly in *The Nation*, has published critical essays on art and literature in various periodicals.]

#### ISAAC ROSENFELD

ALL discussions pertaining to the Jews must begin with some very gloomy observations. The Jews are, everywhere, a minority group, and it is a particular misfortune these days to be a minority group in the United States. A conscious member of such a group is necessarily overconscious: he is distracted by race and religion, distressed by differences which in a healthy society would be considered healthful. The very simple state of being a Jew—and it should occupy no more of a man's attention than any ordinary fact of his history—has created traumas, fears of violence, defenses against aggression. These are about the worst conditions under which an artist could seek to carry on his work. An artist should first of all have the security of a dignified neutrality. He should be able to consider himself a *mensch mit alle menschen*

*gleich*—that is, an equal, a man among men, a representative even if extraordinary individual. But a Jewish writer unconsciously feels that he may at any time be called to account not for his art, nor even for his life, but for his Jewishness. Only a brave man can be a brave artist, let alone a good one, in a hostile world. It is therefore clear to me that whatever contribution Jewish writers may make to American literature will depend on matters beyond their control as writers.

But the position of Jewish writers—artists and intellectuals in general—is not entirely an unfortunate one. For the most part the young Jewish writers of today are the children of immigrants, and as such—not completely integrated in society and yet not wholly foreign to it—they enjoy a critical advantage over the life that surrounds them. They are bound to observe much that is hidden to the more accustomed native eye.

The insight available to most Jewish writers is a natural result of their position in American life and culture. Jews are marginal men. As marginal men, living in cities and coming from the middle classes they are open to more influences than perhaps any other group. I vaguely recall a Yiddish proverb to the effect that bad luck always knows where to find a Jew; and as a barometer of political calamity the Jews in this country are second only to the Negroes. But even gentler influences, short of fatality, know where to find Jews—in the middle, in the overlapping area where events converge. And the middle position has its cultural correlate, that of being centrally exposed to all movements in art and in thought. This position of cultural exposure gives the Jewish writer the advantage of access. (There is much more to be said about this point—more than I have the space or the knowledge to disclose. But, generally speaking, the position of Jewish writers illustrates one of the strangest phenomena of modern life. Since modern life is so complex that no man can possess it in its entirety, the outsider often finds himself the perfect insider.)

Close as they are to the main developments in America, some Jewish writers may retain more than a little of European culture. Either through their position in the Jewish community, their childhood, or the influence of their immigrant parents, they may possess a sense of reference to an earlier community. I don't know how widespread this old world feeling is among Jewish writers. But if it is at all common, I should say it is a valuable thing. Jews in America have relatively little contact with country life, with small town folk and farmers.

But through cultural retention, through a subliminal orientation to more primitive surroundings, they may still find in themselves access to rural life, understanding of its character and traditions.

But it is one thing to consider the Jewish writer's social equipment, and quite another to regard his actual position in society. As a member of an internationally insecure group he has grown personally acquainted with some of the fundamental themes of insecurity that run through modern literature. He is a specialist in alienation (the one international banking system the Jews actually control). Alienation puts him in touch with his own past traditions, the history of the Diaspora; with the present predicament of almost all intellectuals and, for all one knows, with the future conditions of civilized humanity. Today nearly all sensibility—thought, creation, perception—is in exile, alienated from the society in which it barely managed to stay alive.

But alienation from society, like the paradox of the outsider, may function as a condition of entrance into society. Surely it is not a condition for the Jew's re-entrance into the world that has rejected him. But persecution may lead him, as it has in the past, to a further effort to envisage the good society. No man suffers injustice without learning, vaguely but surely, what justice is. The desire for justice, once it passes beyond revenge, becomes the deepest motive for social change. Out of their recent sufferings one may expect Jewish writers to make certain inevitable moral discoveries. These discoveries, enough to indict the world, may also be crucial to its salvation.

I do not want to make too much of alienation. It is the only possible condition, the theme we have to work with, but it is undesirable, for it falls short of the full human range. Besides, in every society, in every group, there are what Saul Bellow has called "colonies of the spirit." Artists create their colonies. Some day these may become empires.

[Isaac Rosenfeld, assistant editor of *The New Republic*, is a young writer from Chicago.]

## The Jew in Our Day: Preface to a Program

WALDO FRANK

ISRAEL faces the deepest crisis of its history since the destruction of the Second Temple. And at its solemn hour, the American Jew, spiritually sick with the malady that menaces the world, is in command. This must not dismay us. Not for the first time might health rise from disease, vision from the urgent need of it.

When Rome destroyed the Jewish homeland, the rabbis saved Israel by building "a Fence around the Law." We need not romanticize juridic Judaism; its shrunken rigidity symbolized Israel's defensive state within the violence of Europe, yet did not protect the Jews from many superstitions of their barbarous neighbors. But to interpret this protective culture as mere legalism is nonsense. No people could have survived those dangerous centuries without deep and constant food: the only food for Israel from its beginning was the vision of the Prophets, and the Torah-Talmud kept it alive. The life-giving form that the Law and commentaries took was a shrewd adaptation to the culture of all the West, from the time of Moses to the industrial revolution. In a hundred ways, the nineteenth century dissolved the bone and tissue of this form. No more than Christian Europe and America, was Israel ready to replace it. I have discussed some of the diseases of this great transition; many were given self-flattering names, like liberalism, romantic and economic individualism, political materialism, pragmatism, by the bourgeois Democracies parading proudly to their doom. Israel shared them all.

It was no accident that this nineteenth century saw the birth of political Zionism. The ghettos were gone; the old way of life of the Jews was going. Israel took on the dangerous freedom of an open world at the moment when its inward defenses and nurture were being lost. Zionism, as distinct from the modest proposal that Palestine be freed for Jewish colonists, was the old Messianism in a new body; and the

fact that this body was compounded of a number of the ideas of the Europe of 1890—ideas neither practical nor Jewish, revealed Israel's confusion. Some Zionists spoke the stylish nationalist language of the little countries: the Jews, like the Danes, the Irish or the Montenegrins, were a *people*, and entitled to their national state. Others, more profound, saw in Palestine a commonwealth where the ancient spirit of the Jews might be reborn. Even the best of the Zionists did not ask how their people, whose way of life had survived countless other little nations after they had lost their homeland, could now base their new way on nationalism, doomed in the widening industrial economy of the world; or on subservience to the British Empire; or on forced political dominion over the Arabs, who may be expected to distrust Israel so long as Israel comes to them with the dishonest passport of imperialist Power.

The previous essays discussed the impotence of the Jews' anti-anti-Semitic action issuing from a way of life that inherently nurtures the forces of anti-Semitism. Zionism appears to suffer from a similar false base. The strong impulse to give Israel a cultural center and the homeless Jews a home is stultified by opportunist methods, which either ignore the nature of Israel (for over half its existence a Diaspora "nation") or endanger its spirit in the emotional will to give it a conventional political body. Because it articulates the mass yearning of millions of Jews, Zionism is respectable. Because of the beauty of the humble *Halutzim*, it is lovable. Thus far its leaders have not revealed the deep perspective, of which political insight is a dimension, the life-giving, unity-giving knowledge without which Israel could not have survived. Until Zionism in some new form incarnates this knowledge, it will remain a fractional movement.

Often the enemy from his distance discerns our general forms better than we, too fondly involved with ourselves. Consider Hitler, the enemy of Europe. He saw the impotence of its countless frontiers against the imperious trend of an industrial system toward mass production and untrammelled mass distribution. His way of "unity" was death: to level Europe downward to the simplicity of his demonic hate. But this hideous caricature of Europe's necessary wholeness should not make us blind to what Hitler saw, lest love be less wise than madness. In his hate of the Jews, also, Hitler may help us. The Jew as "good European" was his foe; the Jew as guardian of universal values was the face of all he struck to destroy. But when Hitler called the bourgeois Jew of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries *parasitic*, in his twisted way

he was right.\* The commercial and professional Jew, insofar as he lives by the parasitic capitalist classes, has also been parasitic; the intellectual Jew, insofar as he disavows the deep truth of his tradition in favor of the surface values of our culture, which likewise disavows its deep religious basis, has also been parasitic.

Hitler's myth of the "Great Conspiracy" of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, with their "secret sinister alliance" of all Jews, capitalists and revolutionists alike, to conquer the world: is it not a demonic caricature of the truth? a different kind of truth which Hitler discerns and hates, but which all good men, not alone Jews, will love if only they discern it. The lines of this Great Conspiracy are drawn in the Old Testament. By the seed of Abraham, all men are to attain the knowledge of God and of their brotherhood. The Prophets had no other theme. Within it Jesus preached. Within it, as within an Ark, the Jews of the Diaspora have sailed the stormy flooding centuries. If from Mosaic to modern times Israel had not *lived* this Great Conspiracy, there would be no Jews in the world to earn the hate of Hitler.

## II

HERE is a beginning for our Program. *The Great Conspiracy exists*, and every Jew by inheritance has it within his conscience and his blood, however his words and his deeds and his fears protest against it. But the complex modern Diaspora has nurtured a far deeper variety of minds and values among Jews than divided Pharisee, Sadducee, Judeo-Christian, Hellenist; later Kabbalist, Karaite, Hasid. There are several *basic* types of Jew today. There is the Jew, at home in the Gentile world and functioning best within it *as a Jew*. There is the Jew, also a product of Jewish nurture, who functions best in the Gentile world without insistence or awareness that his values are Jewish. There is the Jew whose orthodoxy feels at home in the land of the stranger. There is the orthodox Jew who longs for Zion. There is the Zionist who would make Palestine a secular socialist home for the sorely oppressed of Israel. A morbid error in which the Jews have fallen is the delusion that *one formula* can be found, as in the infinitely simpler realm of natural science, to explain men or a nation or Man. We must overcome it. Acceptance of the Great Conspiracy will be a lowest common denominator

\* Of course, this was not why Hitler hated the Jew. He had no objection to parasites; from the hoodlums of the German cities to the Lavals and Quislings abroad, he built his "world order" on the parasitic excreta of the bourgeois order.

—and a highest! preserving a pluralistic harmony for Jews, who in economic-cultural terms are as apart as Poland and California. Their active interpretations of the Great Conspiracy will differ, but within it as premise or matrix the quarrels that now arise from totally alien views of what the Jews are and of what they must do, will be the tensions and strengths of a richly composed organic Whole.

Our premise can be made dynamic without breaking its unity. We have seen the faith in man's democratic destiny to be the inherent Jewish knowledge of man's nature. The form of this destiny varies with the ages; it could not be the same in a pastoral as in an industrial world. But always it tended, as consciousness widened, to include all men; and always, as consciousness deepened, *the whole man*. "All men" and "the whole man" are dimensions of one organic body. We have seen how a democracy of all men that does not nourish the whole man, turns into a regimented herd; and how a cult of the whole man which ignores each man's just relation with his neighbors, becomes a lie. We have explained the harmony between Israel's Great Conspiracy and that political form of it, which it nourished, the democratic creed of America. Now, ere we go on, we must insist that this harmony is not identity. If the American Jew were required merely to accept our American Constitution, in even its broadest interpretation, his Judaism might well vanish. Of course the American Jew can be neither a good American nor a good Jew if his deeds, however disguisedly, foster the anti-democratic forces that pullulate in American life. But merely to refrain from such fostering will hardly distinguish him from other conscientious Americans; will hardly keep him a Jew.

The roots of American democracy are religious; our national principle of the relations between men is based implicitly on the sense of *man* which the Judeo-Christian religions developed through their sense of the relation between man and God. But this is not to say that American democracy itself is religious. If, however, the ends of secular democracy move too remotely away from their religious roots, and if the roots die, democracy sickens. A program for American Israel, which is not to fall into the trap of the assimilationists, dare not content itself with ethical democratic practices garnished by quotations from the Prophets. It must be a *root* action. This will relate it harmoniously with what is good in American life; it will not make it identical with all that is good in American life.

Our Great Conspiracy, demoniacally caricatured by the anti-Semites,

is in essence the Covenant of Abraham with God which suffuses all Israel's ages: luminously in the Prophets, more dimly in the hard years of Europe when Israel clung to the 613 Commandments. This faith of Abraham is his love for the God of Being, who, for men, must always be the immanent God of humanity. It prepares Abraham to sacrifice his son; to destroy his seed which God has promised shall fructify the earth. Emotionally, spiritually, Abraham kills his son, yet the son lives. This mystery is the meaning of Israel, who survives only insofar as it is ready to die; is the meaning of Man, who grows only as he is ready to die. Faith is the wrong word here. The power of Abraham's faith is knowledge. Only because Abraham knows God—*knows the nature of Being*, has he the strength to sacrifice what is dearer to him than his life; and has he the strength to survive.

Here is the premise for Israel today; let the Polish Zionist and the American radical or poet each interpret it according to his own devotion. It means that in every crisis of modern life, under his Covenant with God, to serve truth, love mercy and do justice, the Jew must be ready to die, the Jew must *know enough* to die: even to die in his son and in his seed—in order that Israel may live. That this faith of Abraham was no dream, no vague ideal: that it is organic knowledge, the centuries have proven. No natural law has been more ruthlessly, more objectively tested by experience. But the modern Jew must not forget that this organic knowledge is something more than understanding; indeed it may live without understanding, which is a far more narrow intellectual thing. Organic knowledge is action. A basic element of the knowledge of Abraham was his actual leading away his son. Man cannot organically know the good and do evil. What he does is the physiology of his knowledge. This—this alone, explains Israel's survival.

### III

AND this brings us to certain minimal points that issue from our premise.

1. The Jew cannot encourage or appease the forces of social injustice. To the extent of his capacity (ignorance has never been permitted to the Jew) he must study to know what they are.
2. Insofar as he is caught—like his Christian brothers—in the sins of our social-economic system for his daily bread, he must not starve. But the Jew must know his complicity, and free himself of ease and pride in his success.
3. At every risk he must support the forces of social justice; be loyal

- to the classes that are its implements and the groups representing it.
4. He must not be content with recognizing anti-democratic forces in politics and economics; this would be to limit his action to secular ends that fall short of their roots in religion and the arts: the realm of *the whole man*. He must know the treacherous anti-social trends in our folk arts (newspaper, radio, movie, magazine) and in our schools (the cult of information). He must know how this basic malnutrition shrinks the mind and emotion of our people, and breeds the cancer of confusion: in times of crisis the opportunity of evil men. He must set himself against these dangerous arts (today from Hollywood to New York men called Jews are among those who foster, market and produce them). He must nurture and seek out the truly creative arts.
  5. He must not be satisfied merely with the slogans of our democracy and with its political techniques. They are needed, but they are not enough; for they cannot nourish the whole man; cannot touch the corrosive ferments among our people that may ripen into the "soft" fascism that will be—long after Hitler and Hirohito are destroyed—our world's abiding danger.
  6. He, the American Jew, must not forget that because of his economic power and his citizenship in a still democratic land, he is today the guardian of all Israel. His cure of his own disease will help all Jews and, since the disease is general, all men. Because of America's strategic place in shaping the course of history tomorrow, toward democracy or away from it, the American Jew's loyal enactment of the Great Conspiracy is linked more immediately with the fate of man than it has been since Jerusalem and Alexandria helped to create Europe.

## IV

THIS brings us to the deeper, less visible part of our program. Individual wisdom lived in many ancient lands: India, Egypt, China, Greece. The supreme original contribution of the Hebrews was to communize wisdom, first to their own, then to all the peoples. Within this social consciousness of the Jews matured the first *whole person*.\* But as the

\* My book *Chart for Rough Water* develops this thesis and shows that even Socrates and Plato did not achieve the complete sense of the person. The individual wisdom of the Hindus never achieved the dimension of social consciousness, of the *will* to naturalize the earth for the human spirit.

idea of the person rose in Palestine, the social wisdom which had nourished him grew rigid. Conflict followed, dramatized in anarchic sects like the Essenes, and in men like Paul, whose expansive Jewish genius eventually burst from the Law. For seventeen centuries the desperate need of Israel's social body to survive absorbed most of the energy of the people. The Jews seemed to lose the ultimate light and grace of personal freedom which the law alone cannot fulfill, although it nourished its beginnings. Mature spiritual creation comes only from the person. This is why, for generations, Israel's creative genius has lived largely outside the Law. This is why, to become again the active home of the *whole man*, Israel needs a fresh experience. The still unmined treasure lives embedded within Jewish history.

The finest personal flower of Jewish wisdom is Jesus. Jesus was a man in whom the cosmic consciousness was so strong that its ecstasy became the norm of his life. At every moment, he knew what Abraham knew when he led his son to sacrifice; what Moses knew upon Sinai; what the Prophets knew when they saw man so lucidly as to foresee his course;—and what the common Israelite strove to know through the methodology of his daily devotions. The knowledge was so immense in Jesus, that literally he knew nothing else. Time was not; Rome was not; the plodding handwork of the Pharisees was burned away; the Kingdom of Heaven literally was within him. A millennium of his people's divine methodical search flowered in this man. But Jesus as a Jew was moved by the social sense of his folk for whom knowledge could not be private. He lived in a sick age. Rome's "peace" smelled of death, and in all lands men believed in the Last Days and longed for redemption. In other peoples, the desperate state of man under the deadness of Rome's "perfect law" inspired the mystery religions by which privileged individuals "died" in the body of a god and were "resurrected." In Palestine, this hunger for salvation took the concrete traditional form of belief in the Messiah. Jesus felt this pressure of his people's anguish and of their Messianic tradition. Within himself, he knew the freedom of his own wondrous cosmic consciousness: a freedom that is the seed of God in every man. Because of his Jewish need to share with his brethren, to turn his personal ecstasy into the rapture of all; and because of the traditional Prophetic language in which he thought, he came to believe that he was the Messiah. Salvation, however, as he hungered to impart it, was immediate, not political; eternity was here, within time, upon the moment of men's hearing. What

he knew was *the truth*. His flaw was to believe that his knowledge was *communicable*: a Jewish error, if you will, since Moses and the Prophets had all stressed the communal nature of salvation.

Rome and the priesthood translated the Messiahship of Jesus into common political terms; and for this, Jesus was killed. Whether he knew he would die; whether he hoped for some miraculous rescue, is beyond the scope of my opinion. Like Abraham, giving his beloved son, he was ready.

Then, through the Hellenized Jews, the profound Jewish Myth of the Suffering Servant of the Lord merged with the abstract logos of the Platonists and with the bloody god of the pagan mystery religions. Israel's finest vintage, diluted and corrupted, flowed into barbarous Europe to transfigure it into the deepest and most potent of man's cultures.\*

Israel could not accept this Jesus become Christ: become the abrogation of the Law to which Israel desperately clung. For this Christ, Israel was too mature. And not mature enough to accept the *impossible* goodness of Jesus which could not live among men. Yet this paradoxical tension between God's will and man's act, which the drama of Jesus symbolizes, is the basic theme of all Israel's story.

Israel's classic solution of this *impossibilism*, which is the nature of man, was the dream of a Messiah of Power projected into the future. Christianity now placed this solution in the historic present, in terms alien to the Jewish critical mind. The tragic truth remains, that in rejecting with Christ their own Jesus (as they had to, in that hour and that form) the Jews were forced to deny the deepest vision of Man which their own culture had produced. There was no element in the cosmic consciousness and in the sacrificial role of Jesus, which could not be duplicated in Jewish writings. But where was there another form of it so visible and complete?

Having implanted this seed of itself in pagan Europe, there to give birth to the independent Christian culture, Israel recoiled—and became itself a seed embedded in the Christian world. Now, through the centuries another organic mystery ripens. With the age of science, Chris-

\* In several of my books, *The Rediscovery of America, America Hispana, Chart for Rough Waters*, there is an attempt to establish that the personal will, released by Judeo-Christian thought in the peoples of Europe, was the primary factor not only in the discovery of America but also in the discovery of the laws of natural science whose application made the machine age possible. It is not accidental that the British people, pioneers of the machine, were also pioneers in the belief in the primacy of *will*: for instance, Pelagius and Duns Scotus.

tendom can discard those very elements, magical and absolutistic, which recommended the Myth of Christ to the pagan need of magical absolute solutions. The enlightened minds of Christianity begin to free Christ of his pagan provincial forms and to release the Jewish elements in the great Myth. Meanwhile the forces of "enlightenment" had begun to dissolve the old body of the Jewish Law. By the nineteenth century Israel stood comparatively free in a scientific culture—and stood naked! With the disintegration of the Law, the Jew's knowledge of the person, from whose intuitive beginnings the Law had been builded, and of which the drama of Jesus was the expression, had grown dim: when it was most sorely needed! And through the ages of European persecution it has become clear that Israel itself is an embodiment of this drama's meaning.

Here is a potential convergence between a still unconscious Israel and a still faltering Christianity, which must prove as fruitful to mankind as the convergence twenty centuries ago of Jew and Hellene!

I do not refer of course to the false convergences of Jews, "freed" of the Synagogue and of Gentiles, "freed" of their churches, who meet upon the flat lands of rationalism. I do not refer to the pastors who shallow Jesus into a "very good man" or to the rabbis who assimilate Judaism to tepid Protestantism and ethical culture. I do refer to profound men of a new militant Church like Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr: religious minds who read the great stories of both Testaments as psychological truth beyond rationalist concepts; truth which reveals the insufficiency of empiric thought to explain Man; the organic truth of Man that only men's flesh and blood can utter. By the insight of such leaders as I have named, the core of the meaning of Jesus' life and death is revealed: the immersion, tragic and glorious, of the Transcendent within history, the endless counterpoint of human victory and failure, death and transfiguration.

Even within the Roman Catholic Church—although not within its hierarchy—there is a similar convergence. A saintly theological poet like Jacques Maritain becomes far more than a defender of the lives of the Jews: his integral humanism, his deep insight into Israel's character, indeed his own personal life, reveal his high vision of Israel and the monistic influence of the Prophets' social sense upon him.

The convergence on the side of the Jews has been less intellectual. The poets lead the way. Great Jewish artists like Marc Chagall and Jacob Epstein imbue the Crucifixion with Jewish meaning. The Yid-

dish folk bard, Sholem Asch, devotes his best years to creating what might be called a "primitive Jewish" Jesus and Paul. However one may judge the literary value of *The Nazarene* and *The Apostle*, these remarkable novels are historic signs of the convergence: they place the two great Christian heroes where they belong; within the plasm of Jewish life, within the tradition of Jewish knowledge.

