

# IDEAS

Vol. 1, No. 2

Winter, 1968-1969

\$1.00

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THE JEWISH RESPONSE

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NIXON AND THE MID-EAST  
NIXON AND VIETNAM

THE JEWS AND GENERAL FRANCO

WORK AND SOCIAL WELFARE  
IN THE JEWISH TRADITION

RHODESIA: A CALM APPRAISAL

BOOK REVIEW-POETRY-FEATURES



A Journal of Conservative Thought

Published By

The Jewish Society of America, Inc.

# THE JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA, INC.

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*LEVITICUS 25: 10*

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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.

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.

# IDEAS

WINTER, 1968-1969

VOL. 1, NO. 2

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF: MICHAEL S. KOGAN

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: SAMUEL L. BLUMENFELD, JACK ROSS

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# TO OUR READERS

Last autumn, in a publishing event of historic importance for the American Jewish community, *IDEAS* was born. For the first time, there was a substantial Jewish publication dedicated to traditional religious ideals, free-market economics, conservative political concepts, and unswerving anti-Communism. At last, conservative Americans of the Jewish faith had a voice.

The significance of this event was not lost on the press; within days, *The New York Times* and a large number of newspapers throughout the country carried reports on the new magazine. The Jewish papers also took notice and even the most "liberal" among them were forced to acknowledge the undeniable high level of the material contained in *IDEAS*. Generally, they disagreed with what we said, but they gave us credit for having said it well. A typical reaction erupted from the editorial page of *Dimensions In American Judaism*, an ultra-liberal publication of the Jewish Reform Movement. We quote from the editorial:

Nobody should be surprised that the rising fever of conservatism is infecting some Jews... These people represent ... [an] apparently growing segment of American Jewry ... The voice of Jewish conservatism now has a handsome amplifier. A new magazine called *IDEAS* was unveiled in autumn, 1968.

We doubt that even Dr. Spock would resort to such terms as "fever" and "infection" to describe conservatism. The use of these excessive medical metaphors tells us a good deal more about the state of mind of the man who composed the editorial than about the subject he is discussing. But, if he insists on labelling conservatism as a disease, then we will be happy to act as "Typhoid Mary" and do our utmost to spread it among as many others as possible.

We have, in fact, already begun to do so. *IDEAS* was the first Jewish publication to carry a detailed documented study of the alarming rise of extremism, and blatant anti-Semitism in the Negro community. Our article on *Black Power and the Jews* was widely read throughout the country. It appeared at a time when liberal Jewish organizations were busily evading the issue and was instrumental in building up the community pressure which eventually forced these organizations to take some notice of the problem. We are pleased to have played a part in alerting the Jewish community to this very serious situation. Our concluding article on the subject appears in this issue.

We invite those of our readers who wish to help support *IDEAS* and its parent organization, THE JEWISH SOCIETY OF AMERICA, to become members or subscribers and to take out gift memberships and subscriptions for their friends. With your help, *IDEAS* will continue as "the handsome amplifier" for the voice of Jewish conservatism, offering a unique forum for intelligent, informative articles on a wide variety of subjects of interest to our growing readership.

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# 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 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 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.*



## **NEW JSA OFFICERS**

The Executive Board is pleased to announce the election of Dr. Harlan Sindell as the new National Chairman of the Jewish Society of America. Dr. Sindell is a distinguished physician practising in Hollywood, Florida and a member of the faculty of the University of Miami School of Medicine. Formerly Vice-Chairman of our Doctors' Committee, Dr. Sindell is affiliated with the American Medical Association, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the Physicians' Fellowship for the Israel Medical Association, and the Jerusalem Academy of Medicine. Dr. Sindell is active in the Hollywood Jewish community and is a member of Temple Beth Shalom of that city.

Also newly-elected is Mr. Jack Ross of New York City, a long-time leader of the JSA. Mr. Ross will be serving as our National Treasurer. Our new National Secretary, who has already performed yeoman service for the JSA, is Miss Jean Damar of New York.

