

IDEAS

Vol. 1, No. 1

Autumn, 1968

\$1.00

IN THIS ISSUE:

BLACK POWER AND THE JEWS

ABE FORTAS: A JUDICIAL PORTRAIT

CONSERVATIVE PROSPECTS, 1968

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEW LEFT

JEWISH LAW AND THE ABORTION
CONTROVERSY

BOOK REVIEW — POETRY — OPINION



A Journal of Conservative Thought

Published By

The Jewish Society of America

THE JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.
LEVITICUS 25:10

National Headquarters: 140 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027

West Coast Office: 11816 Goshen Ave., W. Los Angeles, Cal. 90049

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Honorary Chairman
CHARLES J. BLOCH
Macon, Georgia

Vice-Chairmen
SAMUEL L. BLUMENFELD
Boston, Massachusetts

Secretary
MRS. MILDRED KAPLAN
Port Jervis, New York

MICHAEL S. KOGAN
New York, New York

Business Manager
JACK ROSS
Long Island City, New York

Chairman
JOSEPH SIEGEL
Colorado Springs, Colorado

Treasurer
BEN BAENA
Bridgeport, Connecticut

Western States Director
GEORGIA GABOR
Los Angeles, California

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

(Partial List)

Lillian Abrahams
Long Island City,
New York

Charles Hartmann
St. Louis, Missouri

Morton Diamond
Bowie, Maryland

Georgia Gabor
Los Angeles, Calif.

Joseph Katz, M.D.
Kinston, No. Carolina

David Eisenberg
Tucson, Arizona

Leonard Glick
Chicago, Illinois

Jack Ross
New York, N.Y.

Barney Finkel, M.D.
St. Louis, Missouri

Leonard Goldstein
Watervliet, Michigan

Loren Smith
Chicago, Illinois

Frank Friedman
Philadelphia, Penn.

Marilyn Goldstein
Watervliet, Michigan

Alan Stang
New York, N.Y.

DOCTORS COMMITTEE

Barney Finkel, M.D.
St. Louis, Missouri

Philip Jacobson, M.D.
Petersburg, Virginia

Howard Moses, M.D.
Monkton, Maryland

Harlan Sindell, M.D.
Hollywood, Florida

Edward G. Kroll, D.D.S.
Detroit, Michigan

Seymour Weisman, M.D.
Phoenix, Arizona

Joseph Katz, M.D.
Kinston, No. Carolina

JSA Membership dues: \$12.00 per year.

Non-Membership Subscription to IDEAS: \$6.00 per year.

All manuscripts, inquiries, letters to the editor, and other correspondence should be sent to: THE JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA, 140 CLAREMONT AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027.

IDEAS

A Journal of Conservative Thought
Published by
The Jewish Society of America

VOL. 1, NO. 1

AUTUMN, 1968

EDITOR: MICHAEL S. KOGAN

IN THIS ISSUE:

Coming of Age: A Word to our Readers page 2

The Chicago Platform of the Jewish Society of America page 7

CURRENT AFFAIRS:

Black Power and the Jews page 9

JSA Research Staff

Abe Fortas: A Judicial Portrait page 19

Prof. Alfred Avins, Ph. D.

Conservative Prospects, 1968 page 25

Samuel L. Blumenfeld

Observations on the New Left page 31

Robert Delahunty

JSA Statement on the Visit of Chief Rabbi Yehudah Leib Levin
of Moscow to the United States page 37

FEATURES:

Jewish Law and the Abortion Controversy page 39

Michael S. Kogan

The Zionist Vision Nationalized: Realpolitik page 47

Prof. Joseph Churba, Ph. D.

Judaism Vs. Paganism: A Continuing Conflict page 51

Rabbi Earl W. Vinecour

POETRY:

"America" page 56

William Solomon

OPINION:

The Need for Tradition. page 59

Rabbi Juda Glasner

BOOK REVIEW:

"The Real Power Behind Anti-Semitism" page 63

The purpose of *IDEAS* is to provide a means for the expression of a wide variety of thoughtful and responsible conservative views. Therefore, the opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

COMING OF AGE:

A WORD TO OUR READERS

The magazine you are about to read is an historic document. It is the first major publication expressing a Jewish conservative point of view ever published in the United States. As such, it symbolizes the coming of age of the national organization which is, at the present time, the sole institutional representative of politically conservative Americans of the Jewish faith: THE JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA.* Two and one half years ago, the JSA was founded by a small group of Jewish conservatives meeting in Chicago; they composed a ten-point platform (which is reproduced in this journal) and laid the groundwork for a nation-wide organization. Since that time, the JSA has grown steadily. We have established a wide-spread network of active lodges in the western states which we are engaged in expanding into new areas of the country. Our members have taken part in various petition drives, appeared on numerous radio and television interview programs and before Jewish and non-Jewish audiences across the country, and distributed literally hundreds of thousands of JSA position papers on current issues. In addition to these local activities, our West Coast Office managed a successful national convention in Los Angeles and our national office has handled the publication of the *JSA Newsletter* and various JSA pamphlets. All of this has been accomplished by dedicated volunteer workers who have devoted endless hours of unpaid labor to making the JSA the success that it is today.

With the publication of *IDEAS*, the JSA becomes much more than an organization speaking only for its members; for this journal will provide a platform for the expression of all shades of thoughtful and responsible conservative opinions on any and all issues affecting both the Jewish community and the American nation as a whole. We will endeavor to make available to our readers articles and features of a consistently high caliber in the finest traditions of the American Jewish contribution to our national life in the fields of philosophy, religion, and social and political theory. We will offer informative and educational articles which cannot be found in liberal Jewish publications, and in so doing, will attempt to initiate the type of healthy debate on relevant social and political issues which has for so long been lacking in the Jewish community. If we can achieve this last goal, if we can break the shackles of fear which have bound much of the Jewish community to the doctrinaire liberal philosophy which has failed so dismally to deal with the nation's ills, if we can introduce a new spirit of honest inquiry and free discussion where these have previously been held in thrall by an intolerant and inflexible liberal orthodoxy, then the appearance of *IDEAS* may well herald the coming of age of the American Jewish community as a whole.

* With the publication of this journal, we are officially changing our name from JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICANISTS to JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA. We do so at the request of many members who found the original name unfamiliar and unwieldy.

These are our goals. They can be realized only if we are able to carry our ideas to a large enough audience. Accordingly we are sending this journal to every Senator, Congressman, and Governor in the United States, to every newspaper (over 10,000 circulation), every Jewish paper, every Jewish organization, every major conservative group in the country and to hundreds of rabbis who have written for complimentary subscriptions.

And of course our journal will also be going out to you, our faithful members and subscribers who have supported our work over the past two and one half years during which we have grown from infancy into a nation-wide organization, dedicated to the preservation and defense of the free institutions of our beloved country. To you we offer our profound gratitude for your constancy and devotion and we ask that you join us in making this new journal of ours a success. You can do this in the following ways:

- 1) Order additional copies of *IDEAS* (we will supply special bulk rates on request).
- 2) Sell individual copies of *IDEAS* through local book stores, magazine stands, stationary and drug stores (we will supply you with all necessary information on how to deal with these outlets, on request).
- 3) Try to interest local doctors and dentists in taking subscriptions to *IDEAS* for their waiting rooms.
- 4) Send copies of *IDEAS* to local opinion-makers, politicians, small-circulation newspapers, local radio, TV and newspaper personalities, and clergymen.
- 5) Suggest that the library of your local church, synagogue, or school district subscribe to *IDEAS* as well as your local public library.
- 6) Approach the heads of corporations and industries whom you think might be interested in advertising in *IDEAS* (we will supply rates on request).

Any help you can give us in the above areas will be deeply appreciated. But at the same time, we ask you not to forget that our greatest sources of income are your memberships and subscriptions. We ask you now to fill out the attached forms and renew your old membership or subscription or take out a new one if you are not already a member. The future of *IDEAS* is bright *IF* we can continue to support it financially. At this point, you alone can determine that future. You can ensure that there will be a next issue of *IDEAS* by sending in your dues *NOW*. Because of the additional size of *IDEAS* compared to our earlier publications, our printing costs have increased markedly. We have adjusted our membership and subscription fees accordingly. All memberships now cost twelve dollars and all subscriptions, six dollars. We hope that you will agree with us that *IDEAS* is worth the few extra dollars and that you will want to help us make this historic publication a permanent addition to the field of conservative journalism. Please fill out the coupon and send your dues in *NOW* so that we can begin to plan the next issue of *IDEAS* and carry on the vital work so successfully begun.

cut along broken line

(CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

Gentlemen:

I wish to apply for membership in the Jewish Society of America. I enclose \$12.00.

New Membership ☐ Renewal ☐

I wish to take out a year's subscription (Non-Membership) to *IDEAS* and any other JSA publications which may be issued during the year. I enclose \$6.00.

New Subscription ☐ Renewal ☐

(\$12.00 membership fee includes a subscription to all JSA publications plus notification of all national and local JSA projects and meetings during the year.)

Sincerely: NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Send to: Jewish Society of America, 140 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

cut along broken line

(CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

Gentlemen:

I wish to apply for membership in the Jewish Society of America. I enclose \$12.00.

New Membership ☐ Renewal ☐

I wish to take out a year's subscription (Non-Membership) to *IDEAS* and any other JSA publications which may be issued during the year. I enclose \$6.00.

New Subscription ☐ Renewal ☐

(\$12.00 membership fee includes a subscription to all JSA publications plus notification of all national and local JSA projects and meetings during the year.)

Sincerely: NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Send to: Jewish Society of America, 140 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

cut along broken line

(CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

Gentlemen:

I wish to apply for membership in the Jewish Society of America. I enclose \$12.00.

New Membership ☐ Renewal ☐

I wish to take out a year's subscription (Non-Membership) to *IDEAS* and any other JSA publications which may be issued during the year. I enclose \$6.00.

New Subscription ☐ Renewal ☐

(\$12.00 membership fee includes a subscription to all JSA publications plus notification of all national and local JSA projects and meetings during the year.)

Sincerely: NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Send to: Jewish Society of America, 140 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

cut along broken line

(CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX)

Gentlemen:

I wish to apply for membership in the Jewish Society of America. I enclose \$12.00.

New Membership ☐ Renewal ☐

I wish to take out a year's subscription (Non-Membership) to *IDEAS* and any other JSA publications which may be issued during the year. I enclose \$6.00.

New Subscription ☐ Renewal ☐

(\$12.00 membership fee includes a subscription to all JSA publications plus notification of all national and local JSA projects and meetings during the year.)

Sincerely: NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Send to: Jewish Society of America, 140 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017



WE BELIEVE:

THE CHICAGO PLATFORM OF THE JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA

The following platform is a development of a statement of purposes adopted by the National Advisory Council of the Jewish Society of America meeting in Chicago, Illinois, April 22-24 1966.

With humble gratitude to God who guided our forefathers to these free shores, we of the Jewish Society of America present this platform to our co-religionists and fellow citizens in the hope that in promoting adherence to these ten points we may to some degree hasten the day which will witness the dawn of freedom for all mankind and the fulfillment of the Biblical prophecy that *the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.*

So that this may come to pass speedily and in our days, we have adopted the following principles:

1. We affirm our faith in the God of our fathers, the Creator and Sustainer of the world who has called the Children of Israel to His service, whose laws of righteousness are the foundation of our Jewish religion, and who has raised up our American nation as a beacon light for freedom to all the peoples of the earth.

2. We pledge to promote the freedom and dignity of all men and we proclaim our belief in this cardinal principle which must be the touchstone of all humane civilization: *the sanctity of the individual.*

3. In affirming our commitment to God and our country, we look to two great sources of morality and human ennoblement: the first is our Holy Scripture which God revealed to our prophets and sages in ancient times. We believe that its message is as precious today as it was then and that the precepts and injunctions found therein constitute a firm and sure foundation upon which to build a better world.

4. The second is our Constitution, the cornerstone of our free country and the fundamental source of justice and concord among our citizenry. It is this Constitution which stands between us and the unbridled rule of the demagogically controlled mob which would sweep away all those rights bequeathed to us by our founding fathers. The Constitution with its limitations on government is the safeguard of our liberties; without it our freedoms perish. It must therefore be preserved and defended against all attempts to circumvent, distort, or nullify it in order to meet the imagined necessities of the moment.

5. We are unalterably opposed to all statist and collectivist philosophies which hold that man is the servant of the state or social organism. On the contrary, we believe that a society's only justification is the protection it offers for the freedom and safety of its individual citizens against the predatory criminal who may operate in and out of government. Since government has a monopoly on the use of force and

tends to attract the authoritarian personality who would use this force to exercise his own whims, we shall be found in opposition to creeping governmental incursions into the private lives of our citizens which have, in other lands, proven to be the stepping stones to tyranny.

6. We shall undertake to perpetuate and promote the American system of free enterprise which in the short period of our country's existence has made it the most industrially advanced and prosperous in the history of mankind. Where this system has been weakened by governmental intervention and bureaucratic strangulation, it must be restored to its former vigor by the cessation of such interference; where economic freedom is threatened by new federal controls, these controls must be fought so that individual initiative may permit our people to secure whatever level of economic betterment is in their abilities, talents and labors to achieve.

7. We pledge to persevere in the struggle against the Communist conspiracy and its allies and to spare no effort to bring about the defeat and downfall of this incredible barbarism which, if victorious, would loose upon the world a new dark age of tyranny and malevolence. These forces are the enemies of our God and our country. They are, at this moment, demonstrating by their relentless persecution of Russian Jewry the fate they hold in store for all free men. To speak of coexistence with these persecutors and mass murderers is to betray every action for freedom which countless brave men have taken in the long history of mankind's struggle for liberty. In the name of the God who wills that men be free, we call upon all Americans to join with the growing anti-Communist movement to hasten the time when this cancer will be isolated and cut out so that the organism of human society can be made whole and healthy once again.

8. We, whose ancestors felt the sting of slavery and oppression, dedicate ourselves to the defense of this free land and to the rekindling of the patriotic flame in the hearts of all Americans. If there is a holiness in the concepts of freedom and human dignity, then this nation of ours is itself holy, for these are our watchwords. May we be worthy of these high principles and of this blessed land to which we hereby pledge our loyalty and our lives.

9. We shall give every aid and support to the American Conservative Movement and its leaders. Its principles and beliefs, its hopes and vision of the future are ours also. As Americans of the Jewish faith, doubly dedicated to human liberty, we shall labor with free men everywhere to make that great vision a greater reality.

10. We pledge to bring the message of freedom as outlined in this platform to our co-religionists and to our fellow Americans of all faiths whom we invite to join with us in this great undertaking. With confidence in the inevitable triumph of Truth, we shall seek to educate and enlighten in accordance with the principles herein contained.

— Adopted this twenty-fourth day of April, 1966, by the Jewish Society of America.

BLACK POWER AND THE JEWS

The First of Two Articles

Prepared by the JSA Research Staff

On July 8, 1968, readers of the *New York Times* were treated to a sizable article on a subject which has received increasing attention during the past months within the Jewish community. The story was concerned with the alarming growth of anti-Semitic sentiment among many Negroes and described what the *Times* referred to as *the Jewish backlash* which had subsequently taken place. Now, such observations have been made before and, although the *Times* story did not document its statements, the growing estrangement between the Jewish and Negro communities is a matter of common knowledge to most Jews. However, the *Times* article did contain some elements which had not been widely reported and which must have come as quite a shock to its readers on that July morning. For, the article stated that, along with the increasing Jewish disenchantment with the militant Negro movement

There is also, among the institutionalized elements of American Jewish life, a campaign of resistance to any trend toward Jewish disengagement from the Negro struggle. *We do ourselves a service*, said Robert E. Segal of the Jewish Community Council of Boston, *by ignoring imagined or real anti-Semitic manifestations among Negroes.*

Now, coming from a private individual, such a statement would appear rather bizarre and we would wonder at the foolhardiness of a man who declared that he intended to ignore growing hatred directed against himself. But, Mr. Segal's remarks are of a far more serious nature than this, for they are offered as advice to the Jewish community by a spokesman for the institutional structure which was created to represent and protect the interests of that community. What we seem to be faced with here is the strange spectacle of a Jewish institutional leader serving notice to the Jewish community that major Jewish defense organizations intend to ignore, to sweep under the rug, *imagined or real anti-Semitic manifestations among Negroes* so as to avoid, at all cost, *Jewish disengagement* from the Negro struggle. Now, if this attitude does actually reflect the thinking of these organizations, then Jewry will look to them in vain for protection against anti-Semitism arising from Negro elements. For these organizations have, apparently, decided that their principle concern is to encourage Jewish participation in the *Negro struggle*; protection of the Jews themselves has, seemingly, become a matter of secondary importance. Now, it has not as yet been demonstrated that this is, in fact, the predominant attitude among the leadership of the Jewish organizations. At this point, we can say only that if this

attitude does predominate in these circles, then American Jewry is facing a new and dangerous threat. Whether or not this is the case will be investigated in depth in the second article of this study. But if such an investigation is to have any meaning, we must first look into the serious charge that anti-Semitism is, in fact, gaining ground among increasing numbers of Negroes.

When we undertook the investigation of this subject, we anticipated that it could be dealt with in one article, but the vast amount of relevant material available in the press alone concerning anti-Semitic actions, statements, and writings by Negro sources made it clear that this issue would require at least two articles if we were to offer even the most general treatment of the problem. We also realized that, although this subject has been extensively discussed in hundreds of short articles, there existed nowhere a documented study containing actual reports of specific instances of Negro anti-Semitism. This study is presented as the general outline of such a comprehensive treatment. By means of selected press reports of specific occurrences of Negro anti-Semitism, we have sought to sketch in the most general terms, the growth and extent of this frightening phenomenon over the past six or eight years.