Equally striking, as a sign, are the two monumental works of the Hebrew historian, Joseph Klausner: *Jesus of Nazareth* and *From Jesus to Paul*.<sup>\*</sup> Here are scholarship and psychological research in lieu of the storyteller's afflatus. But if the convergence of two such distinct Jewish leaders upon Jesus is meaningful, no less so is the fact that both their interpretations miss the essential significance of this symbol for Israel in its modern crisis. Both make of Jesus a superlatively pious Pharisee, and of Paul a fanatic who in his overwhelming need to bring the light of Israel to the world is finally forced to sacrifice the Law. Asch interprets the New Testament story uncritically, naively; Klausner narrates it with a sympathetic rationalism not far from Renan's. Neither reaches the profound Prophetic insight of the great Christians I have named, who read the Myth in the language of organic symbolism, by which alone—beyond syllogism, science and supernaturalism, the *physiology* of the human spirit can be experienced by man.

## V

ALL I have said is a preface to the program which men and communities, strong in knowledge and love, must build. When will they begin?

When they begin, the periphery of Israel, as in all its crises, may fall away. But the heart, the Saving Remnant, prophesied by Isaiah, will again grow solid. Israel will have leaders who can lead. Israel will confront such crying problems as the butchery of the Jews in Europe and Britain's betrayal of Palestine (predictable from the beginning) with weapons stronger than sentiment, shrewder than the opportunist makeshifts of pressure politics. Israel will have harmony among Zionists and Jews who claim their home as America, Germany, Poland; and an active inward principle to defend them all from the forces of social injustice and of materialism, which threaten Israel with corruption more deeply than Hitler with murder. Renewed knowledge of its dignity will purge Israel of appeasers, purify it of the defensiveness that comes

<sup>\*</sup>Published by The Macmillan Co. I warmly recommend these books to every reader.

from fear, from the fear that comes from ignorance. To converge with this new, profound element in Christian vision will not turn the Jews into Christians, as it will not turn the Christians into Jews. But two harmonious minorities in an overwhelmed and menacing world, captained today by shallow men, will stand in strength together.

Most important of all, the convergence, by which the Jews may now claim the symbolic meaning of Jesus, will restore to them the modern meaning of the Prophets, and *the timeless meaning of Israel*. Israel has been the Suffering Servant, a mysterious incarnation of the Transcendent within history; not because it suffered—other little nations suffered, but because it *knew*; not because it died—other little nations died, but because it *knew* and therefore could not die. Even when its knowledge grew dim, instinctively, by the momentum of the Prophets in its daily life, Israel lived on; Israel was the Suffering Servant. For that, though the lives of the bourgeois Jews implicitly deny it, the best Jews are crucified today. But all their pain will not avail them; its meaning will be stultified and lost in the blood-soaked sands of time, if knowledge does not once more grow strong in Israel.

Here, too, the story of Jesus can serve. His drama would lose its meaning, if Jesus had not *known* its meaning; known the fatality of his life; known that the supremely Good must be forever immolated that man may live; if as an integral part of his knowledge and love of life, he had not been ready to die.

Israel cannot continue to *be*, unless Israel begins again to *know*: and to know is to *do*.

As Abraham knew he was "called," as Jesus knew he was "sent," and that the Kingdom of Heaven—which is freedom—was within him, and that he must live and die to impart it to his brothers; thus Israel must know the Mystery today which Israel's history has realized in the world. Then, and then only, the Jews' Great Conspiracy will become again the premise of a cogent Jewish program.

The other points of the program will follow, being integral with the premise. There will be again a universal reason, a universal knowledge for the separateness of the Jews. That separateness will be again their bond with all the world.

While that bond of knowledge and of serving holds, the world may crucify the Jews, but it will never let them die.

[This is the last in a series of three articles by Mr. Waldo Frank.]

## On a Jewish Soldier's Letter

AROLD J. LASKI

I HAVE seen today the letter of a Jewish soldier, stationed by the Suez Canal. He had just seen the arrival of a group of Jewish refugees on their way to Palestine; most of them were orphans between the ages of four and twelve. All of them had that emaciation which produces even in the youngest children that look of wizened old age which comes to those who, ill-clad and underfed for years, have the experience of unutterable sorrow in their eyes. None of them had the spirit even to cry. None of them knew any longer that things like love and friendship still existed in the world. All of them stood on the side of the quay as though they were automata who responded only to the mechanism of order. They had been driven from France and Germany to Poland, and then on, in four years of ceaseless wandering through Russia to the Persian Gulf. What struck the soldier most about them was their tragic silence. Children love to play and chatter. Endless movement and energy, the restless passion for change, these are the things about which the psychologist and the teacher write in their books on children. But these little refugees never moved; they were afraid to be seen, afraid that if they spoke they would be noticed, and that if they were noticed they would die.

The soldier had seen poverty and suffering; as a boy he had grown up with his parents in the sweatshops of Lodz, and he had seen one of those pogroms which, before the war, made members of the House of Commons, even when they read of them, call meetings of protest and go on indignant deputations to the Foreign Secretary. I can myself remember, as a child, the fierce anger of the Prime Minister when he spoke at a meeting in Manchester, almost forty years ago, against these cruelties. But the soldier said that he had never seen before any agony of this kind. It was as though the stillness of these children was louder than the shrieking of the ship's siren, or the roar of aeroplanes as

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they passed by. On their faces was written all the tragedy of all Jewry, of boys and girls who had seen the kind of thing which belongs not to civilization but to the tiger in the jungle when it flings itself upon its prey.

There were children of seven and nine who had not only been compelled to watch their parents buried alive but remembered what they had seen. There were others who had seen a whole community of Jews driven to the edge of a common grave into which they fell as they were machine-gunned. There were children who did not know what it meant to be spoken to softly, to be smiled at, who shrank away in fear when any of the troops offered them a piece of chocolate, who could not be made to understand that some little toy, a flag or a doll, was for them. There were others to whom the spoken word brought at once a look of terror; for over four years the spoken word had meant insult or cruelty or sometimes death. And it was upon this knowledge that the soldiers had to build when they tried to make them understand that they were on their way to a land where cruelty was forbidden and torture sternly punished, that these children who had awaited death in a hundred of its most barbarous forms were now to pass through the gate which led to life and freedom.

I do not think that any Jew would ask exceptional treatment for his people. The soldier whose letter I have quoted speaks there of justice for Czech and Pole and Frenchman; he even adds a sentence to emphasize awareness on his part that there are countless Germans to whom this massive and organized barbarism is a source of endless shame. But he asks, not, I think, without some justice, why the British and American Governments should look so coolly on the work of rescuing Jews. He speaks of the stern protest which Mr. Churchill, among other British statesmen, signed just before the outbreak of war against the policy of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald in Palestine. He points out that, in its essence, that policy determines the action of the Colonial Office and the High Commissioner in Palestine today. He notes the amplitude of verbal sympathy. But he remarks that behind the drive of Arab antagonism to the use of Palestine as a large-scale refuge, there will be found the voice of British advisers, whether the utterance comes from Ibn Saud, from Iraq, or from Egypt. He notes with interest that the policy of His Majesty's Government is always said to be built upon the counsel of their expert advisers in the Middle East; and that, in general, these expert advisers are the very men who urge upon the

the danger which the Jews are supposed to represent, in the light of which the British War Cabinet sets the frame of its policy. The soldier sees no shame in being a Jew. He is convinced that what he and his fellow-members on their collective farms have done in Palestine is not only better worth doing than what he and his father did in the sweatshops at Lodz, but that it represents a social experiment of great value to the world. He has done no harm to the Arabs in Palestine unless it be argued that it is harmful to make the Arab peasant conscious of new horizons, and less able to see why the effendi lives in luxury on his earnings in Cairo and Alexandria and the rich of France should have that privilege without the need to labor for its possession. In the last war his father fought in the Jewish army under a Jewish flag; and no memory is more precious to him than a scrap of paper on which T. E. Lawrence had scrawled "Well done!" for some scouting exploit in the desert. He would have liked, as his father did, to go into battle for freedom under the Jewish flag; and he never fully grasped why a Government over which Mr. Churchill presides should think that appeasement of the Arabs is any more likely to be successful than Mr. Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler or of Mussolini.

He sees no shame in being a Jew, though he is acutely aware of the temper of the British administration in Palestine is, generally, against a Jew, as such, almost owes an apology to the Government there for all the trouble he has caused. He feels a keen admiration for the courage of his nation; to have survived catastrophe and tragedy of the kind that it has experienced seems to him to justify one further effort to survive. And having seen the first children of exile from Nazi persecution become transformed in Palestine from tragic automata into human beings who learn, within a year, how to laugh and play, who lose the sense of fear and no longer carry in their eyes what seems like the sorrow of all the ages, he believes with passion that Fate has destined Palestine to rescue a few here and there, but the hundreds of thousands of Jews whom kindness might similarly transform. And, above all, as he writes with firmness, there is no people nor Government in the world, when the war is over, will feel the urgency of lifting the shadows of this terror from the memory of the Jews except the Jews themselves. He cannot forget those grim years from 1933 to 1939 when Hitler in Germany, the Governments of Poland and Hungary and Rumania, commanded with one another to take from the Jew such brief moments of

happiness as his life in Central and Eastern Europe made possible. He must fight for his rights as a human being; no one else is likely to fight for them if he is servile and indifferent. Nor can he forget that in fighting for his rights he is a soldier in that battle of freedom which will continue all our lives. For if he is denied his rights, he and those tragic children whom he saw, all over the world it will be easier for the powerful to oppress the humble, the rich to oppress the poor. "It is the first condition of freedom," he writes to me, "that one should will not to be a slave." I hope it is a will that grows strong in every Jew as the end of the war approaches. For they cannot act more wisely than to realize that, if their sufferings are an asset to the United Nations while the battle rages, they will be the first thing Governments are anxious to forget as victory dawns. That, indeed, as my soldier writes from Suez, is the path to triumph that Hitler may tread in the very hour when the blackout seems to announce, as it is lifted, the finality of his overthrow.

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# Israel's Nordic Champions

MANZ J. KATZ

COINCIDING to the day with Rosh Hashanah 5704, early in October 1943, the German Nazi organs in Denmark instituted a pogrom against the Jews. The Germans were assisted by the handful of native Danish Nazis who, with their masters, operated under the protective benevolence of the occupation army. Preceded on September 29th by the establishment of a German military dictatorship in Denmark, this act of oppression evoked a wave of national indignation throughout the little kingdom. The German High Commissioner's office was assailed by a veritable avalanche of protests from the country's major political parties, public and religious bodies, civic organizations, professional guilds, trade unions and the leaders of literally all sections of the Danish nation.

The German persecutions were countered by a national sabotage movement. Popular aid was rendered to the Jews of the country in their efforts to escape the German terror and to flee to neighboring Sweden across the waters of the Öresund. Sweden, still seething angrily over the most recent violations of her neutrality by Germany, lodged a formal, diplomatic protest in Berlin, warning the Third Reich of the "grave repercussions which a German persecution of the Danish Jews would cause in Sweden." Furthermore, Sweden extended her hospitality to Danish Jewry. A mass flight to Sweden ensued.

It was with unique fervor and unity that Denmark and Sweden came to repudiate in word and deed the anti-Jewish heresy. Scandinavia's solidarity with the oppressed of Israel in this hour of trial was but consistent with her traditions and high political standards. To the successive generations of Scandinavian Jews these standards had granted what had been denied to Jews of many countries: freedom, equality, and peace.

THE historical background of Scandinavian Jewry is substantially

identical with that of other West European Jewish communities, founded by refugees from the Inquisition and subsequently reinforced by German and East European Jewish settlers. Shortly after the turn of the century, the events of 1905 precipitated an influx into Scandinavia from Czarist Russia. The Russian Revolution of 1917 accounted for a further immigration of Jews into Scandinavia. Until 1933 and nazism's success in Germany, no major events affected the life of Scandinavian Jewry. The Jewish community of Denmark numbered then about six thousand souls. Norway's Jews were variously estimated to total from 900 to 1,500 persons. Only 7,000 Jews lived in Sweden. New-comers to these countries earned their living as craftsmen, small traders and peddlers. The majority of the Scandinavian Jewish population, however, was part of the upper class, playing a role in the professions, banking, publishing and literature, in the arts, civil service, the sciences and statecraft. The rate of intermarriage was extraordinarily high, particularly in Denmark. As a whole, Scandinavian Jews were at one in interests and outlook with those of the entire Scandinavian region.

Scandinavian Jewry was jolted out of its tranquillity and optimism with the same stunning suddenness and violence as was Scandinavia itself. For Scandinavia and for Scandinavian Jewry there began a new period of history on March 5, 1933, when the democratic Weimar Republic gave way to a fascist state with imperialist aspirations. First and foremost of the New Germany's political instruments was its foreign propaganda, global, seditious, revolutionary and racial. For racial reasons, German propaganda pursued a double aim in Scandinavia: to cultivate what were deemed to be Germanic "kinsfolk" and to destroy there, as elsewhere, whatever there was of Jewry. Thus the tentacles of Jew-hatred were cast across the Baltic Sea. Since the years 1820 to 1850, when the halls of the Stockholm Riddarhuset, Chamber of the Swedish nobility, had resounded to some of the nineteenth century's last anti-Jewish outbursts, no such sentiments had been proclaimed in the lands of the North. The Stockholm afternoon daily, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, could well have spoken of all Scandinavia, when it said on February 28, 1933: "There is no Jewish problem in Sweden, but for the newspaper columns."

The situation changed to some extent during the period which began with the nazification of Germany and ended with the German invasion of both Denmark and Norway. This period was marked by two phenomena: the Nazi-inspired anti-Jewish propaganda and the refugee

blem. The anti-Jewish propaganda was spread by various native puppet organizations. In Denmark, the unpopular German minority Southern Jutland was the first element to serve this purpose. In addition, there were several Nazi party nuclei in Denmark, selling scandal sheets and continually at loggerheads with one another. Although Denmark had Scandinavia's liveliest Jewish community, almost no anti-Semitism existed in that country. In Sweden the situation was somewhat different, though there, too, nazism was split into several factions absorbed in internecine warfare.

Of a more consequential nature was the anti-Jewish undercurrent associated with the life of Gothenburg, metropolis of Swedish trade and famous international port. Sweden's anti-Semitism of the academic variety had its seat in the university town of Lund, while Swedish anti-Semitism's political headquarters were located at Stockholm. Norway's native Nazi group was the Nasjonal Samling, National Concentration, organized under extreme difficulties and utterly unable to make any inroads into Norway's political life. Because of the numerical insignificance of the Jewish population in Norway, it was all but impossible to use "the Jewish problem" as a political football.

THE refugee problem, created by Germany and increased by her successive assaults on the rest of Europe, affected Scandinavia in various phases. The first period began on March 5, 1933 and lasted until November 1938. The pogroms then taking place precipitated a mass exodus from Germany, which was swelled by refugees from subsequently annexed territories. This period came to an end with the invasion of Poland and the outbreak of the Second World War. The ensuing phase lasted until the invasion of Scandinavia itself. The Scandinavian stage was set for the tragic events that were to follow soon: the destruction of Norwegian Jewry and not long thereafter the somewhat abortive onslaught on the Jews of Denmark, in October 1943.

From 1933 to 1940, approximately 5,000 Jewish refugees had found permanent home in Scandinavia. About 2,000 had settled in Denmark, slightly more in Sweden and the rest had gone to both Norway and Finland. Immigration into the four Nordic countries was a matter of extreme difficulty, sometimes virtually impossible. The Northern states dealt with the question of aliens under the franchises of a highly protective labor legislation. The labor unions and their political instruments, the Social Democratic parties, consequently took a rather

conservative stand on the admission of refugees. From the outset, however, there was evident a strong current of political and social solidarity with the refugees. Gradually, there developed a more fundamental understanding of the revolutionary events and their implications for Scandinavia. But the elements of the political right were even more averse to the admission of refugees. In this instance, purely reactionary motives and the customary xenophobia, strengthened by the inevitable dose of antagonism to the Jews in general, accounted for their approach to the issue. Thus, the refugee, after having managed to escape from his native land, often an accomplishment of no mean sorts, was faced by the problem of admission and of securing a permit for permanent residence. The last hurdle was the obtaining of the labor permit. For only then was a refugee able to begin life anew.

Most refugees reaching Scandinavia did not belong to the category previously described. They were merely "transmigrants." According to *Svenska Dagbladet* of September 30, 1938, 30,000 "transmigrants" had passed through Sweden between 1933 and 1938. The same paper stated that "not one of ten" refugee Jews reaching the country could stay! However, if there were any meritorious cases of Jewish applicants for asylum who were forced to return to Germany or other anti-Semitic countries, such cases have not come to the knowledge of this writer.

In Denmark, applications which were not granted through routine channels had to be attended to in person by the Minister of Justice, whose actions were dictated by a noble, humanitarian ideal. However, the law of Denmark was rigid, leading to the use of such desperate devices as marriages arranged for the sake of residence and labor permits. To the honor of those who availed themselves of this "trick," it can be stated that such cases represented no simple performance of an "immigration fraud." The Danish partners entered these marriages for the very purpose of saving the life of the endangered foreign spouse. Nor was it a matter of exacting rewards, since in most cases, the partners to the "sham" marriage were "little men," driven to despair by persecution on one side and "red tape" on the other, and the other partner a simple human being moved to action by sympathy for a distressed fellow-man.

The November pogroms of 1938 turned the tide in Sweden. A powerful, nationwide campaign was developed for the liberalization of the law of asylum. The political battle was carried on with all the fervor, depth and loftiness of which Sweden, one of the world's oldest democracies, was capable. Its leading spirit was a prominent educator,

lis Hammar, rector of Birkagarden Folkhogskola, one of the Swedish state's most renowned institutions of popular education.

In the course of his campaign for asylum to the oppressed, Gillis Hammar coined a watchword which was gradually accepted as Sweden's official foreign policy toward Germany: "We can be neutral to a country, but we cannot remain neutral to a philosophy of life!" Hammar's words electrified the Swedish nation. He received nationwide support. Among his supporters were the gallant and forthright Torgny Berstedt, editor of the world-famous *Goeteborgs Handels-och Sjoestadningen*, who is perhaps Scandinavia's foremost antagonist of antisemitism, and Ture Nerman, once the stormy petrel of Swedish radicalism, purist and reformer of the Swedish language, poet, author and now publisher of the famous Stockholm weekly *Trots Allt* ("In Spite of Everything"), dedicated to fighting nazism. Hammar succeeded in his crusade. It was inspiring to observe how a country of Sweden's obvious limitations was able to convert the refugee issue into a people's cause.

Public protestations and monetary gifts were but the beginning. Sweden's 7,000 Jews naturally were too small a group to absorb completely the ever-increasing influx of refugee-strangers which reached its maximum at the time of the annexation of Austria. Sweden became a haven to thousands of victimized, orphaned, lonely and wayward Jewish children for whom this world was at once too small and too unfamiliar. They found their way into Swedish families and into Swedish schools. They were unfamiliar with the country, ignorant of its language, still shaken by the nightmare of persecution they had experienced. They reached their new homes in the middle of the school year, feeling lost and bewildered. But human kindness saved these victims of the European race war. Particularly impressive was the role played in this humanitarian salvage project by Sweden's teachers. Not only did they follow Gillis Hammar's gallant leadership. They set an example by helping to integrate these refugee children into Swedish school life; in addition, they tutored them privately to help them catch up. Above all they themselves housed, clothed and fed these children at their own expense and for the sake of the principle for which they had fought.

If tribute is due, additional names should be mentioned on this occasion. The late Sigfrid Hansson, one of the foremost personalities of the Swedish Federation of Labor and head of the Swedish Office of Social Welfare, Socialstyrelsen, shared with Gustaf Moeller, Minis-

ter of Social Welfare, the responsibility for a generous and politically difficult course in matters of the refugee problem. Hansson and Moeller battled for what seemed to be a losing cause. Americans will appreciate that Sweden, too, had its isolationists, some of whom could even be found in the ranks of the labor movement. It was in response to the latter element that Frederik Stroem, former chairman of the Stockholm City Council and erstwhile editor of *Social Demokraten*, organ of the Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party, said on April 26, 1940: "The day may come when democrats from countries which are still free are forced to seek refuge abroad. May every one then treat his fellow-democrats as he himself wanted to be treated, if he would lose his own country." And as bastion after bastion of democracy fell under the blows of fascism, there was no rejoinder to this argument.

For the sake of the record, another Swedish Samaritan venture on behalf of oppressed Jews should be mentioned: the case of Jewish converts to Protestantism, almost exclusively Lutherans, in both Germany and Austria. Converts, like other Jews, were subject to the orgies of Nazi racialism. The predicament of the converts was doubly tragic. Persecuted relentlessly by the anti-Semites, disliked if not despised by loyal Jews whom they had deserted, and never fully accepted or recognized by the churches they or their fathers had joined, their case represented a tragedy within a tragedy. The "Swedish Mission to Israel" helped to console these truly miserable people during the most harrowing periods of persecution. After their deportation to the East European ghettos and extermination centers, the Swedish missionary society maintained contact with these unfortunates by personal and circular letters of consolation, by food parcels, shipments of clothing and the establishment of Joint Prayer Fellowships which, in a symbolic gesture, linked the Jewish converts within the ghettos with their non-Jewish fellow-Christians in Sweden.

THE day finally came when Germany invaded both Denmark and Norway. For Scandinavia, a long period of uninterrupted peace had come to a sudden and bloody end. The end had also come for two of Scandinavia's Jewish communities.

If ever the Nazi race mania had been shown up in all of its base absurdity, this was the case in Norway. Obviously, that country's Jews represented too small a group to provide the routine pretense for pogroms, for among Norway's close to 3,000,000 inhabitants, there were only

8,400 professing Jews, according to official figures. Indeed, while Norway was invaded in April 1940, it was not until October 1942, that the persecutions began in earnest. Until then, the Norse Jews had experienced only petty annoyances and individual excesses.