Our outgoing officers, Mr. Joseph Siegel, Mr. Ben Baena and Mrs. Mildred Kaplan, will continue to serve the organization as members of our National Advisory Council.

# BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM

## AND THE JEWISH RESPONSE

*The Second of Two Articles*

*Prepared by the JSA Research Staff*

In the issue of *IDEAS* for autumn, 1968, we offered an eight year review of the dangerous growth of anti-Jewish sentiment among Negroes. The present article will conclude our study of this disturbing subject. We will begin by examining the reaction in the Negro press to this steadily rising tide of black anti-Semitism dating back to the early 1960's. Our research into this area leads us to the inescapable conclusion that, except for several isolated instances in which individual papers have spoken out against black bigotry, the Negro press in general has not just tended to ignore such anti-Semitism — but has often fostered and encouraged it.

The dominant approach taken by the Negro press seems to be that the Jews, for some reason, have a special duty to help the Negro. Having failed to offer such aid, according to this argument, the Jews are to be blamed more than the general white community for the plight of black Americans. Such "logic" began to appear in the Negro press approximately nine years ago. The widely-read Negro paper, the *Amsterdam News*, on February 27, 1960, printed remarks by black author James Baldwin who stated that "understanding is expected of the Jew (for the Negro)... The Jew has failed to vindicate this faith." A stronger statement in this same vein had appeared in the Negro *Pittsburgh Courier* a month earlier (January 30, 1960): "A few Negroes are beginning to see the light, that their so-called 'friend' the Jew is really the power which has been ostracizing him." Such references were nothing new to these two newspapers; for years, the *Amsterdam News* had been carrying snide columns by writer James L. Hicks containing innumerable anti-Semitic innuendos, while the *Pittsburgh Courier* had just that month featured a series attacking the Jewish Labor Committee for carrying on "a war against Negroes." The nature of this "war" was never made completely clear.

The anti-Semitism of the Negro press continued at this level until 1963, when they became even more outspoken in their views. On February 16 of that year, the *Amsterdam News* carried an article by Rev. Joseph A. DeLaine which referred to the "loud mouthed Jews" he had met on his recent trip to Israel. And on March 9, 1963 this same paper spread the following headline across its front page: "Secret Study Says Jews Control City's Top Jobs." The accompanying story contended that not only did Jews manipulate the entire New York civil service system, but that they had used their "position of power" to systematically exclude Negroes from city jobs. In other words, the fact that Negroes had not achieved higher civil service positions was not due to the paucity of qualified blacks capable of passing

the competitive examinations, but was the fault of the Jew who, in some mysterious way, stood in the way of Negro advancement.

As the months passed, such articles continued to spread anti-Semitic feelings in the black community. On May 21, the Negro *Los Angeles Herald Dispatch* warned its readers that if elected, "the Jewish candidate for President, Barry Goldwater, threatened to involve America in an atomic war... over Israel." This article's thesis that Jews threatened to drag America into war was later to be developed by black power groups following the 1967 Middle East conflict. In 1964, however, it was somewhat of a departure from the more frequent claims in the black press that Jews were engaging in domestic exploitation of Negroes. The *Amsterdam News* of September 12, 1964 carried an article entitled *Jews and the Social Crisis*. It included the old arguments flavored with a degree of hatred which had not appeared before:

American Jews have a basic obligation to the Negro struggle. That is to support the Negro's right to revolution... Jews have fattened on Negro helplessness and have become an integral part of the orgy of greed, arrogance and self-righteousness that U.S. society has degenerated into.

This article seemed to establish a pattern for the many anti-Jewish pieces which have appeared in the Negro press over the last few years. The argument is always the same. The Jew is like every other white man — only more so. He is somehow guiltier than other whites for the Negro's troubles and so he must either decide to "buy off" the blacks by supporting their revolution or else expect to be singled out for punishment by the outraged Negroes. But, while the basic theme of these articles has remained unchanged, their tone has grown increasingly more threatening.