We did not have to look far to discover press reports of anti-Semitic manifestations among black nationalist groups. Such often take the form of harassment of Jews who live or work in close proximity to Negro communities. The *New York Times* of July 28, 1962 carried a story describing an early instance of such harassment in which self proclaimed black nationalists picketed Jewish-owned business establishments in New York's Harlem. They carried placards containing anti-Jewish slogans and referring to the Jewish businessman as *merchants of Venice*. During the picketing such slogans as *Jew go away — Black man stay* were chanted by the demonstrators. The stated object of the picketing was to force Jews to *get out of Harlem* and sell their stores to Negroes. Several Jewish businessmen, some of whom had lived through Naziism in Europe, could not tolerate the continual harassment and attempted to sell-out to blacks. There were, however, no Negro buyers to be found. The situation worsened as the picketing, the slogans, and the general harassment continued. Finally, the Chairman of the New York State Commission On Human Rights, George H. Fowler, spoke out. He stated that there was no anti-Semitism involved and that the pickets were merely expressing a justified resentment of their lack of equal opportunity. However, he did not explain how the Jewish businessman had restricted the pickets' *opportunities*. Next to express himself was Mr. Jackie Robinson, the noted *moderate* Negro leader. After a mild protest at the tactics of the pickets, he withdrew his objection and declared that, contrary to all appearances, the pickets were not actually anti-Semitic. The contribution of the Negro newspaper, the *Amsterdam News* to the situation, was a series of totally unsubstantiated articles alleging that Jewish merchants were engaged in cheating Negro patrons in Harlem stores. These charges were presumably intended to offer an explanation for the campaign against the Jewish store owners.

Similar anti-Semitic manifestations were quite frequent in Negro areas in the years between 1962 and 1964 but, with the first outbreaks of major Negro rioting in

that year, anti-Semitism took new and more violent forms. The *Times* of April 27, 1964 reported that a mob of fifty Negro boys armed with rocks and broken bottles and yelling anti-Semitic epithets attacked a group of Jewish children of ages nine through twelve who had been playing in the yard of a Jewish parochial school in Brooklyn. Fifteen of the children and two rabbis were seriously injured. Approximately fifty Negro passers-by witnessed the event but took no action.

Negro attacks on Jews and Jewish property sharply increased during that year and in August of 1964 a spokesman for Jewish businessmen in Philadelphia stated that recent attacks by Negro mobs on Jewish-owned stores in that city *bore a decidedly anti-Jewish character*. This trend continued and in October of 1965 the New York City Police Department found it necessary to deploy special squads of police at thirty-six synagogues and eighteen Jewish parochial schools in New York to protect Jews from increasing attacks by Negro hoodlums. These are only a few examples of such terrorism. On July 30, 1967 a Cincinnati synagogue was fire-bombed and twelve Jewish-owned businesses burned by rioting Negro mobs. Nine months later and a thousand miles away, a strikingly similar incident occurred during the disturbances following the murder of Martin Luther King. On April 10, 1968, a fire bomb severely damaged the Suffolk Jewish Community Center on Long Island. As for the continuing violence against Jewish businessmen in Negro areas, it became so severe that on April 30, 1968, Representative Broyhill of Virginia protested against the Washington, D.C. black nationalist campaign, against what they referred to as *Jew stores*. The following month, the *National Observer* carried a shocking story by Peter T. Chew (5.27.68) detailing particularly horrifying incidents of recent Negro harassment of Jewish merchants. The article stated:

Such bullying . . . by Negro hoodlums has been going on day in and day out since the disorders that swept the capital following the murder of Martin Luther King. Merchants blame Attorney General Clark's protégé, Public Safety Director Patrick V. Murphy, who has ordered police to use restraint. Negro District officials even hold that victims are to blame because the ghetto residents feel they exploit them.

The article goes on to quote a prominent Jewish businessman:

The extreme liberals, including many of my own faith here in town are using us as a scapegoat. I would remind them of Jews who backed Hitler in the early days, of Jews who went to the gas chamber saying: *It will never happen to me*.

We can add nothing to this eloquent description of Jewish liberal leaders who choose to minimize or excuse Negro violence against Jewish business establishments in an effort to placate the forces of black extremism.

But the increase in Negro anti-Semitism is not restricted to mob violence. It finds less destructive but equally pernicious expression in the utterances of black

nationalist spokesmen, utterances which may well be the principle inspiration for the violence we have been discussing. As long ago as 1960 we find in a *New York Daily News* report of May 1 of that year a speech which James R. Lawson, President of the United African Nationalist Movement delivered at a Harlem street rally, which consisted almost entirely of a call to the Negro community to *break the international Zionist conspiracy*. Lawson, a Harlem figure of no little prominence, kept up his anti-Semitic ravings and made headlines once again on February 26, 1961, at a memorial rally for Congolese Communist Patrice Lumumba. Lawson used the platform to assail the Jewish community and to implicate the Jews in Lumumba's death. We hear from black nationalist Lawson again in a *Herald Tribune* report of December 2, 1964. Writing in the newsletter of the Harlem Council for Economic Development, he accused unnamed *Zionists* of trying to *increase their grip on the courts*. Soon after this, Mr. Lawson met with New York's Mayor Wagner as a representative of the Harlem Unity Committee to discuss Negro problems. We should note at this point that a *Tribune* story of six weeks earlier (8.10.64) had quoted Lawson to the effect that he was absolutely *not* anti-Semitic. This article was aimed at proving the claim of certain liberal Jewish groups that anti-Semitism was on the decline among black nationalists.

Just how far black nationalist anti-Semitism declined during the two year period following the *Tribune* story can be gathered from remarks quoted in the *Chicago Daily News* of July 19, 1966 by Chester Robinson, powerful leader of the black nationalist-oriented West Side Organization of Chicago. Mr. Robinson's prose may be somewhat unpolished but his meaning could hardly be clearer:

A month ago I saw a TV show with a guy on it who said Negro feeling against the Jews was not really very strong. Let me tell you something: on this side of town, Negroes *hate* Jews.

Such statements as these by black nationalist leaders were largely ignored by Jewish organizations. Because of this *blackout* policy, most Jews were taken by surprise when black nationalist anti-Semitism exploded with such fury following the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967 that it could no longer be ignored. The Newark Black Power Conference of July, 1967 was first to refer to the Israeli victory by adding to a long list of anti-American resolutions, a statement condemning *Israeli aggression against the Arab states*. But the best was yet to come. It came in the form of the *Newsletter* of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee released in late summer of 1967. In a headline story entitled: *The Palestine Problem*, SNCC delivered itself of its opinions regarding the Jews of Israel. Zionists were accused of evil international machinations, of massacring innocent Arab civilians, of *slaughtering and mutilating women and children*, of engaging in calculated terrorism against blameless Arabs and of exploiting the economies of Black African states on orders of the *United States and other white Western powers*. Not to be outdone by the *Newsletter's* authors, SNCC artists created several cartoons reminiscent of the type of thing that has been appearing recently in *Pravda*. In one cartoon, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan was portrayed in a uniform embellished with dollar signs;

another pictured a clutching hand, complete with Jewish star and dollar signs painted on, gripping a rope which was tied around the necks of an Arab and a Negro both looking duly *exploited*.

In a truly amazing statement *explaining* the SNCC stand on Israel, Ralph Featherstone, Program Director of the organization, told newsmen that the SNCC attack on Zionism was not anti-Semitic, but was directed against *Jewish oppression*. Among the *oppressors*, he stated, were *those Jews in the little Jew shops in the ghettos*.

Further black nationalist anti-Semitism was expressed at the National Convention for New Politics held in Chicago a few weeks later. Negro comedian Dick Gregory, one the *beautiful people* of the New Left defended black anti-Semitism as follows: *Every Jew in America knows another Jew that hates Negroes and if we hate Jews, that's just even baby*. The assembled revolutionaries cheered these words and went on to adopt the platform of the Negro delegates containing specific denunciation of *the imperialist Zionist war in the middle east*.

The next day, when asked what thoughts he had on all this, Martin Luther King, who had continually refused to comment on the SNCC *Newsletter*, declared that *there is virtually no anti-Semitism within the Negro community*. (*N.Y. Times* 9.4.67) This mention of the late Dr. King, who was not generally considered to be among the more *extreme* black spokesmen, brings us to a consideration of the so-called *moderate* Negro leaders. Unlike those mentioned above, they are not black nationalists, but, as we shall see, Negro anti-Semitism is by no means found exclusively among the far-out nationalist elements. The anti-Semitism of the less-violent civil rights leaders is a bit more subtle than that of the nationalists and is usually expressed in snide remarks, sly innuendo, or in the form of noble-sounding appeals to Jews to increase their activities in the civil rights field (coupled, of course, with denunciations of the Jewish community for not having already done so). Examples of the former variety of nasty anti-Jewish remarks are not difficult to find among the statements of certain civil rights leaders.

In 1960, the city officials of Montgomery, Alabama retained a lawyer who happened to be Jewish, to handle their libel and slander suit against a group of civil rights leaders. In a column dated December 12, 1960, in the Negro paper, the *New York Courier*, a certain Rev. Shuttlesworth, a well-known civil rights *moderate* and close associate of Martin Luther King described the court room scene:

For two whole days we have sat in the court house at Montgomery listening as a Jewish lawyer, Nachman, rants and raves.

No real purpose would be served by reproducing a long list of such remarks. The totally gratuitous and clearly contemptuous reference to Mr. Nachman's religion by Rev. Shuttlesworth is typical of the type of subtle bigotry which peppers the statements of so many civil rights activists. We will cite one more example if only to add a humorous note to this rather depressing subject.

In the *New York Times* of September 10, 1967, Hosea Williams, aide to Martin Luther King denounced Atlanta city official Richard Freeman as *one of those Jews who has fallen into the bed of Lester Maddox*. In this case, Mr. Williams' bigotry was slightly misapplied since Mr. Freeman is not, and never has been, Jewish.

But, anti-Semitism among civil rights leaders is often expressed a good deal more forcefully than this. In a speech delivered in December of 1963 at the Jewish Community Center of Easton, Pennsylvania, Mr. Louis Lomax, long considered a Negro *moderate* attacked his Jewish audience and Jews in general for *having created barriers against Negro economic, housing, and educational opportunities*. The shocked Director of the Center declared Mr. Lomax's talk to be *anti-Semitic in remarks and tone*.

This bigoted practice of singling out Jews as being particularly responsible for Negro misfortunes was used widely by Mrs. Cora Walker, Harlem candidate for State Senate in 1964. The *New York Times* of October 30 of that year quoted one of her speeches as follows:

Jews are an ethnic group without a single interest link or identification with the Negro community's problems and its people . . . this same ethnic group is predominant in opposing the Board of Education's school bussing programs.

A more outspoken civil rights leader, Clifford A. Brown, leader of the Mount Vernon, New York chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality also made a practice of blaming Jews for Negro educational problems. On February 8, 1966, the *New York Times* reported his remarks at a meeting of the Mt. Vernon Board of Education, many of whose members were Jewish. At one point during the meeting, CORE leader Brown shouted: *Hitler made one mistake when he didn't kill enough of you Jews . . . yes, I'm a racist and proud of it*. In a statement several days later, the national leaders of CORE stated that they could not agree with Brown's sentiments but that their investigation *helped us to understand the provocation for the remarks*. This tepid reaction led to the resignation from CORE of a prominent Jewish liberal who had been a member of its Advisory Board and who had finally awakened to the true nature of the organization. Although the Jewish reaction to this entire incident was one of outrage and shock, liberal opinion generally tended, amazingly enough, to side with CORE. All too typical was the reaction of James Wechsler, ultra-liberal columnist for the *New York Post*. In a column dated February 10, 1966, Mr. Wechsler attacked the Jewish leader who had resigned from CORE and offered various excuses for Brown's Nazi remarks. He even managed to place some of the blame for the incident on a *local Birchite* who, he said, was in attendance at the Board of Education meeting. By means of especially tortured logic, Wechsler concluded that the presence of this mysterious unnamed *Birchite* at the meeting along with the Jewish Chairlady of the conservative Parents and Taxpayers Association had created a particularly tense situation which caused Brown to blurt out his *unfortunate* remarks. This type of distortion would be humorous if it were not so typical of the liberal's determination to excuse even the most blatant Negro anti-Semitism.

Another case of especially vicious anti-Semitism from a supposedly *moderate* civil rights group is that of the Philadelphia chapter of the NAACP and its President, Cecil B. Moore. The story begins in 1963 when Mr. Moore was quoted in the August 15th issue of the *New York Times* as follows:

If people of Semitic origin continue to exploit Negroes as they do, I'll exploit them as anti-American. If you want to call that anti-Semitism, then I'm anti-Semitic.

Mr. Moore's stock steadily rose in the Negro community of Philadelphia, until, as one of its recognized leaders, he ran for Mayor on the Freedom Rights Party ticket. His public speeches during this campaign were so filled with anti-Jewish invective that local interfaith groups found it necessary to issue an official protest. But Mr. Moore's career sped along unhampered until the NAACP leader finally stirred up one of the ugliest racial hornet's nests in Philadelphia's history. On December 9, 1967, a story in the *Philadelphia Tribune* related how Moore disrupted a courtroom hearing for black power demonstrators whom he was defending by shouting anti-Semitic epithets at an opposing attorney. The exact words of the NAACP leader were:

You're playing footsie with racist bigots; you and the rest of the Jews get out of my business. I said, Jew, get out of my business!

The Director of Philadelphia's Jewish Community Relations Council reacted quickly and properly with the following statement:

Moore hates whites and, in particular, whites who are Jews. He is continuing to enflame large numbers of Negro citizens.

But, shocking as Moore's outburst was, even more unsettling events were to follow. Incredibly, the entire Board of the *moderate* Philadelphia NAACP voted unanimous support of President Moore and issued the following press release:

Whereas the Jewish community has determined to persecute our President, Cecil B. Moore, for remarks made in court . . . it is resolved that we endorse our President

Overnight an unprecedented anti-Semitic campaign was initiated in the Negro community of Philadelphia. Rabid anti-Jewish articles began to appear in the local Negro press and Moore himself authored an especially vile article blaming Jews for virtually all the troubles of the Negro. The article appeared in the Negro newspaper, *Nite Lite* under the title: *Cecil Moore Sends A Message To The Jews*. It concluded as follows:

Rid us of those Jews who evict black people for being a day late in their rent . . . who subject our women and older men to domestic servitude . . . who execute fraudulent judgment notes and usurious credit transactions . . . who were the first to object to bussing Negro children into white

schools . . . who are teachers who, instead of teaching students a salable skill, reading, writing and counting, actively encourage our students to seek the armed forces . . . who refuse to employ Negroes in neighborhood stores . . . Rid us of your continued victimization of black people!

Several days later, Philadelphia was plastered with leaflets containing the following demands:

We, the Black Community of Philadelphia, demand that the Jewish community censure: Jewish merchants who continue to rob and cheat Black people . . . Jewish members of the Board of Education who have spoken out against the Black students of Philadelphia while supporting police brutality . . . Jewish D.A. Arlen Spector for his constant demand for unjust and high ransoms for Black people . . . the Jewish community at large for not physically, verbally, or financially supporting the Black Liberation Struggle.

The important fact to bear in mind in regard to this incident is that the instigator of this anti-Semitic hate campaign was not a member of an extremist black nationalist sect but was the *President of the Philadelphia NAACP*, foremost among the so-called *moderate* civil rights groups. What is additionally shocking is the total support this man received from the local NAACP Board, from the Negro press, and apparently, from large numbers of Negro citizens.

This widespread anti-Semitism is not denied by Negro leaders, but it is often excused. Writing in the *New York Times Magazine* in April of 1967, Negro novelist James Baldwin theorized that Negro activists were anti-Semitic because they expected that the Jew would be more involved with the *Black Liberation Movement* because of the long history of Jewish persecution. Baldwin stated: *The Jew is singled out by Negroes not because he acts differently from other white men, but because he doesn't.* Now, it is not quite clear in what ways Mr. Baldwin expects Jewish Americans to *act differently* from their Christian fellow-countrymen, but the overall message of his remarks is plain enough; he is serving notice to the Jewish community that unless certain unspecified actions are forthcoming from them which accord with the wishes of the civil rights movement, then we can expect an increasing amount of *Negro anti-Semitism*.

This message was imparted with even greater clarity by Bayard Rustin in May of 1968, and he further obliged us by specifying exactly what Jews must do in order to end Negro anti-Semitism. Mr. Rustin wrote:

Negro anti-Semitism is here to stay. (Jews can avoid this) by banding together (with Negroes) in a great political movement beyond party to bring about the socialization of this nation . . .

The logical connections in Mr. Rustin's remarks are tenuous to say the least, but his warning to Jews — for this is certainly a warning, and a strong one — is clearly

this: Either you join with Negroes in destroying the American capitalist system or you will be subjected to a hate campaign of growing intensity. It would be inaccurate to describe this warning as anything other than *blackmail*. And coming as it does, from a Negro leader usually identified with the more *moderate* wing of the civil rights movement, it should be enough to give pause to those who believe that racist demagoguery is restricted to the *black nationalist* lunatic fringe.

The one clear fact which emerges from the documented material cited in these pages is that Negro anti-Semitism is, in Mr. Rustin's words, *here to stay*. It appears with different degrees of intensity across the entire spectrum of the Negro movement. We have seen it in attacks on Jews and Jewish property by howling black mobs; we have read it in the publications of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the resolutions of black nationalist conventions; we have heard it in vicious outbursts by leaders of CORE and the NAACP. When it comes to anti-Semitism, there is no distinction between *militants* and *moderates* in the civil rights movement. They are united by the common denominator of bigotry.