They had enjoyed complete equality in Norway in accordance with constitutional law adopted in 1851, which admitted the Jews to citizenship and residence in Norway and cancelled the prohibitive provisions of the 1814 law which excluded Jews. The famous Kristiansand poet and author Henrik Arnold Wergeland, a descendant of the clan of Werklund, was the crusader responsible for modern Norway's attitude toward Jewry. Wergeland was a fiery campaigner as well as an accomplished author. His novels about Jews and his equally famous orations in the Norwegian Storting broke the prejudice that still survived.

Norwegian Jewry's role in the last century of Norwegian history indicated Wergeland's stand. A statement of the Norwegian Government, issued on December 1, 1942, summarizes the story very strikingly: "The idea that a 'Jewish Question' exists in Norway is a sheer invention of the German Gestapo and their Quisling henchmen. Ninety-one years ago, all restrictions on the entry of Jews into Norway and on the exercise of their own forms of religious worship were abolished. Since then, Norwegians have ceased to think about Jews as such. The majority of Norwegians were scarcely aware of the fact that there were any Jews in Norway. What few Jews there were, were just Norwegians like everybody else, and like everybody else, they followed the particular form of worship which suited them."

The shooting of a border patrolman aboard a train from Oslo to Malden, which also had ten Jewish passengers aboard, served as a green light for the anti-Jewish terror in nazified Norway. The occupiers and their quisling lackeys joined in rounding up the country's entire Jewish population. Even women and children, the aged, the feeble, and blind were not spared. *Fritt Folk*, organ of Nasjonal Samling, made the following cynical admission: "The measures against the Jews could have come, irrespective of the act which made immediate interference absolutely necessary. After adoption by the Jews of a definitely hostile attitude toward the New Order in Norway and the Germanic communion, the power of the Jews must be broken." Subsequently, the by now familiar decrees were issued. The arrested Jews were herded into the concentration camps at Grini, Sem and Falstad. Thereupon, they were deported aboard the famous cruise ship [*sic!*] "Monte Rosa"

and other German liners. Several months later, the Swedish newspapers reported that many of the Norwegian Jewish deportees were slaving in the salt mines near Katowice, in the Polish province of Upper Silesia.

Particularly cruel were the circumstances under which the Jews of Oslo were evicted, arrested, deprived of their property and deported, all on November 26, 1942, in the early morning hours, at 4:30 A.M., while a false air raid alarm was used as a cover for the outrages. This device did not conceal the nature of the events from the Norwegians. Among those arrested were a number of Jewish refugees from Central Europe who were now delivered to a fate which heretofore they had managed to escape. Characteristically, the Nansen Bureau in Oslo, whose distinguished record needs no further elaboration, was closed by the Nazi authorities. The Nazis had their own solution for the refugee problem!

The national consciousness of Norway was stirred by the crimes of the oppressor and his native henchmen. The Lutheran Norwegian State Church, "disbanded" by the Quisling regime, but as active, alert and strong as ever in its opposition and sovereignty, sent a lengthy letter of accusation and condemnation to Quisling. This letter was circulated throughout the country. The Temporary Church Council and its affiliates, the Divinity School of the University of Oslo and the Faculty of Congregations, an orthodox Lutheran theological seminary, were among the sixty signatories of the letter of protest and castigation, addressed to "Premier Quisling." The people were admonished by the clergy in the same letter "to refrain from injustice, violence and hatred."

On the Sundays of November 15 and 22, prayers were said for the persecuted in all the churches of Norway. In defiance of secular might, the pastoral letter of protest was read to the assembled congregations. Norwegian Christendom had spoken. Again, Norway's sentiments were fittingly expressed in a press release of the Norwegian Government-in-exile on December 4, 1942: "The Jews felt safe in Norway; they were part of the Norwegian nation; they were good, loyal Norwegian citizens. Unfortunately, their Norwegian brothers could not save them from the fate which the Nazi intruders had in store for them. But in separation and fear, they still remain brothers, and more than ever conscious of being one people."

The anti-Jewish outrages in Norway had their inevitable repercussions in Sweden, where the bishops asked for prayers in behalf of the

persecuted Norwegian Jews. The protest of the Swedish bishops was read from the pulpits of the country and the nation was called upon to remember the tortured tribe of Israel" in their daily prayers. Swedish Christians were urged to do all in their power to help "the unfortunate victims of this hatred." The Swedish Episcopal letter also acclaimed the "oppressed Norwegian sister church" for its "sober and Christian exhortation."

Upon the initiative of Prince Carl, president of the Swedish Red Cross, that organization offered its facilities to bring to Sweden all of Norway's Jews, an offer which was declined with scorn by the Terboven-Quisling clique in Oslo.

DENMARK presented another case of vexation for the Nazi machine. The growing resentment against the German occupation troops and the ever-increasing exploitation of the country resulted in a mounting wave of sabotage, which earned Denmark the title of "Sabotage Champion" among the German-occupied countries of Europe. The proclamation of military dictatorship in Denmark, under the nominal authority of the Nazi High Commissioner in Copenhagen, led to the resignation of the Danish cabinet. The Germans retaliated with various measures of restriction and oppression. And on October 2, 1943, two days after Rosh Hashanah, imported Gestapo agents and policemen from Germany, accompanied by Danish Nazis, conducted extensive raids against the Danish Jews, almost all of whom resided in Copenhagen.

The Swedish Government, having learned of the intentions of the Germans, was quick to instruct its Minister in Berlin to protest against such measures and to call to the attention of the German Government the serious repercussions which a persecution of the Danish Jews would cause in Sweden." Simultaneously, the Swedish Government offered asylum to all Danish Jews.

Denmark reacted with ferocious anger against the cult of "Aryanism." The entire persecution effort failed. Danish resistance, Swedish solidarity and Jewish determination provided the force by which the plan of the Nazi persecutors was frustrated.

Of the 6,000 Danes who reached Sweden, 5,000 are said to be Jews. Danish folk helped and hid them and courageous fishermen spirited them across the Öresund. Danish police refused to collaborate with the Germans in their manhunts.

Cunningly, the Germans attempted to divide the Danes and array

them against their Jewish fellow-citizens. The meager official announcement of the "action" against the Danish Jews was followed by another one to the effect that the interned Danish forces would now be released, "since the Jewish danger had been neutralized." General Goertz, the interned Commanding General of the Danish Army, thereupon wrote to Von Hanneken, Commander in Chief of the German occupation forces, that the Danish troops "declined any favors at the expense of their fellow-citizens."

Most impressive, however, was the flood of protests and denunciations which reached both the Nazi High Commissioner in Denmark and the Commander of the German troops. The five major political parties issued a joint protest. So did the country's leading civic associations, civil servants, trade unions, professional guilds and, of course, the Danish State Church, whose pastoral letter was read from all pulpits.

Deportation vessels, anchored in Copenhagen Harbor, were damaged by bombs planted by patriots. Several days later, however, the deportation of from 1,000 to 1,500 Danish Jews was effected. It is believed that the deportees were sent off to Terezin in occupied Czechoslovakia.

The Danish Liberty Council, supreme authority of the Danish Underground Patriot Movement, issued a statement, which appeared on the bulletin board of the University of Copenhagen and was also featured by the country's illegal press. The statement said in part: "With these pogroms, directed against the Jews, the Germans are pursuing their systematic destruction of Danish Law and Order." "Helpers of the Germans" were told in this proclamation, that "they will receive their well-earned punishment after the defeat of Germany" and that participation in the "German manhunts" would be regarded as "treason."

SWEDEN, linked to Denmark by the closest political bonds, responded to the situation with magnificent courage. Swedish fishermen and naval craft combined to save whomever they could of the thousands who streamed across the Öresund. The Ministry of Social Welfare established mobile patrols to speed the refugees through the immigration formalities. Federal, provincial and communal authorities in conjunction with political, religious and civic organizations set up an elaborate refugee aid system which really established the refugees from Denmark as *personae gratissimae* in their new haven. Since their arrival in Sweden, half of the refugees have already found gainful employment.

expressions of protest and resentment are too many to be enumerated. Perhaps the most remarkable of all these manifestations of solidarity was a solemn service, celebrated in the Stockholm Cathedral, the kyrkan, which nobility and diplomats attended.

Sweden's resentment against anti-Jewish policies was vividly brought to the fore as early as 1933, when King Gustaf V lectured the late Count Bernadotte, his Chancellor and some cabinet members on the subject.

The King then reported at length to the Swedish cabinet. King Christian X of Denmark was no less outspoken. When the Germans threatened to force Jews to wear the "Star of David," the King countered by declaring that the Royal family and all Denmark would also don the badge. On another occasion, when the Germans reportedly wanted him to consent to a separate treatment of the Danish Jews, he replied: "You seem to forget that I am King of all the Danes."

Scandinavia as a whole has thus shown during this war a spirit of solidarity with the Jews in one of the most trying periods in their history. The lesson of Denmark is that the Nazis cannot wholly accomplish their purpose when an occupied nation supports its Jewish community in an uncompromising manner. Equally significant is the example of Sweden. It proves that the refugee problem can be tackled effectively, if not solved, if approached with the generosity and straightforwardness displayed by the Swedish people.

# Chronicles

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

## UNITED STATES

Public attention was again focused on the need for concrete steps to aid the Jews of Europe when identical resolutions (sponsored by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe) were introduced in both houses of Congress on Nov. 9, proposing the establishment of a Presidential commission "to effectuate the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe." Support for the House resolution—introduced by Rep. Will Rogers, Jr. (D., Cal.) and Rep. Joseph Baldwin (R., N. Y.)—was voiced by Mayor LaGuardia of New York, Dean Alfange, A.L.P. leader, Wendell Willkie, and A.F.L. and C.I.O. spokesmen during the first few days of the House Foreign Affairs Committee hearings on the measure, opened on Nov. 19 and temporarily suspended on Dec. 17. Although testifying that he knew of "no divergences among Jews with respect to this resolution," Dr. Stephen S. Wise in his testimony on Dec. 2 termed the proposal "inadequate" in its failure to recommend the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration.

The hearings were brought to a climax with the release on Dec. 10 of secret testimony given by Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long at an executive session of the committee on Nov. 26, in which he declared that 580,000 refugees from Hitler persecution, the majority of them Jews, have been admitted during the past ten years. With reference to the pending resolution, Mr. Long pointed to the increased powers granted at the Bermuda Conference [April 1943] to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees

now functioning in London, providing for an extension of the committee's work to "all countries from which refugees come . . . or in which they may find refuge." He interpreted this phrase to mean that the Committee has been given the authority to work "within and without Germany and the occupied territories." On Dec. 17, however, London headquarters of the Intergovernmental Committee termed this interpretation "absolutely incorrect," stating that it cannot undertake direct negotiations with Germany.

This was not the only repudiation of Long's testimony. A statement issued by the American Jewish Conference on Dec. 26 charged that the State Department was restricting immigration to a figure far below that permitted by law, and pointed out that Long's figure of 580,000 refugees admitted since the advent of the Hitler regime gave an exaggerated impression of the number of Jewish refugees admitted, since official figures showed that only 209,932 Jews entered the country in this period and not all were refugees. The Conference also asked for clarification of the powers of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. Protests along similar lines were made by Dr. Israel Goldstein, Dr. Wise, and Congressmen Emanuel Celler and Samuel Dickstein.

Meanwhile, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Dec. 20 approved without public hearings the parallel resolution introduced by Senator Guy M. Gillette (D., Iowa). The next day (as the Senate adjourned until Jan. 10) a message urging the adoption of the resolution was received from eight prominent churchmen, among them Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, Bishop William

Connell and Bishop William T. ... Adoption of the congressional resolutions was also asked in a broadcast on Dec. 29 by American Liberties Union head, Arthur ... Hays.

On the other hand, a statement issued the same day by the American Jewish League attacked the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe as one of a "series of fronts which have] constantly assumed to ... for the Jewish people in this country without a mandate from any constituency," and declared that the Roosevelt-Baldwin resolution had been issued in "complete disregard of the program which is being actively ... in Washington by representative Jewish agencies" and did not reflect the totality of that program.

A resolution urging the government to rescue the Jews of Europe and to ... along with the other United Nations, full immigration opportunities for refugees, was adopted on Nov. 2 by the N.A.A.C.P. convention. A similar resolution (which also requested revocation of the White Paper) was submitted (Nov. 15) to the State Department by the executive committee of the United Jewish People's Council. Other groups ... mobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Workers. Other groups ... resolutions on the rescue of the Jews were the Women's ... of the United Synagogue of America, Nov. 10, and the HIAS in London, Dec. 19.

The first session of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council, which met in London, City from Nov. 10 to 29, made provision for the special handling of the needs of Jewish war victims in occupied territories, despite demands by other groups, crystallized in a memorandum presented to the council by the World Jewish Congress on Nov. 17.

### Antisemitism and Palestine

An intensive nationwide campaign to ... al American public opinion ... the White Paper was opened ... a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall ... Nov. 1 (sponsored by the Z.O.A.

in co-operation with other Jewish organizations) which addressed an appeal to President Roosevelt urging that Palestine be kept open to Jewish immigration and be reconstructed as a Jewish commonwealth. Similar demands were voiced by several Zionist groups meeting during the period. Expressions of condemnation were also issued by other groups, including the National Council of Jewish Women (Nov. 9), the Synagogue Council of America (Nov. 17), the Jewish Labor Committee (Dec. 14), the National Jewish Welfare Board (Dec. 16), the Rabbinical Council of America (Dec. 21), and the New England Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (Nov. 23).

Following Colonial Secretary Col. Oliver Stanley's statement in the House of Commons on Nov. 10, indicating that the British Government intends to enforce the terms of the White Paper, the Zionist Emergency Council announced on Nov. 17 that it will continue its fight against the White Paper, emphasizing that British policy "remains essentially unchanged." On Nov. 25 the Z.N.C. denounced the Palestine administration for its "increasingly provocative actions" which led to the death of a Jewish colonist and disturbances in Tel Aviv, and demanded an end to arms searches in Jewish settlements.

The inauguration of a "strong campaign" against the American Council for Judaism was announced on Dec. 26 by the executive committee of the Z.O.A. On Nov. 2 a statement was issued by 45 reform rabbis, alumni of the Hebrew Union College, repudiating the views on Zionism recently expressed by its president, Dr. Julian Morgenstern (who termed the idea of Jewish nationalism as "practically identical with Nazi and Fascist theory"), and affirming their support of the Palestine resolution adopted at the American Jewish Conference.

The Jewish National Workers Alliance, marking its 30th anniversary at a Carnegie Hall mass meeting, Dec. 12, received congratulatory messages from many government officials including Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who assured the gathering that the Depart-

ment of State is giving "every consideration" to the plight of the Jews in Europe.

### Intergroup Relations

Numerous acts of anti-Semitic vandalism in the Washington Heights section of New York City were reported in a series of statements and affidavits released by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith on Dec. 29, describing the desecration of "nearly every temple and synagogue" in the district and assaults upon Jewish children. The next day, District Attorney Frank S. Hogan promised swift and vigorous prosecution of offenders.

In Boston, on Nov. 9, Governor Leverett Saltonstall turned over State Public Safety Commissioner John F. Stokes' findings on recent anti-Semitic disturbances to Attorney General Robert T. Bushnell, and incorporated part of the report in a letter to the mayors of all Massachusetts communities. He enlarged to nine members the five-man advisory committee appointed to formulate a program for dealing with the causes of the outbreaks.

The Stokes report found no evidence of "organized anti-Semitic origin" of the outbreaks, but attributed them to the negligence of Boston police. Attorney General Bushnell on Nov. 19, however, voided the conviction of two Jewish boys found guilty (Oct. 28) of participation in a clash with the police, and pointed out that the disturbance had been one of a series of acts "belonging in the classification of anti-Semitic." On Nov. 2, Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxham had termed the attacks "an expression of incipient fascism."

During November, further incidents of anti-Semitic hoodlumism were reported in Chicago, Mineola, L. I., and Hartford and Bridgeport, Conn. The A.D.L. revealed, however (Nov. 3), that the mass-desecration of Jewish graves in Chicago cemeteries had started two years before and were stopped about six months ago.

In answer to protests against Controller General Lindsay G. Warren's action (Oct. 27), President Roosevelt

stated in a letter of Nov. 6 to Attorney General Francis Biddle that the executive order requiring anti-discrimination clauses in all government contracts is "mandatory," not merely "directive." Warren's opinion was thus overruled. But on Dec. 21 Malcolm Ross, chairman of the F.E.P.C., disclosed that complaints from Jews of discrimination in employment had been on the increase during the past five months. The Coordinating Committee of Jewish Organizations Dealing with Employment Discrimination in War Industries asked President Roosevelt on Dec. 23 to support the F.E.P.C.'s directive to sixteen southern railroads to cease discrimination against Negroes.

At House committee hearings on the Lynch-Dickstein bills, labor and minority groups testified on Nov. 15 and 16 in favor of legislation which would ban literature inciting racial or religious hatred from the mails. They continued to press for action despite opposition voiced by Post Office officials who saw such a law as an infringement of free speech. On Nov. 19, the A.C.L.U. stated that such legislation would extend the arbitrary censorship powers of the Post Office.

Further evidence of governmental concern with increased racial and religious tensions was the address of Attorney General Biddle at the annual dinner of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America on Nov. 11, in which he advocated organized community education against intolerance.

To implement their resolution calling for anti-hate legislation, the Jewish War Veterans on Nov. 14 appointed a special committee of 35 jurists and lawyers to draft a memorandum.

The annual report of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, issued Dec. 4, recorded marked gains in interfaith amity and revealed that 3,000 communities have committees working on programs of education for intergroup understanding. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in its annual race relations message, Dec. 5, urged all Christians to "vigorously oppose" racial discrimination everywhere and cited recent disturbances as

dence of the necessity for immediate and effective action. On Nov. 13, similar views were voiced by Assistant Secretary of State Howland Shaw, addressing a meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Charities.

The Sara Delano Roosevelt Memorial House was dedicated on Nov. 22 as an interfaith center at Hunter College.

### Refugees and Relief

The formation of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service by 15 leading American Jewish and non-Jewish private welfare agencies, for purposes of consultation and co-ordination of overseas relief and reconstruction, was announced, Nov. 2. At the annual meeting of the national council of the J.D.C. on Dec. 5—which received a message from Herbert H. Hyman stressing the role of private relief agencies in co-operating with I.C.R.A. in its rebuilding task—Paul Herzog, newly elected chairman, estimated the J.D.C. budget for 1944 at \$5,000,000. J.D.C.'s operations in Europe, Asia and Africa were described by European director Dr. Joseph Schwartz, who also disclosed that since Pearl Harbor, J.D.C. has enabled 12,000 persons to emigrate to the Western Hemisphere and Palestine. Miss Laura Bergolis, J.D.C. representative recently returned from the Far East on the exchange liner "Gripsholm," reported that the organization was feeding 5,000 persons daily and housing many more in five camps in Shanghai. (General conditions for 20,000 Jewish refugees in Shanghai were deteriorating.) The normal resumption of relief relationships between J.D.C. and the Soviet Union was announced by Executive Vice-Chairman, Joseph C. Hyman.

On Nov. 7, Mr. Hyman had announced that thousands of food and clothing packages have been sent by J.D.C. to Jewish refugees in Asiatic Russia, disclosing that \$775,000 had been allocated for this project for 1943. A Jerusalem report of Dec. 10 revealed that hundreds of acknowledgments from refugees of the receipt of the packages have reached there.

The United Jewish Appeal announced on Dec. 27 that it has raised approximately \$75,000,000 in the five years of its existence since 1939.

For the relief of refugee Jews in Sweden, the Jewish Colonization Association allocated \$100,000 (Dec. 2), while B'nai B'rith cabled (Dec. 3) \$5,000 for the relief of its Danish members now in Sweden.

The Pioneer Women's Organization sent (Nov. 26) \$10,000 to the Jewish Agency in Palestine for the care of refugee children, bringing to \$110,000 the total sum forwarded by the organization's child rescue fund.

The Emergency Committee for War-Torn Yeshivoth and Refugee Scholars during the past year sent (Dec. 7) \$400,000 to aid Jewish orthodox refugees in Russia and neutral countries.

A HIAS release of Nov. 19 disclosed that its "Rescue Through Emigration" program has resulted in the rescue of 250,000 persons from Nazi Europe.

The arrival within the week of 206 refugees—most of them Jewish—at eastern seaports was reported by the National Refugee Service on Dec. 10. Included were 17 Jewish children, now reunited with their parents here after years of separation.

### The Community

By a vote of 5 to 4, the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs was dissolved on Nov. 5, on the grounds that its functions would henceforth be performed by a committee on rescue now established within the American Jewish Conference. The constituents voting against the dissolution of the body—the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis and the Agudas Israel—objected that not all Jewish groups are represented in the Conference.

A statement deploring the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee from the American Jewish Conference was issued on Nov. 10 by the Conference interim committee. It was emphasized that the door was still open for the Committee's return to the Con-

ference. This was followed by the withdrawal of two more affiliated national organizations from the Committee: The United Synagogue of America (Nov. 11) and the Brith Sholom (Dec. 26). Meanwhile, appeals urging the Committee to rejoin the Conference came from the New England Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (Nov. 23) and the Jewish Community Councils of Los Angeles and Kansas City (Dec. 3, 6).

The Jewish Labor Committee announced on Dec. 1 that it will remain in the American Jewish Conference and will co-operate in all matters which are within the scope of its activities and in accordance with its decisions, but will not participate in the interim committee. A budget of \$148,500 for the coming year was adopted on Dec. 15 by the Conference interim committee.

The National Council of Jewish Women, in convention Nov. 9-11, endorsed the action of its delegates to the American Jewish Conference, who refrained from voting on the Jewish commonwealth issue, but approved unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and the "upbuilding of Palestine in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration." It also urged federal legislation permitting the immigration for permanent residence of child war victims, beyond the regular quota.

On the occasion of his 70th birthday, Dr. Louis Ginzberg, noted Talmud scholar, was honored at a testimonial on Nov. 28, attended by representatives of religious institutions here and abroad. The Jewish Publication Society and the Jewish Book Council of America paid tribute to Harry Schneiderman for his 25 years of service as editor of the *American Jewish Year Book* in a resolution made public on Dec. 10 and at a reception on Dec. 16.

### War Effort

A self-imposed "draft" described as unique in the history of the nation has been functioning since February 1942 among members of the Conservative rabbinate, it was disclosed at a conference of Jewish chaplains on Nov. 8.