By 1966, anti-Semitism had become a major component of black nationalist rhetoric. In January of that year, the militant black magazine, the *Liberator* reprinted a "poem" entitled *Black Art* by Negro hate-monger LeRoi Jones. Its verses included the following:

We want dagger poems in the slimy  
Bellies of the owner-Jews...  
Another bad poem cracking steel  
Knuckles in a Jewlady's mouth.

Such "artistic" offerings were followed by a *Liberator* series entitled *Semitism in the Black Ghetto* which told its readers how Jews had "grown rich exploiting black Americans for decades" and warned Jews to abandon their "Zionist designs on black Americans." Later articles ranted on about "brutal" Jewish police officers and in July of 1967, *Liberator* carried a piece entitled *Israeli Threat to Africa* in which it warned that "the white armies of Israel could join forces with the racist armies of South Africa and Rhodesia" and subjugate the dark continent.

While such articles were appearing in the militant press, the so-called "moderate" Negro papers continued in the pattern they had set for themselves years earlier. The *Amsterdam News* of September 28, 1968 denied the existence of the very anti-Semitism their own articles had helped to create:

Jews aren't singled out because they are Jews but because they are white. The black thrust for self-determination is running head-on into the entrenched interests of some white people who happen to be Jewish. But this isn't anti-Semitism. ...Jewish storekeepers are experiencing hostility from Negroes. But this isn't anti-Semitism.

But, while assuring us that none of this is anti-Semitism, the *Amsterdam News* failed to let us in on *just what it is*. To claim that the Jew is singled out from other white people for black harassment because the Jew is white, is illogical to say the least. Is the Jew somehow "whiter" than other whites? Does he bear a special burden of responsibility for black problems? In the minds of these people, the answer seems to be "yes". But we are relieved that, whatever violence blacks see fit to inflict upon Jews, the *Amsterdam News* will be on hand to assure us that "this isn't anti-Semitism."

On the subject of anti-Semitism that "isn't anti-Semitism," we refer the *Amsterdam News* to its own issue of November 9, 1968 in which one of its steady columnists reported without comment black leader Charles Kenyatta's statement that "Zionists and their black stooges are flooding Harlem with dope." This too, we suppose, "isn't anti-Semitism." And what about the *Amsterdam News* article of December 14, 1968 which asked:

Why are Jews not supporting the right of black self-determination and community control? Why are they not supporting the right of black children to a quality education? Why are they not transferring ghetto property to the residents of the community? Why are they not actively supporting the legitimate demands of black Africans in South Africa and Rhodesia? The Jewish community reaffirmed its desire to be identified with the white oppressor.

Suddenly, the Jews are not only responsible for the woes of American Negroes; the situation in South Africa and Rhodesia is also their fault. We are hard pressed to categorize such an article, since the editors of the paper in which it appeared have already assured us that whatever it is, it "isn't anti-Semitism." What a relief! And all this time we thought that this was exactly what anti-Semitism sounded like.

With the Negro press pumping this type of venom into the black community over the past decade, it is not surprising that the level of anti-Semitism among Negroes has been steadily rising throughout this period. In our article, *Black Power and the Jews*, which appeared in the Autumn 1968 issue of *IDEAS*, we offered



detailed documentation of this dangerous phenomenon. Since that time, the situation has become steadily more explosive and, in New York City, has become a municipal scandal.

Much of the black anti-Semitism in New York has been connected in one way or another with the campaign of black militant groups to "take over" the public school system. Liberal Jewish groups in New York have only recently partially awakened from their long slumber to take note of a situation which has, in fact, been building up for years. *The New York Times* of February 15, 1967 carried a story in which reference was made to statements made by black community spokesmen that "we want no Ginzburgs and Kaplans running our schools."