It should be obvious that the anti-Semitic poison which infects this movement will not disappear of its own accord. Only last July 25th, the *Village Voice* reported the proceedings at the Black Power Caucus held in the auditorium of Junior High School 271 in Brooklyn, N.Y. The program was begun by Negro poet LeRoi Jones who recited an original poem entitled, *Running Out The Jews*, to the wild cheers of the audience. The recitation was followed by a speech by Irv Joyner, Treasurer of Brooklyn CORE in which he discussed local politics in his own special way. *My congressional district is represented by a Jewish pig!* he shouted to the assembled soul-brothers.

Such incidents have become commonplace in the civil rights movement and are largely ignored by the liberal community. Their blindness to the entire problem was recently evidenced by the appointment by New York University of John F. Hatchett to be the Director of that institution's new Martin Luther King Afro-American Student Center. Mr. Hatchett, a rabid black nationalist, is the author of an article entitled, *The Phenomenon of the Anti-Black Jew and The Black Anglo-Saxon*, which is filled with vile anti-Semitic canards calculated to stir up hatred among its Negro readers.

The full story of the Hatchett appointment to New York University will appear in the second half of this study in the next issue of *IDEAS*. As we have been concerned here in documenting the range and extent of anti-Semitism in the Negro movement, we will be examining in the next article, reactions to this dangerous phenomenon by the three institutional groupings which alone have the power to do something about it: the responsible Negro leadership, the Negro press, and the Jewish defense organizations.



*A Proud Name
In a Great Industry*

TIMBER
VENEER

BROOKINGS, OREGON

ABE FORTAS: A JUDICIAL PORTRAIT

By Dr. Alfred Avins

Whether Mr. Justice Abe Fortas, Memphis born, Washington lawyer is confirmed as Chief Justice by the Senate or not, one thing has already been confirmed — that he is a liberal judicial activist in the Warren mold. Considering his background, this is hardly surprising. He attended Yale Law School where he studied under academic liberals, and briefly taught there, continuing this association. His liberal tendencies were reinforced by activity as a subordinate New Deal official, particularly as Under Secretary of the Interior under Harold Ickes. As a Washington lawyer, he became a long standing friend, confidant, and aide to Lyndon B. Johnson, as the latter rose progressively in political prominence. When Justice Arthur Goldberg resigned in July 1965, Fortas was nominated by his old friend, Presi-

dent Johnson, to fill the seat, and took his place on the Court on October 4, 1965. These facts alone would stamp him as a faithful ally of the Johnson administration.

However, unlike most nominations to the Court, in which some speculation is necessary to predict a person's probable judicial course, none is necessary in the case of Mr. Justice Fortas. In the last three years he has already established a record on the Court in which it is difficult to find any ambiguity. He is a confirmed liberal. He has sided with the most liberal judicial activists on the Court on almost every occasion.

To dissect every opinion which he has written or concurred in would, by this time, take a book of respectable proportions. However, Mr. Justice Fortas' positions can be quite clearly discerned by an examination of a small number of his more prominent opinions and reference to a selection of the more significant cases in which he participated over the last three years. Enough can be found therein to give any conservative pause.

Professor Avins holds seven academic degrees including: LL.B., 1955, Columbia; M.L., 1961 and J.S.D., 1962, Chicago; Ph.D., 1965, Cambridge. He has been Associated Professor of Law at Chicago Kent College of Law and Professor of Law at Memphis State.

He has argued before the United States Supreme Court and has served as Staff Counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee, Special Counsel to the Virginia Commission On Constitutional Government, and Special Counsel to the Southern Attorneys General.

The author of four books and sixty-five Law Review articles, he is a former columnist for the Memphis Commercial Appeal and is now Assistant District Attorney of New York County.

Mr. Justice Fortas' judicial service commences with Volume 382 of the United States Reports. He concurred in the majority opinion in *Evans v. Newton*, 382 U.S. 296 (1966), holding that an individual could not restrict the beneficiaries of a park he had willed to the public in trust because the city officials were trustees, and that a substitution of trustees did not avail the person who made the will. This, of course, was a serious incursion into private property rights. His opinion in *Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham*,

382 U.S. 87, 99-102 (1965) indicates, notwithstanding something of a disclaimer, a noticeable leniency towards *civil rights* demonstrators.

Another example of such tolerance is his opinion in *Brown v. Louisiana*, 383 U.S. 131 (1965). In this case, a group of *civil rights* demonstrators conducted a *sit-in* or *stand-in* in a public library, thus completely disrupting the functions of the library. In fact, the book which was demanded of the librarian was not in the library, and was sent for. The demonstrators were treated with every courtesy and were served to the extent of the ability of the librarian. Nevertheless, they persisted in staying in the library although asked to leave. The Supreme Court split 5-to-4, in reversing their conviction for congregating with intent to breach the peace. Mr. Justice Fortas wrote an opinion for the majority overturning their conviction. His criticism of the demonstrators in Columbia University seems somewhat less than completely convincing when read against his opinion in this case.

Two concurrences in the area of elections are also worthy of note during the October 1965 term. In *Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections*, 383 U.S. 663, (1966), he concurred in the opinion of Mr. Justice Douglas that imposition of a state poll tax was unconstitutional under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Mr. Justice Douglas, during the course of his opinion for a 6-to-3 majority, declared: *Notions of what constitutes equal treatment for purposes of the Equal Protection Clause do change. Id.* at 669. Thus, in spite of the fact that the poll tax

was deemed constitutional in 1866 when the amendment was enacted, a century later it suddenly became unconstitutional. That this was not an absent-minded concurrence in judicial lawmaking will appear more clearly further on.

Justice Fortas also concurred with the majority in the 7-to-2 opinion of the Court upholding the constitutionality of Section 4(e) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which forbade states to make English-language literacy a requirement for eligibility for voting in *Katzenbach v. Morgan*, 384 U.S. 641 (1966). The federal statute had overruled state law in spite of the fact that under the original understanding and intent of the Fourteenth Amendment, the states were left free to set qualifications for voting. This author argued that case before the United States Supreme Court, and investigation showed that many persons wholly ignorant of the very meaning of the ballots which they were casting would be allowed to vote under the federal law. Nevertheless, the Court applied the theory of a *progressive Constitution* to sustain federal power to overturn established state practice. As usual, Justice Fortas agreed.

He also agreed with the most liberal of the other justices in several bizarre extensions of freedom of speech. His vote made the majority in the 5-to-4 decision in *Elfbrandt v. Russell*, 384 U.S. 11 (1966), which held that state employees cannot constitutionally be required to take loyalty oaths. He also cast the vote which made the majority in *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 385 U.S. 589 (1967). In this case, a 5-to-4 majority of the

Court held a New York statute unconstitutional which made the utterance of treasonable or seditious words or the committing of such acts grounds for removal from the public school system or state employment, barring from employment in public schools any person willfully advocating or teaching the doctrine of forcible overthrow of the government and disqualifying a public school employee involved with distribution of written matter advocating forcible overthrow of the government and who himself advocates such doctrine. Fortas agreed with the majority that this attempt to remove subversives from universities and public schools violated their freedom of speech!

Mr. Justice Fortas' approach to criminal law has been of the same character. In the celebrated, 5-to-4 decision in *Miranda v. Arizona*, 384 U.S. 436 (1966), which held that before the voluntary confession or other statement of a person taken into custody in connection with any crime can be used in evidence, he has to be advised of his right to remain silent, that anything he says may be used against him, that he has a right to have a lawyer present to help him during questioning, and that if he is without funds a lawyer will be appointed to help him, Justice Fortas' vote once again made the majority. This decision, which has done so much to frustrate effective police action in apprehending and prosecuting criminals, overturned almost two centuries of American law that any voluntary statement was admissible into evidence.

In *Schmerber v. California*, 384 U.S. 757, 779 (1966), Mr. Justice

Fortas took the view that a blood sample could not be taken from a driver to determine whether he had been driving while intoxicated. He said that taking a tiny blood sample was an *act of violence*. Apparently, in his view, all of the blood spilt through accidents on the road caused by drunken drivers is constitutional since it is *non-violent* but taking a small blood sample from a suspect to find out whether he is drunk so that the state may safeguard other motorists by keeping him off of the road is too violent for Mr. Justice Fortas. This is a good example of his oft-demonstrated doctrinaire liberalism.

Two of his other dissents during this same period are also instructive. In *Adderley v. Florida*, 385 U.S. 39, 48 (1966), he agreed with the minority that a sit-in in a jail courtyard was merely an exercise of freedom of speech, although the demonstrators blocked traffic and refused to leave after being asked to do so. Once again, the difference between this case and that of the Columbia University demonstrators whom Fortas so recently condemned as acting outside of the law is a rather fine one indeed.

Mr. Justice Fortas also dissented in *McCray v. Illinois*, 386 U.S. 302 (1967). In this case, the defendant was convicted of possessing heroin. An informant advised the police that the defendant was a narcotics seller. This informant had supplied the police with accurate information fifteen or sixteen times before during the year about narcotic sales which had resulted in numerous arrests and convictions of these *dope pushers*. The defendant, on trial, demanded the name of the

informant but the Court, on the prosecutor's motion, denied this request on the ground that to divulge his name would risk his life and would dry up vital sources of information about illegal sales of narcotics. The majority of the Supreme Court upheld this refusal, but a minority, including Mr. Justice Fortas, took the position that the defendant was entitled to the informant's name although it meant rendering useless a valuable source of information, jeopardizing the informant's life, and hindering the police in their efforts to control the growing drug traffic. Considering the number of crimes caused by narcotic addicts, it is fortunate that the views of Mr. Justice Fortas did not prevail. The fight against the illegal sale of narcotics is difficult enough without another crippling rule such as was advocated by Justice Fortas.

In one of his first major opinions, *Application of Gault*, 387 U.S. 1 (1967), Mr. Justice Fortas imposed on juvenile proceedings the same adversary standards that formal criminal trials required. This case made rehabilitation of delinquent children that much more protracted and difficult.

Mr. Justice Fortas also wrote two other dissenting opinions in criminal cases in 1967. In *United States v. Wade*, 388 U.S. 218, 260-3 (1967), he held that not only was a suspect entitled to an attorney in any line-up or identification by the victim of the crime, a burdensome and often impractical requirement, but also that he could not, even with an attorney present, be required to repeat the words used by the criminal during perpetra-

tion of the crime for purposes of voice identification. He said: *The privilege historically goes to the roots of democratic and religious principle. It prevents the debasement of the citizen which would result from compelling him to accuse himself before the power of the state. ...They go to the nature of a free man and to his relationship to the state. Id. at 261.*

In the companion case of *Gilbert v. California*, 388 U.S. 263, 291-2 (1967), he joined Chief Justice Warren in dissenting from the Court's holding that a suspect in a bank robbery who gave the teller a note could be required to write out the same thing for police handwriting experts so that it could be determined whether he was in fact the robber. Justice Fortas thus proved that he is even more liberal than the majority of the Court. Apparently, he believes that bringing a criminal to justice by giving his victims the opportunity to identify him through his voice or handwriting *debases* society and violates democratic and religious principles. It is surprising that the victim of an armed robbery has not been *debased*, but only the criminal who has to expose himself to tell-tale identification. This is an amazing *democratic and religious principle* indeed!

Mr. Justice Fortas concurred with the majority opinion in *Berger v. New York*, 388 U.S. 41 (1967), which severely restricted the New York County District Attorney's right to investigate Liquor Authority scandals through wiretapping. He wrote a dissenting opinion, concurred in by only Mr. Justice Douglas, in *Cameron v. Johnson*, 88 Sup. Ct. 1335, 1341-4 (1968),

in which he held that a statute restricting the right to picket a courthouse, thus blocking the sidewalk, was unconstitutional. He thus showed himself to be further to the left than even Mr. Chief Justice Warren and six other justices in the majority.

In *Ginsberg v. New York*, 88 Sup. Ct. 1274, 1297-8 (1968), Justice Fortas wrote another dissenting opinion. He declared that it was unconstitutional for New York State to prohibit a storeowner from selling *girlie* magazines to a 16-year old boy. He believe that such magazines are not only not obscene, but that such a statute constituted *denial of access to great works of art and literature*. *Id.* at 1298. Anybody who cannot see the difference between Goya and the rubbish sold on Times Square, for example, or other tawdry hangouts in other cities, demonstrates a lack of taste of constitutional dimensions.

In another recent case, *Schneider v. Smith*, 88 Sup. Ct. 682, 688 (1968), Mr. Justice Fortas agreed in his own opinion with a case throwing out Coast Guard practices designed to weed out subversive seamen. He once again relied on the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech. He thought that the authorities had no right to ask the seamen whether they had belonged to subversive and Communist organizations. This is the typical liberal approach to subversive infiltration into so sensitive an industry as American shipping lines.

Like other ultra-liberals, Mr. Justice Fortas has been completely willing to amend the Fourteenth Amendment and other reconstruction legislation as

much as required in order to open up any and every institution to minority groups. In *Reitman v. Mulkey*, 387 U.S. 369 (1967), he agreed with the majority that an amendment to the California State Constitution which barred the State from enacting forced housing laws or *open occupancy* laws was unconstitutional as in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, even though the state was merely repealing an existing law through a referendum.

Finally, note should be taken of the very recent case of *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer & Co.*, 88 Sup. Ct. 2186 (1968), in which the majority of the Supreme Court, with Justice Fortas concurring, held that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 forbids all racial discrimination in the sale or lease of all private housing throughout the United States. This decision is completely contrary to the original meaning of the statute, and in fact constitutes a special privilege for Negroes which no other person has. Once again, however, Fortas was found with the majority.

The judicial philosophy of Mr. Justice Fortas was well expressed in his opinion in *Fortson v. Morris*, 385 U.S. 231, 247 (1966). There he said: *Much water has gone under the bridge since the late 1700's and the early 1800's. Our understanding and conception of the rights guaranteed to the people by the stately admonitions of the Fourteenth Amendment have deepened, and have resulted in a series of decisions, enriching the quality of our democracy, which certainly do not codify State's rights, governmental theories or conceptions of human liberties as they existed in 1824, the date when Georgia adopted*

its present system of choosing a Governor. He further declared: This Court's apportionment and voting rights decisions soundly reflect a deepening conception, in keeping with the development of our social, ethical, and religious understanding, of the meaning of our great constitutional guaranties. As such, they have reinvigorated our national political life at its roots so that it may continue its growth to realization of the full stature of our constitutional ideal. Id. at 249.

More recently, in *Duncan v. Louisiana*, 88 Sup. Ct. 1444, 1459-60 (1968), he once again set forth his judicial philosophy. He said: *It is the progression of history and especially the deepening realization of the substance and procedures that justice and the demands of human dignity require, which has caused this Court to invest the command of due process of law with increasingly greater substance. The majority lists outstanding stations in this progression... Id. at 1459.* He added: *The draftsmen of the Fourteenth Amendment intended what they said, ... that no State shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without the process of law. It is ultimately the duty of this Court to interpret, to ascribe specific meaning to this phrase. Id. at 1460.*

The short of all of this is that Mr. Justice Abe Fortas thinks that there are no fixed principles in the United States Constitution, and that its words mean anything the Supreme Court finds convenient at the moment. He views the phrases in the Constitution as something like wine bottles, and believes that the Supreme Court is at liberty to pour out the old wine and pour in the new wine whenever it believes it has concocted a new brew which better serves the needs of the nation. If minorities need a boost, then all that has to be done is to judicially amend the Fourteenth Amendment or some other constitutional statute which one can find conveniently at hand. The same goes for changing voting qualifications, election procedures, apportionment in the state legislatures, criminal procedures, or anything else which, in his view, needs a remedy. In short, Mr. Justice Fortas, like the other liberal justices, believes that the Supreme Court has replaced the Constitution as the governing force in the country.

It can safely be predicted that a Fortas Court would be an identical twin to a Warren Court. The United States Constitution would enjoy a quiet repose in a judicial antique shop while the Court wandered off into new pastures. For a government of laws and not of men, this is a chilling thought.

CONSERVATIVE PROSPECTS, 1968

By Samuel L. Blumenfeld

This year can be one in which conservatives make substantial gains on all levels of government, if they do not divide their efforts. The Republican convention clearly demonstrated that conservative influences in the Republican Party are as strong as ever - if not stronger, having absorbed the costly political lessons of the 1964 Goldwater campaign. The Rockefeller forces - which are really a sort of party within a party - were soundly repudiated, as they were in 1964, but without the kind of bitter struggle which took place at the 1964 convention. Their excuse now for not working wholeheartedly for the national ticket will be much harder to sell to the public than it was in 1964 when pro-Rockefeller elements did more than just sit on their hands. Many of them worked hard to insure a decisive Goldwater defeat, to teach upstart conservatives a lesson. The lesson, surprisingly, has been learned, but not the way the Rockefeller crowd intended.

Mr. Blumenfeld is well known in the conservative movement as a writer and lecturer. He has been associated with some of New York's leading book publishers and was editor of the Universal Library of Grosset & Dunlap for five years. He founded the American Committee for France & Algeria and the American Friends of Katanga. He was Analysis Editor of the *Review of the News* weekly news magazine and is a JSA Vice-Chairman.

Rockefeller, Percy, Lindsay, Brooke and other members of that ultra-liberal clique realize that they are a minority within the Republican Party. One columnist suggested that had Nelson Rockefeller become a Democrat back in the fifties, when Harry Truman had invited him to switch, he would, by now, be in the White House. But now it's a little too late for Nelson to switch, even though trial balloons about a fourth party with a Rockefeller-McCarthy ticket have been sent up.

In a way, the Rockefeller forces are a party unto themselves. They owe their loyalty not so much to the Republican Party, but to a specific clique within the Party. Those within the clique who see the handwriting on the wall will have to decide whether to become loyal Republicans or try their luck with the Democrats.