Members of the Rabbinical Assembly of America of military age have waived their right of deferment and submitted to a "lottery plan" under which 150 have been called to date; 60 of these are now in the service.

B'nai B'rith reported (Nov. 21) 18,116 members in the armed forces, and total war bond sales to date amounting to \$172,000,000. B'nai B'rith groups were credited (Dec. 24) by the Red Cross with obtaining 47,000 blood donors for the Blood Donor Service.

The members of the National Council of Jewish Women purchased \$15,000,000 worth of war bonds in the 2nd and 3rd war loan drives, reported Nov. 9.

The largest single contribution to the National War Relief Clothing Drive, consisting of 15,000 pounds of salvaged garments, was made on Nov. 26 by the Jewish Labor Committee.

Two Liberty ships named for Jews were launched during the period—the "Jacob H. Schiff" on Nov. 15 named for the late communal leader and philanthropist, and the "Jack Singer" on Dec. 26 in honor of the International News Service war correspondent killed at Guadalcanal—bringing the number of such ships to seven.

Reports of the period for the armed forces listed 57 killed, 15 missing and 15 wounded.

[In view of the regular releases to the Jewish and general press of the National Jewish Welfare Board on the activities, casualties, honors and statistics relating to the war service of American Jewish men and women, the *Chronicles of the CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD* will no longer carry bimonthly summaries of casualties and honors.]

### Necrology

Zvi Hirsch Rubinstein, 54, city editor of *The Day* (N. Y.) for the past 24 years, died in New York on Nov. 29. The death of Samuel Rosenfeld, 74, noted publicist and member of the editorial staff of *The Day*, occurred on Dec. 10. On Dec. 12, Dr. Paul Romanoff, 45, curator of the Jewish Theological Seminary museum for the past 13 years, passed away.

## BELGIUM

Harrowing details of Nazi mistreatment of Jewish children taken from non-Jewish homes and confined in a concentration camp at Malines were revealed (Nov. 30) by the underground newspaper *L'Alouette*. The children, who range in age from six upwards, are whipped for the slightest infraction of the rules.

A new concentration camp exclusively for aged Jews was established (Nov. 18) in Schuet, a suburb of Brussels.

## BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

## GREAT BRITAIN

The period was marked by increased public interest in the Palestine problem. On Nov. 10 Colonial Secretary Col. Oliver Stanley announced in Commons that the government intended to stand by the White Paper policy. The deadline for Jewish immigration into Palestine will, however, be extended beyond March 1944, to admit the balance of 31,078 Jews still entitled to immigrate within the 75,000 quota provided by the White Paper (but prevented by wartime exigencies from reaching the country). Zionist reaction to the statement was exemplified (Nov. 11) by the *Zionist Review* (official organ of British Zionists) which declared that the extension of the immigration period was welcomed, but that the fight for the abrogation of the White Paper must continue.

Considerable attention was given during the period to the problems of a Jewish state and the White Paper in discussions in the *Manchester Guardian* and *London Times*. Editorials on Nov. 11, 24 and 29 in the *Guardian* voiced a demand for a Jewish state and denounced the White Paper. The *Times* discussed the White Paper on Dec. 2 and 20.

The arms trials and searches in Palestine also occasioned comment in the *Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 5 and 11, on the difference in the treatment of Jews and Arabs in this connection, and warnings against the "dangerous state of tension."

A Jerusalem report of Dec. 10, quoting "responsible Zionist circles," disclosed that Dr. Chaim Weizmann was received by Prime Minister Churchill prior to his departure for the Cairo and Teheran conferences.

At a meeting in London on Nov. 23, under the auspices of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, commemorating the 26th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, Dr. Weizmann described the creation of a Jewish commonwealth after the war as the "acid test" for the sincerity of the democracies. Chief Rabbi Joseph H. Hertz, addressing a Mizrahi meeting on Nov. 14, pledged full support to Dr. Weizmann as the political spokesman for the Zionist movement, including the Mizrahi.

In addition to voicing Zionist demands, the Federation of Women Zionists of Great Britain and Ireland in annual conference Nov. 8-9 protested against the arms trials, and appealed for the rescue of the Jews in Europe.

The Jewish National Fund for Great Britain and Ireland announced (Nov. 12) that it had raised over £201,000 during the year 5703, an increase of £66,000 over the previous years.

## The Community

The refugee problem continued to receive some official notice. The Foreign Office announced on Dec. 12 that the British and American Governments were engaged in discussions with neutral countries on the question of admitting more refugees, and that invitations have been issued to twenty more governments to join the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees. On Dec. 22, Sir Herbert Emerson, I.C.R. director, expressed his opposition to compulsory repatriation of refugees after the war.

During a debate in the House of Lords, Dec. 7, on a bill to provide for the guardianship of orphaned refugee children, it was disclosed that there are now 12,500 refugee orphans, most of them Jewish, in Great Britain. But the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Spectator*, marking the first anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on Atroci-

ties, charged the United Nations with laxness in the rescue of Jews (Dec. 17).

The United Jewish Relief Appeal voted on Nov. 16 to contribute \$12,000 for food packages distributed in co-operation with the J.D.C. to Polish refugees in Russia. A recent announcement (Nov. 3) disclosed that the Women's Appeal Committee (composed primarily of Zionists) has raised £120,000 since the beginning of the year. A conference on Nov. 14 of the United Jewish Labor Committee, attended by delegates from 29 labor organizations, pledged support for the rescue activities of the Histadruth in Palestine, and called upon every organized Jewish worker in Britain to contribute a day's pay to its rescue fund.

Addressing the Council of Christians and Jews on Dec. 8, the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that it was of "utmost importance" that the sufferings of the Jews "be kept in full view" so that the spirit of indignation and compassion will not die out. In his annual Christmas message, the Archbishop declared that "for Christians, anti-Semitism is utterly abhorrent," and called on Christians to take the lead in "combating the anti-Semitic virus." A resolution adopted (Dec. 27) at a conference in Edinburgh, attended by representatives of all Scottish churches, the Salvation Army, the Quakers and Jewish communities, urging the immediate abrogation of anti-Jewish laws in liberated countries, was submitted to Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Minister Anthony Eden.

Impressive ceremonies on Nov. 7 marked the consecration of the temporary synagogue erected on the site of the Great Synagogue of London, destroyed by bombs. Sir Samuel Joseph, retiring Lord Mayor of London, was elevated to the peerage, it was announced Nov. 8.

## War Effort

A pamphlet published by the Army Bureau of Current Affairs officially disclosed (Nov. 18) that 50,000 Jews, constituting 12% of the Jewish population, are serving in the armed forces.

The pamphlet ("Are We United Nations?") also dealt with anti-Semitism as part of the problem of unity against fascism and revealed that more than 30 Jews were decorated at Dunkirk.

A review issued by the Jewish Agency on Dec. 9 reported that there are now 60 all-Jewish units in the British armed forces.

Delayed reports of casualties (July-November) listed 131 killed, 49 missing, 14 wounded and 30 prisoners of war.

## AUSTRALIA

In opposition to the campaign of protest against the White Paper, former Governor General Sir Isaac Isaacs declared (Nov. 15) in an open letter that the Zionists should abandon pressure on the British Government, since everything depends on an Allied victory and the United Nations cannot afford to antagonize the Muslim world. The statement followed his rejected warning to Zionist leaders against the protest meeting held Nov. 15 at the Melbourne Town Hall and addressed by prominent Jews and non-Jews. The meeting adopted a resolution urging the immediate opening of the gates of Palestine to all victims of fascism.

The formation of a Pro-Palestine Committee in South Australia, the fourth in the Commonwealth, was announced on Dec. 5.

The League of Nations Union campaign for the rescue of European Jews culminated in a mass meeting (Nov. 26) in Hobart, Tasmania, which resolved that the United Nations were duty bound to rescue immediately as many Jews as possible and urged the opening of the doors of Australia to the victims of nazism. Another statement in support of Jewish immigration into the country was made (Nov. 10) by the Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Rev. Dr. Daniel Mannix.

A Labor Party conference in Canberra (Dec. 16) rejected a proposed resolution advocating Jewish representation at the peace conference, a position upheld (Dec. 23) by Prime Minister John Curtin. The Zionist Federation of Australia held a special meeting on

Committee of National Liberation of Bernard Melamed, former secretary of the *MIAS-ICA* in Paris, to the post of Director of the Office of Pensions was reported on Nov. 2.

Algerian Jews were honored when Generals de Gaulle and Giraud paid tribute to the Jewish dead of the last war in a visit to a cemetery on Nov. 1.

### GREECE

Most of Athens' 15,000 Jews have succeeded in escaping arrest by German authorities with the organized aid of the country's non-Jewish population. A government-in-exile report (Nov. 25) disclosed that the populace shielded Jews despite Nazi warnings of heavy penalties. Taking advantage of the delay gained by the chief rabbi's refusal to turn over community membership lists to the Germans, the Jews dispersed and were concealed by their compatriots with the collaboration of native police. The government report also stated that at least 50,000 of Salonika's 60,000 Jews have been deported and that no Jews remain in Bulgarian-held western Thrace and eastern Macedonia.

In the face of repeated Allied warnings broadcast from London (Nov. 15) to German occupation forces against the deportation of Jews from formerly Italian-held areas, all Jews were deported from the Aegean Islands, the Swiss press reported on Nov. 19.

### HUNGARY

A growing pro-Jewish attitude among the population, manifested of late by repeated public demonstrations of sympathy, was crystallized by the introduction of a resolution in parliament by the leading deputy of the Small Holders Party demanding the abrogation of anti-Jewish legislation, reported by Hitler's *Völkischer Beobachter* reaching Zurich on Dec. 19. However, Istanbul sources reported on Dec. 26 that three members of the Social Democratic Party have been charged with treason for their pro-Jewish demonstrations in parliament.

In a speech in parliament, reported by the Nazi Transocean News Agency

on Nov. 19, the minister of the interior stated that the government was doing its best to hasten the emigration of Jews, and that 1,530 of the 3,100 Jews who have entered the country illegally have been interned and the remainder sent back to their "original residences."

### ITALY

Persecution of the Jews in the north proceeded systematically, and reports throughout November and December recounted the familiar story of Nazi brutality now being applied by Mussolini's puppet government under German inspiration. Prefects throughout "Republican" Italy have been ordered to collaborate with German forces in arresting all native and foreign Jews in the area and confiscating all their property, the Rome radio announced on Nov. 30. About 12,000 to 15,000 Jews have already been sent to concentration camps, while an additional 10,000 have been deported to Germany or Poland, according to reports reaching Berne (Nov. 28 and Dec. 1). The Swiss newspaper *La Suisse*, stated (Nov. 25) that in Milan, Genoa and Turin alone 10,000 Jews have been arrested.

Details of the mass arrests and deportations of Jews in Rome were disclosed on Nov. 11 by a correspondent of the Stockholm *Tidningen*. On Dec. 3 the Berlin radio announced that 10,000 Jews have been expelled from Rome, while Zurich sources reported the same day that special tribunals have been established by German military authorities in Rome, Florence, Turin, Milan and Genoa to try Jews "accused of anti-Fascist activities."

On Dec. 7, Pope Pius XII personally presented to the German Ambassador to the Vatican a formal protest against the deportation of Jews from Rome and other northern cities, Swedish sources disclosed. Vatican sentiments were also expressed in two editorials in the official *Osservatore Romano* (Dec. 5 and 13) denouncing anti-Jewish measures.

Nazi terror continued, however, and on Dec. 17 the London press, quoting frontier sources, reported that 2,500 of the Jews arrested in Italy have died.

Economic measures kept pace. Collective fines were levied on the Jews of Milan, Trieste, Merano and Verona (Nov. 28), while in Turin a decree was issued ordering all persons in debt to Jews to declare and pay these debts to a special local office under the control of the Ministry of Finance, the Rome radio revealed on Dec. 20.

Popular opposition to the persecution of the Jews was evidenced by protests, sabotage and concrete measures of assistance. The anti-fascist underground in Milan succeeded in destroying the lists of Jews compiled by order of the Mussolini government, thus delaying their arrest, Zurich dispatches of Nov. 5 disclosed. Catholic priests in northern churches were reported (Nov. 8) denouncing the persecution of Jews, while in border towns they have been helping Jews cross the frontier, according to Swiss sources (Dec. 8). On Nov. 1 the Swedish *Ny Dag* reported the arrest of eight priests in German-held Italy for protesting against anti-Jewish measures, and later the o.w.i. received (Dec. 8) a dispatch from the Swiss *Basler Nachrichten* telling of the arrests of priests in border towns who were trapped by fascist police masquerading as Jewish refugees. Arrests in Como and neighboring villages of persons charged with assisting Jews to reach Switzerland were reported Nov. 30.

Cancelling the law which barred Jews from government positions, Marshal Badoglio appointed (Nov. 17) two Jews to his cabinet: Guido Jung as Under Secretary of the Ministry of Finance, and Mario Fano as Under Secretary of the Ministry of Post Office and Telegraph.

In the south, in Camp Ferramonte, transformed from an internment center to a haven for refugees, a special body recently established by the Allied Control Commission to deal with interned and displaced persons has been caring for 1,600 refugees of whom most are Jews, it was learned on Dec. 16.

### LATIN AMERICA

On the basis of an investigation by its special reporter, the labor paper *El*

*Popular* disclosed (Nov. 18) that the 27 Jews at the Santa Rosa (Guanajuato) camp for Polish refugees in Mexico were being terrorized by the other 700 Poles there. The newspaper charged that the camp director, Bohdan Szmajko, Polish envoy to the Franco government during the Spanish Civil War, had done nothing to protect the Jews from attacks. The camp administration, declaring that "the Polish authorities make no distinction between Jews and non-Jews," rejected an offer by the Jewish Community Council in Mexico City to take the Jews and support them outside the Polish camp, it was further stated. The Polish Ambassador was criticized by *El Popular* for his passive attitude toward the situation at the camp. The United States Ambassador and Jewish relief organizations in New York received reports on the matter.

The exposé attracted widespread attention, and on Dec. 6 it was reported that the Jewish Central Committee, Mexico City, was sending an investigation commission to the camp. A few days later (Dec. 12) it was learned that the Office of Foreign Rehabilitation and Relief Operations in Washington, which has given the project financial support, was studying the situation.

At a mass meeting in Mexico City on Dec. 21, opening the Keren Hayesod campaign, a resolution protesting the White Paper was adopted. American Zionist leaders Louis Lipsky and Emanuel Neumann delivered addresses. The next day, the formation of a pro-Palestine Committee, including non-Jewish leaders, was announced.

Reports of continued anti-Semitic activities in ARGENTINA under the Ramirez regime were tempered by some news of the cancellation of certain anti-Jewish measures. On the other hand, raids on Jewish homes in Buenos Aires, conducted in Gestapo fashion without warrants by the anti-Semitic aide to the president, Leopoldo Lugones, were reported (Nov. 8) by Argentine Jews reaching Chile. Many naturalized Jews were being deprived of their citizenship, according to information received by the Inter-Ameri-

can Jewish Council in New York (Nov. 22) confirming an earlier Montevideo dispatch (Nov. 1). While another Jewish publication, *La Idea Sionista*, organ of the New Zionist Organization, was suspended (Dec. 16), the pro-Nazi press intensified its anti-Semitic propaganda, demanding stronger measures against the Jews.

In the provinces, where the Jews have been hard hit by direct anti-Jewish measures, some relaxation was evidenced when the ban on *kashruth* was lifted in Entre Rios Province and the reopening of some of the Jewish schools in that area were disclosed on Nov. 22 by the Inter-American Jewish Council. Several weeks later (Dec. 14) the *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent in Buenos Aires confirmed the reopening of the schools in Entre Rios as well as in Santa Fe, and also reported the restoration to legal status of outlawed provincial Jewish organizations and the reinstatement of discharged Jewish government employees in Entre Rios.

The rightist press, however, staunch supporter of the Ramirez regime, continued unchecked its inflammatory anti-Semitic propaganda, calling forth a formal protest from the Delegacion de las Asociaciones Israelitas de Argentina, central Jewish representative body, to Minister of the Interior Alberto Gilbert on Dec. 17. The following week, it was revealed (Dec. 21) that President Ramirez had received Dr. Moses Goldmann, president of the DAIA, who appealed for government measures against anti-Jewish propaganda.

In response to charges that the new regime in BOLIVIA, set up by the National Revolutionary Movement, is dominated by pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic elements, President Gualberto Villaroel issued a statement (Dec. 28) repudiating anti-Semitism and emphasizing that his government is prepared to join the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. He pointed out that not one Jewish establishment was attacked during the revolution, and asserted that "my government does not in any way sympathize with racial doctrines." The situation was, however, not cleared of doubt as the review period ended.

### NETHERLANDS

Contrary to previous advices, an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 fugitive Jews were still in the country, many sheltered in Christian homes, according to Swiss press reports of Nov. 9 and 18. An underground newspaper reaching London on Nov. 7 reported some Jews of mixed marriages, neutral nationality or with special permits of "usefulness" still remaining in Amsterdam.

The same source gave a detailed description of Nazi brutalities during the Amsterdam manhunts last spring, described the appalling conditions in the Westerbork concentration camp, and the deportations of past months.

Notwithstanding the refusal of 6,200 native surgeons to sterilize Jews of childless mixed marriages (Aug. 9), thousands, offered this alternative to deportation, have submitted to the operation by German doctors, said a London dispatch of Nov. 23.

Summing up the situation at a press conference in Berlin, quoted by the Berlin radio (Dec. 7), Anton Mussert, Dutch Nazi leader, boasted that "there is no longer a Jewish problem in Holland."

### PALESTINE

Tension left by the arms trial which concluded at the end of September had not yet relaxed—as evidenced by the two-hour strike throughout the country on Nov. 3 called by the Vaad Leumi to protest the "incitement and false accusations" against the Jews voiced at the trial—when another explosive incident rocked the Yishuv. On Nov. 16 the colony of Ramath Hakovesh was searched by British and Polish military police for "deserters from the Polish Army and illegal arms." A number of settlers were injured, one fatally, and 35 were arrested during the fracas which ensued. Within the next few days, the entire Hebrew press was suspended by British authorities for what was officially described as "highly tendentious accounts of the search . . . calculated to mislead and inflame public opinion."

### CHRONICLES: PALESTINE

In violent protest against these acts, demonstrations broke out in the streets of Tel Aviv on Nov. 20 during which 21 Jewish residents and 11 British policemen were injured, government offices were set on fire, and copies of the official Hebrew newspaper *Chadashoth Hayom* (News of the Day)—circulated by the government to replace the suspended Hebrew dailies—were consigned to a bonfire. Protest meetings were held in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, and at Ramath Hakovesh, where David Ben-Gurion addressed the gathering. The death on Nov. 21 of the colonist, Shmuel Wolynetz, injured in the Ramath Hakovesh raid, brought further demonstrations of protest, among them a one-hour work stoppage throughout the Yishuv called by the Vaad Leumi on Nov. 22. The funeral service for Wolynetz held on the premises of the Jewish Agency the same day included an address by Moshe Shertok, who voiced defiance of all attempts to "take the last means of defense away from the Jews."

All protests were crystallized in a resolution adopted at a special session of the Tel Aviv municipal council on Nov. 24 attended by representatives of all Jewish institutions and organizations. While pledging continued support of the war effort, the resolution demanded an end to arms searches and an official inquiry into the Ramath Hakovesh incident. Addressing the session, Mayor Israel Rokach declared: "I officially inform the Palestine and British governments that we are firmly resolved not to disarm ourselves, and no attempt to disarm us will be successful." The resolution was submitted to the District Commissioner for the Southern District, for transmission to the Palestine and British Governments. A London report of Nov. 30 revealed that the Jewish Agency had also asked the British Government to investigate.

The release on bail of the arrested Ramath Hakovesh settlers was reported on Nov. 28, and on Dec. 4 the Palestine Government announced that all charges against them had been dropped. Although given varying terms of suspension, the entire Hebrew press ex-

pressed its unity by withholding publication until Nov. 30 when the last suspension order was lifted, and all newspapers reappeared simultaneously.

The arms issue was again spotlighted on Dec. 7 with the opening of the trial in a Jerusalem military court of seven Jewish settlers of the Hulda colony, charged with illegal possession of munitions found on Oct. 3 during an unsuccessful search for Polish army deserters. During the proceedings, the tragic history of the isolated Hulda colony, which has been burned down twice and suffered heavy loss of life in Arab attacks, was emphasized by the defense as justification for the possession of arms. All seven were found guilty on Dec. 10, and sentenced a week later to prison terms ranging from two to six years, after two of the accused, who pleaded guilty, declined an offer of lighter sentences in exchange for information concerning the source of the arms. Defense attorneys filed appeals with the general officer commanding the area, reported Dec. 29.

### War Effort

Spearheading the campaign for increased enlistments to strengthen Jewish units in Italy, a mass rally, sponsored by the Vaad Leumi and attended by delegations from settlements throughout the country, was held in Tel Aviv on Nov. 11. The first day of its reappearance, Nov. 30, the Hebrew press carried a joint call for enlistment by Jewish Agency executives and the Vaad Leumi, emphasizing that "our call for active service in all spheres holds good now as before." On Dec. 1 at a national conference in Jerusalem of local recruiting committees, Shertok declared that "with every onslaught against us the need increases for us to display our recruiting abilities."

In its first 16 months the War Needs Fund collected £750,000, it was learned on Nov. 15. As a result of persistent pressure by the Jewish Agency, the families of Palestine Jewish soldiers will receive war service grants as of Dec. 1, an official announcement (Dec. 18) revealed.

According to reports (Nov. 2) by the repatriated Palestinian soldiers, who recently arrived in England under exchange arrangements, about 300 of 1,500 Palestinian Jewish war prisoners in German prison camps have escaped during the past two years. They also revealed that the International Red Cross intervened to prevent the Nazis from sorting out for discriminatory treatment the German-born Jews from among the Palestinian prisoners.