A few months later, *The Times* of June 30 reported that a letter had been sent to the New York United Federation of Teachers stating: "Jewish teachers could avoid anti-Semitism by upgrading Negro pupils or going elsewhere." The letter was signed by the leaders of Brooklyn CORE. Such incidents multiplied while the major Jewish organizations either did nothing or made excuses for the Negroes. For example, *The New York Post* of July 1, 1967 contained a statement by the New York Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation League regarding the CORE letter. He assured the Jewish community that "such charges are in no sense a reflection on the national leadership of CORE whose policy is opposed to racism of all kinds." Such assurances notwithstanding, the anti-Semitism of CORE representatives and of the black militants involved in the school dispute continued to be evidenced. A year later the school dispute was still raging; *The Times* of May 14, 1968 reported that swastikas had been painted throughout a black elementary school in Brooklyn as part of a community campaign of harassment aimed at ousting the Jewish principal.

Finally, in the autumn of 1968, the situation exploded. Under a decentralization plan prepared and financed by the Ford Foundation, a demonstration school district controlled by the local black community was established in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn. The community governing board immediately provoked a major confrontation with the teachers' union by dismissing from their jobs a sizeable number of teachers; almost all of them were Jewish. The action taken by the governing board was completely illegal and provoked the United Federation of Teachers to call its members out on strike. The issue was joined and the true sentiments of black leaders were quick to emerge. In *The Times* of September 16, 1968, Ralph Poynter of Brooklyn CORE warned the "Middle East murderers of colored people to get out of Negro schools." On October 1, Oliver Ramsey, black Director of the city's Council Against Poverty, referred to the Jewish teachers as "the Jewish Mafia" (*New York Post*), and, on the 14th of October, the *Post* carried a reprint of a pamphlet mailed to Jewish teachers in the Ford Foundation's demonstration district. It contained the following:

Get out, stay out, shut up. Get off our backs, or your relatives in the

Middle East will find themselves giving benefits to raise money to help you get out from under the terrible weight of an enraged black community.

The crisis deepened and the hatred increased. It would be impossible for us to reproduce all of the vicious anti-Jewish material turned out by Negro groups over the past few months. We can only cite a few examples. One such pamphlet was quoted in *The New York Times* of October 28, 1968. It referred to:

Years of brainwashing and self-hatred that has been taught to our black children by those bloodsucking exploiters and murderers... We know the Jew's tricky, deceitful maneuvers. He is our enemy.

Angry shouts of "Jew pig" and "you will go out in a pine box" have rained down on Jewish teachers who, according to *The Times* of November 16, have received numerous death threats through the mails. Messages such as "we get you first. You die," "We will kill you yet," "We will cut you" (picture of a razor blade), "we will get you in the eyes" were received by Jewish teachers. These semi-literate notes were inevitably covered with swastikas, just in case the Jewish teachers had missed the point.

*The Times* of December 12, 1968 reported that a leaflet was being distributed in black schools stating:

Zionists kill black people in the Middle East... Harlem will not stand by while these racist, ruthless, Zionist bandits and their puppets, the police, run us out of our own communities.

The leaflet was traced to Harlem Backstreet Youth Inc., an anti-poverty group supported by the federal government! Meanwhile, another such organization, the Jamaica Alliance for Community Control, distributed a similar piece of "literature." It charged that "Jews are educational assassins" and called on Negroes to "oppose control of our lives by Zionist dogs."

Such poison continued to spread with little or no comment from the so-called "responsible" leaders of the Negro community. Coupled with the school crisis came a rash of synagogue burnings such as New York had never seen. *The Times* of December 27 reported that vandals had desecrated or burned ten synagogues over a three month period. Twenty-eight days later still another temple, Congregation Shaaray Tefila in Queens, was completely destroyed by fire.

In late December of 1968, the anti-Semitic hatred spilled over onto the airwaves. Leslie Campbell, a Negro teacher, appeared on radio station WBAI, long a platform for extreme leftist opinion, and recited a "poem" containing the following verses:

Hey, Jew boy with that yarmulka on your head  
You pale-faced Jew boy — I wish you were dead;  
I see you Jew boy — no you can't hide  
I got the scoop on you — yeh, you gonna die. . . .  
You came to America, land of the free  
And took over the school system to perpetuate  
white supremacy . . .