In any case, Nixon's victory at Miami, with the help of such staunch conservatives as Strom Thurmond, John Tower and Barry Goldwater, has plainly made conservatives feel that they now have a chance of gaining some measure of control over the executive branch of the government - the branch which controls foreign policy, appointments to the Supreme Court, the budget, national defense, etc. Never, in the last thirty years, have conservatives been closer to such power. But will they be able to attain it?

There are two flies in the ointment. One is the liberal press and mass media which has already gone to town on Nixon, particularly on his choice of Gov. Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland as a running mate. This post-convention hysteria concerning Agnew was in reality the release of the pent-up hatred the liberals have always felt toward Nixon going back to the days of his courageous exposure of Communist agent Alger Hiss. This hatred was certainly not decreased by Nixon's forthright rejection of the patent absurdities contained in the recent Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorder. The press harped on the Agnew choice because they found little else to criticize. They barely mentioned Nixon's remarkable acceptance speech - one of the finest political speeches this writer has ever listened to - which merely confirms that the liberal press will once again use the big smear technique on Nixon rather than discuss his ideas.

This same liberal opposition to Nixon, however, will have a tough time supporting Hubert Humphrey who - at the time of this writing - has yet to be nominated. The most vociferous opposition to Humphrey has come from the leftists and liberals who oppose Johnson's Vietnam policies. How will the liberal press be able to deal with this should Humphrey be nominated? In addition, how will the liberal press be able to pin a convincing Southern segregationist label on Nixon and Agnew with George Wallace running for President? Clearly, this will be a difficult year for liberal pundits and commentators.

The second fly in the ointment for conservatives is the Wallace campaign. George Wallace had, until the Republican convention, built his candidacy on the argument that there isn't a dime's worth of difference between the Republicans and the Democrats. This would have been true had Romney or Rockefeller been nominated. But with the Nixon-Agnew ticket, there is a considerable and significant difference between what the two major parties have to offer the voter, and voters who bought Wallace's original premise will have a difficult choice on their hands come November. There are few conservative Republicans to whom Nixon is not an acceptable Presidential candidate. On the other hand, there are some Rockefeller Republicans, like Jackie Robinson, who will not vote for Nixon. How many such pseudo-Republicans there are, we have no way of knowing.

It goes without saying that George Wallace will take votes away from both the Republicans and Democrats. The point, however, is that he will deprive the Republicans of those Democratic votes in the South which would otherwise go to Nixon - as they did to Goldwater in 1964 - if Wallace weren't running. Because the Republicans are a minority party they need as many independent and Democratic votes as they can get. Reagan, it should be remembered, won in California with a million Democratic votes. It's a matter of simple arithmetic.

It is likely, however, that as election day draws near, many Wallace

supporters in the South as well as the North will switch to the G.O.P. merely out of fear of letting the Democrats win rather than out of any great love for Nixon. But who knows what the campaigning will do for the various candidates before election day arrives. In this year of surprises, there is no reason to believe that we have seen the last of them.

There are, of course, five possible outcomes to the election. Nixon may win. Humphrey - or any other Democratic candidate - may win. Wallace may win. The election may be thrown into the House of Representatives, in which case either Nixon or the Democratic candidate may win. These are the possibilities. But when it comes down to real probabilities, the battle will be between Nixon and a Democrat, with Wallace doing more to divide the anti-liberal vote than to advance the cause of conservatism.

It is being said by Wallace supporters that their candidate may be able to throw the election into the House of Representatives. If this occurs, it will still be a contest between Nixon and the Democratic candidate, and the House will have to choose between the two. Supposedly, Wallace will be in a position to exact concessions from one of the candidates. But what kind of concessions will he be able to exact? Wallace does not control the House of Representatives, and the Representatives will do the choosing - probably along party lines, with some Southern Democrats voting for Nixon. So where does that leave us? - in some political limbo in which the discredited liberals will have

a second chance to recoup their losses while conservatives contemplate the results of their divided efforts.

Can conservatives afford to be divided at this crucial time in our country's history? Can conservatives afford to let a division of their efforts deprive them of the first real opportunity in more than thirty years to gain a large measure of control over the White House? Can conservatives afford to let their divisiveness perpetuate liberal Democratic control over our national policies? These are the questions conservatives who lean toward Wallace will have to answer as election day comes closer.

And then there is even this more compelling argument: Granted that on some issues Wallace offers conservatives a stronger, more satisfying stand, the fact is that his chances of winning the election are small indeed. On the other hand, Nixon, whose acceptance speech rang with hope for the future of our country, has an excellent chance of winning the election. Would it not be better to have *some* conservatism in the White House than none at all?

There is also the question of whether the nation is sufficiently imbued with conservative principles to be able to accept an uncompromising, strong conservative in the White House at this time, a conservative who would be for the repeal of the income tax, getting us out of the U.N., breaking relations with Communist countries, etc. Even George Wallace has not come out for any of these planks, which means that it is doubtful that

any such conservative could get elected to the Presidency. Conservatives have had four years in which to reach the public at large with their message, four years in which to build on the 27 million who voted for Goldwater. Some people have been reached, but not nearly as many as are necessary to radically change the course the country has been going in. Riots, lawlessness, the war, inflation have all helped break the public's confidence in the Democrats; but the swing to conservatism is just beginning. And while we have had many conservative victories in the past two years, the process of educating the American public will take quite some time to complete.

Thus, four years after the Goldwater defeat, the nation is too divided, too confused, too influenced by an overwhelmingly liberal press and mass media to be able to elect a 100 percent conservative President. In any event, no such conservative hero on a white horse has come down the pike.

The nation presently needs someone pragmatic enough, non-ideological enough, practical enough to be able to keep the country from breaking apart at the seams, to be able to lower its feverish political temperature. Nixon, who sees himself as a truly national candidate, may serve this function perhaps better than any other available man - better than Wallace who is essentially a regional candidate, better than McCarthy who represents the left-wing surrender-now extremists and their socialist brethren; better than Humphrey who represents the

ultra-liberal philosophy which has brought our country to its present sorry state.

Indeed, 1968 offers conservatives tremendous opportunities to make the gains they have long sought in Congress, state legislatures, and in the executive branch. But these gains will only be made if conservatives act rationally, do not divide their efforts, and realize that the road back to national sanity is a long one and requires painstaking political building for many years to come. This is still a two-party country, with the Republican Party offering conservatives the political vehicle they need to gain political power on every level. The conservative wing of the Republican Party has been growing stronger with each election, while the liberal Rockefeller wing has just about had it. The Republican Party is available for the taking by Southern, Southwestern and Western conservatives if they stay in the Party, work through it, support its candidates, and exert their influence in it. The Republican power center has at long last shifted westward, leaving the Eastern establishment somewhat out in the cold. This is not to mean that the Eastern establishment - with its enormous resources and favorable press - has lost its power. Far from it. But it does mean that the Eastern establishment has met its match in a new conservative political grouping in the West which draws much support from the South.

If Nixon should lose because of Wallace's candidacy, and the Democrats retain their control of the White House, the nation will face four more years of internal turmoil, deficit

spending, irrational foreign policy, and a continued weakening of our defense position. The nightmare of riots and crime will continue.

On the other hand, a Nixon victory would open the doors of the White House to conservative views, conservative influences, conservative policies. It would give conservatives more time in which to build their strength throughout the nation, politically and ideologically, more time for conservative ideas to reach larger numbers of people. Nixon has surrounded himself with an impressive group of talented young men who represent the finest in new libertarian-conservative thinking. Among them are economists like Alan Greenspan and Professor Milton Friedman who represent imaginative free-market thinking at its best. They believe in the eventual abolition of the draft and the creation of a volunteer army, a concept close to the hearts of all libertarians, and one which Nixon has already decided to adopt. These are some of the men whose intellectual influence will be felt in the White House should Nixon be elected. Others include Prof. Martin Anderson, author of *The Federal Bulldozer*, the best critique of urban renewal written by a conservative, and Patrick Buchanan, 29-year-old conservative and former editorial writer for the

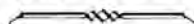
conservative *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, who now writes Nixon's speeches. Anderson has been particularly responsible for developing ideas encouraging Negro self-help, ideas which will perhaps begin to make a dent in the economic problems of the core cities.

These are the kinds of hard-headed free-market thinkers who will work on ways of getting us out of the mess the Democrats have put us in. Is this not reason enough to be encouraged by Nixon's nomination at Miami? Is this not reason enough for conservatives to believe that something has indeed changed - for the better? And we should note that the 1968 Republican platform, while definitely inferior to that of 1964, does contain a good many conservative planks. Its stands against coddling of rioters, recognition of Red China, and trade with and aid to Communist and pro-Communist countries are music to conservative ears.

It is hard for this writer to believe that the American people will not soundly repudiate the Democrats in November. It is also hard to believe that conservatives will not grasp the opportunities offered them in the Republican Party in 1968. There is a crying need for change, and Americans want that change to come as swiftly as possible.

Coors / CERAMICS

COORS PORCELAIN COMPANY



600 Ninth Street • Golden, Colorado • 80401

World's Largest Manufacturer of Technical Ceramics and Chemical Porcelain

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEW LEFT

By Robert Delahunty

To determine with any definiteness and precision the causes of what has become known in the mass media as *student rebellion* is an unenviable task. For the antecedents of a disturbance so complicated and so manifold cannot be easily identified, distinguished and understood. That such a phenomenon occurring on such a scale at so many places must have been the product of longstanding and serious aggravations is immediately clear. It would be imprudent, to say the least, to undertake in an article of this size and scope a complete examination of the causes of the disturbances in question. What we *can* safely presume to do is to suggest a few very tentative and imperfect speculations on this matter, which may hopefully serve to illuminate such data as are presently known or to provide material for further independent thinking and investigation.

In any account of *student rebellions*, some consideration must be taken of two factors which are very much determinants of the conduct of educated young people: the war in

Mr. Delahunty was in residence at Columbia University during the New Left disturbances of last spring. He was appointed by Columbia President Grayson Kirk to the Joint Disciplinary Committee of the University which dealt firmly with the offending students. He is, at present, at Oriol College of Oxford University.

Vietnam and the civil rights movement. No one can seriously doubt that both of these are powerful stimuli to restlessness and to radicalization among the groups we are discussing. The wisdom or unwisdom of the war is too vexed an issue to enter into here; suffice it to say that this, like all wars, has induced profound transformations in the structure of the society involved. The uncertainty of American purposes, no less than the unsuccess of American policy, has led, in certain quarters, to a serious questioning if not outright denial, of our invincibility and of our rightness. There is available on many American campuses today an abundance of vulgarized Marxist thinking and literature, and though it would be erroneous to suppose this a *cause* of student disaffection from American institutions and policy, it is quite possibly correct to consider it an *index* or *expression* of such disaffection. Thoughtful people, as many of the most radical students nowadays are, must have recourse to a body of explanation or diagnosis when confronted with a situation wholly alien to their normal habits of thought and wholly repugnant to their ordinary moral judgments. The most convenient body of explanation to hand is, of course, that of the Marxists, and this perhaps serves in some measure to account for the vehemence of language and ambitiousness of action among these young — in their own description — *revolutionaries*. Marxist teaching would have it that the war in Vietnam is a necessary manifestation of the working of such a system of government and economy as our own. This system cannot fundamentally be improved upon by piecemeal social engineering or by gradual planned inno-

vations such as liberals would argue for. But since, in the judgment of these *revolutionaries*, the workings of this system lead inevitably to such iniquitous and dehumanizing conclusions, and since it cannot admit of serious alteration for the better, it must be utterly destroyed. And what node of the system is more vulnerable or more exposed than our colleges and universities?

I have mentioned the civil rights movement as another stimulus to such extreme conduct as we have all seen recently at several institutions of higher learning. The connection is not immediately obvious and requires elucidation. Young people have participated in at least the earlier phases of the civil rights movement in large numbers and clearly have learned much from the tactics and strategies of those activities. In particular, they have come to regard *civil disobedience* — or in more explicit terms, lawbreaking — as not always blameworthy and in some cases positively enjoined by conscience. It is a very short step from breaking what one conceives of as an unjust law, so as to try that law in the courts — while accepting the ensuing legal punishment, if any, as a necessary consequence of one's actions — to breaking the law with a view to upsetting the entire legal structure of a society. The diminished respect for positive law and the constant supersession of orderly and constituted means for seeking redress in the name of *higher laws* whose contents are sometimes disclosed only to illumined zealots — these effects have begun to make a disturbing impression even upon liberals. The positive civil law is, of course, at any given time an imperfect arbiter of social justice, but in a

free country where means are available for seeking and obtaining legal improvement by persuasion, the use of force to accomplish these same ends is surely objectionable. It might even be asked of radicals whether an admittedly defective and unjust body of law, provided only it ensures the maintenance of a civil order, is not preferable to sheer lawlessness? Are we not, above all, to avoid a reversion to that condition Macbeth refers to when he says: *Blood hath been shed, ere now, i' th' olden time/ Ere humane statute purged the general weal?* However these questions are to be answered, the consequences of disruptive and illegal action places on the offender a very considerable burden to extenuate or justify his behavior; and it is, for conservatives, an adequate indictment of *student rebellion* that so much energy is devoted to violation of *humane statute* and so little to apologetics.

The point of this discussion is not, however, to pass judgment upon the conduct of others but to disentangle the complicated strands of causation and motivation which have issued in such conduct. I shall be satisfied if I have demonstrated that the war and the civil rights movement — if only by creating a climate of opinion favorable to the appearance of such phenomena — have had definite bearings on the matter in hand. But if we pursue our inquiries the least bit further we are immediately struck by a feature of *student rebellions* which requires understanding and explanation. This has been characterized to me with some penetration by a participant in one student disturbance as the fact that *a revolt within the elite by a segment of that elite* had taken place. Stripped of its unhappy Marxist

terminology, this proposition discloses an important truth. For the authors of *student rebellion* are quite commonly, perhaps even ordinarily, sons and daughters of middle class or upper middle class parents, reared according to the most up-to-date and enlightened methods of the time, sent to good schools and prepared, in the normal course of events, to take their places in the government, the corporations, the law-firms, the universities, the pulpits. (One is sometimes reminded, in observing them, of the young French aristocrats in the time of the Revolution excitedly applauding seditious plays or fastening red cockades to their hats.) Why exactly *these* should be the professed harbingers of revolution, when the considerable material incentives of American society should predictably be drawing them to orthodox views and behavior is a problem demanding no little scrutiny. Several partial solutions come to mind readily enough.

The material incentives we have spoken of are much more likely to operate upon the poor — who, after all, display an extraordinary acquisitiveness in purloining televisions, suits of clothing, furniture, etc. during *civil disturbances* — than among those for whom such articles are amply supplied. It is also by now commonplace enough to remark that students have reached maturity long before society is equipped to provide them positions of employment or responsibility. Naturally enough, this leads to frustration, resentment and a feeling of powerlessness over one's own life and circumstances. The effect of *rebellion* is to express defiance and self-assertiveness in the face of the administrative

powers who exert, seemingly from afar, such control over one's style of living. Then too, the decline of traditional religious beliefs among students leads some to cast round for god-surrogates, an egalitarian dedication to service, in many cases, the consumption of drugs in others; or a passionate act of faith in some redemptive secular agency, cause or myth, in yet another option.¹

It may alternatively be argued with some plausibility that what the young people we are discussing are intent upon is *not* the acquisition of a new creed, a new set of internalized controls and loyalties, but a remission from such inhibitions and controls as are still in working order. Very frequently, disaffected young people may avail themselves of interpretations or styles of living different from those learned from, or enforced by, their primary environment. Such novel patterns of behavior are apt to be understood as a repudiation of that earlier environment by all parties concerned, though feelings of *liberation* and of *fuller identity* may accompany the adoption of the new styles among the rebelling young. Since extraordinary amounts of *instinctual renunciation* and *internal compulsion*, in Freud's phrases, are exacted of students in the highly competitive world of American secondary and higher education, it is not unwise to expect on occasion a violent and convulsive abrogation of ordinary

¹We may be reminded here of Freud's remark at the end of *Civilization and Its Discontents* that the passionate demand of *the wildest revolutionaries* in common with *the most virtuous religious believers* is for consolation.

restraints and a regression to more primitive forms of behavior. It must be noted in this connection that our cultural images surrounding the Negro are easily adapted by *student rebels* to such purposes as these. For Negroes have been associated in our culture with *releasing* motifs and images clustering mainly about work and sexuality. So that when we find sophisticated white middle-class students espousing a return to tribalism or living with avant garde coeds in self-styled *communes*, we may perhaps understand more clearly the instrumentalities by which release from unendurable psychic pressure is effectuated and by which a more remissive and easy-going style of life is obtained.

These conjectures are put forward with extreme tentativeness and with a full awareness of their incompleteness and provisionality. They are not offered as necessarily *competing* explanations, for the phenomena we are studying are quite likely, as the psychoanalysts say, to be overdetermined. There is one explanation, however, which seems to me to be quite convincing, one which I think unlikely to be overthrown. Put in terms of the utmost generality, it approximates this: *student rebellion* is the breach and the observance, the culmination and collapse, of liberalism.

Liberalism, as is notorious, is the public philosophy which has dominated American thought and life for decades. It has thoroughly permeated our politics, our culture, our system of education, our religious consciousness. The values it espouses are accorded loyalty and respect: tolerance,

permissiveness, open-mindedness, skepticism about religious or political commitments, a belief in cumulative and piecemeal progress, a confidence in the reasonableness and goodwill of differing parties to a dispute. It prefers pragmatists to ideologues, compromisers to fanatics. It resolves disagreements of principle into differences of interest and supposes that, within the pale of admissible political opinion, violence can never occur. It received recently a most eloquent expression from George Kennan, in a magazine article dealing with campus revolt, when he declared that the extent of his ambition was to create a little civility and light among his own intimate entourage, even if this meant tolerating the presence of public evil. It is profoundly a philosophy of disillusionment such as one would naturally expect to take hold among men and women who have lived through one of the most terrible periods of human history, who had lost faith with the promises of redemption through the Party, the nation, the Church, the gods who failed them, who had witnessed the carnage created and justified in the name of utopianism, and who would be content in the face of adverse circumstance and radical evil within even the most highly *civilized* men and nations, to establish what little light and concord and rationality they could.