### Pan-Arabism

Discussions between the Sa'udi Arabia delegation and the Egyptian Premier Nahas Pasha were resumed on Nov. 2 after a twelve-day adjournment for confirmation of King Ibn Sa'ud's attitude on the Palestine issue. A few weeks later (Nov. 19) the British publication *Great Britain and the East* disclosed that a "Green Book" formulating proposals for an Arab Palestine with special rights for Jews and Christians had been submitted in Cairo by Arab leaders to the British Minister for the Middle East. Pleading for Arab-Jewish understanding "in order to successfully conclude the talks for Arab unity which are now taking place in Cairo," the editor of the Arab *Falastin*, upon his return to Jerusalem from Egypt, reported (Nov. 14) that the Egyptian premier desired the direct participation of the Jews in the Pan-Arab discussions. Moshe Shertok, as political chief of the Jewish Agency, however, stated on Nov. 17 that no invitation to participate in the discussions had been received by the Agency or any Jewish leader.

On Nov. 12 a conference in Jerusalem of representatives of eight Arab Chambers of Commerce urged the British Government to stop all Jewish immigration and to make a thorough search for arms among the Jews.

### The Community

In his statement of resignation from the chairmanship of the Jewish Agency executive, released on Nov. 11, David Ben-Gurion declared that he was "unable to bear the responsibility for the

conduct of our affairs abroad." The crisis precipitated by his resignation remained unsolved as Dr. Chaim Weizmann refused, despite continued urging, to come to Palestine. In his cable of Nov. 4 stating that pressing political matters precluded his leaving London, Weizmann urged the Jewish Agency executive to exercise its influence upon Ben-Gurion to withdraw his resignation, and suggested that the latter come to London to participate in current Zionist political negotiations there. Dr. Weizmann also cabled (Nov. 11) this to Ben-Gurion. For the purpose of attempting a reconciliation, the Jewish Agency executive on Dec. 8, with the approval of the Smaller Actions Committee (Dec. 30), decided to send a three-man delegation to London, composed of Moshe Shertok, Rabbi Jacob Fishman and Dr. Emil Schmorak, representing the Laborites, Mizrahi and General Zionists.

In the meantime, the Yishuv marked the 26th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, Nov. 2, with the Jewish flag flying alongside the Union Jack on public buildings, and editorials in the Hebrew press urging the speedy fulfillment of the pledge given to the Jewish people. The same day, American Zionist leader Robert Szold reported on the American Jewish Conference to a Jewish Agency executive meeting. Eliezer Kaplan, Jewish Agency treasurer, announced on Dec. 3 a budget of \$8,000,000 for the current year.

During 1943 the Jews of Palestine spent \$1,200,000 (half of it allotted by the Jewish Agency) for the relief and rescue of the Jews of Europe, it was learned on Dec. 21. The Jewish immigration quota for the three-month period ending Dec. 31, 1943, announced on Nov. 10, again allowed 1,350 permits (as in the previous quarter) with the same provision for wives and children under 18 bringing the estimated Jewish quota to about 3,000. A HIAS release of Nov. 19 revealed that the Jewish Agency has agreed to make available 150 immigration certificates for Jewish refugees in Portugal and Spain. Total Jewish immigration since the war began was

reported at 32,000 by the Jewish Agency's Immigration Department (Nov. 11).

Sizable contingents of refugees continued to arrive. On Nov. 7, a group of 787 Yemenite Jews entered, followed by 608 more on Dec. 14. On Dec. 21, 750 children from various countries arrived under the auspices of Youth Aliyah, which has brought 10,000 children to the country (Dec. 22). On Dec. 22 the last contingent of 410 Polish Jewish refugees waiting in Teheran arrived in Jerusalem, following a group of 74 refugees who came from Turkey the day before.

The formation of a new War Economic Advisory Council to co-ordinate the work of all government departments concerned with civilian economic activities consisting of one British, four Jewish and four Arab members and a British secretary—was announced by High Commissioner Sir Harold MacMichael on Nov. 3. The Jewish members abstained, however, from participating in the Council's first session, Nov. 19, in protest against the failure to consult Jewish organizations on the formation of the new body.

The establishment of a considerable number of new colonies was reported during the period, bringing the number of agricultural settlements founded since the beginning of the war to 40 by Dec. 11. The dedication on Nov. 10 of the new labor settlement Kfar Leon Blum, named in honor of the former French Jewish premier, was marked by ceremonies attended by the French consul-general. The Thomas Masaryk Square in Tel Aviv was dedicated on Nov. 5 in ceremonies presided over by Mayor Rokach and addressed by the Czech consul-general.

### POLAND

Further eyewitness reports disclosing harrowing details of Nazi terror continued to reach the outside world. The Belgian underground *L'Independence*, received in London on Nov. 11, carried the story of two escaped Antwerp Jews who described scenes of torture and death at a labor camp in Sosnowiec,

Upper Silesia. A comprehensive report of conditions in various other labor camps of Upper Silesia, filled mostly with Belgian, French and Dutch Jews, was received (Dec. 6) by the World Jewish Congress. Another eyewitness report from underground sources (Nov. 10) described the liquidation of 5,000 Jews in Hrubieszce, 1,000 of whom were immediately sent to the Sobibor death-camp, while the remainder were shipped to forced labor centers.

When the Nazis "liquidated" the Majdanek concentration camp at the end of October, they massacred 15,000 Jews, said a Polish Government report of Nov. 21. Two days later, a French war prisoner who recently escaped to Sweden from a German prison camp, described the mass executions of hundreds of Jews from Germany and other countries in a square in Tarnopol.

The Kraków Jewish community council, last Jewish representative body in occupied Poland, was recently dissolved and its members deported by German authorities. Geneva sources disclosed on Dec. 17, confirmed by German newspapers reaching Zurich on Dec. 26, the "liquidation" of the Kraków ghetto. Earlier (Dec. 9), Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart of the Polish National Council in London released a report revealing that several smaller ghettos, including those in Komskowole, Lukow, Piaski, Radzyn and Siedlce, had been emptied during last May and June.

An estimated 1,000,000 Polish Jews were killed by the Nazis from the beginning of the war through last Spring, according to *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, a documented account of Nazi persecutions, published by the American Federation for Polish Jews on Dec. 14.

According to a report received on Dec. 14 by Emanuel Szerer, Jewish member of the National Council, 40,000 Jews from the Warsaw ghetto were said to be still hiding in neighboring woods and villages. London press reports of Dec. 27 told of a Jewish guerrilla unit of 3,000 men, under a Jewish general formerly in the Polish army, effectively operating against German forces.

## POLAND-IN-EXILE

At a session of the Polish National Council on Dec. 29, Emanuel Szerer, new Jewish labor deputy, charged that anti-Semitic propaganda was being disseminated in the armed forces and among Polish refugees by reactionary groups in the government-in-exile, who "hamper the realization of democracy in present-day as well as future Poland." He called for a cleanup of reactionary elements declaring: "After four years of declarations regarding Jewish equality, it is high time to give practical expression to the principle of equality." The next day, the subject was discussed at a special closed session of the Council, which was addressed by Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart. As a gesture of protest, Szerer abstained from voting for the budget of the government-in-exile, although it included an emergency credit of \$460,000 to meet the needs of Polish Jewry.

Since his arrival in London on Nov. 3 to succeed the late Samuel Zygielbojm, Szerer has been actively engaged in implementing his promise (Nov. 4) to continue the policy of his predecessor. On Nov. 26, he sent a letter to chairman Stanislaw Grabske demanding that a special session of the Council be called to consider immediate measures for saving the remnants of Polish Jewry. Two days later, Szerer personally submitted a four point rescue program to Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk.

The value of Jewish property confiscated by the Germans in Poland was estimated at a billion dollars by a group of Polish-Jewish industrialists in a memorandum, Nov. 19, to the Polish Consul General in Palestine, asking that the government-in-exile invalidate all transfers of Jewish property transacted after Sept. 1, 1939.

## RUMANIA

Of the 185,000 Jews deported to Transnistria only 65,000 have survived, according to official findings of a Jewish commission which visited over a hundred localities in the area, announced by the World Jewish Congress

on Dec. 30. Those able to work are employed by Rumanian or German military and civil authorities at forced labor, said the report.

All applications for employment filed by Jews must henceforth be submitted to the new Commissariat for Jewish Affairs which will decide each case "on its individual merits," the Bucharest radio announced on Dec. 20. By order of the General Staff, no industry filling orders for the army will be permitted to employ Jews, the same broadcast revealed.

The same sources disclosed that 269 Jews had been sent from Cernăuți to a concentration camp the previous week because they failed to pay the special tax levied on Jews for "exemption" from military service. Forty-eight Jews were arrested in Bucharest, the Berlin radio reported on Dec. 9, charged with "listening to enemy broadcasts and spreading defeatist propaganda."

Other developments, however, indicated some alleviation in conditions. A Zurich dispatch of Dec. 20, quoting the Rumanian press, revealed a recent Supreme Court ruling entitling Jewish civil servants dismissed under the anti-Jewish laws to state pensions, irrespective of length of service. The supplementary bread tax levied on the daily bread ration of Jews was lifted with the recent abolition of bread rationing, the Bucharest radio announced Dec. 23.

An official announcement of permission to "half-Jews" to apply for the return of property confiscated from them was reported (Nov. 14) by the Stockholm *Svenska Dagbladet*.

Health conditions in the country are deteriorating, according to the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, as a result of the decree (Oct. 13) prohibiting Jewish doctors from treating non-Jewish patients.

Dr. Horia Karp, 75, Jewish communal leader and former Senator, died in Jerusalem, it was reported Dec. 3.

## SWEDEN

The report that a sub-committee of parliament, following the recommendations of the Justice Department (Nov.

7), had drafted legislation to ban the dissemination of racial propaganda (Dec. 19) brought forth expressions of gratification from labor and liberal groups, but aroused opposition from several county councils and the Commissioner of the Swedish State Police.

Jewish refugee doctors and engineers from Denmark were licensed to practice their professions (Nov. 23).

## SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Government has agreed to release from internment camps those refugees whose maintenance for a six-month period will be guaranteed by relatives or friends, the New York *Times* office announced Dec. 9. The offer applies also to refugees in labor camps who are over sixty years of age or ill.

At a special convention of the *OSE* (Nov. 5) it was reported that all shipments of medicaments sent by the society to Jews in the Polish ghettos through the International Red Cross were received. A Geneva dispatch of Nov. 29 announced the opening of a home for Jewish refugee boys there by the *OSE*, while the safe arrival of 45 young refugees from an *ORT* school in Italy was revealed (Dec. 9) by the Swiss *ORT*.

## U. S. S. R.

Further evidence of Nazi massacres of Jews came to light as the Red Army moved westward. Only one Jew was found alive in Kiev (which had a pre-war Jewish population of 140,000) when Russian forces reoccupied that city, the Moscow radio reported on Nov. 8. Detailed reports of the massacre of an estimated 50,000 to 80,000 Jews in that city in September 1941 were submitted to the Kiev Atrocity Commission (Nov. 29) by three Soviet soldiers who said they had been forced, as prisoners, to participate in burning the bodies to destroy all evidence.

Other reports reaching London (Nov. 19, 29) told of similar massacres in the White Russian center of Gomel. All Jewish inhabitants in the vicinity of Stalino were murdered by the Nazis,

according to a report published by the official Soviet commission investigating atrocities (Nov. 19). These were the most striking among the many accounts of Nazi atrocities which came from every area liberated by the Red Army.

Dr. Moses Eisenstadt, 73, former rabbi of St. Petersburg and later chief rabbi of the orthodox Russian community in Paris, died in New York on Nov. 7.

## OTHER COUNTRIES

Reporting a generally improved situation for Jewish refugees in FINLAND, the Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter* of Dec. 22 disclosed that they are now permitted to reside in any but military districts, and that a number of refugees who were confined in work camps on the Aland Islands in the Gulf of Bothnia have been released and allowed to seek employment.

More than 1,000 prisoners, including Jews and members of other minority groups, were released (Dec. 8) from a labor camp in TURKEY where they had been confined for inability to pay a special discriminatory capital levy.

The entire Jewish population of Belgrade, YUGOSLAVIA, was slaughtered by the Nazis, a commander of the partisans reaching Cairo reported (Nov. 12). Dr. Moshe Pijade, a physician, was appointed vice president of the new provisional government erected by the followers of General Tito, it was learned on Dec. 7.

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[Chronicles were prepared by BETTY PELCOVITS. Technical assistance on the issue was given by Rose A. Herzog.]

Chronicles are based on the reports of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, the Overseas News Agency, the *Palcor News Agency*, the *Worldwide News Service*, Jewish newspapers, the general press of the United States and a number of foreign countries, as well as private information. Foreign news is subject to censorship in the country of origin.

# Documents

## MEMORANDUM ON THE 1939 WHITE PAPER ON PALESTINE

*The following is the text of a communication submitted by The American Jewish Committee to His Excellency, the Rt. Hon. the Viscount Halifax, Ambassador of Great Britain, January 17, 1944.*

WITH full cognizance of the historic friendship of the people of Great Britain and their successive Governments for Jews, which has made them pioneers in the establishment of equal rights for Jews within the confines of their own country, as well as staunch spokesmen for justice when oppression and persecution pursued the Jews elsewhere, the American Jewish Committee is impelled to press for attention the situation created by the White Paper of 1939.

### BALFOUR DECLARATION

In line with that historic policy, the British Government on November 2, 1917 issued the Balfour Declaration, offering hope to persecuted segments of the Jews throughout the world that they might find a home in the country with which they had an ancient bond.

### BRITISH MANDATE

Following the First World War, after the military victory for the Allied Powers and the subsequent liberation of the Near East, the promise of the Balfour Declaration was included in the Mandate for Palestine, which was entrusted to Great Britain by the League of Nations on July 24, 1922. The primary purpose of the Mandate was the establishment of a national home for the Jews with the understanding that nothing be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and

political status of Jews in any other country. This promise of a homeland within Palestine was specific and admitted. It was not controversial as is the question of the creation of a commonwealth.

Acknowledging the historical connection of the Jews with Palestine, the Mandate holds the Mandatory responsible for securing development of self-governing institutions. It provides for the encouragement, so far as circumstances permit, of local autonomy, and the recognition of an appropriate Jewish agency to advise and cooperate with the Administration of Palestine. The Mandate makes it obligatory upon Great Britain "to facilitate Jewish immigration" and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land. The holy days of the various religions of the country are made legal rest days; each community in Palestine is to be allowed to maintain its own schools; English, Hebrew and Arabic are made the official languages of the country. No discrimination of any kind, on the ground of race, religion or language, is to be made between the inhabitants of Palestine. "No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief."

### THE PRINCIPLE OF IMMIGRATION

Within the terms of the Mandate, principles on which immigration is to be "facilitated" are not defined. Shortly before the signing of the Mandate, however, a Statement of Policy was issued

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on June 3, 1922, by Mr. Winston Churchill, then Secretary for Colonies, in which the principle of economic absorptive capacity was established as the sole criterion for Jewish immigration into Palestine. This Statement became the interpretation on which the Mandate was subsequently put into effect.

When this Statement was issued by Mr. Churchill, there were already some 80,000 Jews in Palestine, living in an organized community with a certain amount of self-government in local affairs. These Jews and all those who would enter subsequently would be in Palestine, in Mr. Churchill's words, "as of right and not on sufferance."

### THE PRINCIPLE LIMITED

Except for an episode which occurred in 1930, the British Government adhered to the principle of economic absorptive capacity as the sole criterion for immigration. The one exception was provoked by the disturbances in Palestine in 1929. In a 1930 Statement of Policy, known as the Passfield White Paper, the British Government proposed to discard the principle of economic absorptive capacity and to reduce immigration drastically on political grounds. But British public opinion at the time was highly adverse to this project. The present Lord Chancellor, then Sir John Simon, and Lord Hailsham suggested in a letter to the [London] *Times* that the British Government should induce the Council of the League of Nations to obtain from the World Court an advisory opinion on whether the restriction of immigration on political grounds is consistent with the Mandate and asked that the British Government should not enforce the measure without a decision of the Court. Mr. David Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the Balfour Declaration, speaking in the House of Commons in 1930, described the dominant idea of the Mandate as the "recognition of the special position of the Jewish people in the country whose name they have made immortal, and the conferring on them of special rights and interests in that country."

As a result of this opposition, the British Government virtually withdrew the Passfield White Paper. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, reiterated that "the considerations relevant to the limits of absorptive capacity are purely economic considerations."

### THE PRINCIPLE UPHOLD

Moved by the disturbances in Palestine in 1936, the British Government established a quota of 8,000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine for the eight months following August 1, 1937. Confronted with the situation, the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations again reaffirmed that the limitation of Jewish immigration to Palestine on other than the principle of economic absorptive capacity was not in accordance with the meaning of the Palestine Mandate. The Mandates Commission drew attention to the fact that this departure from the principle of economic absorptive capacity was acceptable only as a temporary measure. "The Commission does not question that the Mandatory Power, responsible as it is for the maintenance of order in the territory may, on occasion, find it advisable to take such a step, and is competent to do so, as an exceptional provisional measure. . . . It feels, however, bound to draw attention to this departure from the principle, sanctioned by the League Council, that immigration is to be proportionate to the country's economic absorptive capacity."

### PALESTINE EXPANDS

By 1937, the Jewish population of Palestine had risen to about 400,000. The immigrants, utilizing their own enthusiasms and energies, and drawing on the encouragement and support of Jews throughout the world, had brought Palestine to great heights of development. Arabs as well as Jews had benefited from highways, modern housing, exemplary hygienic provisions, and—above all—from the introduction of economic efficiency and new methods of agriculture that had turned arid stretches into fertile fields, vineyards and

orchards. Speaking before the House of Commons on the progress made in Palestine, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary for Colonies, said, in 1939:

"... The manner of their return has indeed been something of a miracle. There are places where they have turned the desert into spacious orange groves. Where was a bare seashore, they have made a city. They have advanced the frontier of settlement into waste and plague-ridden spaces. Whenever they bought up the land they made it produce its fruits more abundantly, and they have started in Palestine a score of thriving industries.

"There was no denying that Jewish immigration and Jewish development in Palestine were bringing great material benefits to the country. Industry and employment increased, and the revenue from this expansion went to create social services such as the country had not known before. The Arabs shared the greater well-being which flowed from these services. Under the new dispensation, unlike the old Palestine, the population of the Arabs increased in something like twenty years from 800,000 souls to over 1,000,000 souls."

The contribution in human energy and material resources which the Jewish immigrants to Palestine, and their friends throughout the world, gave to the renaissance of the country was inspired by the confidence that the future of Jewish existence there would be allowed to maintain the pace of accomplishment and fulfillment which had been envisioned in the documents of 1917 and 1922, the reaffirmation of the British people and successive British Governments.

#### 1939 WHITE PAPER

To them the 1939 White Paper was a setback and a shock. The British Government sought justification for the issuance of the White Paper on May 17, 1939, in the increasingly disturbed situation of the world, which affected the Near East with equal intensity. Arab resentments, admittedly fed by Axis propaganda (the ex-Mufti is now a Berlin favorite), had not been abated by

the immigration curtailment of 1937. War was indubitably imminent, and it may be assumed that this temporary circumstance activated the British Government.

#### a. IMMIGRATION

The White Paper fixes the proportion of Jews in Palestine as approximately one-third of the total population by providing that until March 1944, during the first five years of the transition period, not more than 75,000 Jews be admitted to the country. Thereafter, unless Arab acquiescence for its continuance is obtained, further Jewish immigration is to be prohibited. Before the publication of the White Paper, it had never been doubted that the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate were primarily intended to provide the Jews with continued immigration possibilities into Palestine.

#### b. LAND PURCHASES

The White Paper further provides that the High Commissioner be given powers to regulate and prohibit the transfer of land to Jews. On the basis of this authority, the Palestine Land Transfer Regulations of February 28, 1940 were issued.

In these Regulations, Palestine was divided into three zones. In Zone A, comprising 4,104,000 acres, or about 63.1 per cent of the total area, transfer of land by an Arab to a Jew is altogether prohibited. In Zone B, consisting of 2,067,840 acres, or 31.8 per cent of the total area, land transfers from Arabs to Jews may be allowed under special circumstances at the discretion of the High Commissioner. Only in the so-called "free zone," comprising 332,160 acres, or 5.1 per cent of the total area, do land transfers remain unrestricted.

According to the Land Transfer Regulations, Jews—even those who are citizens of Palestine—will not be allowed to buy land in nearly 95 per cent of the total area of the country. Others, whether they are citizens of Palestine or foreigners, retain unrestricted purchase rights.

#### TERMS OF THE MANDATE

The Mandate, in Article 15, states that "no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the ground of his religious belief." In providing for the cessation of Jewish immigration, and in barring the Jews from land purchases in large areas of Palestine, the White Paper is not only inconsistent with the Mandate's terms, but would make Palestine a country in which Jews are discriminated against on the basis of race or religion. The American Jewish Committee does not press the question of a commonwealth; it does urge that the discrimination against Jews as such with respect to land ownership and immigration is wrong in principle and a violation of the legal duty of the Mandatory.

Under the international political uncertainty which motivated the issuance of the White Paper, the House of Commons, by a small minority, approved its policy. Mr. Winston Churchill, opposing the White Paper during the debate that preceded the vote, said: "... The provision that Jewish immigration can be stopped in five years' time by the decision of an Arab majority ... is a plain breach of a solemn obligation. ... This pledge of a home of refuge, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home. ... Now, there is the breach, there is the violation of the pledge, there is the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration; there is the end of the vision, of the hope, of the dream. ... Yesterday the Minister responsible descanted eloquently in glowing passages upon the magnificent work which the Jewish colonists have done. They have made the desert bloom. They have started a score of thriving industries. ... They have founded a great city on a barren shore. They have harnessed the Jordan and spread its electricity throughout the land. So far from being

persecuted, the Arabs have crowded into the country and multiplied till their population has increased more than even all world Jewry could lift up the Jewish population. Now we are asked to decree that all this is to stop and all this is to come to an end. We are now asked to submit—and this is what rankles most with me—to an agitation which is fed with foreign money and ceaselessly inflamed by Nazi and by Fascist propaganda."

Furthermore, the White Paper provides that the neighboring Arab States, not mentioned in the Mandate, are under certain circumstances to be consulted during the transformation of Palestine from a mandated territory to an independent state. On the other hand, it completely ignores the Jewish Agency, which had been the Jewish body advising and cooperating with the Palestine Administration, in accordance with the Mandate.