This gem was written, according to Campbell, by a fifteen-year-old girl student. He himself endorsed it, calling it a "true and beautiful" work.

Jewish opinion was so outraged at this incident that even the liberal Jewish organizations were finally forced to act and the Anti-Defamation League produced a report on the growth of anti-Semitism during the New York school crisis of the previous few months. Radio station WBAI, however, was not so easily silenced. On January 24, 1969, the same program presented Tyrone Wood, a black student leader from New York University. While on the air, he made the following observations:

What Hitler did to six million Jews is nothing compared to what's been done to black people. As far as I'm concerned, more power to Hitler. He didn't make enough lampshades out of them. He didn't make enough belts out of them.

That same day, the *Amsterdam News* covered a rally called to back Campbell. Albert Vann, leader of the Afro-American Teachers' Association, attacked "the Jewish controlled machinery ostensibly set up to determine the destiny of black people" and Sonny Carson, late of CORE, told the audience to do something about "them honkies coming into your schools and teaching your children." At last report, both Campbell and Vann were still teaching in the New York school system, and Campbell's poem was being distributed by black teachers to their classes in at least one Brooklyn school.

The documented facts we have presented in this article and those that appeared in the last issue of *IDEAS* demonstrate only too clearly that anti-Semitic sentiments are rampant in black organizations and newspapers, and among many Negro leaders. As we have pointed out, this situation is nothing new; it has been developing over a period of years and can easily be traced back to the beginnings of the 1960's. Having established this, the question naturally arises as to what the major Jewish organizations have been doing to combat this growing threat. For an answer to this question, we must examine the public statements and printed literature of the three largest Jewish defense groups in the country: the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, and the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. The attitudes of these groups and of other liberal Jewish leaders toward Negro anti-Semitism have been expressed quite clearly in recent years.

In his syndicated column of May 31, 1963, well-known ultra-liberal Jewish writer Harry Golden stated simply: "Jews should ignore Negro anti-Semitism." In that same month, the *Jewish Post and Opinion* editorialized: "The outrage of some Jewish editorialists over the burgeoning Negro anti-Semitism is hardly praiseworthy." In September of 1965, Herb Brin, editor of the *California Jewish Voice* expressed his advice that "Jewish people who suffer heavily in the fires and lootings should not become enraged and bitter." Mr. Brin, it seems, only becomes enraged at conservatives; he makes a practice of attacking them whenever he gets the chance, but can find no words of condemnation for black rioters who pose a direct threat to Jewish lives and property.

Similar advice was forthcoming from Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld, well-known liberal and leader of the American Jewish Congress. On April 29, 1966, he decried, not black anti-Semitism, but rather the Jewish reaction to it. He attacked "the Jewish backlash which urges Jews to keep hands off the civil rights movement and urges Jewish organizations to tend to their Jewish knitting." He dismissed black excesses with the old excuse: "It is precisely because he expects more of the Jew that the Negro reacts with such sharp disappointment when he feels let down."

Adding his voice to this chorus of pacifiers, New York's Senator Jacob Javits addressed the Jewish War Veterans on August 29, 1966 and assured them that the John Birch Society was really responsible for the problem. According to the Senator:

Rightist activities and programs are inciting white crowds to violence against Negro demonstrators, resulting in overt anti-Semitism by the Negroes.

The rather peculiar logic of this statement could be rendered valid only if all the "Rightists" in question were Jewish. Since this is highly unlikely, we will let the Senator's statement stand as a typical example of the almost comic lengths to which some liberals will go to excuse black extremism, while blaming all the woes of the world on the ubiquitous "Rightists."

The blindness of Jewish organizational leaders to the entire problem was graphically illustrated by the case of John Hatchett and New York University. Hatchett, a black teacher in a New York public school, authored an article in the *Afro-American Teacher's Forum* entitled *The Anti-Black Jew and the Black Anglo-Saxon*. In it, he stated:

We are witnessing today in New York City a phenomenon that spells death for the minds and souls of our Black children. It is the systematic coming of age of the Jews who dominate and control the educational bureaucracy of the New York Public School system... in short, our children are being mentally poisoned.