It is against precisely these people and these beliefs that so much student hatred and resentment has been directed. In understanding this reaction, we may be assisted by Nietzsche's remark that *in the son that becomes conviction which in the father was a*

a lie. For it is the lies and the contradictions of liberalism which these sons and daughters have so relentlessly exposed, while its pretensions and excesses they have brought to their most consummate and necessary development. The mixture of bewilderment and dismay with which liberals have responded to the student disturbances is a measure of the shock — of recognition as well as of betrayal — which they have felt. The literary work which most powerfully illustrates this form of antagonism between the generations is, to my mind, Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed*. Stepan Verhovensky, the complete Russian liberal of an earlier generation, genial, skeptical, Frenchified, irreligious, a pitiable victim of his own illusions, is confronted by the return to Russia of his son, who ridicules his father's foolishness and hypocrisy and demonstrates his own commitment to a violent revolution in Russian society. Here, in the Garnett translation, is Verhovensky's reaction to a radical novel by one of his son's contemporaries:

I agree that the author's fundamental idea is a true one, he said to me feverishly, but that only makes it more awful. It's just our idea, exactly ours; we first sowed the seed, nurtured it, prepared the way, and indeed, what could they say new, after us? But, heavens! How it's all expressed, distorted, mutilated! he exclaimed, tapping the book with his fingers. *Were these the conclusions we were striving for? Who can understand the original idea in this?* (p.322)

It is exactly the sentiment which might be voiced by an intelligent liberal today. For the political philosophy espoused by many young people today is violent, romantic, revolutionary, intolerant and utopian. It proclaims a political credo where liberalism announces the end of ideology; it finds spiritual corruption where liberalism sees only the accommodation of countervailing forces; it agrees with Robespierre that in this life, virtue is in the minority, and so concludes that the tolerance and pluralism which liberalism advocates must be suppressed in favor of rule by this virtuous elite; it summons up, where liberalism offers us the affluent society, a vision of the land of heart's desire.

Our brief discussion has emphasized the more obvious antagonisms between liberalism and radicalism. But we might equally well have tried to delineate the family resemblances between them. One hears asserted by each the same pieties about *social equality* and *brotherhood*. One observes a common idealization of the economically and racially *oppressed*, though this is usually joined to an unconscious but hearty contempt for *the sensual man in the street*. One finds too frequently a jejeune optimism — so deeply incongruous with reality — about the prospect of irradiating at last the thousand natural evils that flesh and soul are heirs to, a result which will ensue once the material scarcities which alone divide men are remedied. Finally each exhibits, at least on occasion, a rude and inordinate hatred of custom and ceremony, of traditional usages and approved patterns, of the countless little tyrannies against nature whose cumulative effect is to give social intercourse

richness and amplitude and grace. These similarities could be further multiplied and explored but it must suffice to point out that the range of agreement between liberals and radicals as to the final ends of political action is remarkably extensive.

We have attempted, given the limitations of scope and knowledge, to determine certain of the main causes of a troublesome and deeprooted disturbance in contemporary American life. That this disturbance is con-

vincing testimony to the impoverishment and decomposition of liberalism seems to me clear. How successful and how complete our account of these causes is must, of course, be left for others to judge, but I shall be entirely satisfied if it serves at all to clarify a phenomenon of extreme complexity. But whatever explanation or set of explanation is finally to be accepted, there can be very little argument that events so unsettling and so destructive in their consequences cannot very much longer be tolerated.

JSA STATEMENT ON THE VISIT OF CHIEF RABBI YEHUDAH LEIB LEVIN OF MOSCOW TO THE UNITED STATES

As a national organization of politically conservative Americans of the Jewish faith committed to the struggle against the tyrannical forces of world Communism, the Jewish Society of America observed with special interest the recent visit to our country of Chief Rabbi Yehudah Leib Levin of Moscow. For those who know the agony of the persecuted Jewish community of the Soviet Union, the Chief Rabbi's visit contains elements of high tragedy.

For the past twenty years, the Jews of Russia have been the victims of progressive and deliberate spiritual strangulation at the hands of the anti-Semitic and anti-religious rulers of the Soviet Union. Inexorably, the official noose has been tightened in an effort to snuff out the once-vibrant religious life of Russian Jewry. Summary closings of thousands of synagogues and rigorously-enforced laws forbidding religious training for the young, manufacture of religious articles, Bibles, and prayerbooks, have had their tragic effect. Jewish religious and communal life in the Soviet Union is being ruthlessly suppressed. Where the process has proceeded too slowly to suit the Communist tyrants, they have not hesitated to carry out mass arrests of Jewish leaders, many of whom have been executed on various trumped-up charges.

Over the past few years, the light of international publicity has been shed on these horrors and the conscience of the world has been profoundly shaken. The Soviet leaders have obviously been embarrassed by this publicity and have sought on several occasions to deny the charges. In a final desperate effort to hide the truth, they sent Chief Rabbi Levin to America to assure us that all is well with Soviet Jewry and that there is, after all, no anti-Semitic persecution in Russia.

This is precisely the message he imparted to audiences during his American tour. What he said was clearly untrue, but it would be a mistake to hold him responsible for the propaganda he mouthed during his visit. Free Americans might find it difficult to appreciate the full horror of the situation or to understand the agony Rabbi Levin must have experienced. His Communist masters sent him — and he came; they told him what to say — and he said it. Every move he made while in America, every word he uttered was recorded and evaluated by Communist agents whose task it was to keep him under constant surveillance. He lived with the knowledge that the three million Jews of Russia were, in a very real sense, being held as hostages for his good behavior. It was, doubtless, made clear to him that the future of these captive people was in his hands. In such circumstances, it is not difficult to understand why he acted as he did.

We cannot find it in our hearts to blame Rabbi Levin for the things he was forced to say. We ought rather to question the motivation of those who sponsored his visit here — the American Council for Judaism. This group's sponsorship of

Rabbi Levin's tour is part of their contemptible policy of defending the Communist persecutors of the Jews of Russia. Their motivation in this remains obscure but for some reason this organization has often felt called upon to defend the enemies of Jewry, be they Arab Socialists or Russian Communists. That they are, at the same time, defending governments hostile to the United States, seems to disturb them not at all.

For these actions and especially for their complicity in the great deception the Soviets attempted to perpetrate by means of Rabbi Levin's visit, the American Council for Judaism ought to be viewed with profound suspicion by anti-Communist Americans.

We are confident that the American people have not been taken in by this dismal hoax. At the same time, we must place the blame for it where that blame truly belongs, not with Rabbi Levin who is not a free man, but with the cynical tyrants who continue to rule the Soviet Union with the iron hand of oppression and with those in America who have acted as their dupes in sponsoring this regrettable visit.

JEWISH LAW AND THE ABORTION CONTROVERSY

By Michael S. Kogan

I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord, to do either good or bad of mine own mind; what the Lord speaketh, that will I speak.
NUMBERS 24:13

The Biblical passage quoted above gives eloquent expression to the traditional Jewish attitude regarding questions of moral and ethical conduct. Such questions were always viewed by our tradition as being essentially religious matters to be approached with a reverence equal to that due to issues pertaining to worship and ritual observance. Jewish tradition recognizes no dichotomy between the *sacred* and the *secular* but rather holds that even the most mundane activities of human life can be so elevated by the influence of religious teaching as to transform them into occasions for intensifying consciousness of the Divine.

In this way, the simple and necessary act of eating becomes, for the observant Jew who abides by the dietary laws of his faith, a testimony to his belief in a God to Whom all life belongs and Who calls our attention to that fact by laying down strict laws regarding which of His creatures we can use as food and which we cannot.

Mr. Kogan is the Editor of *IDEAS* and a Vice-Chairman of the JSA. He is a PhD candidate in the Columbia University Graduate Faculty of Philosophy and has studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. His writings on philosophical and religious topics have appeared in the magazine: *Syracuse 10*.

In like manner, Sabbath observance is a means of elevating time itself to a sacred level. Objectively speaking, what could be more mundane than the days of the week which follow tediously in endless succession one after another? But Judaism has designated one of these days as a sacred *memorial of creation* on which we are called away from the cares of the week's labors to reflect upon the majesty and perfection of the natural universe in which we live and the glory of Him Who called it into being. Thus, Judaism transforms the ordinary into the extraordinary, the secular into the sacred.

The method by which this transformation is effected is the key to understanding the entire Jewish world view. For Judaism seeks to guide the steps of its followers not by vague moralistic pronouncements nor by exhortations to *let your conscience be your guide*. On the contrary, Judaism has never viewed individual conscience as a suitable arbiter of moral conduct. Judaism, in its very essence, is a religion of law, a religion which warns its adherents against pursuing paths chosen by their own inclinations. The genius of Judaism is that it recognizes that *the heart is deceitful above all things*, that it is a constant prey to convenience and moral laxity, and that the religious life can only be maintained successfully if it is carefully structured in accordance with an all-embracing legal system. It is this legal code which defines the dietary regulations and Sabbath observances and all those other responsibilities which

the traditional Jew undertakes and which can raise the level of his everyday life from the mundane to the sublime. It is this Divine law, as set down in the Bible and in the writings of the sages of Israel, that governs the life of the Jew and continually reminds him of who he is and what his responsibilities are to God and man.

But, Judaism is not only concerned with the actions of individuals. Just as Jewish law orders the private lives of its adherents, it also governs the inter-personal relations of men in society and even makes pronouncements upon the policies adopted by those societies as a whole, especially where such policies have to do with issues of moral conduct. Such a question of public policy is, at present, the cause of heated debate in the legislatures of many states in our country and has even been the subject of a recent report by a Presidential committee. The issue to which we refer is that of proposed reforms and revisions of existing state abortion laws. Having examined the all-encompassing nature of Jewish law and its underlying motivation of elevating all aspects of life to their highest possible level, we can readily see that as regards this question with its obvious moral implications, Judaism should have much to say.

There are those who would have religion leave the consideration of this life-and-death issue to the discretion of the medical profession or the consciences of the individuals involved. To them Judaism must respond with the Biblical statement quoted at the opening of this study. It is law, based on the absolute sanctity of all human

life, which must decide the issue — not convenience and not the fragile human conscience. Just as these can lead individuals into error so, too, can they cause whole societies to go astray and forget once-sacred principles in a mad rush toward a life of irresponsibility and self-indulgence. Such a life whether pursued by an individual or a whole society is totally alien to the spirit of Judaism which, as we have already noted, holds that only through obedience to sacred law can the moral life be attained.

This law of which we have been speaking has been codified over a period of many centuries. It begins, of course, with the *Torah* itself (the first five books of the Bible, traditionally viewed as having been composed by Moses in the 13th century B.C.E. under the direct inspiration of the Almighty); it was enlarged and interpreted in the *Mishnah* (a six-volume compilation of rabbinic legislation completed in the early years of the third century of the present era, based on principles set down in the *Torah*), which was, in turn, the subject of lengthy discussions and commentaries by learned rabbis who represented the authentic Jewish tradition in their day. These rabbinic teachings were set down over a period of three hundred years and finally collected under the title of *Gamara* in the sixth century. The *Mishnah* and the *Gamara* together constitute the *Talmud*. Since the close of the *Talmudic* period, the sacred tradition has been perpetuated in the writings of generations of great rabbinic authorities who have continued to produce commentaries and addenda through the centuries up to and including the present day.

Any examination of Jewish law regarding the question of abortion, or any other issue for that matter, must take into account all these sources. Let us, then begin at the beginning, with the *Torah* itself, the core of Jewish law.

Interestingly enough, there is no mention of abortion as such in the *Torah*. The only logical explanation for the absence of any Biblical laws relating directly to this question would seem to be that foeticide was virtually non-existent among Jews during this ancient period. Since it was not a problem in Jewish society, it was not mentioned in the legal codes. However, this is not to say that the *Torah* contains no regulations which concern the termination of pre-natal life. In Exodus 21:24, we find the following passage:

And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart, and yet no harm follow (i.e. other than the death of the foetus), he shall be surely fined...as the judges determine. But if any harm follow (i.e. if the woman dies), then thou shalt give life for life.

In this passage are laid down some basic rules which will have great bearing on later discussions of the abortion question. The law states that if a man accidentally injures a pregnant woman in such a way as to cause her death, then he who killed her must pay with his life. However, if such a woman is injured so as to cause her to lose her child while leaving her otherwise unharmed, the man who struck her is

only required to pay a fine. These two laws taken together establish the principle that the life of a foetus is not of equal value to the life of a mature man or woman. Indeed the question can be raised whether the foetus is viewed as an independent life at all since the penalty for murder (*He that smiteth a man, so that he dieth, shall surely be put to death.* Exodus 11:12) is not invoked against the man who causes its death. This question was, in fact, discussed later on in the *Talmud* and the prevailing opinion seems to be that the unborn child is deemed an organic part of the mother. This is not to say that it is not alive; but its life is dependent on that of its mother.

But these general Biblical rules are only the beginning of the discussion which continues on into the *Mishnah* where we find the earliest direct Jewish reference to therapeutic abortion (abortion performed in order to save the life of the mother). *The Mishnah* states:

If a woman is in hard travail (i.e. in danger of dying from her pregnancy), one cuts up the child within her womb... because her life has priority over its life; but if the greater part of it was already born, it may not be touched, since one does not set aside one life for another.

Here the principle implied in the Biblical passage is clearly enunciated: the mother's life has priority over that of the unborn child. If, at any time during pregnancy, a choice has to be made between the life of the mother and that of the foetus, Jewish law makes

abortion mandatory. In addition to this basic ruling, this passage also establishes the exact point at which human life becomes inviolable and of equal value to that of any adult. This occurs at the moment during birth when the *greater part* of the child (or, according to later *Talmudic* opinions, *the child's head*) emerges into the world. Once this moment is reached, it is forbidden to harm the child in any way even to save the life of the mother. The killing of a child after this point, even while the birth is still taking place, is regarded as murder. These rulings have been accepted by all later commentators and can be said to make up the core of Jewish law regarding therapeutic abortion.

But if Judaism sanctions abortion in cases where the continuation of pregnancy would endanger the mother's life, can we then assume that abortion is justified under any other circumstances? Once again, let us turn to the traditional sources. Although abortions performed for other than therapeutic reasons are not mentioned in the *Talmud*, we can find several references to such operations in Jewish sources beginning with the twelfth century. In a Jewish work of that century entitled the *Sefer Hasidim* we find reference to a prostitute who wanted to terminate her pregnancy by means of abortion. Her action is decried as a *sin* against her child. In the thirteenth century, the *Zohar* (the famous book of Jewish mysticism containing cryptic commentaries on the *Torah*) condemns abortion as *destroying God's structure and His work*. In the same century, two other Jewish texts condemn such abortions. One, the *Sefer Hayasher* declares: *we have seen writings of*

some leading scholars in our time permitting the practice, but we wish to have no truck with such a thing . . . in the absence of danger to the mother. The other work, entitled *Toldoth*, agrees that abortion should only be resorted to in the face of danger to the mother's life.

These rulings continue to stand today and are reflected in the statements of modern rabbinic authorities such as Dr. Immanuel Jakobovits, Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth and the world's foremost authority in the field of Jewish law and medical practice. In an article entitled *Medicine and Judaism* published in the *London Jewish Chronicle*, October 6, 1961, Rabbi Jakobovits stated:

Even the unborn child, inferior though its value may be (i.e. to that of a person already born), does enjoy certain very sacred rights, and to abort it — while not constituting murder (i.e. not requiring the death penalty) — is a most heinous offense except for reasons of the mother's safety.

In the same article Rabbi Jakobovits addressed himself to the question of abortion in cases of malformed foetuses due to the mother having either caught German measles or taken thalidomide during her pregnancy. He declares:

The Jewish view unanimously affirms that the title of an unborn child to life is not compromised by any physical or mental abnormalities, however crippling, even if such defects

were definitely ascertained before birth. The deliberate killing of such a child therefore constitutes an *appurtenance of murder* although foeticide is not technically regarded as a capital offense in Jewish law . . . The only indication for an abortion in these circumstances would be, as in all cases, the concern for the safety of the mother. Any genuine fear of psychological disorders which might lead to a risk of life would be considered in the same way as any physical threat to her life resulting from pregnancy.

Perhaps the most interesting point made by Rabbi Jakobovits in the above statement is his concluding remark that the threat of psychological disorders which may cause a woman to attempt suicide must be viewed as seriously as a physical threat. This equation of mental and physical disorder was first made in a seventeenth century rabbinic opinion which permitted an abortion in a case where it was feared that the pregnant woman would otherwise suffer an attack of hysteria endangering her life. When one views this decision against the abysmal ignorance prevailing in the seventeenth century regarding matters of mental health, the insight and compassion of this rabbi who was so far ahead of his time, become all the more striking.

As regards the main point of Rabbi Jakobovits' statement, the currency of this question makes it important to dispel all doubt regarding the categorical nature of the prohibition against abortion in these circum-

stances. We therefore quote from an article appearing in the Israeli journal *No'am* (vol. VI; 1952) and written by no less an authority than Rabbi Israel Unterman, Chief Rabbi of the State of Israel. He holds that:

Any abortion of a human fruit for fear that it may be born deformed must be condemned as tantamount to murder . . . This very thought appears to me as opposing the outlook of the Torah on human life, whereby even in the hardest moments it is forbidden to sacrifice life for any reason whatever other than the sanctification of the Divine Name (martyrdom) or the saving of the mother's life.