The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, including a British member, unanimously decided that the policy was not in accordance with the interpretation which had been placed upon the Palestinian Mandate by the Commission. A majority of the Commission also stated that the interpretation given by the White Paper to the obligations contained in the Mandate was "ruled out by the very terms of the Mandate and by the fundamental intentions of its authors." War broke out before the Council of the League of Nations, which had hitherto always followed the advice and recommendations of the Commission, could examine the Commission's report.

Today, the situation which attended the issuance of the White Paper has been considerably changed. We believe the temporary conditions which motivated its issuance have passed. The Near East, recently chosen as the meeting place for the leaders of four great United Nations powers, is no longer in danger of Axis conquest. Amid the encouraging scene, however, millions of Jews who once lived in Central and much of Eastern Europe stand as symbols of the persecutions and the tyrannies that have made this war a holocaust

of horror. The destruction of Jews and the extent of their uprooting are greater than those to which other population groups have been subjected. Thousands, equipped only with the courage and the hope that sent their predecessors to Palestine from lesser hardships, but as assured as were their predecessors of the goodwill and aid of Jews in other parts of the world, plead for the opportunity to utilize their creative energies in the country with which their people's history is so closely bound. Their admittance into that country, to live freely and securely, would be in the spirit of the Four Freedoms.

For Great Britain, in 1943, the tensions that made her deem the 1939 White Paper necessary are no longer so compelling. For the Jews to whom the Balfour Declaration was addressed and for whom the Mandate was evolved, has come unprecedented need that the possibilities envisioned in the Mandate be released from their present constraints.

#### POSITION OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The American Jewish Committee, which was organized primarily to "prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world . . . to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunity . . ." does not at this time urge determination of the final constitutional status of Palestine; it does urge

that the British Government re-examine the 1939 White Paper, considering such re-examination to be of the utmost urgency in the light of the present needs of European Jewry. The American Jewish Committee has from the beginning supported the Balfour Declaration as the legal sanction for the creation of a homeland for Jews within Palestine, and welcomed the opportunity to cooperate with those who sought to establish in a rehabilitated Palestine a center for the development of Jewish life and for the continuation of cultural creativity. It seeks today the safeguarding of the Jewish settlement in, and Jewish immigration into, Palestine under an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations; and a guarantee of adequate scope for the future expansion of the Jewish community in Palestine to the extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country. It specially pleads for the abrogation of the White Paper which discriminates against Jews as such.

The American Jewish Committee is in full agreement with the position taken by Mr. Winston Churchill in 1939. The events of the past four years have served to emphasize the vision and wisdom of his attitude.

In view of all existing conditions—political and humane—the American Jewish Committee earnestly urges that His Majesty's Government should abrogate the 1939 White Paper.

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## ✿ Books in Review ✿

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### THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ST. PAUL

THE APOSTLE. By *Sholem Asch*. New York, Putnam's, 1943. 804 pp. \$3.00.

IN THE manner of those gigantic paintings of the Crucifixion produced by nineteenth-century European naturalists—panoramas thronging with Jews, Roman mercenaries on horseback, foreign merchants and despairing followers of "The King of the Jews," all in the costumes and attitudes of their period and place—Sholem Asch's *The Apostle* reconstructs pictorially the life and times of the passionate St. Paul, first great missionary of the Christian Church.

At the opening of the Christian Era the critical struggles of the Jewish nation under the bondage of the Roman procurators had brought to the fore in the most intense fashion the traditional hope of the Messiah, son of David, to be sent by the Almighty to lift up and liberate His people. Jesus' acceptance of this role had appeared in an ambiguous light during his lifetime, and the manner of his death had resulted in an even greater mystification with regard to his relation to Judea. Could this prophet, who had been beaten, humiliated and left to expire on the felons' tree, be the true Messiah, the Deliverer of Israel? Obviously, to answer this question in the affirmative the idea of the Messiah would have to be shifted from the national plane to that of the metaphysical.

Paul, earlier known as Saul, was the man who negotiated this shift and in so doing converted the Anointed of the Jews into the Lord of Mankind. Asch's novel is the account of the sufferings and works of "the Apostle of the Gentiles." It starts with the earliest phase of the conflict regarding the acceptance of Jesus as Messiah. Paul's first appearance on the scene is typical of Asch's treatment of the apostle's personality and the setting of his acts: ". . . a young man had been thrusting his way swiftly through the throng, until he stood . . . face to face with the men of Galilee. He fixed on the latter one fierce and challenging eye, which seemed to concentrate in itself the power of two, for his other eye was almost closed, the heavy lid lying lifeless over the pupil and leaving only a glimmer of white at the bottom." Still a zealot of the pharisaic conception of the Messiah, Paul furiously engages the Galileans in argument, and calls for action against those who "take a hanged man and exalt him as the holy person of the Messiah, whereas it is written in the sacred script: 'The curse of God rests on him that has been hanged.'"

On this issue of the antagonism of the Law of Moses to the messianic claims of the Jesus sect among the Jews, Paul becomes the ruthless persecutor, acting as the arm of the High Priesthood. And it is this same issue which, after his miraculous conversion on the road to Damascus, determines his activities in the gradual splitting away of the Christian congregations from the body of Jewry and their establishment as a separate religion freed from the Law and from the nation that gave birth to them. For after this vision on the highway and the meditations that followed it, Paul became the radical reinterpreter of the function and scope of the Law in the light of Jesus' tidings. And so, step by step, he turned more and more from the Jews in the Christian brotherhoods toward the conversion of the Gentiles, and affirmed the logic by which the Table Fellowship of the Jews, their dietary proscriptions, and their ritual of circumcision ceased to be necessary for salvation.

THOUGH it recounts faithfully the "ideological" battles which Paul waged against both Jew and Pagan, Asch's narrative is not, essentially, a novel of ideas. Its conflicts of the mind are but incidents in a vast pageant representing the cities, public spectacles and chief events of the Mediterranean world of the first century. The author especially relishes grand displays in brilliant colors—like the riots against the Jews in Alexandria, the debaucheries on the "sin-steeped soil" of the groves of Apollo, Nero's burning of Rome and the subsequent slaughter of Jews and Christians in the Roman circus. One cannot help being reminded of a colossal costume production, though here there is plenty of historically-supported dialogue and no squeamishness as to detail.

The weakness of this panoramic approach is that it remains on the surface of historical fact; it does not re-create in terms of our present-day culture the deeper emotional and symbolic meanings which such dominant ideas as the Law and the Messiah represented in the century that saw the end of the Jewish State. The disputes of Paul with Christian, pagan or Sadducee, though authentically rendered and consistent with research and the Epistles, remain remote to contemporary consciousness and feeling and have a predominantly archaic quality. Mr. Asch has seen no reason to seek modern cultural equivalents for the key motives of the past—as Thomas Mann did in his *Joseph* cycle (for example, in his interpretation of the dual gods of the Egyptians, or of the "formal" life of Potiphar, or of Joseph's difference from the Egyptians on the basis of his treasure of alien "stories").

This lack of an imaginative apparatus for grasping the inner tensions of the past causes Mr. Asch to build too strong a case for the Christian position. In his novel, Paul's encounters with the Jews always take the form of intellectual controversies, and in these Paul is always the winner. Departures from Mosaic practice are generally presented from the New Testament perspective, that is to say, the rituals are negated from a more universal point of view. Asch's Jews seem incapable of convincingly supporting their resistance to the new beliefs, and this is connected, in my opinion, with the

author's failure to penetrate to the drama immanent in the emergence of the Christian sect. For the historical justification of the Jewish attitude consisted not in what Jews might have said in answer to Christian arguments but in the fact that they were fighting to maintain their national existence under circumstances that made victory impossible. The Jewish nation was crumbling both within and without, and the appearance of the brotherhoods of Jesus and the later labors of Paul were bound to be identified as belonging to this process. The drama of the situation lay therefore not in who was right or wrong but in the profound and inevitable affirmation of two irreconcilable movements among the Jews. Asch, however, judges the issue between the Christians and the Law from the standpoint of rationalistic ethics; but such judgments are irrelevant to the basic conflict.

In sum, *The Apostle* is a huge colorful history, fictionalized to the minimum and faithful in the extreme to the generally accepted account of the life and thinking of St. Paul. The subject is a fascinating one, and at all points the reader feels that he is getting from Mr. Asch a substantiated and firm version of the known facts. Mr. Asch combines sensuousness and showmanship with scholarship and a rare capacity for the simple exposition of doctrinal questions. If he falls short on the side of artistic interpretation, it is because the "objectivity" of his method does not allow him to reach around to the other side of phenomena.

HAROLD ROSENBERG

## THE FUTURE OF THE NEAR EAST

THE NEAR EAST: Problems and Prospects. By Count Carlo Sforza, H.A.R. Gibb, Salo W. Baron, Charles K. Webster and Quincy Wright. Edited by Philip W. Ireland. (Harris Foundation Lectures, 1942.) Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942. 266 pp. \$2.50.

EAST AND WEST OF SUEZ. By John S. Badeau. New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1943. 94 pp. 25 cents.

THE MIDDLE EAST. By Eliahu Ben-Horin. New York, Norton, 1943. 248 pp. \$3.00.

ALTHOUGH the publications noted above contain diverse and clashing theories as to the future of the Near East, one striking point is their common omission of the essential frame of reference without which these theories are meaningless. In the case of the Near East, we are dealing with an area inhabited by weak and motley peoples. From time out of mind, its disposition has been the cause of wars among mighty nations. Our ally Great Britain has had many experiences in this region while we ourselves have been assuming new responsibilities which will be of future concern. It would seem obvious that the essential frame of reference for British or American political theorists must be the vast and legitimate interests of their countries in the Near East.

Within such a frame of reference, differing views might be taken. Yet in

their zeal to establish the postwar world on a good moral basis, the writers in question delete from consideration such interests and treat the Near East as existing *in vacuo*. Britain's interests (and inferentially America's) are treated like illegitimate evils which must be extruded. They would isolate the Near East from ourselves, satisfy the petty prides and aspirations of its least peoples and ignore the effects of this policy on our own security. We would thus queamishly find ourselves legislated out of this area with no safeguard for our vital interests. We are expected to enforce the Four Freedoms while depriving ourselves of the military and political advantages needed to meet these duties. In short, the above writings discuss various aspects of the Near Eastern problem as though they could be isolated from the interplay of world affairs.

Professor Charles K. Webster is an exception. In demonstrating the reasons for British penetration into the Near East, he concedes that economic interests have played a certain role, mostly in Egypt. But he supports the thesis demonstrated in this periodical in detail\* that the great source of British policy has been military necessity—the desire to secure the Suez area against France, Russia and Germany in turn. Far from seeking to penetrate and dominate this area, Britain always sought to bolster the Turkish Empire against these predatory powers. During Mehemet Ali's insurrection in 1840, she intervened to secure Turkey against Russia and France. Even her occupation of Egypt in 1882 was less through lust for conquest than to forestall France. After the First World War, Britain secured her mandates over Iraq and Palestine through these same motives. Indeed, although Professor Webster does not make this point, it would seem that the mandates system as a whole is a departure from the old forms of colonial exploitation. While it is admirable to secure military control over a given area, it tends to obstruct undue economic aggrandizement by the mandatory power.

Professor Webster illustrates two policies between which he seems to see no contradiction. The first is Britain's benign colonial policy which regards Britain as the trustee for the welfare of her subjects. This policy demands the extension of democracy, education and self-rule throughout the Empire. The other is Britain's imperial policy which limits itself to securing and maintaining points of strength along the imperial highways of the world. Professor Webster advocates fostering the first policy even though it carries the seeds of imperial disintegration. On the other hand, within this major dilemma lies a minor. Where self-rule is granted too soon—Iraq being an odious example—it may lead to local fascism, xenophobia and the oppression of minorities. Hence in certain areas like Palestine where "plural communities" make these evils probable, he would compromise by making the mandate permanent. Incidentally, this suggestion if applied to Palestine would safeguard the Suez area and place Britain's military needs on a sound moral basis.

But if Professor Webster takes this sensible view, Professor Quincy Wright swallows the Arab position whole. He states their view in legal and objective

\*"British Policy in Palestine" in CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD, October 1942, pp. 547-551.

language. His learning is impressive. But there can be no doubt of his partisan sympathies for Arab nationalism regardless of the consequences for the rest of the world. He has so little sympathy for Zionism as a consequence that he actually makes certain misstatements regarding the Jewish position in Palestine. He would execute the Atlantic Charter almost at once and confer self-rule as soon as possible even on those who cloak the demands of ruthless fascism in the language of democracy. He easily glosses over Arab manifestations of pro-Axis sympathies and the peccadillos of the Iraq and Egyptian Governments. He regards as legitimate the Arab grievance that they have failed to set up an Arab Federation although nothing stops this but their own mutual hatreds and rivalries. Rarely have the ideals of Wilson been more vigorously misapplied than here.

The difficulty with this position (which is shared more or less by Count Carlo Sforza, Professor H.A.R. Gibb and John S. Badeau) is that the Arabs have proved a positive menace to the United Nations during the entire North African Campaign. Count Sforza calls special attention to the hostility of the Arabs toward the British and French. Yet Professor Wright asserts that except for certain leaders the mass of Arabs are "probably" sympathetic to the United Nations. Among many proposals, he counsels that the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal be placed under some future "international body" in which the Arabs are to have an important if not dominating voice. (He does not specify whether Germany is to sit on this body nor does he exclude this possibility.)

In the long run, no doubt, the Arabs are entitled to freedom from supervision, but does democracy really imply a stranglehold on the Suez Canal which is so vital to everyone but the Arabs? Professor Wright rejects Zionist necessities in Palestine on the ground that the "moral interests" of a billion Christians and Muslims outweighs the real interests of the Jews. If this is true, why do not the vital interests of the British Empire and America outweigh the chauvinistic pride of the desert dwellers of the Sinai Peninsula? Or conversely, why do not the needs of fifteen million Jews enter into the problem of Palestine? The fact is that any stick is good enough to beat a dog and any argument good enough to support the Arab thesis. In any event, Professor Wright and his fellow thinkers ask Great Britain to surrender to the Arabs all those positions which made her North African victories possible. The Arabs are not asked to make any undertakings at all, not even to provide for their own future defenses. While they are to benefit by the Atlantic Charter, they are not asked to support it. Philanthropy could go no further.

AND yet, some way out must be found. No matter how legitimate, the Near East cannot forever be used solely to protect our military and political interests. We cannot expect these turbulent peoples to subscribe to our benign and enlightened viewpoint forever. With the spread of education and industrialization, the demands for self-rule are bound to grow ever more explosive. Count Sforza suggests we simply clear out before we are kicked out. Professor Gibb warns us that true Arab nationalism (which he terms a reflection of enlightened Western culture) cannot be expected to outpace Pan-Arabism

which represents mob chauvinism at its worst. Some solution is needed to satisfy all parties.

A constructive approach is offered by Professor Salo W. Baron and Eliahu Ben-Horin. By coincidence, these men have struck on a plan which has not before received wide publicity. This plan calls for an over-all approach to the main problems of the entire region in question, namely, poverty, ignorance and political weakness. They call for international aid in the simultaneous revival of Palestine and of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, the former by an expanded Zionist program and the latter by restoration of the ancient irrigation systems and by restocking the empty areas with peoples drawn from Egypt, Syria and Palestine. Pierre van Paassen, in *The Forgotten Ally* (New York, Dial, 1943), also supports this view.

Whether we have the political wit to carry this plan through is hard to say. But it is technically practical. Professor Baron calculates that Palestine could sustain up to seven and a half million souls while Iraq could contain thirty million. If such a plan were only partially successful, it would change the entire problem of the Near East. The economic pressure which now aggravates the political difficulties would be removed. The population problems of Egypt and Palestine would abate. In the light of Iraq's expanding population, the immigration of Jews into Palestine would lose significance. With the loss of many imaginary grievances, the attitude of the Arabs toward the great nations might be expected to change. Best of all, the Near East would again become a source of strength to any world system of security. Instead of the present political and military vacuum, there would exist a series of Arab states capable of guarding the security of the Suez area out of their own strength. All interests would be served.

Many more points are touched on than are here indicated by all the writers under discussion. All of them should be read together if possible to get many viewpoints. Pierre van Paassen in many ways is most significant because of the enlightenment which his flashing style throws on many events which are in today's headlines. Eliahu Ben-Horin is least reliable. In addition to an obvious Revisionist bias which distorts his vision on many matters of partisan interest, important parts of his book have been taken from sources to which no credit is given.

ELEAZAR LIPSKY

## THE CASE FOR YIDDISH

THE JEW AND HIS LANGUAGE PROBLEM. By David Goldblatt. New York, Privately printed, 1943. 202 pp. \$2.00.

THE language problem of the Jew is a twofold one. To begin with, a controversy has now been going on for over half a century—at first in eastern Europe and then also in America—as to whether Yiddish or Hebrew is to be regarded as the *living* tongue of the Jewish people. However, as the walls of the ghetto began to crumble, as a new generation grew up and received

its education in the climate of European and American culture, the language problem took on a more complex character. It became evident that it was no longer an internal issue, a family quarrel, as to the hegemony of Yiddish or Hebrew, *within* the house of Jewish life. It was clear that what was really at stake was the survival of a *Jewish* language—Yiddish or Hebrew—alongside the languages of the various lands where Jews dwelled as citizens, equals in rights and duties and dignity with all other citizens.

Mr. Goldblatt is concerned with the first aspect of this language problem, with the controversy between the Yiddishists and the Hebraists. His book is a passionate and sustained plea in behalf of Yiddish. He is not unaware of the vital importance of the second aspect of the problem—the difficulties faced by those who would preserve a *Jewish* language in America as an actual instrument of communication among Jews and as a creative cultural medium. If I understand him correctly, he is inclined to believe that the acknowledgment of Yiddish as *the* Jewish language in the Jewish home and school, as well as in cultural activity, would facilitate the process of consolidating the position of a Jewish language in America and rendering it a *living* and *meaningful* reality in Jewish life.

Mr. Goldblatt tells us briefly that Yiddish is almost a thousand years old, that no Jewish language has ever been spoken by so many Jews for so long a time, that it is still the language of some two-thirds of the Jewish people. He refutes the absurd assertion that Yiddish is a *jargon* and points out that it derives from German, like English and Dutch and the Scandinavian languages, but developed long ago into a *Jewish* language with a rich Hebrew strain, possessing a structure and morphology uniquely its own. One might add that Yiddish literature is not of yesterday, counting among its treasures the *Ma'aseh Books*, the memoirs of Glückel of Hameln, the stories of Rabbi Nachman of Bratzlav, and later the works of Mendele, Peretz and Sholem Aleichem, and of course, the novels of contemporary writers like Singer and Asch.

Mr. Goldblatt resorts to these facts in order to clear the ground for his basic premise—a premise that cannot be lightly disposed of. Yiddish—he affirms—is not merely a language, an aggregate of words to be found in a dictionary; it has been the social and spiritual expression of Jewish communal life for over eight centuries. To discard Yiddish, he asserts, is to erase these eight centuries of Jewish collective experience, is to deny our cultural *yesterday* and hence to impoverish our *today*, is to evince no understanding of the profound significance of spiritual continuity, is to forget the sorrows and the joys of our ancestors and hence not to be able to taste to the full our own sorrows and joys.

MR. GOLDBLATT'S case against Hebrew moves in two directions. In the first place, he does not think it is equipped to play the part of a *modern* language. It has approximately 5,600 words and, unlike the Aryan languages, has failed to transform some of its letters into vowels, clinging instead to a cumbersome system of vowel-points. It is true that Hebrew is constantly absorbing new

words and terms from the European languages but the effect of this is to make of Hebrew a new and artificial language having little relationship to the Hebrew of the Bible. In the second place he holds that the secularization of Hebrew, its employment as a present-day language, is a kind of desecration of the Hebrew that Jews have piously called for several millennia *lashen kodesh*, the holy language; indeed, there is the danger that in a secular Hebrew education in Palestine—and education in a modern country is bound to be secular—the *lashen kodesh* of the Bible will be lost in this new, artificial Hebrew with its thousands of Hebraized European words and terms.

Mr. Goldblatt's book merits consideration. It is a sincere and ardent statement by a man who has lived as a Jew in three continents—Europe, Africa, America. It is not a truly scholarly book and is frequently dull and pedantic, but its author is a man of great Jewish learning. It is polemical and fervent and is marred occasionally by a note of arrogance and unfairness (as when the author speaks of Louis Marshall's view of Jewish education in English as "a crazy notion" or sees a causal relationship between some anti-Yiddish comment by Rabbi Jonah Wise and Ford's abatement of his anti-Semitic propaganda). He is, alas, too optimistic on the present status of Yiddish in America and his information on the Yiddish press, on the publication of Yiddish books, on the number of those who speak and read Yiddish, is not entirely correct. He is not sufficiently mindful of the need for a "united front" of Yiddishists and Hebraists in a common enterprise to maintain Jewish cultural creativity in America and to bring about a deepening in the American Jewish community of the sense of Jewish values, of which the trilingual *Jewish Book Week Annual* and the Louis La Med Fund are examples. He ends his book with a chapter which is super-nationalistic, almost saying that without us there would have been no civilization in the world, and therefore, by implication, at least, is also *apologetic*. Since we are living in America, in a free and democratic land which does not demand of us spiritual self-abnegation, it would be wiser and more useful to associate this plea for Yiddish with the doctrine of *cultural democracy* which makes it possible to preserve our Jewish heritage within the framework of the American way of life.

ISRAEL KNOX

## NOVELS OF CONFLICT

*THE DARK STAIN*. By Benjamin Appel. New York, Dial, 1943. 395 pp. \$2.75.  
*THE WHITE FACE*. By Carl Ruthaven Offord. New York, McBride, 1943. 317 pp. \$2.75.

THE subject of both these novels is Negro anti-Semitism in Harlem. It is attacked in each with more fervor than success. *The Dark Stain* when it preaches or analyzes is, unfortunately, neither rousing nor profound and, as a novel, it is overburdened with cops and robbers (partly transformed into democrats and fascist hoodlums), kidnaping and sex, ambitious ironies and a

Street and Smith denouement. Mr. Offord's *The White Face* for all its innocent implausibility has some moments of life and it is at least free from professional writers' tricks. But the lesser defects of these books are dwarfed by their failure with the subject, which is admittedly an immensely difficult one.