After the brief flurry over this piece had subsided, Hatchett's name faded into well-deserved obscurity until, some months later, it was announced that he had been appointed by New York University to the position of Director of its new Martin Luther King Center. There was, of course, an immediate cry of outrage from those who knew Hatchett's record of bigotry. In response, the President of the university appointed a committee of advisors to help him decide the issue. The committee included former Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, President of the American Jewish Committee. Some days later, the President of N. Y. U. told a shocked city that he was going ahead with the appointment of Hatchett on the explicit advice of Ambassador Goldberg. New York was thus presented with the amazing spectacle of the President of the American Jewish Committee taking a public stand in favor of an anti-Semitic black extremist and against the obvious interests of the Jewish community.

Ambassador Goldberg's "service" to the Jewish community continued in this vein. On October 4, 1968, the *Jewish Post and Opinion* reported a Goldberg press conference as follows:

He (Goldberg) stressed that "accomodation and dialogue is of extreme importance with the black community." Asked by a reporter, "how can we have a dialogue with Rev. Oliver (Negro leader of the community school board) who tells me that black children can never learn from Jewish teachers?" Goldberg replied: It's not easy, it's quite difficult but it's the only way."

While Ambassador Goldberg was dialoguing with black extremists, the jobs of Jewish teachers who looked to him to represent them were being taken away. This did not seem to faze the leaders of the American Jewish Committee. *The New York Times* of October 22, 1968 quotes that organization's National Director of Religious Affairs as stating that "the Jewish community must identify with the process of self-consciousness that the Negro community is now going through." By what logic can a Jewish organization tell Jews to "identify" with a movement that is blatantly anti-Semitic, anti-white and committed to taking away the jobs of Jewish teachers so as to bestow them on blacks? But Goldberg would have Jews go even further. They should not only "identify" with black power advocates, but they should support them. *The Times* of October 28 quotes Goldberg's speech to the Board of the A. J. C., meeting in Atlanta. Regardless of growing Negro anti-Semitism, "it is imperative," said Goldberg, "for Jews to aid the civil rights movement."

The statements of other major Jewish organizations are hardly less peculiar than those of the American Jewish Committee. On the same day (October 28) that Goldberg was addressing his organization's leaders in Atlanta, Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld of the American Jewish Congress was quoted in *The Times* as telling the guests at his group's annual dinner that "Jews must understand" black excesses. He even went so far as to call upon striking Jewish teachers to "return to work. Their

return will be an act of faith." Given the climate in the New York school system at the time, such a step would have been more an act of suicide than of faith. But such was the sage advice of Rabbi Lelyveld. He was certainly not out of tune with the rest of his organization. Only two days before, the *Amsterdam News* quoted Paul Davidoff, a high official of the American Jewish Congress as follows:

Negro anti-Semitism poses little, if any, threat to Jews... Jews must temper their reaction... Jews are hypersensitive... Jews must join in the fight for Negro freedom.

Davidoff was joined by Rabbi Joachim Prinz, leader of the World Jewish Congress. Prinz is a super-liberal who stated in 1964 that "a vote for Goldwater is a vote for Jewish suicide." Such irresponsible and absurd comments have become a habit with Rabbi Prinz. But he topped them all on February 7, 1969 when he told the *Jewish Post and Opinion* that "there is nothing to fear from the eruptions of Negro militants vis à vis the Jews." So much for the "protection" Jews can expect from the American Jewish Congress and its affiliates.

Even more disturbing than the statements quoted above is the dismal record of evasion and dereliction of duty chalked up in this area by that staunch defender of Jewish rights, the Anti-Defamation League. In 1966, the ADL published, at great expense to its members, an "in-depth study" purporting to prove that anti-Semitism was virtually non-existent among Negroes. The report was given front page coverage in most Jewish newspapers and was widely hailed by Jewish liberals as delivering the *coup de grace* to those who had been foolish enough to speak of growing Negro anti-Semitism.