These opinions clarify not only the Jewish opposition to abortion under the specific circumstances of deformed fetuses but also under any other circumstances in which the mother's life is not at stake. It is plain, therefore, that Judaism's strenuous opposition to non-therapeutic abortion applies in cases of pre-marital pregnancies, pregnancies resulting from criminal assaults, and all other cases in which the mother might desire an abortion for the sake of convenience or in order to spare herself the anguish of bearing the child of an immoral or illegal union for which she may or may not have been responsible. Such cases are most tragic and must be viewed with compassion and understanding. But our compassion must be for the child conceived in such a manner as well as for the unfortunate mother and no amount of sympathy we may feel for the latter should

blind us to the former's sacred right to life. We are dealing here not with one life, but with two, and our concern must be to preserve them both, unless, of course, the unborn life poses a threat to the life already in the world. Barring such a threat, there can be no justification for abortion.

The position of Jewish law regarding abortion is clear and uncompromising. Here, as elsewhere, its principle concern is for the preservation of human life, the crown of God's creation. The question must now be raised as to whether Judaism's moral opposition to non-therapeutic abortion implies opposition to any reform of existing state abortion statutes. This question is a good deal more complicated than it appears at first glance.

It must first be noted that the law of which we have been speaking is Jewish law, written for Jews, by Jewish authorities, in a society in which Jewish law was as binding as civil law. These laws were not set down for all mankind nor was it expected that Jewish opinion would ever be called upon to comment on the moral conduct of the larger non-Jewish world. Today, of course, in America's pluralistic society, the Jewish position has been radically altered from what it previously was either in ancient Israel or in the insular Jewish communities of Europe. Here, Jews and Christians live side by side as equal citizens of a free society in which all groups take an interest in moral and legal questions affecting the society as a whole. Among the many new questions which are part of the new situa-

tion in which Jews find themselves today is whether we, as a religious minority, have the right to impose our Jewish law on the non-Jewish majority. The answer is clearly that we do not have such a right nor was the ancient legal system of Judaism ever intended to apply to anyone except Jews. No one would suggest, for example, that the Jewish community of America should begin lobbying for new laws which would enforce Saturday Sabbath observance on everyone in this country. These laws are for Jews alone. In a totally Jewish society a traditionally valid argument could be made for giving such religious laws civil status. This has been done in the modern State of Israel where the government, under pressure from the Chief Rabbinate and the religious parties, has enacted laws in regard to public observance of the Sabbath. But in America or any other non-Jewish society such measures would be absurd. But, would it be equally absurd for American Jewish spokesmen to lobby against abortion reform?

In a sermon delivered on March 11, 1967 in New York's Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun, the well-known and widely-respected Associate Rabbi of that synagogue, Rabbi Haskel Lookstein spoke to this question. He stated:

A traditional Jew could not endorse proposed abortion law reform legislation for himself . . . But how about our stand vis-à-vis society. The law is not coercive. It does not force action. It is permissive; it allows action under prescribed circumstances. It would seem

to this observer that we would have no grounds for opposing such legislation for society (although) it may not provide for our needs.

Rabbi Lookstein is saying here that we Jews must not attempt to translate our opposition to non-therapeutic abortion into state laws binding on Jew and non-Jew alike. This is not because we are not firm in our commitment to our tradition which universally condemns such abortion, but rather because it would be improper to attempt to impose the views of a minority religion on the majority. But, what are the alternatives? If we are not to lobby against abortion reform, should we then remain silent on an issue regarding which Judaism has always taken such a firm stand? In fact, traditional Jewish organizations have been most reluctant to express themselves on the reform issue.

In the sermon quoted above, Rabbi Lookstein commented on this situation as follows:

In the balance, however, the reticence (of traditional Jewish spokesmen to speak to this issue) would seem regrettable. It is regrettable because others speak sweepingly for us and misrepresent the authentic Jewish position. It is also regrettable because our silence conveys the impression that this is not truly a religious problem. Such an impression is dangerous for others and particularly harmful for us; to us, this kind of issue is the most crucial concern of religion.

Rabbi Lookstein is making a rather subtle point here which should be carefully pondered by all concerned with this vital issue. For, while he holds that we should engage in no pressure tactics designed to impose the Jewish position on the majority, we should, at the same time, be certain that the authentic Jewish position is heard. There are secular Jewish organizations and liberal Jewish clergymen who are not so reluctant to impose their will on society and they have made a constant practice of misrepresenting the Jewish position on this and so many other current issues. Their destructive influence must be countered by informed Jewish spokesmen who are willing to appear at legislative hearings on abortion reform. Their task at such hearings will not be to have Jewish law written into American legal codes but rather to inform the legislators and the public of the Jewish position, of our historic experience in dealing with the abortion issue and of our hope that Jewish moral insights on this question will be of some help to them in their search for a just solution to the problem.

In this way modern Judaism can avoid both the Scylla of imposition and the Charybdis of silence. We have a responsibility to our society as a whole and we can fulfill that responsibility only if we make our own traditional teachings available to others in the hope that they will choose to be guided by the great moral principles which we cherish. Thus will we fulfill our Divine calling to be a *light to the nations*, a moral teacher to all mankind.

SOUTHERN WEAVING COMPANY

WEAVERS AND FINISHERS OF QUALITY
WEBBING AND TAPE

Box 367
Greenville, S.C. 29602



PHONE: 272-4541

C. R. LEWIS CO., INC.



Mechanical Contractors

CLYDE R. LEWIS
President

1500 Post Road
Anchorage, Alaska

THE ZIONIST VISION NATIONALIZED:

REALPOLITIK

By Dr. Joseph Churba

The argument for Israel to compromise its position vis-à-vis the Arab states, stems from a distorted notion that the conduct of its foreign relations consider a standard of morality higher than that which characterizes the relations of other states. This assumption ignores the fact that Israel's incorporation into the comity of nations placed her as a sovereign equal among nations subject only to those restrictions embodied in commonly accepted international law. It should be noted however, that while Israel, like other emergent states, played no role in the development of this body of rules and regulations governing inter-state relations, they are no less binding upon her. For Israel, professions to the contrary notwithstanding, is an offshoot of the European and Christian nation-state system and is molded in the image of western civilization.

To require from her, as a matter of law or equity, more than what is required of any other state is unjust and lends itself to the charge of biased discrimination. For the aim of Zionism has been precisely to make the Jews a normal nation through

Dr. Churba, who received his Ph. D. degree from Columbia University is Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Winnipeg. He is co-author of the recently published book, *The Jewish Stake in Vietnam* and is a highly qualified veteran observer of the Zionist Movement,

participation in the public law system of the nations. And after all, the architects of the Jewish State have sought to do no more than apply the technique of nationalism to the solution of a problem that the civilization of Europe itself either created or cultivated - anti-Semitism.

It should be remembered that Zionism as a doctrine for political emancipation and survival is a reaction to the failure of 19th century liberalism to afford protection to the scattered European Jewish minorities from physical annihilation. In the broader perspective, Zionism represents a moral indictment against the professed values of European civilization. Perhaps it is more than coincidence that European Jewry suffered its coup de grace at the hands of Germany which had been widely regarded as the very heart of advanced western and Christian culture. In any case, had the Jewish people been accorded the degree of toleration in the sense that Islam under Ottoman rule had tolerated both Christian and Jew, there would have been neither need nor appeal for political Zionism.

To be sure, Theodore Herzl's original concept of Zionism was almost entirely negativist in nature for it blandly ignored the positive features added subsequently by the foremost opponents within Jewry to any scheme or resettlement anywhere other than Palestine. Herzl's paramount concern had been with the physical plight of European Jewry. His doctrine for emancipation, however, manifestly lacked appeal to the substantial number of Jews in North African and Asian lands then

under the Ottoman. In vivid contrast to their European counterparts, these Jews enjoyed autonomy at every level and flourished as a community. Salvation to these Jews was anything but political. Indeed, redemption to them was messianic and spiritual as was their attraction to the land of Palestine. Moreover, the Jews of these lands like the mosaic of minorities (including Arabs) did not share with the Christian West the experiences of the great fundamental movements that have shaped contemporary western society (i.e. the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution and the rise of Constitutional Government). Nor for that matter were they exposed to the variety of ideologies that characterized European thinking - foremost of which was the doctrinaire Socialism of the baptized Jew - Karl Marx.

But the liberated Jew of Europe was more than exposed to these fundamental transformations of modern society - he was a commentator and an active participant. Such a man was Theodore Herzl. Thoroughly assimilated and educated according to the highest European standards, he was the very symbol of the liberated Jew. It was thus quite natural and understandable for this gifted journalist whose aspirations for the judiciary had earlier been surrendered to Christian prejudice, to offer a very Christian answer to the infernal and confounding *Jewish Problem*. His proposal for statehood was conceived in the context of the European state system which then had conditioned and dominated international politics and diplomacy.

Certainly, the idea of a Jewish state endowed with sovereignty and qualified by the prevailing norms of international law and morality was the product of a mind tutored in the Christian political tradition. Zionism, like nationalism at the time, was European-centered and one might well raise the question as to how attentive Herzl's doctrine was to the needs of African and Asian Jews. Indeed, the question persists, as it had persisted throughout the course of Zionist history, to what extent, if any, are the interests of Jews in African and Asian lands expendable? While this may be of academic interest today as regards the Jews who formerly lived among Arabs, it is highly pertinent to South African Jewry whose precarious political position, vis-à-vis the South African Government, Israel continues to gamble when it joins the yearly chorus of denunciation of apartheid as a necessary element in its obvious power-play bid for Black African support at the U.N.

Indeed, this egocentrism is best underlined by the typical Zionist retort: *let them come here* - an answer that is more characteristic of a doctrinaire nationalist than an observant Jew. Thus, even Jewish Israel has come to look upon the interests of its own scattered brethren as subordinate to its version of *national interest* in much the same way as one Christian state views another - religion notwithstanding. This should not be surprising, for in its formative stages, the Zionist movement had continuously been racked with internal dissension as to which Christian *ism* to adopt for salvation. At one extreme, there were the pure nationalists who would

accept land anywhere for statehood while at the other end there were the culturalists who opposed statehood but sought a cultural center only in Palestine. There were the Socialist revolutionaries who somehow synthesized Socialism with a corruption of Jewish nationalism, and of course the religious Zionists who rediscovered Jewish nationalism. All of this was characteristic of a general European tendency to find an answer to minority problems in the adoption of some form of self-determination and nationalism and/or Socialism.

Indeed, Vladimir Jabotinsky's great break with the official Zionist movement and the subsequent establishment of the anti-Socialist Zionist Revisionist Movement constituted a throwback to the Herzlian tradition. For it was he who valiantly sought to remind the Zionist movement of its original purpose in saving European Jewry from physical destruction. While Jabotinsky (to Jewry's tragic misfortune) never gained control of the Zionist political machine from the dominant Socialists and practicalists, his prophetic insights both as to the Nazi holocaust and the ultimate adoption of his viewpoint as to the nature and character of Jewish statehood were vindicated. No other personality within the inter-war Zionist movement more clearly understood the necessary equilibrium between military power and politics - and it was precisely on this issue, which turned on the very definition of politics, that Jabotinsky split from the dominant Zionist movement.

This, too, was not surprising, for like Herzl whose background was similar, Jabotinsky thought of politics

in a Christian way. He wanted an open declaration that the aim of Zionism was Jewish statehood embracing both sides of the Jordan. He emphasized the need for political and diplomatic efforts as the focal points of this struggle - practical or cultural development of Palestine being secondary. He continuously harped on the necessity to create a Jewish Army imbued with a spirit of selfless devotion and national service pinned on youth. He spoke more of Jewish rights and less of vague principles of international morality.

Ultimately, an independent sovereign state did emerge but not without recourse to arms and with precisely the kind of spirit that characterizes the Israeli public today. Nearly all of Jabotinsky's features of Zionism have been adopted by the Israeli Government and it is somewhat fitting that his successor, the former underground leader and anti-Socialist Menahim Beigin, is a member of the Israeli cabinet. For the Israeli public, having been ruefully awakened to the crude reality of international politics in the eventful days preceding the June War of 1967, is in no mood for mediation, conciliation, arbitration, adjudication or anything other than direct negotiations as the method of settling its differences with the Arab states. Thus, in terms of revisionist Zionism, Israel has finally arrived.

But viewed from the historical perspective and in terms of its intended purposes, Zionism - revisionist or otherwise - has failed. Initially an answer to the Christian inability or unwillingness to protect history's cherished minority, it was

nevertheless a doctrine proposed by a thoroughly assimilated western Jew to save in the main East European Jewry from physical destruction but which

succeeded in saving neither, yet incorporating in final statehood the Afro-Asian Jewish population which did not need saving to begin with.

JUDAISM VS. PAGANISM: A CONTINUING CONFLICT

By Rabbi Earl W. Vinecour

The unique genius of our Jewish tradition lies in the fact that from its very inception, it united the mythic and cultic aspects of religion with the ethical imperatives of social law. Indeed it can be said that prior to the appearance of the Hebrew faith, religion was concerned exclusively with myth and cult. It remained for Judaism to expand the meaning of the term to embrace the moral sphere as well as the strictly ritualistic. In contrast to the gods of ancient Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, the Hebrew Deity was a God of Justice. The pagan mythologies prevalent throughout the Mediterranean area portrayed their gods as subject to capriciousness and whim and totally unconcerned with the ethical actions of men. Religious duty and obligation demanded prescribed rituals or beliefs, but had no bearing on man-to-man relationships. A man could consider himself a faithful servant of the gods by merely performing the particular rites demanded by his cult. How one treated one's neighbor or lived in society was totally irrelevant to one's piety.

Rabbi Vinecour serves as spiritual leader of Temple Beth Am in Parsippany, New Jersey. A dedicated defender of individual liberties, he has worked closely with patriotic groups such as the American Legion. He is a long-time friend of the JSA.

Only the ethical monotheist, Abraham, could conceive of asking his God: *Shall not the Judge of all the world (Himself) do justice?* (Gen. 18:23). To a non-Hebrew of that time, this question would make no sense. The gods were not concerned with the ethical behavior of mankind, with justice. Law rested solely in the hands of the ruler of the city-state, with the whim of every tyrant and the caprice of every chieftain. The laws of society were whatever the strongest ruling establishment dictated. The ancient world was in constant political flux and with the advent of every new city-state came new law codes whose statutes reflected the needs of those who sought to maintain their power to rule. The only means of changing these systems was force. A stronger tyrant, mob, or army could impose a new social order on the weaker. This earthly chaos was mirrored in the theologies of the ancients which described a heavenly realm in which the gods were engaged in a continual struggle for supremacy. War, brutality, and murder are the themes of much ancient mythology. This was the way of the gods and no divine head was ever troubled by questions of an ethical or moral nature.

Because standards of right and wrong rested in the hands of the state, human life had absolutely no value. Vast multitudes of people were

sacrificed in connection with the frenzied building schemes of ancient tyrants. Herodotus tells us that in the time of Pharaoh Necho II (609 – 588 B.C.E.) 120,000 laborers were worked to death in a state construction project. The whim of the tyrant was the law of the land.

To the Hebrews, however, justice and morality found their source, not in the state and not in the consciences of men, but in the One Supreme Power which rules the universe. No longer were kings and princes the authors of law and, as such, above it themselves. The ruler as well as the peasant was seen as being subject to a universal, eternal law connected with a force not only beyond the state but beyond nature itself. With this elevation of the law by which man lived came a corresponding elevation of the individual man. For to subject a man to a Divine Law is to confer upon him the power of actualizing the Divine Will. *Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord am holy.* (Lev. 19:2) At the same time, such a view of law as Divinely based exerted on Hebrew society both an equalizing and a stabilizing force. King and serf were equal under the law in that the same system of justice applied to all. And no social or political upheaval, no decree by a tyrant or a mob could alter the Divine injunction: *Thou shalt not murder.* One does not obey this law simply because it is a rule set down by the existing political regime subject to change by revolution or foreign conquest. One obeys because this law is an embodiment of the eternal will of God and is, like its Divine source, completely independent of time, place, and social or political conditions.

The subjectivism of moral law was, then, a phenomenon common to the non-Hebrew ancient world and stood in direct opposition to the Hebraic concept of universal morality. The result of this polar opposition was a spiritual and intellectual struggle which has continued into our own day. The roots of the struggle are clearly evident in ancient texts. While Pharaoh Necho II could dispense with 120,000 slaves with the sanction of Egyptian law (which was, after all, merely the will of the ruler), his contemporary, King Jehoiakim of Judah could not act in similar fashion. The Bible tells of the Prophet Jeremiah's appearance at the royal palace where he loudly decried slavery as contrary to the law of God:

Woe unto him that
buildeth his house by
unrighteousness and his
chambers by injustice;
that useth his neighbor's
service without wages,
and giveth him not his
hire. (Jer. 22:13)

We must bear in mind that the Prophet is speaking here to the king, the man who in any other ancient society was himself the law. The idea that the ruler is subject to a higher law was totally new and completely unheard-of in any nation except that of the Hebrews. So concerned were the later rabbinic writers with the universality of Divine law that they emphasized that its origin was before the creation of the world and that it was given to man on Mount Sinai (located in desert territory belonging to no nation) and spoken in all of the seventy languages of men. The law was not heard by Israel alone but by

all mankind. These legends also relate by means of parable and metaphor how all the universe was rapt in breathless silence at the revelation of the supreme law of God, a law beyond the dictates of the state, the rule of the mob, or the compulsions of individual conscience.

Thus, Judaism gave to the world not only monotheism but *ethical* monotheism, the idea of the primacy of Divine law as the key to peace and to meaningful human life on the earth for all men. Judaism also saw no dichotomy between church and state, between ethical justice and political responsibility. This was a view common to the Hellenistic mystery cults, the spiritual heirs of the pagan mythologies of Abraham's day. These cults denied the equality of all men before the law simply by elevating the ruler to the status of a god. Such practices, common among Greeks and Romans, were unknown among the Hebrews.