The Negro's hostility toward Jews is part of his general hostility toward all Whites. The Jew is not a representative White, but he is White and it is mainly through him, as Roi Ottley points out in *'New World A-Coming'*, that the Harlem Negro—or any urban Negro, for that matter—contacts the larger White world. It requires no small degree of sophistication to distinguish between "Merchant" and "Jew" or between "Landlord," "Boss" and "Jew." The Jew, therefore, is the closest and most obvious aggressor and, moreover, his position in Christian myth is unhappily such that prejudice and persecution come alive at a touch or by his mere presence.

Further, the Negro (herein resembling all other American minority peoples, including the Jewish) applies the standards and values of the majority to every other group (as well as to himself). But in his case, contempt for Italians, Greeks, Poles, Filipinos, Mexicans and Jews is combined with class resentment and outraged caste feeling. The Negro, George Schuyler of *The Pittsburgh Courier* once wrote, is a mudsill on which, in the course of history, all other groups in their climb toward acceptance and equality have trodden. He will be the last to ascend, trailing far behind the latest, most despised ethnic arrivals from Eastern Europe.

The most apparent enemy, of course, is he who last stepped on the mudsill. But there is another element here that frequently escapes notice, and that is that in every case an oppressed group always turns on its least powerful opponent. Thus the weakest groups in American society are in continual conflict, and from this tragic anomaly only the stronger benefit.

All this Mr. Appel in his fictional journalism touches but fails to grasp. He is swept away by a gale of tricks into superficiality. Mr. Offord, though better acquainted with Harlem, achieves only a most primitive success and his characters change with annoying frequency from cardboard to flesh and from flesh to cardboard again. But Mr. Offord and Mr. Appel make no contribution to social criticism that the newspaper *PM* has not already made.

SAUL BELLOW

## THREE BAGGER!

*KEYSTONE KIDS*. By John R. Tunis. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1943. 209 pp. \$2.00.

LAST year John R. Tunis provided reviewers of boys' books with a pleasing surprise in his *All American*. Departing from the tried and true formula of sports stories, he wove into that football tale an intelligent discussion of racial and religious prejudice among adolescent boys. And while he was more successful in his treatment of the anti-Semitic problem than in his resolution of the conflict centering about a Negro boy, his earlier book as a whole was a

most interesting experiment in literature for juveniles. (See CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD, VI, 318-319.)

From the publisher's point of view, the experiment must have been successful, for this year they have presented Mr. Tunis' *Keystone Kids*. Here we find within the framework of a conventional sports story a frank presentation of anti-Semitism in professional baseball. For when young Jocko Klein joins the Brooklyn Dodgers, the usual heckling lavished on rookies by teammates and opponents alike seizes on Klein's religion for its cruelest thrusts. The boy takes the gibes seriously and his playing suffers.

His manager, an intelligent person, helps Klein to the realization that his open sensitivity makes it even easier for the hecklers to do their job. Klein accepts Russell's advice to fight back, to show that he can play well, to disregard the nasty comments. And once he has proved himself as a player, the taunts lose power. Klein, in overcoming his self-pity, demonstrated that his being a Jew had nothing to do with his performance on the diamond. In this way he dissipates the suspicion held by some of his teammates that Jews are quitters.

You may find fault with Mr. Tunis' oversimplification of the issue of anti-Semitism as well as with his misuse, to perhaps oversensitive Jewish ears, of the word "race" when "religion" is indicated. But then it may be that the author is using the word in its popular sense, and believes that his youthful readers will understand him better than if he were more scientific in his choice of terms. Nevertheless, it would seem wiser to stick to correct terminology and so help educate readers, rather than perpetuate unfortunate misconceptions.

Despite these criticisms, Mr. Tunis is to be congratulated on his one-man campaign to bring significance into books aimed at a highly impressionable audience. Think of how much further along the battle against intolerance and bigotry might have been had Frank Merriwell been more aware of the social facts of life! (In fact, Frank in his final appearance a year or so ago was a middle-aged "tycoon," with obvious fascistic ideas about community problems.) A whole generation of boys trained in the concepts of religious co-operation may very well be the result of intelligent writing of books of this kind.

HAROLD C. FIELD

## THE NAZIS STAND TRIAL

DAY OF RECKONING. By Max Radin. New York, Knopf, 1943. 144 pp. \$1.75.

A FEW years ago there appeared a satirical novel, *Der Kaiser ging—die Generale blieben*, written by a German anti-Fascist and showing how, while the Kaiser escaped unscathed to Holland, the men who helped him unleash the dogs of war in 1914, were not prosecuted as war criminals by the Allies or the Germans in 1919. Last October (1943), when the trial of Rudolf Hess was demanded by members of the British Parliament, Richard K. Law was reminded by them that guilty Germans escaped punishment after the last

war; the Minister of State simply replied: "I hope to be able to avoid the mistakes made last time." Earlier, in a press statement of August 21, 1942, President Roosevelt had declared: "It seems only fair that they [the Axis invaders] should have this warning: that the time will come when they shall have to stand in courts of law . . . and answer for their acts." Similar statements were made by the Russians.

Max Radin, Professor of Law at the University of California, anticipates in the present book, a sort of brief novel, the trial that will be held against seven leading Nazis—in 1945 according to him—after the war has been won by the Allies. The defendants are Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler, Funk, Milch, von Ribbentrop, and Johann Gastein. (The name of Gastein, minister of justice, is fictitious, and the absence of Goering is explained by the fact that he was killed in an air raid shortly before Germany's surrender.) Significantly, the Palais de Justice of Luxembourg was chosen as the seat of the Tribunal, that country being the smallest and most helpless of the victims of Hitlerism.

Equally significant is the fact that the International Court (composed of a Russian, an Englishman, a Chinese, an Australian and an American) tries the Nazi leaders on the charge of murdering three inconspicuous persons: a Frenchman shot as a hostage; a Czech hanged for having written on a wall a nasty word about the Führer; and a Russian soldier of Jewish descent, tortured to death while toiling in a labor squad. Everybody will understand, though, that these three men merely represent types, chosen to facilitate and accelerate the trial. Most people will approve Professor Radin's suggestion that the Nazi big shots should be tried like common murderers, as though they were Jack the Rippers or John Dillingers, not quondam "statesmen." Without any show or pomposity à la Wagner, future generations of German historians are thus prevented from elevating mere gangsters to the romantic status of martyrs!

There is much suspense, dramatic power and even humor in the little book. Vainly Dr. Scheering, a German anti-Nazi assigned to the defense, endeavors to defend his clients by claiming that they could not be held responsible for crimes committed by underlings, and that, at least, they should be tried by German courts. But the Nazis, who refuse to testify, ultimately reject their zealous attorney. Except for Hitler, the defendants have nothing to say when the death sentence is pronounced, and Hitler's last statement consisted of words "that needed no translation from either of the accredited interpreters."

Altogether, the battle of wits fought between the Court and the embarrassed defender of the accused Nazis makes interesting reading. But a big problem is left unresolved. What should be done with the other men of Hitler's entourage, especially the leading Nazi industrialists, bankers and party big shots who helped the Führer execute his task? Still the answer to this question probably lies beyond the scope of this well-written piece of prophetic semi-fiction.

ALFRED WERNER

## SHORTER NOTICES

COMMON SENSE FOR AMERICAN JEWS: An Outline for Group Discussion. By Solomon Andhil Fineberg. New York, American Jewish Committee (1943). 24 pp. Free.

LEADER'S MANUAL. Prepared by Solomon Andhil Fineberg. New York, American Jewish Committee (1943). 23 pp. Free.

"TALK is cheap," the cynic may say, but when that talk is directed toward a particular problem and is guided by informed leaders, it is simply cynicism that is cheap. It was his understanding of the role of discussion in a democracy that impelled Dr. Fineberg to project this *Leader's Manual* and *Outline*, based on his book, *Overcoming Anti-Semitism* (reviewed in these pages June 1943, p. 313).

Suffice it to say that Dr. Fineberg has literally picked his book from the library shelf and hurled it into the midst of a discussion group. He has broken down his subject matter into six units, provided the discussion leader with appropriate references, indicated basic questions, thrown out hints. He is elementary where he has to be: in analyzing types of anti-Semitism, incidents, historical trends, methods for meeting general and specific problems.

Whatever may be the objections to Dr. Fineberg's findings and conclusions, it cannot be denied that he has successfully followed through with an idea. His book was not the end of the work for him; it was the beginning. He has developed a particular technique for combating anti-Semitism and he is now seeking to instruct others in that technique. If there is either strength or weakness in his procedures, the discussion method (a town meeting in miniature) will bring it out.

DI IDN IN NAZI-POLEN ("The Jews in Nazi Poland"). By L. Spizman. New York, Farlag "Yiddisher Kempfer," 1942. 468 pp. \$2.00.

THIS is the first full-length work in the Yiddish language on the Jews in Poland under the Nazis. It was preceded some months before by Simon Segal's important study in English, *The New Order in Poland*. A recent arrival, Spizman writes from the vantage point of one who possesses great familiarity with Jewish life in Poland; he was thus enabled to judge the current situation. He has studiously compiled these data from many sources in half a dozen languages and has given a fairly comprehensive picture of the situation in Poland as late as October 1942.

Spizman traces the stages of the Nazi strangulation of Jewish material and spiritual life in Poland. Although written before the mass-extinctions became known in this country, the volume contains enough to point to the possibility, at least, that mass-extirpation was the ultimate objective of the Nazis from the start. One of the most interesting chapters, "Jews, Poles and Germans," describes the limited success the Nazis had in enlisting the cooperation of rowdy elements in a notoriously anti-Semitic country in their campaign to exterminate the Jews.

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## Magazine Digest

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IN A penetrating examination of "The Moral Front," Archibald MacLeish had much to say about the war being "a war of ideas," much to point out about the nature of Nazi propaganda. In dealing with the second subject, he told *Nation* readers (December 4) that the Nazis, foreign and domesticated varieties, "have used racial hatreds not for the sake of racial hatreds but to destroy the moral order without which the democratic world cannot survive."

MacLeish pointed out that victories already have been won by the enemy on the moral front, that racial hatreds have already corroded many minds, some good, many simple. "The great and terrible question of this year is whether we shall permit them to win further victories—to win the final victory they propose; whether we shall permit them, though defeated in the war itself, to win their moral victory over the democratic order which many millions of us still believe the war is fought and suffered to defend."

But how many realize just where some of the answers lie? Are the race-haters confined largely to street corners, soap boxes, mimeographed hand-outs, an occasional pulpit? Are the enemies on the moral front always small, obscure persons, victims of economic inequities, fellows with grudges, guys who are looking for a scapegoat? No, there are certain enemies on the moral front who are right out in front, who are eminently respectable people. Willson Whitman described a town full of them, described them trenchantly,

without bitterness, in an article which appeared in *The Nation* on Christmas Day, appropriately enough. "O Little Town . . . (Restricted)"—it was an effective title; not much exegesis was required.

The "Little Town" in this case is Litchfield, Connecticut, one of the charm spots of the state where, according to the state guide book, "an air of peace and contentment pervades the community." Miss Whitman had no difficulty in detecting this state of affairs; Christmas decorations and December quiet were already adding to the illusion. And "illusion" it would certainly be for any Jews who sought to live in that community. "They don't let Jews live in this town." That is what Miss Whitman heard people say, and that is what she sought to find out.

She found out. "We won't sell or rent to Jews," is what people say in Litchfield. And that rule of conduct is very well understood by the one Jew, an attorney, who lives there; he is careful not to sell Litchfield property to any fellow Jews. Miss Whitman discovered that "Litchfield shows no sign of reaction to world thought later than, say, the Nürnberg laws." And she learned, too, that Litchfielders did not realize that they were following Hitler's party line. To them it was a matter of being "conservative," or of following "a Christian unity."

The importance of Miss Whitman's article is that it gives expression and outline to the formless, polite, nebulous

types of social anti-Semitism. She reveals the dangers of respectability, especially when it is tinged with irrationality. The two articles by Miss Whitman and MacLeish form an excellent unit for further study.

WITH an eye to Litchfielders everywhere, M. F. Ashley Montagu, anthropologist and author, gives a definitive, succinct answer to the question "Are the Jews a 'Race'?" in *The Chicago Jewish Forum* (Winter 1943-44). Dr. Ashley Montagu's essay won the first prize in the Writers Contest conducted by this journal. His is a pertinent article in more respects than one, for even the sympathetic Miss Whitman refers to Jews as a "race." Ashley Montagu takes this concept as it would be defined by friends like Miss Whitman or enemies like A. Hitler and shows that there cannot be, nor ever was, such a thing as a "Jewish race." As a matter of fact, the term "race" is objectionable, and he prefers "the non-committal neutral term *ethnic group*" by which is understood "any group of human beings who are held to be distinguishable from other groups of human beings in virtue of their possession of a unique combination of physical characters."

The major question is thus phrased: "Do the Jews possess a community of physical characters which marks them out a distinct ethnic group among the peoples of mankind?" To this, science answers unequivocally "no." From the beginning the Jews did not and could not conform to any recognizable "Jewish type." If there were no types, obviously there could be no recognizable "race" nor an ethnic group; unless, perchance, you live in a "restricted" community.

Indeed, anything that would seek to prove that Jews are such biologically would not get by this writer. But there are, he says, Jewish traits, behavior and personality traits, determined

by social and cultural factors. By the same token, these recognizable traits may be changed, varied or sloughed off according to the changes in the social or cultural climate.

Ashley Montagu recognizes then that there are traits which Jews possess that are different from those which other groups may exhibit. He does not agree with the Litchfielders, however, that these traits are objectionable, except to those "who see reason to find them so." The end result of his query is, therefore, that "neither on physical nor on mental grounds can the Jews be distinguished as an ethnic group." There was never a Jewish physical type to be transmitted, and if there was it would have disappeared long ago in the constant intermixture of Jews with others. "What the Jews have preserved and transmitted have been neither physical nor mental 'racial' traits, but religious and cultural traditions and modes of conduct."

IN ASKING the question "Can Anti-Semitism Be Outlawed?" in these pages (December 1943), Solomon Andhil Fineberg gave the reasons why he would answer "no." Writing on the other side of the argument is Nathan D. Perlman, chairman of the Commission on Legislation of the American Jewish Congress, who deals with "Combating Enemy Propaganda" in the *Congress Weekly*, November 26.

Perlman discusses the Lynch bill which would seek to limit the movement of anti-Semitic materials through the mails. What Dr. Fineberg had called a "small step," and had suggested was doomed to ineffectiveness, Judge Perlman describes as "a practical and effective measure for preventing the spread of hate propaganda among the American people. . . ."

Drawing upon European and recent American experience, Perlman states that "recent events have graphically illustrated the effectiveness of propa-

ganda in promoting racial hatred, strife and violence." He then details the sordid news from Boston, Hartford and other centers, and anticipates the allegations which have recently centered about parts of New York City. He points out that neither the war nor patriotic necessities and duties have brought any cessation in the disruptive work of Nazi transmission belts, Hitler fellow travelers or hate-vendors. These agencies still exploit the anti-Semitic device to attack democracy, the war effort, the Administration, etc.

"It is ironical that a government engaged in deadly combat should lend its enemies the use of facilities for its own destruction." By denying them the mails, Perlman believes that they "will lose a potent weapon in their struggle against democracy." Dr. Fineberg would disagree with none of this argument. What he would ask, however, is a creditable explanation of how the proposed Lynch bill would work. In *Congress Weekly*, December 10, however, Judge Perlman's letter to the American Civil Liberties Union, which had opposed the Lynch bill, is quoted in part and the rationale of his position is more clearly indicated.

AN UGLY but pronounceable combination of letters is UNRRA. They stand for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Launched with brave fanfare from the White House itself, UNRRA had its first plenary session in Atlantic City, N. J. Ariele Tartakower holds that "it was the first real step toward world reconstruction, and, in particular, a significant expression of human solidarity." His reasons: the conference was based on the idea of co-operation of all nations; the work will be carefully prepared in advance; the idea of self-help is stressed strongly in the relief plan; the no less important work of rehabilitation is combined with relief work.

But in "UNRRA and the Jewish

Case" (*Jewish Frontier*, December), Tartakower holds that "it would be a mistake to assume that the Jewish approach to all these problems can be the same as that of most other peoples. . . . The necessity of a specific approach to the problem of relief and rehabilitation for the Jews is a direct consequence of the magnitude of the disaster which has befallen the Jewish people."

What specifically distinguishes the Jewish aspects of the problem is simply that the Jews have suffered longer, more intensively, than any other peoples in this war, not even excepting the Chinese. Because of this background and the peculiar nature of the problem, Tartakower desires that the problem be studied so that its unique aspects may be understood, that Jewish advice be constantly sought, that there be proper Jewish representation in the relief and rehabilitation setup. Has any of this been achieved? "Unfortunately none of these three conditions has so far been satisfactorily provided for," he writes. He found the first session of UNRRA's Council devoid of specific or frank appraisal of the Jewish tragedy, that omissions and flaws in the language of resolutions revealed, to say the least, "simple ignorance of vital details."

A RATHER interesting speculation prompted Joshua Loth Liebman to seek "The Mystery of the Lost Hatred." Looking at Jewish history, he writes in *The Reconstructionist* (December 24), one would imagine that the hated and persecuted Jews would themselves have evolved deep-seated hatreds of their persecutors. While he does not deny the existence of occasional bitter statements by individual Jews, he fails to find any evidence that Jews as a group profess or nurture an antipathy or hatred of other groups; "there is a problem of anti-Semitism in the world, but not a problem of anti-Gentilism."

Liebman contrasts the Jews with the

Germans and wonders why the former have not followed the alleged psychological course of the latter. Some explain German fanaticism on the basis of the cruelties and frustrations visited upon the Germans by the Versailles Treaty (*vide* any speech by A. Hitler or occasional U. S. Senators). The Germans exhibit, goes the theory, a normal response to social frustration. But, asks Liebman, what about the Jews? Haven't their conditions been far worse than those of the Germans and for a longer period? The Jewish people should have thus developed at least a hate-literature, should have sublimated their anger and frustration into "the safer waters of literary expression." But they have not—with the occasional individual exception to be noted, of course. The fact that they have not developed such a literature is "one of our greatest psychological surprises."

A BRIEF, but authoritative summary of Jewish migrations overseas was given by Ilja M. Dijour in *The Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, September 1943. The total number involved in the last six decades was a little over 4,000,000; the bulk came to this country, especially in the period prior to the passing of the immigration laws.

How migration was regarded by various groups within the Jewish community, the changing role of Palestine (since 1926 the greatest number have gone there), the shifting of centers of emigration, the closing of many doors even in the face of forced migrations from Hitler Europe, these are subjects treated in the course of the discussion. It is a poignant story, especially in recent years, but what about the future?

Mr. Dijour does not envision lifted barriers in the Western Hemisphere, but he foresees the migration of "one to one and a half million souls." And these people, "since Jewish immigration has always been primarily a move-

ment of relatives," will not be in a position to build new Jewish centers; "they will only enlarge the existing Jewish communities overseas."

But what communities? Palestine, of course, will be the goal of many, but elsewhere the possibilities of entry will be limited.

A somewhat less dark picture of post-war migrations is painted by C. Hartley Grattan writing on "Postwar Migration: A Mirage" for *Harper's*, December 1943. Grattan takes issue with those who predict that not only will there be a migration of twenty million persons after the war but that there are "great open spaces" where these millions can be absorbed. Grattan does not treat the Jewish aspect of the problem separately, but alludes to it at several points. Of immigration into Palestine in recent years he says: "This is universally considered the most amazingly successful example of planned migration in recent years and of course it operated under 'forced draft' some of the time."

What Grattan proposes is that sensible economic policies be adopted in Europe itself, thereby obviating the necessity for the emigration of twenty millions. "This is not to say that the overseas countries should do nothing to improve their economic positions until Europe has acted. Neither is it to demand that Europe keep all its 20,000,000 at home. It is simply to cast doubt upon the utility of planning to move the 20,000,000 out of Europe without first looking into the possibility of improving their condition within Europe. Unless Europe makes every effort to improve its own position the overseas countries will not be in the best position to absorb immigrants." That is something to ponder over.

Grattan's remarks about Australia should be squared with the claims of the territorialist group now propagandizing for settlement there.

H. J. J.

## Contemporary Jewish Record

PRESENTS

# THE CEDARS OF LEBANON



A SERIES OF JUDAIC ESSAYS — VII

# Race and Tradition

JAMES DARMESTETER

THIS essay is taken from the volume *Selected Essays of James Darmesteter, translated from the French by Helen B. Jastrow (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1895)*. The piece was written in 1891. A note about the author is found in this magazine (Vol. VI, No. 3, 1943), in connection with his "Essay on the History of the Jews," or the reader may consult any standard *Encyclopedia*. The lucid analysis and brilliant composition of the present essay speak for themselves.

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THE historical sciences in this century have subsisted on a single idea, that of race. When one lives on a single idea, one is at last apt to die of it. The idea of race, after having revived, or rather created, modern history, has for some time begun to render it sterile and to pervert it; it has had its day, and ought to give way to a new idea, that of *tradition*.

## *Aryan and Semite*

The idea of race was developed and formulated in the first quarter of this century. The discovery of Sanskrit, and the creation of comparative grammar brought about the recognition of the existence of a well-characterized family of languages, the *Aryan* or *Indo-European*. Its various members, Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Germanic and Celtic, being essentially identical in their material elements, their form and general structure, are manifestly one and the same tongue, which in the course of time was slowly and in diverse manners modified, according to the various places to which it was carried. On the other hand, it has for a long time been known that Hebrew, together with Arabic, Ethiopic, Syriac and Phoenician, form a family no less clearly characterized, the *Semitic*. This family, whose circle, enriched by recent discoveries, now includes the Assyrian and the Himyaritic, is absolutely distinct from the Indo-European family. Apart from the system of sounds which is dissimilar, the roots and vocabularies are unlike, the word-formations follow other laws, and the arrangement of phrases follows a different movement. May not these two families in a prehistoric epoch have proceeded from one and the same type? The question has been before us for half a century, and is still open to hypothesis rather than to definite solution. Viewed from the historical side, and in the form in which these families appear to us, they are strangers to one another, despite certain vague indications that seem to point to a primitive common parentage.