But, Jews — not Jewish leaders, but the ordinary Jewish man-in-the-street — knew better. The reaction to the ADL report ranged from scepticism to outright anger. Letters of protest began to pour into the offices of Jewish newspapers. Some were printed. A typical one was written by Mr. Herman Slavin of Plainview, New York and appeared in the *Jewish Post and Opinion* in October of 1967. It states the problem so eloquently that we have quoted long sections of it:

I was not reassured by your Oct. 7 story headlined "Report Debunks Anti-Semitism among Negroes," relating to an ADL-sponsored study. Nor am I convinced of the objectivity of the Anti-Defamation League or of Mr. Benjamin Epstein, its national director, in evaluating Negro-Jewish relationships. ...

From a few figures in an incomplete analysis, Mr. Epstein concluded that the Negro position as a persecuted minority leads Negroes to reject discriminatory behavior against other minorities as well. Apparently, he has never heard of Le Roi Jones and his followers. ...

The ADL is a "Liberal" organization and the views it tries to sell

American Jews and others are not going to be changed by mere facts. ...

It is odd that Mr. Epstein and the ADL and Arnold Forster continue to lambast the John Birch Society which has repeatedly denied anti-Semitism and which has never to my knowledge been guilty of anti-Semitic words and actions. Yet they blandly overlook anti-Semitic words and actions by Negro activists whose following today may already be larger than that of George Lincoln Rockwell and promises to grow still greater under the benevolent objectivity of Mr. Epstein and Mr. Forster.

Incidentally, an interesting study would be one which revealed the extent to which the ADL and its directors speak for the Jewish community.

Mr. Slavin's letter hit a nerve at ADL headquarters. Benjamin Epstein himself hastily dispatched a statement to the *Post* defending his group's policy and attacking Mr. Slavin for being so benighted as not to be able to see the wisdom of the ADL approach.

But this minor scuffle changed nothing at the ADL. An examination of the contents of the official *ADL Bulletin* for the year 1968 discloses that this publication contained forty major articles during that period. Of these, twenty were concerned with the ADL's efforts to support and advance the "civil rights" movement and eleven were exposés of what the ADL terms the "Right Wing menace." Of the nine remaining articles, seven were of general Jewish interest and two were devoted to the problem of Negro anti-Semitism. Of these two, one was written by black leader Bayard Rustin, who assured the *Bulletin* readers that "in the list of those you attack, those you love come first." Therefore, we are asked to conclude, the more Negroes attack Jews, the more they love them. How reassuring! The contents of the 1968 *ADL Bulletins* are indicative of how seriously that organization concerns itself with black anti-Semitism. While blacks destroy Jewish property and push Jewish teachers out of jobs, the ADL will doubtless contrive to claim that somehow, the "Right Wing" is responsible for it all.

Mr. Dore Schary, National Chairman of the ADL gave clear expression to this policy in a statement quoted in *The New York Times* of September 10, 1968:

The chairman of the Anti-Defamation League cautioned the Jewish community today not to exaggerate fears of Negro anti-Semitism... "There is no organized anti-Semitic group among Negroes. Negro anti-Semitism represents none of the dangers of fascism... the greater danger comes from the radical right."

Mr. Schary's obtuse reaction to a real and growing danger to Jews was reflected in the ADL's public support of New York school decentralization announced a few

days earlier. This is the same decentralization, we must remember, that was threatening the jobs of Jewish teachers throughout the school system.

As we have already mentioned, the ADL's advice notwithstanding, most Jews in New York were becoming increasingly alarmed at the growing black bigotry in the school crisis. Finally, after the pressure from their own members had become too great to resist, the ADL issued a report on Negro anti-Semitic excesses in the schools over the previous few months. They restricted their report to this brief period, grandly telling the public what everybody already knew. The report admitted that such excesses had gone unchecked for two and a half years. It, of course, did not say that this was the same two and one half years during which the ADL had been issuing reports and statements first denying that there was any black anti-Semitism and then excusing it when it became too obvious to deny.