The concept of kingship as expressed by the Prophet Isaiah included both responsibility to Divine law and to the nation, the socio-political body which the king ruled. It was not the ruler but the people who were in possession of sovereign rights. *Thou are the man!* Nathan the Prophet could hurl at David, the royal sinner. In a real sense it can be said that the idea of human equality began with Israel's concept of law, a concept so alien to paganism. The struggle between these opposing ideas began at the dawn of recorded time, continued throughout history from Egypt to Rome, and into our own age.

With the nineteenth century, the conflict appeared in a new form, for it was that century which widely heralded the revolutionary discovery that man was an animal and had evolved from a lower order of beast. No sooner were the theories of Darwin accepted than certain literary and artistic figures took it upon themselves to convince the world that it was only natural for man to return to the beast, to revel in his primitive instincts, and to be guided by his animalistic drives and desires. The ancient pagan view of morality was, thus, resurrected. Instinct and inclination, whim and desire were seen as the true and natural guides for human behavior. Objective law was rejected as having no ontological status. Obedience to laws of universal applicability gave way to subjective conscience and the desire to do whatever one felt was right at a given moment. This new subjectivism became popular in the fields of ethics, religion, art, and not least important, in politics where it was expressed both in anarchist movements in which all law was trampled under by the mob and in modern totalitarianism, successor to ancient and medieval tyrannies, in which the whim of the ruler became the law of society.

Thus, in contemporary times, we witness the attempt to turn law back into the arena of subjectivity where the strongest rules. What is the moral, social, and political chaos so prevalent today if not a revival of ancient pagan categories of subjective feeling and inclination as the supreme moral principles? According to this relativistic view, if a group of students

at Columbia University feel they are right, they can suspend existing laws by force and establish their own law in accordance with their private moral vision. Of course, the student rebel does not see this as relativism at all. He feels that he is absolutely and indubitably correct in his view that the system is morally corrupt. But is what he does so different from the actions of the ancient pagan rulers who made themselves the source of all law, all morality? They even bear a certain resemblance to the Roman emperors who had themselves proclaimed gods, thus taking unto themselves the sole power to determine absolute right and wrong. The *absolutism* is in the attitudes of such people, the *subjectivism* in the fact that such attitudes can be held by any number of people all convinced of the absolute truth of their private visions, and in the nature of the vision itself which in these people is usually so private, so exclusivistic that it can only, with great difficulty, be expressed coherently to one of the uninitiated. And, naturally these people ask for outside advice from others about as often as did the self proclaimed emperor-gods of ancient Rome.

This insular and fanatical mentality leads inevitably to a condition of constant struggle in which every group battles for power using whatever means it feels are expedient to its ends. This chaos will, in turn, lead to a condition of complete anarchy — opening the door to eventual totalitarian control by the strongest.

The only safeguard against such a possibility is, today as it was in

ancient times, the law. The Hebrew insights which conquered the paganism of that age have been incorporated into our American system of laws and are today perfectly capable of protecting and preserving the order and peace of society against the onslaught of modern paganism — if we will but use them.

Citizens in our Republic are entitled to certain rights not because a few men just happened to chance upon them and were strong enough to enforce these views on society. We are guaranteed our rights because this Republic is subject to constitutional statutes which were drawn up in accordance with basic principles of Divine law as set down in the Bible. To those who hold that we live in a pure democracy in which the wishes (or the whims) of the majority are made law, we should point out that if this were true, then 51% of the population should be able to murder the remaining 49%. This would be pure democracy, the unfettered rule of the majority. But, of course this cannot happen in our Republic for we have a constitution which guarantees the rights of the minority, even if it be a minority of one. And this constitutional concern for the rights of the individual is firmly grounded in the Biblical laws of ancient Israel. These laws are eternal; before them the power of the majority, the mob, or the tyrant are as nothing.

Those who seek to further the cause of relativism, who struggle to remove the words *under God* from our national consciousness, who proclaim: *Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the law*, undermine their

own freedom. Returning the Republic to the whim and caprice of every power group will destroy the freedom of all Americans — opening a Pandora's box of neo-pagan social chaos. Goodness and justice will no longer be seen as universal truths, but as temporary formulations dependent upon the situation obtaining at any given time — a situation easily controlled by the tyranny of an individual or a mob. If the ruling establishment feels it is expedient to use 120,000 slave laborers on a state construction project, this becomes the good since there would be no law higher than the state itself.

Such horrors as these may seem remote but no concerned American

could deny the steady disintegration of the moral and legal fabric of our society over the past few years. This massive assault by the neo-pagan forces of dissolution must be met and repulsed. *One nation under God* means that all in our country, government and citizens alike, are bound by an eternal code of morality expressed politically in our constitution and religiously in our Bible, a code which proclaims the sanctity of human life and the dignity of the free individual. Upon this code rests the stability of our social order and from it stems the priceless heritage of liberty and justice which has made America the hope of the world. It is up to us to keep that hope alive.

POETRY:

"AMERICA"

My people!

There is ground beneath us
It stretches off the North Pacific coast
In sheets of stone slides between us
Its hot vapors rising dustlike
Out of Arizona make us blind
With graveyards of first-growth
Timber in Michigan now
Southward in loamblack fields
We find still roots that unite us.
We call it home.

More things divide us.
Newport's lost flotilla hangs
In the waves I think
New York is not concrete and
Contemplate Coca-Cola
Signs blinking like
Idiots off
And on.

Turn back
 where land grumbles
In dreams off in Maine
Where white clapboard houses
Glisten like human skin
 (my people)

In Maine birds
Still rise off
Their feet suddenly
At slightest
Hints of sound.

I am not too old nor young
To forget where once
We had no one
But ourselves to dream
 Listen!
The sound is rumbling in our ears
We are always at home
This is our ground.

William Solomon

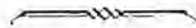
Steinway Dental Laboratory
Crown and Bridge Exclusively



SERVING THE DENTAL PROFESSION ONLY



28-13 Steinway Street
Long Island City, N. Y. 11103



(212) RAdenswood 1-1199

OPINION:

THE NEED FOR TRADITION

By Rabbi Juda Glasner

It was Marx who said: *religion is the opiate of the people*. Indeed, he knew that the ideology of Communism can only be spread and implanted into those people who lack religious faith. Religion has always been considered by Communists as a force which prevents them from promoting their godless ideology.

We know that our moral and ethical values mainly emanate from religion which Communists oppose and would like to destroy. Whenever society is forced to relinquish its faith in God, then it becomes susceptible to the destructive faith of Communism. The fact is that men must believe in something and if they do not believe in God then, frequently, that faith is replaced by Communist teachings.

Dostoevski said: *It is impossible to be a man and not to bow to something*. Consequently, according to this theory, if we reject God, then we must inevitably bow down to an idol fashioned of wood, gold, or thought. Communism has become an idol of thought. There are men who are moved to worship it. They are ready to accept this idol of thought since they have no other faith. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of every loyal citizen to strengthen and brighten the flickering lights of faith.

In line with this thought, one of our great Jewish theologians said: *If God punishes man, he does not deprive him of his wealth or health, but of his faith*. I believe that today we are punishing ourselves by the fact that we have permitted God to be removed from our public schools by the prohibition of a voluntary non-denominational prayer, thus abandoning one of the most important tools with which we should equip our young generation in these trying times. The Prophet Isaiah long ago proclaimed: *Verily if ye have no faith ye will not endure . . .*

History shows us that dictators who rose to power, such as Hitler and Stalin, as well as the present Communist rulers, denied the existence of God and became destructive of mankind. They have been responsible for the man-made catastrophies which we have experienced in the last four decades. If we are to avert more

Rabbi Glasner is the spiritual leader of Congregation Mishkan Yecheskel in Tujunga, California. He is well-known in conservative circles as a dedicated anti-Communist and a tireless fighter for patriotic causes which he has advanced on the pulpit, over the airwaves, and in testimony before committees of the United States Congress.

destruction and bloodshed, then our answer must be: *let us return to God, let us place our confidence in Him so that He may protect us.* Abraham Lincoln said: *The will of God prevails. Without Him, all human reliance is vain. Without the assistance of that Devine Being, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail.* As we witness crises, upheavals and turmoil in the world, the time has come to place our reliance in a Supreme Being and return God to our public places. No mortal man, or group of mortal men, should deprive us of that sacred right to acknowledge God and to worship Him according to our respective beliefs.

Let me refer to another reason why Communism is so opposed to religion. Religion teaches us to remember and to cherish the past, to remember the events of former days and of past generations, so that we are assured of a continued link between past, present, and future. Our sages have always referred to the fact that the lives of our ancestors can be the pointing arrows on the way to new goals and fresh objectives. They have succinctly expressed this thought by saying that it is *memories* which induce action. The late Sir Winston Churchill recognized this to be an important factor in the lives of nations when he said: *Those who neglect their past, surrender their future.* We recall our past and gain strength from our most cherished memories of past generations. To this, Communism is vigorously opposed, and this opposition was most vehemently expressed by Nikita Krushchev when he revealed the ugly face of Communism in 1959 before the General Assembly of the United Nations by saying: *Everyone knows that when a person dies, he is actually buried. No matter how dearly beloved the deceased is, no matter how sad the parting with him, life compels everyone to face up to the realities . . . A coffin or a tomb or mausoleum is saved for the dead man and he is taken out of the premises of the living.*

Communists would like to bury the past, to take it *out of the premises of the living.* This again brings us to the conflict between those who deny a Divine Creator and those who believe in the existence of a Supreme Being. The contrast is obvious. We desire to gain inspiration from our past and we believe that we build our tomorrows through our yesterdays. Communism, in its materialistic approach, is only concerned with establishing its monolithic control over all people while denigrating all memories of a past which might recall the uniqueness of individuals and the many rich and distinct cultures of mankind.

The time has come when we Americans, as a God-fearing people, must revive our traditional concepts as handed down to us by our founding fathers and loudly express our vehement opposition to all theories founded upon the denial of a Supreme Being. We must, further, vigorously oppose drawing a curtain over the cherished past of our nation. If we are ready to rally our forces to preserve our traditional faith in a Divine Creator and to reaffirm our strong belief in the lofty concepts on which this country was founded, then our struggle must be victorious.

The first conservative book on a subject that is often thought about but seldom talked about...



The Jew in American Politics

by Nathaniel Weyl, author of "Red Star Over Cuba"

375 pages including 28 pages of documentation and 7-page index.
A Selection of the Conservative Book Club.

AMERICAN JEWS, says Nathaniel Weyl in this trailblazing book, are a political enigma. Here, in the most privileged country the world has ever known, Jews occupy a uniquely privileged niche. They are an elite within an elite. Weyl cites an abundance of figures that bear out what is generally known. Affluent Jewish families outnumber affluent Christian families nearly four to one. Jews make up 3.5% of the population but earn 10% of the total personal income, number 20% of American millionaires. The figures are equally impressive in terms of higher education, percentage of scientists and professionals, artists and writers.

Plainly, American Jews stand out as our great national achievers. Yet, for a generation and more, the majority of them have been pulled toward a Liberal-to-radical stance. Many have sympathized with the Soviet Union and fought anti-Communists. Why?

And why, on the other hand, do most Jews shun conservatism, when conservatism stresses individualism, diversity, order, reward for achievement, respect for the right of a man or a minority to be different?

These questions form the theme of one of the most enlightening, one of the most important, one of the most outspoken books you will read this year.

Why This Book Could Usher in a New Chapter in American Political History

As Nathaniel Weyl sees it, the long romance between American Jewry and Liberal-to-radical politics is cooling. Not that he expects a breakup tomorrow. But three powerful forces are combining to lead American Jews, out of elemental self-interest, to take a hard look at 1968's political realities.

And when this political realignment becomes a fact, we think *The Jew in American Politics* will take its place on the select shelf reserved for Books That Made American History. Mr. Weyl's book is not only the first to presage a Jewish turn to conservatism; he shows us why it ought to happen, why conservatism and American Jews are made for each other.

Risk-Free Inspection

May we send you an inspection copy of *The Jew in American Politics*? If not well pleased, you are free to return it any time within a month of delivery, and you will receive a full refund (plus extra money to repay you for return postage). Mail coupon below to your bookseller or: Arlington House, 87 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York 10801.

To your bookseller or:

Unexpected Facts and Startling Ideas Challenge You On Every Page. A Sampling:

- Exactly why Jews are our great national achievers.
- Little-known facts about Jewish voting patterns (ignorance of which causes repeated GOP political blunders in the cities and suburbs).
- Joe McCarthy and the Jews. Astonishing figures from poll that tested anti-Semitism among McCarthyites and anti-McCarthyites.
- 8 denominations compared on their view of security vs. opportunity. How Protestants, Catholics and Jews compared.
- Differences between Israeli and American Jews over Zionism. Racial problems inside Israel, and what they portend for Israel's future. How these problems may affect American Jewish attitudes on integration.
- American Jewish Committee and its brittle assumptions about "prejudice." Weyl's own clear-eyed view. Startling findings of Bettelheim and Janowitz: why don't they shake up the AJC and its followers?
- Is the John Birch Society anti-Semitic? Surprising figures on Jewish support of the Birch Society.
- Statistical sampling of pro- and anti-Jewish feeling among Protestants, Catholics, Negroes, labor, by age, sex and education; by section of the country.
- Surprise for intellectuals: the one group that stood by Goldwater.
- Dirty pool from the ADL. Its treatment of Fred Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Survey of Schwarz followers gives the lie to Epstein-Forster-ADL innuendoes. Weyl raises the ultimate question about the ADL.
- Jewish radicalism and Jewish fear of anti-Semitism: the important relationship.
- Middle East panorama: as Communism and socialism grow, so grows anti-Semitism.
- Who are the anti-Semites? Class differences between German and American anti-Semites. Do anti-Semites manifest an "authoritarian personality"? Bettelheim on why Jews prefer to reduce the anti-Semite to a stereotype.
- What national groups make the best Americans? How *Fortune* poll ranks 7 prominent groups.
- Rise of Negro anti-Semitism — played down by ADL. Why merchants "overcharge" the Negro. What happened when one Jewish group did not move out of its neighborhood when Negroes moved in.
- How large a role did Jews play in the Communist Revolution? What about now?

How to get this book FREE

Would you prefer us to send you *The Jew in American Politics* free? You can get a free copy by joining Arlington House's affiliated company, the Conservative Book Club. Your only obligation as a member is to accept 3 books from among the 40 to be offered by the Club over the next 15 months, after which you may resign at any time. Membership entitles you to a free subscription to the monthly Club Bulletin, plus the opportunity to buy any Club book at 20% to 75% off retail price plus shipping. If you accept the monthly Selection, no need to do anything. It is shipped automatically and the Club charges your account. If you don't want the monthly Selection, merely let the Club know on the handy form always provided. If you prefer this plan, please check the appropriate box in coupon and mail it today.

ARLINGTON HOUSE
87 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, N. Y. 10801

Gentlemen: Please send, postpaid, Nathaniel Weyl's *The Jew in American Politics*. My payment of \$6.95 is enclosed. If not pleased, I may return book within 30 days for full refund plus extra cash to cover my return postage.

Name _____

Address _____

City/Zone _____ State _____

JSA 200

☐ Send *THE JEW IN AMERICAN POLITICS* free and enroll me in the Conservative Book Club. I agree to buy 3 Club Selections in the next 15 months, at 20% to 75% discounts.

THE REAL POWER BEHIND ANTI-SEMITISM

by Rev. W. S. McBirnie and Rev. Robert Grant

A compact and fully-documented history of anti-Semitism which skillfully analyzes many of the anti-Jewish myths of today and yesterday.

A necessary addition to your library!

cut along broken line	
Gentlemen:	JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA 140 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027
Please send me _____ copies of "The Real Power Behind Anti-Semitism." I enclose	
\$ _____ (\$1.00 per copy).	
Sincerely,	
Name _____	
Address _____	

THE JEWISH STAKE IN VIETNAM

by MEIR KAHANE • JOSEPH CHURBA • MICHAEL KING

Probably the most important book of the year

- The International Communist war on Israel
- The complete record of the Soviet Union's struggle against Judaism
- Religious persecution in North Vietnam and Red China
- WHY THE VIETNAM WAR IS IMPORTANT TO JEWRY

ORDER YOUR COPIES NOW!

cut along broken line	
Gentlemen:	JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA 130 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027
Please send me _____ copies of "The Jewish Stake In Vietnam." I enclose	
\$ _____ (\$4.20 per copy)	
Sincerely,	
Name _____	
Address _____	

BOOK REVIEW:

THE REAL POWER BEHIND ANTI-SEMITISM

The Real Power Behind Anti-Semitism. By W. S. McBirnie and Robert G. Grant. Center for American Research and Education. Available from the JSA at \$1.00.

Anti-Semitism, one of the oldest and most persistent psychological diseases afflicting Western society is the subject of this compact and informative booklet issued by the Center For American Research and Education. Its authors Rev. W.S. McBirnie and Rev. Robert Grant represent the thoughtful new generation of evangelical Protestant leaders who have been in the forefront of the nascent American Conservative Movement. Their principle concerns are the maintenance of the time-honored traditions both of their religion and their country, but, as this booklet demonstrates, they also have a sensitive grasp of issues affecting the people from whom those traditions have sprung: the Children of Israel.