The religions of the peoples that spoke these languages present, at first sight, the same points of similarity and the same differences, less accentu-

ated, it is true—possibly because of our imperfect knowledge of these religions, and of the more fleeting and less tangible character of the phenomena in question. A written or spoken word is a definite and palpable fact, about which it is possible to reason, and upon which it is possible to lean. This is less so in the case of a religious idea, which is a fact, often dull and obscure, existing only in one's conscience, where it is produced and where it most frequently takes refuge. It is difficult to follow the thought of our contemporary, of our every-day neighbor, who speaks our language, and lives under our eyes in the same material and moral atmosphere. How can we flatter ourselves that we can discover, at a distance of thirty centuries, the thought of peoples so different from us, with nothing to guide us but the remains of mute monuments, or the uncertain echo of ancient and badly-deciphered texts, with regard to which even scholars are at odds.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the general wave of speculation upon ancient religions, it certainly appears, at first sight, that the religions called Aryan form one group, and those called Semitic, another. In the former there is encountered everywhere, under the same name in some, and occasionally under different names, one god of heaven, and various goddesses of the water; everywhere an exuberant polytheism, all the forces of nature deified, a rich dualistic mythology of storm-gods fighting against demons: divinities of forests, of rivers, of mountains, nymphs, dryads, apsaras, peris, elves, nixen—a whole nation of gracious or formidable spirits hovering about us at all times. On the other hand, among the peoples speaking a Semitic language, everywhere apparently, severe unity, everywhere a Baal, a Moloch, or a Jehovah, crushing nature with the blaze of his isolated splendor.

Upon these striking contrasts the theory of races was built. The Aryan language and religion are the expression of a race—the Aryan; the Semitic language and religion are the expression of another race—the Semitic; different and irreconcilable expressions, because they are the outcome of two distinct and irreducible forces.

The Aryan and Semitic groups are the only ones that have been closely studied. They are not the only families of languages and religions in the world, but the indications resulting from a superficial examination of any of them would only confirm the inductions furnished by the more complete study of these two. There is, for instance, a Chinese family absolutely independent of the other two. Now, ethnologically, it strikes one at once that the physical type of the Chinaman is absolutely different from that of the Aryan or the Semite.

## *Language and Race*

The theory of races gave a strong stimulus to the progress of science; for in

attempting to follow it to its last ramifications, it was necessary to lay bare the facts in all their details. But as often happens, with their usual ingratitude towards the human mind, the facts evoked by theory turned against it. Suddenly it was seen—and the suggestion seemed almost a stroke of genius—that a man is perfectly capable of acquiring a language which was not his father's. An Englishman born in Paris will talk the slang of the boulevards quite as well as a Parisian of ten generations; the sons of German emigrants in the far West do not murder the Queen's English any more than does a Yankee, son of the Pilgrim Fathers. Languages disappear, while the people that spoke them remain—a proof that they learned others. The Gauls of Julius Caesar after the lapse of several generations supplied the bar of Rome with barristers. Not only does Charles Stewart Parnell, an Englishman by blood, vindicate in English the hereditary rights of the Celtic race, but so do the purest of the pure Irish, the O'Briens, the McCarthys, the O'Donnells, the O'Donoghues. Scarcely 150,000 Irish people speak Irish. The Magyarized Germans speak and write their adopted language as correctly as do the pure Tartars. The people of the Aryan language are not therefore necessarily Aryans; they may have learned it from the Aryan conquerors, and forgotten their own.

The history of Celtic antiquity proves that the Celtic element was superficial, a simple, dominant aristocracy, beneath which there was the ancient, non-Celtic layer, vanquished and reduced to slavery by the conquerors. Without the guidance of history, the Celts of northern France, the Iberians of southern France and Spain, the Getae and nameless tribes of the lower Danube might have been regarded as Latins, Romans by blood, sons of the Quirites. What Rome did in historical times, in Gaul, in Spain, in Rumania, might, and indeed must, have happened there and elsewhere in prehistoric epochs.

*Aryan peoples* is therefore only a convenient expression for *people of the Aryan language*; just as *Semitic peoples* signifies simply *people of the Semitic language*. *Aryan peoples* signifies people in whose language in ancient times all the roots were dissyllabic, with whom "father" was called *patar* (Zend, *patar*; Greek and Latin, *pater*; Sanskrit, *pitar*; Germanic, *fadar*; Celtic [*p*]athar); with whom "god" was called *deva*; with whom the genitive denoted the name of the possession, and the objective preceded the verb. *Semitic peoples* means people in whose language the roots were monosyllabic, with whom "father" was called *abu*; with whom "god" was called *El*, the genitive denoting the name of the thing possessed, and the objective following the verb. But a man could say *patar* for "father" and still be descended from ancestors who said *abu*.

Language and race are equivalent expressions at their origin—but at their origin only. Let us suppose that two couples, of the anthropoids so fash-

ionable at present, produce two species of humanity in two islands separated by oceans, each one of these species making its own language, and both languages becoming diversified with time, according as the group that speaks it extends, multiplies, and branches out. So long as no meeting takes place between the two groups, the difference of language will correspond exactly to that of race; but as soon as the two groups meet each other, as soon as they mingle in whatsoever degree or manner, be it by conquest or by alliance, race and language cease to be parallel. One of the two languages may perish, without the least mixture of race, the least alteration in the two primitive types; the cry of one of the two anthropoids may, after centuries, drown the cry of his rival, without a drop of blood passing from the veins of one into those of the other. Conversely, the two races may mingle and coalesce, and the primitive types yield to a third and new type, whereas the two languages may continue their independent course. In historical times, the word that issues from the lip is no longer an indication of the blood that courses in the veins.

#### *Religion and Race*

On the other hand, in religion, the terms *Aryan* and *Semitic* tend to lose even the conventional sense that they may retain in linguistics. Since the creation of Semitic epigraphy and the discovery of Babylon and Nineveh have introduced us into the intimacy of the Semite gods, we are astonished to see how little they really differ at bottom from their Aryan neighbors. The monotheistic idea, that was believed to be the basis of the Semitic spirit, belongs really only to the Jews, and in a minor degree to the Arabs, half Judaized and half Christianized by Mahomet. In ancient times, the religions of the Semitic language show the same polytheism as do those of the Aryan language, and the same poetical chaos.

More than this, in proportion as we become better acquainted with the religions of Greece, the Semitic imprint becomes more manifest. In those times there was no conversion from one religion to another, because religion did not consist of universal and absolute dogmas, but of details, of practices, of histories. Religions were national and local, not universal. But, without abdicating one's own religion, one borrowed to an indefinite extent from others. A religion was added to one's own; strange gods were worshiped, because it is well to have friends in every camp. The believer always had a large place in his heart open to unknown gods; the jealous god did not yet exist.

The Greeks, an artistic and inquiring people, borrowed largely from all sides. Adonis, for whom the Athenian ladies wept, came from Syria. Later, Cybele and Attys with their timbrels came from Phrygia, and Serapis came

from Egypt to give advice and to cure. In an earlier period, the Phoenicians, those great draymen of the ancient world, brought to the Greek Pantheon a mass of gods and goddesses and myths that soon lost the stamp of their origin.

Without going to the length of such "semitizing" scholars as Ernst Curtius, who do not hesitate to make the entire Greek mythology merely a chapter of the Phoenician, it is difficult, in spite of the dangers of the method that these new views already display, to close one's eyes to the daily increasing evidence. Though Greece was not obliged to wait for the Phoenicians in order to have a goddess of love, it is none the less true that it was in the wake of a Phoenician bark that Anadyomene of Cythera rose from the foam. Heracles is by name and origin an Aryan god, who easily recognized his brothers in the Vedas; nevertheless, in the course of his long history and wanderings, he has been clothed more than once in the garb of a Syrian god. In his apotheosis the hand that applies the torch to the stake is by no means the hand of the *Devas*, or of the Indian *Vritras*, struggling in the stormcloud; it is the hand of the Zidonian Melkarth—of the sun, dying at the end of his annual course, to reappear with new life.

#### Forms, not Forces

Thus we see the barriers separating the two Pantheons diminish day by day, and it might appear for a moment that the differences separating them are not such as imply two essentially different forces. There is no fundamental difference, but only one of form. From the present position, the distinguishing characteristics of these two families seem to be the predominance of storm-myths in the Aryan mythology and of season-myths in the Semitic. Both are developed under the idea of the struggle between good and evil, and under a visible form; but the one took as a starting-point and for the *mise en scène*, the struggle of gods and demons, quarreling over the waters, and the light in the storm; the other, the struggle of spring and winter, of life and death in nature. One was developed about a more dramatic incident, giving birth to a poetical situation; the other portrays a regular law, which makes the struggle slower and more solemn. But each has retained the traces of the favorite prejudices of the other, the Aryan of the season-myths, the Semitic of the storm-myths. There is nothing there which reveals, at the origin, irreducible forms of thought, nothing of that which is generally understood by the fatal instinct of race.

Therefore neither the one nor the other of the two classes of facts, upon which the existence of two races, Aryan and Semitic, has been based, justifies the hypothesis maintained. The facts of the second order, the religious, are insufficient to establish two series of this kind, and have no ethnographical

significance. They might have had, in a time that lies beyond the horizon of history; they no longer have, in the historical period. The starting-point of humanity lies so far off, and history, in trying to go back to it, comes to a standstill so quickly, that in no civilization, least of all in the Aryo-Semitic, does it touch upon the part taken by race. It reaches only to the results of the action of ten races, superimposed and amalgamated, and which learned enough from each other, and forgot enough, to present the appearance of an irreducible unity of thought. Wherever we imagine that we see the factor of race, there is simply *tradition*, transmitted and modified from one race to another.

#### Tradition versus Race

M. Ernest Renan, in a lecture which has become famous,\* demonstrated this opposition of tradition to race by an example which is more forcible than mere arguments. The example was all the more conclusive inasmuch as it is the one ordinarily cited as the typical illustration of the triumph of race—the example of Judaism. The proposition maintained, or rather the facts set forth, by the illustrious Orientalist are as follows.

Judaism is generally considered a fact of race, and one speaks of the Jewish race as one speaks of the Jewish religion. One imagines that a Jew of 1891 is a descendant of a Jew of David's time; that the entire genealogy of a Jewish family, whether the starting-point be Paris, London, Vienna, Warsaw, would, if traced back far enough, lead us to some village of Palestine after having made the circuit of the world. Religion and race are supposed to be mutual supports to such an extent that at the present time Judaism is still represented by a physical type, and its adherents recognized by their countenance. Such at least is the popular theory.

History proves that this is not the case. Beneath the actual religious unity of what is called the Jewish race, there is hidden an infinite diversity of races. It is true that there was a time when the racial type was definitely fixed by persecution, imprisonment in the ghetto, absolute sequestration from the rest of the world. But, up to that time, the blood of Jewish society was being constantly renewed by a process that had gone on for centuries. M. Renan does not go back to the historical origin of this society, but takes up the thread at the time when Judaism, in the historical sense of the word, was constituted, when the national religion had become a universal one, the time of Isaiah and the prophets.

In going back beyond this time, it would not be difficult to show that many foreign elements had entered into the blood of the primitive tribe

\* *Le Judaïsme comme race et comme religion*, delivered before the Cercle Saint-Simon, January 1883; English translation in CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RECORD, August 1943.

of the Beni-Israel. At the flight from Egypt, they dragged with them "a mixed multitude," and in Palestine they found established a numerous population, only a part of which was exterminated in the conquest. In this double mixture, the first of which at least was very close, the primitive blood must have been transformed and renewed. Nevertheless, during centuries after the conquest of Palestine, the religion of the Jews remains purely national and local, as are all the religions of the time. They worship a God who belongs only to them, but who is not the one God. Religion has no occasion to leave the frontiers of the Jewish country, nor to spread among foreign races.

The scene changes with the prophets. They rise, about the eighth century before the Christian era, to proclaim a new doctrine, a unique God, to the world, and a law of justice for all men. They create universal religion—a religion without analogy up to that time, and whose dogmas and orders could and must find an echo in every human heart, whatever the blood that courses through it. The disdain for sacrifices and cults, for vain forms and lifeless images; the direct communion of man with God in reason and in right; the communion of man with man in justice and charity; an ideal resplendent with terrestrial happiness that awaited humanity at the end of its career—all these strange novelties, still new today despite all our philosophy, burst for the first time upon the world in the lightning words of the prophets. From that day, religion was separated from race; from that day, too, there begins a new order of phenomena that had never as yet been produced—the phenomena of conversion.

Upon the return from the Babylonian exile, numerous foreign elements mingle with the old Jewish substratum—Babylonian elements that came from Chaldea with the exiles, Palestinian non-Jewish elements that commingled with them. But grafting on a much larger scale took place during the Graeco-Roman period. It is well known from authentic sources that a large part of the Greek population of Antioch was converted to Judaism. The Jewish colony of Alexandria, one of the most considerable of the time, was essentially of Hellenic blood. At Rome, the movement of conversion attracts the attention of statesmen, who abandon the attempt to stop it, and leave the matter to the satirists. Judaism attempted what Christianity accomplished. "The result is, that from this time," as M. Renan says, "the word 'Judaism' possesses no special ethnographical significance. Conformably to the prediction of the prophets, Judaism became universal. Everyone was admitted."

#### *Jewish "Type" a Reaction to Exclusion*

The triumph of Christianity and the Talmudic reaction which follows

arrest this movement, without, however, suppressing it. It maintains its force in the Orient and in western Europe in the first part of the Middle Ages. The founding of Islam had been preceded, and in part prepared, by the conversion of a portion of Arabia to Judaism. There was a Jewish kingdom of Abyssinia, whose remains are still found in the Falashas of our days. In Russia, in the eighth century of our era, a whole Tartar nation, the Khazars, following the example of their king, embraced Judaism. Closer to us, on our own soil, in the fifth century, Gregory of Tours, in his combat against the Jews, sees in them only heretics—not foreigners; the Jews of Gaul are to him merely Gauls professing Judaism.

There follows from this "that there is in the whole of the Jewish population, such as it exists in our day, a considerable portion of foreign blood, very much as among all other races, and that this race is far from being the ideal of a pure *ethnos*, as it is usually considered to be because of its opposition to mixed marriages." The permanence of the Jewish type, or, to speak more exactly, of the Jewish types—for there are several—is a secondary, not a primary fact. Given a human mass taken at hazard, unexpectedly, isolated from the rest of the world and reproducing itself, it will be found that at the end of a certain time "the types will be reduced, massed in some degree, concentrated into a certain number of types, that by prevailing over others will persist and become fixed in an immutable form." It is the ghetto that detached and fixed the Jewish types. It is the ghetto, too, that produced that unity of habits and customs which we are wont to regard as the result of race, and which in reality is the mark of a religious minority concentrated and thrown back upon its own resources. "There is a psychology of religious minorities, independent of race."

#### *German Anti-Semitism*

The deductions of M. Renan's arguments are various and of different kinds, some possessing present interest;\* others of a general and universal bearing, already previously pointed out by M. Renan in his admirable lecture upon the formation of the French nationality.

From the other side of the Rhine, this strange crusade of anti-Semitism, that recently astonished Europe like an awakening from the Middle Ages, has endeavored to justify itself by history. Political hatreds and commercial rivalries, in combination with the laments of inquisitors, have been clothed with scientific formulas, and shopkeepers' quarrels have come to be regarded as the symptom of the supposed eternal collision between two races—between two worlds, the Aryan and the Semitic. The rhetorical duel between court-preacher Adolf Stoecker and deputy Eduard Lasker (in 1883)

\* They are still interesting, since anti-Semitism is triumphant in the entire west of Europe (1891).

is interpreted as the old duel of Scipio and Hannibal, of Hadrian and Bar Cocheba, of the Crusaders and Saladin. Germany is the ensign of the Aryan race, raised against the encroachments of the rehabilitated Semitic race.

"Historical spirit" is a beautiful thing, but to abuse the term is easier than to apply it properly. It takes a strange ignorance of facts, and a singular docility in regard to words, to make of the Jew the type of the Semite. Judaism is born in a Semitic medium, but it is the most absolute reaction imaginable against the religion, the manners, the traditions that prevailed in that medium; it is the living protest of broad humanity against the tribal idea. Here is revealed the social danger contained in this word "race," when it is snatched from the hands of science by the would-be men of affairs, and thrown out to the masses. Through it every struggle takes on a character of bitter and undying hatred, because the combatants are persuaded that there exists between them, not a momentary and accidental hostility, but an irretrievable and fatal one. War between these parties is supposed to be inevitable and eternal, since the cause is always present, and extends from the remote past to the distant future. Two organisms, two instincts, two irreconcilable souls, are supposed to be engaged in the struggle; not two men, but two vertebrates of a different order. Rapid or gradual extermination can alone put an end to the struggle. In the same way, during the War of Secession, the scholars of the South published "manuals of anthropology" in which the monkey occupied the intermediate place between the negro and man.

What is still stranger is that, in the bloody battle of words of the century, the scientific subdivision of races and racial instincts involves a subdivision of the hatreds and fatalities of war and destruction. The movement in Germany would prompt the Aryans to make an assault upon the Semitic world, but the Aryans are subdivided into secondary races which must in turn hate, fight, and exterminate each other by reason of the secondary hostility of their instincts—the Germanic race against the Slavonic, the Germanic against the Latin. Humanity is merely a cruel and regular network of hatreds and sub-hatreds, interwoven with the hierarchy of races, and entangled by science and by war.

### *The Clash of Traditions*

If the form of human thought in historical times was really an unchangeable expression of the first race, a permanent state of war, with no other outcome than extermination, would be the inevitable lot of humanity. Happily this is not the case, and among the infinite causes of the struggles that engage civilized nations—struggles for outlets and for means of subsistence, clashings of pride, metaphysical quarrels—the vague and obscure

antipathies of race occupy the very lowest place. What is taken for them is merely the clash of colliding traditions. The clash of traditions, however ancient and deeply rooted, cannot produce a state of ceaseless warfare, since two opposing traditions, when brought into contact, end either by an adaptation of the one to the other, if they be equally strong and sound, or by the *conversion* of the one into the other. The law of the equilibrium of temperature reigns in the moral as well as in the physical world. The struggle of races can end only upon the battlefield and by extermination. The struggle of traditions, though carried to the battlefield, can find its definite solution only in the depths of thought and conscience. The extinction of a tradition does not involve the extinction of the race that possessed it, but its moral reconstruction, and generally the rejuvenation of its forces and of its aims.

It is not just to estimate a scientific theory according to the amount of good or bad that it does in the world. Truth, in the hands of the unintelligent or the shrewd, can do as much harm as error. In the domain of history, however, when a theory that has not been invented with a secondary thought of edification or benevolence, but which is the natural and spontaneous product of disinterested research, points the way to progress, there is a strong probability of its being the truth. The movement of the humanity of today is merely the result of accumulated impulses, movements condensed from centuries of history and prehistoric times. The fusion of races involved in the unity of tradition is due to a proper instinct regarding the past, and is at the same time a prognostication of the future.

In this light the words uttered by Renan in the Cercle Saint-Simon are profoundly true. Some of these words may be the means of deliverance for millions of oppressed, and, by the same stroke, the beginning of a new career for their oppressors. In the anti-Semitic movement of Russia, the vague idea of an opposition of race has brutalized the antipathies due to purely economic, political, and social causes. The mass of Russian Jews have a Russian foundation (Slav and Tartar). Russia has in this case to deal, not with a race but with a tradition. She can neutralize the dangers of the situation by suppressing the artificial causes that created these dangers, such as isolation, confinement, placing beyond the pale of justice. And she will do well to assimilate the good and the powerful in this tradition. Let this new idea once enter into her policy, and one of her plagues and stigmas will soon disappear.

### *Race Secondary to Nationality*

In the constitution of modern nations, race is, in the same way, the secondary and inferior element. It may be remembered with what eloquence

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Renan showed how France formed the indissoluble alloy of her nationality by the fusion of her heterogeneous elements, melted in the fire of the past, fanned by the wind of history. A nationality is all the more solid the more elements that are mixed with it, each bringing to the crucible the quality of its metal: one resistance, another brilliancy.

Of other European nationalities, one of the strongest, presenting the most perfect cohesion with the greatest variety of aptitudes, is certainly the English people. This is what the author of *Robinson Crusoe* wrote two centuries ago, in answer to the attacks of the *true-born Englishman* against the invasion of the Dutch element that followed in the wake of William of Orange:

"These are the heroes that despise the Dutch,  
And rail at new-come foreigners so much;  
Forgetting that themselves are all derived  
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived;  
A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones  
Who ransacked kingdoms, and dispeopled towns;  
The Pict, and painted Briton, treach'rous Scot,  
By hunger, theft, and rapine, hither brought;  
Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,  
Whose red-haired offspring everywhere remains;  
Who join'd with Norman French, compound the breed  
From whence your *true-born Englishman* proceed."

[Daniel Defoe, *The True-born Englishman*.]

The satirist's compliments aside, there remains a basis of historical truth that explains the greatness of England. A race manifests its proper genius, in all its brilliance and all its soundness, when there is mingled with it a spark of foreign genius. The misfortune of Germany—what constitutes her elementary strength, and will bring about her lasting weakness in the future—is, that the element of race is better preserved there than elsewhere. Hence, narrowness of spirit, lack of proportion in her intelligence, of justice in her heart. She lacked that fruitful struggle of contrary forces that limit their excesses by complementing their energies, and that, in recognizing their mutual rights, enlarge the innate narrowness of man, with the result of producing something that has the extent and variety of Nature herself. Germany has remained, and still remains, a thing strangely powerful and infinitely incomplete.

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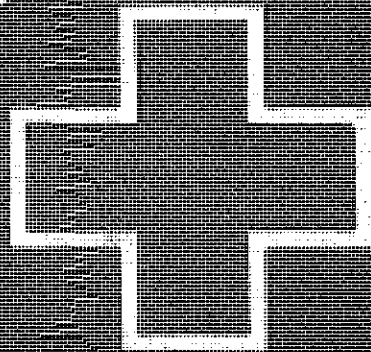
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