The authors offer an outline sketch of the historical development of anti-Semitism which takes them back to the Bible itself and the first dispersions of the Jewish people following the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests of the ancient Hebrew nations of Israel and Judah in the eighth and sixth centuries B.C.E. respectively. The Jews who were uprooted from their homeland settled in communities throughout the ancient world and while becoming loyal citizens of their new homes, they stubbornly refused to give up their distinctive religious and cultural practices. In communities in which religious homogeneity had been an accepted fact, there suddenly appeared a minority who declined to conform to the dominant pagan cults. Any observant social commentator at the time could have predicted the result and both the Biblical books of Daniel and Esther record instances of pagan anti-Semitism directed either against Jewish individuals or against whole Jewish populations. We find evidence of this early religious anti-Semitism in the third chapter of the Book of Daniel concerning an incident in ancient Babylon:

At that time certain Chaldeans came near and brought accusation against the Jews. They spoke and said to Nebuchadnezzar the king . . . "Thou, O king has made a decree that every man . . . shall fall down and worship the golden image . . . There are certain Jews . . . (who) have not regarded thee: they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

How similar is this passage to anti-Semitic cries which echo down the centuries from those who cannot tolerate a people who dare to differ with the religious beliefs of the majority.

The Romans who followed the Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks as rulers of the Mediterranean area continued to view the Jews as dangerous dissenters. The Roman attitude was conditioned by political factors rather than religious considerations. For while Rome was even willing at times to exempt Jews from having to participate in the dominant cult of emperor-worship, they could hardly be expected

to look with favor on the constant Jewish attempts to revolt against the tyrannical Roman rule over Judea. But, while religion was not the major issue in the minds of the Romans, they did harbor definite politically-based anti-Jewish feelings which were to set the stage for future European anti-Semitism.

With the advent of Christianity, anti-Semitism returned to the religious arena. The Church considered itself the *new people of Israel* and apparently expected the Jews to accept this and convert en masse to the new faith. After all, hadn't Jesus been a Jew and didn't the Church accept the Jewish Bible as divinely inspired? But the Jews, of course, didn't see it that way and chose to retain their ancient theology. The appearance of anti-Semitic references in Christian literature can be dated from about the time that it became clear to the Christian establishment that the Jews had no intention of converting. The myth that all Jews were to blame for the death of Jesus became popular and provided a handy excuse for oppression and often massacres of Jews living in Christian countries. Of course, medieval princes were quick to see that an easy way to acquire the goods and properties of their Jewish subjects was simply to stir up religious hysteria against them, incite the populace to wipe them out, and then confiscate the belongings of the *heretics*. Complete documentation of how often this pattern was followed would require a lengthy study.

Naturally, these persecutions were, to say the least, resented by the Jews who, finding themselves powerless to protect themselves physically, expressed their fury at their oppressors by including some rather strong anti-Christian passages in the *Talmud*, the vast collection of Jewish rabbinic discussions. These passages are not numerous but they are there and those who hated the Jews dug them out and used them as further incitements to anti-Jewish excesses.

The first crusade in the eleventh century saw a sharp increase in atrocities visited upon the Jews in the name of a distorted version of Christianity. Where Jesus had taught love and compassion, the crusaders held out only two possibilities for the people from whom Jesus had sprung: forced conversion or death.

Further horrors were to follow. In 1349 the Jews were blamed for causing the Black Plague and more than 350 Jewish communities were wiped out by enflamed mobs in Germany alone. The myth that Jews used the blood of Christian babies in their rituals or that they rejoiced in desecrating the Sacred Host led to further popular eruptions and added literally hundreds of thousands to the growing number of Jewish martyrs.

Although these horrors were decried and slaughtering of Jews was forbidden by Pope Innocent IV in a Bull of 1245 and Pope Gregory X in 1274, there was little relief for the harassed people.

Even when they were not being massacred, life was a continual torment for European Jewry. All trades and professions were closed to them by law and they were permitted only to engage in the degrading practice of money-lending. It is perhaps the greatest sick joke in history that many believe Jews to have a special love of money or talent for handling it. The tragic fact is that European Jews were

forced by law into the money-lending profession and then attacked as usurers by the same people who had forbidden them to enter any other occupation. For Jews, the Middle Ages was a period of unrelenting horror which began to abate slowly as the Renaissance and later the Enlightenment dispelled much of the ignorance and superstition of these dark centuries. The discovery of America and later the French Revolution marked a new beginning for Jews and for the first time opened the doors of opportunity to the long-persecuted people.

But, ancient patterns die hard and the modern world has concocted its own forms of anti-Semitism. These new forms substitute national chauvinism for religious bigotry but they basically follow the same lines laid out in Babylon more than 2500 years ago. Once again, the Jews are seen as *different* and, as such, suspect of treason, this time not to the Christian god but to the modern nation-state. As Nero blamed the Christian minority for the burning of Rome, so the modern bigot blames the Jews for any and all misfortunes which befall his community.

The authors of this booklet put it quite succinctly:

Historically, the Jews have been blamed by both sides of many wars. During the 19th century, German-Jews were blamed by the Germans for being pro-French. At the same time, French-Jews were being accused of being pro-German. The French Aristocracy blamed them for the French Revolution. The Jesuits blamed them for the advent of constitutionalism, and modern racists blame them for undermining that same constitutionalism and political freedom. The Russians blamed the Jews for Russian losses in the Russo-Japanese War. They were blamed, too, by Frenchmen for the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War. (p. 15)

We should add to this ironic passage the fact that Hitler was able to convince many Germans that Jews were disloyal to Germany despite the fact that the percentage of Jewish Germans in relation to the total Jewish population who died for their Fatherland in the First World War was greater than that of any other German group. This most startling example of the irrationality of anti-Semitism is perhaps even surpassed by the unbelievable situation which we find today in which well-financed and indefatigable hate-mongers on the lunatic-fringe of American politics proclaim, in an endless stream of pamphlets, that Communism is Jewish and that the State of Israel is the center of a world Communist conspiracy.

These fanatics continue to rave while, at the same time, Communist Russia and Poland carry on a systematic persecution of Judaism and denounce Jews as tools of *Western imperialism* and Israel as an important center of American anti-Communist intrigue. The contradiction seems to faze the Communists and our domestic hate-mongers not at all. And recently the more extreme Black Nationalist groups have taken up the anti-Semitic cry which has been echoed for years by white racist elements. It seems that the leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and those of the National States Rights Party have at last found something to agree on: they both hate Jews.

As regards the anti-Semitic fantasy that Communism is somehow a Jewish plot, the authors deal admirably with the relevant historical facts. They detail the oppressed status of Jews in Tsarist Russia and note that there were 650 oppressive laws on the Russian statute books dealing exclusively with Jews. In short, Jews living in the backward and benighted Russian Empire in the beginning of this century existed under oppressive conditions similar to those which had obtained in the feudal societies of medieval Europe. There is little wonder that Jews were elated at the passing of the old order which had so degraded them. But, while Jews in general supported the constitutional policies of the moderate Kerensky government which replaced the Tsar, they did not welcome the Bolshevik revolution which in turn toppled Kerensky. Jews were, for the most part, small independent tradesmen and they knew that under Communism there would be no place for them. But Jewish opposition to Bolshevism went deeper than economics. The root of Jewish anti-Communism was religious opposition to the atheistic doctrines of Marxism. The tension between the mass of Jews and the Communists forced Lenin's Commissariat for Jewish Affairs to issue a manifesto in 1918 denouncing the anti-Communist outlook of Jewish workers and in that same year Jewish laborers and tradesmen joined forces to do physical battle against Bolshevik troops in the Ukraine.

This is not to say that a good many anti-religious intellectuals of Jewish birth did not play leading roles in the revolution. They did, and many of them rose to positions of prominence by abandoning their Judaism and espousing the new Communist philosophy. But, while these Jewish apostates were highly visible, the entire Jewish membership of the Communist party amounted to only 19,526 in 1922 while the three Jewish workers' organizations, most notably the Jewish Workers Bund which accounted for vast numbers of Jewish laborers, were outspokenly anti-Bolshevik. Nevertheless, anti-Semites who are also anti-Communist never tire of harping on the fact that more than a few prominent Bolsheviks were Jewish while at the same time anti-Semitic Communists denounce Jews as capitalistic exploiters of the masses.

The authors of *The Real Power Behind Anti-Semitism* direct their attention to a large number of anti-Semitic myths which they thoroughly debunk. They spend twenty pages exposing that old forgery: *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. They accept and prove the generally-held position that the *Protocols* were written around the turn of the century on orders of the Tsarist secret police in order to stir up hatred of the Jews among the Russian masses so as to divert their attention from their own wretched plight. One might question whether it is even necessary to spend so much time exposing the already thoroughly discredited *Protocols* but it certainly can do no harm and if there are still some isolated souls who believe them to be genuine, one can only hope that this pamphlet reaches them. At any rate, there is a certain value to having this most well-documented exposé in easy-to-obtain pamphlet form.

The authors go on to explode the rather curious myth currently doing the rounds in anti-Semitic circles that present-day Jews are not descendents of the

ancient Hebrews at all but rather stem from an obscure Asiatic tribe known as the *Khazars* which converted to Judaism in the seventh century. To call this theory rather *wild* would be the understatement of the month and one might well wonder how it even became current. But the reasons for its appearance become clear when one sees that it can be, and has been used, to deny that present-day Jews have an historic relationship to the land of Israel. As a matter of fact, the less responsible Arab spokesmen have made wide use of the *Khazar* myth to *disprove* the Zionist contention that, in settling in Israel, Jews are only returning to their ancestral homeland. If Jews really stem from an Asiatic tribe, then there can be no Jewish historic right to Israel. Thus, the value of the *Khazar* myth to anti-Israel elements, especially Arabs, becomes quite clear.

The authors wisely devote some pages to the dishonest practice of certain Arab spokesmen and others with a vested interest in anti-Semitism, of pulling isolated anti-Christian passages out of the *Talmud* and using them to prove that Judaism preaches hatred of Christianity. To the authors' well-reasoned discussion we can only add that those who would discredit the *Talmud* as a great religious work had better look to Christian literature as well. The truth is that there are anti-Semitic references in the writings of many Saints, Popes, and scholars including Martin Luther, Pope Innocent III, St. John Chrysostom, and even the immortal Thomas Aquinas. Does this mean that Jews should view the great works of these men as invalid or even evil because of a few bigoted statements? They were great men but they were men of their time who were influenced by the climate of the ages in which they lived. The *Talmud* is, likewise, a great work of religious thought but its authors also reacted to conditions of their time which was a period of severe anti-Jewish persecution by men professing Christianity. It is only human that they should voice their fury at such injustice by decrying the faith of their persecutors. Today we live in a new age in which the religious hatreds of the Dark Ages have no place. Those who would try to revive them by harping on the bitter statements of ancient texts taken out of context must be rejected by all men of good will who desire to live together with their neighbors of all faiths.

The question of Zionism is also dealt with by the authors who point out that despite the fanciful constructions of the anti-Semites regarding this movement as some sort of plot to achieve Jewish domination of the world, Zionism is exactly what it appears to be: a Jewish nationalist movement which calls on all Jews to uproot themselves from the lands of their birth and return to their ancestral homeland. This is the doctrine of pure political Zionism. It is founded on the belief that anti-Semitism is an incurable disease of western civilization. Therefore, the argument goes, it has been, and is, dangerous for Jews to live in non-Jewish societies since all such societies have the potential of becoming replicas of Nazi Germany. The historical facts presented in this review would indicate that as far as much of Europe is concerned, the Zionists seem to have a point. And indeed the Nazi murder of 6,000,000 Jews who lived in diverse countries all across the face of the continent effectively ended the arguments within the European Jewish communities between the Zionists and anti-Zionists. In free America, of course, political Zionism

has no place. As far as Americans of the Jewish faith are concerned, the Zionist question is not one of political theory at all and it is doubtful that most of the people belonging to American Zionist groups are even aware of the nationalistic philosophy which European Zionism once was and Israeli Zionism still is. To them, Zionism means only that they feel a natural kinship with their co-religionists in Israel and that, like the Irish-Americans who gave moral and financial support to Ireland during the twenties, they owe some attention to the struggling people of Israel. This type of *philanthropic Zionism* does not imply any political loyalty to Israel and in no way compromises these people's commitment to their American homeland. Indeed some of our most outstanding American conservative patriots of the Jewish faith have also been enthusiastic supporters of the aspirations of their co-religionists in Israel. To make more than this of either political Zionism or the pro-Israel sentiments of Jewish Americans is to engage in deliberate distortion of the truth, which is of course the prime activity of both the Arab and American anti-Semites who spread such misinformation.

What then is the *real power* behind anti-Semitism? What motivates this age-old hatred which so afflicted European culture and which crops up now and again even in America? One wishes that the authors of this booklet had devoted more space to a discussion of the psychological causes of modern anti-Semitism. For here is the real heart of the matter. The anti-Semite is a hater. He picks Jews as his hate object simply because they are available, they are in some ways different from others, and Jew-hatred has a long history which has, at least, made it seem to be somewhat less absurd than hatred of people who have red hair or who wear glasses. In this connection a passage from Katherine Ann Porter's novel *Ship of Fools* comes to mind. A German anti-Semite and a Jew are having a conversation in which the anti-Semite has been ranting on about all the troubles of Germany being caused by Jews. *Yes* says the Jew, *the Jews and the bicycle riders are responsible for all our difficulties. The bicycle riders* cries the anti-Semite, *why the bicycle riders?!* *Why the Jews?* the other responds.

But, while the authors do not go into the motivational factors in detail, they do briefly state the real cause of anti-Semitism, and they state it quite correctly.

Essentially anti-Semitism is a rationalization of an irrational emotion. That is, it is usually the expression of an inner personal hostility which may spring from emotional inadequacy. It seeks to blame an entire multidimensional minority culture for the overwhelming troubles of the nation, the world, or society. (p. 3)

The authors go on to describe anti-Semitism as a *neurotic hate-projection* by which the subject transfers the hate and contempt he feels for his own real or imagined shortcomings onto an object other than himself. Because he cannot bear to direct these feelings of fury at their true object — himself, he picks some other individual or groups, like the Jews, and thrusts his own self-hate on them. In this way, the anti-Semite exhibits similar psychological patterns to the anti-Americans of the New Left who also externalize their self-hatred by blaming their inner feelings of

impotence and inadequacy on some aspect of the outside world, in their case the entire American social and political structure. But whether it be anti-Americanism or anti-Semitism, the causes are the same and they have absolutely nothing to do either with the Jewish people or American society. Rather they are to be found in the distorted psyche of the hater himself.

Given these facts, the authors of *The Real Power Behind Anti-Semitism* wonder aloud whether such a rationally-argued book as this can even hope to dispel what is basically an irrational emotional disorder. They and we can only hope that it can do some good. They have given us a concise, highly readable, and well-structured analysis of a complex phenomenon and have struck a resounding blow for good will and understanding among all Americans. They are to be highly commended for a job well-done by Americans of both the Jewish and Christian faiths who value that vision described in the Bible sacred to them both:

Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.

THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS ARE AVAILABLE ON ORDER FROM
THE JSA

"IDEAS", Vol. 1, No. 1, Autumn, 1968 Price: One Dollar

BACK ISSUES OF THE JSA NEWSLETTER Price: Thirty-Five Cents
Three for One Dollar

Vol. 1, No. 2 – Autumn, 1966

Containing: JSA Progress Report, Report On JSA Doctor's Committee,
Editorial: "No Civilian Review Board", A New Year's Message From Our Chair-
man, "The Destruction Of The Russian Jewish Community", The Jewish High
Holidays.

Vol. 1, No. 3 – Winter, 1966

Containing: JSA Growth Report, Report On New College Coordinators, "A
Visit To Liberal Land (A Post-Review Board Fantasy)", Editorial: "When Is A
Liberal Not So Liberal?", "Hanukkah: The Feast Of Lights", "The Socialist
Assault On American Medicine", "Haym Salomon: American Patriot."

Vol. 2, No. 1 – Spring, 1967

Containing: "JSA Expands Activities", Report On New Officers, Editorial:
"There Are None So Blind" (On trade with the Communists), Report On
California JSA, JSA Meeting in New York, "Passover: Festival Of Freedom",
"Judah P. Benjamin: Confederate Statesman."

Vol. 2, No. 2 – Summer, 1967 (limited copies available)

Containing: 1967 Convention Report, Convention Resolutions, Editorial:
"Will The Real Patriots Please Stand Up?", (On American reaction to the Arab-
Israeli war) "A Temple Takes A Stand", "Liberty And Law", Letters And
Telegrams From Outstanding Americans To The JSA Convention.

Vol. 2, No. 3 – Autumn, 1967 (limited copies available)

Containing: "Soviet Jewry: An Updated Report", Editorial: "Gun Legislation:
Latest Liberal Panacea", "Vietnam: Can We Win?", "Israel: Conservative
Prospects", Biography of Commodore Uriah P. Levy, USN, Column: "The
Supreme Court and Open Housing", Book Review: "The Jewish Stake In
Vietnam."

PAMPHLET REPRINTS FROM THE *NEWSLETTER*

"The Destruction of the Russian Jewish Community"

Price: 20 cents each; 6 for
\$1.00; 75 for \$10.00

"We Believe: The Chicago Platform of the JSA"

Price: 10 cents each; 100 for \$9.00

"Let My People Go: A reading for the Passover Seder" (A Prayer for the Cap-
tive Jews of Russia)

Price: 5 cents each

cut along broken line

Please send me ____ copies of *IDEAS*, Vol. 1, No. 1

Please send me the following back issues of the *JSA Newsletter*

____ Copies: Vol. 1, No. 2 ____ Copies: Vol. 2, No. 2

____ Copies: Vol. 1 No. 3 ____ Copies: Vol. 2, No. 3

____ Copies: Vol. 2, No. 1

Please send me the following reprint pamphlets:

____ Copies of: "The Destruction Of The Russian Jewish Community"

____ Copies of: "We Believe: The JSA Chicago Platform"

____ Copies of: "Let My People Go: A Reading For The Passover Seder."

I enclose \$____ to cover cost of items indicated.

Name _____

Address _____

Send to: Jewish Society of America, 140 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027