But even as the ADL report was being discussed in the press, Dore Schary was still spouting his old line. *The Times* of January 26, 1969 quotes him as follows:

What I feel strongly that most people are missing is the fact that the black power movement is continuing an old American tradition in fighting for its rights by using stereotypic concepts. . . We should not over-react and become hysterical.

We await Mr. Schary's statement that since the Ku Klux Klan is also "an old American tradition," we should not be particularly concerned with them either. And anti-Semitism was certainly "an old tradition" in Germany. Did this make it any less deadly? And would Mr. Schary have advised German Jewry not to "over-react" to it? The ADL continues to offer excuses while Negro extremists become stronger and stronger. Mr. Schary's views are representative of the entire ADL approach. On January 4, 1969, Alexander F. Miller, Director of ADL's National Service Division wrote a letter to the *Wall Street Journal* in which he called upon Jews to exercise "patience and clear thinking" regarding Negro anti-Semitism. He concluded that "we will have to build better bridges between Jews and Negroes." At this point, we will leave the ADL, the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee to build bridges to the *Amsterdam News*, Le Roi Jones, John Hatchett, Leslie Campbell, CORE, SNCC, et. al. It has become clear that the Jewish community will look to these groups in vain for defense against anti-Semitism arising from the Negro "civil rights" and black power movements.

These major Jewish organizations are plainly more interested in supporting the "civil rights" movement than in defending Jews. They are more devoted to attacking the political Right and defending the Left, than in working to expose genuine anti-Semitism. They may have once served an important function as unbiased crusaders against bigotry, but over the past decade they have become politicalized to such an extent that today they pick and choose their areas of concern, not in accordance with their responsibility to oppose anti-Jewish



manifestations wherever they occur, but rather as suits the ideological prejudices of their leaders. There are many honest, dedicated workers laboring diligently in these organizations, but they are hamstrung by a leadership which is more concerned with "what's good for the liberals" than with "what's good for the Jews."

At a time of rapidly growing anti-Semitism among black extremists, we can hardly afford to retain Jewish leaders who continually harp on the supposed menace of the so-called "Right Wing" while dismissing or excusing black bigotry. It is not the "Right Wing" that is looting Jewish property, burning synagogues, attacking Jews on the streets, equating Israel with Nazi Germany, and pushing Jewish teachers and civil servants out of their jobs. This is the work of the black power fanatics with whom our liberal Jewish organizations are so eager to conduct dialogues. Such dialogues make about as much sense as attempts to reason with the Klan, the Rockwellites or the Students for a Democratic Society. There comes a time when talk of "dialogue" must cease, a time when those who have misled and misinformed the Jewish community for a decade must be finally repudiated, a time when Jews must turn to new leaders who will at least tell them the truth and take seriously their responsibility to expose anti-Semitism, whatever its source. That time is now.

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## CRISIS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

By Herbert T. Klein

"We are not going to shoot children in New York City," announced Mayor John V. Lindsay. This was his reaction to Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley who said, according to the *New York Daily News* of April 17, 1968, that Chicago police had been ordered to shoot to kill arsonists on sight and to shoot to maim or cripple looters. In the case of child looters, Daley said, he would suggest they be disabled with Chemical Mace.

These statements from the mayors of two of the largest cities in the United States came after the heartbreaking and sickening breakdown of law and order which started with the assassination of Martin Luther King. The majority of Americans, black or white, who cared to do so, mourned the death of Rev. King in the traditional manner—tears, prayers, special church services, and meetings in public places where the leader was extolled by his followers and admirers. However, in more than 100 cities throughout the United States many residents of the Negro

areas seemed to be unable to express their grief except by stealing and setting fires. Since so many, if not all, of the looters and arsonists were young people (not necessarily children, unless one applies the legal term of "infant" to everyone under 21), Mayor Lindsay felt that our law enforcement body in New York City should be restrained from doing anything which might cause serious injury or fatality to these criminals.

Because of this attitude, looters ran wild and many merchants in Harlem (Negro as well as white) were completely divested of their stock. Since insurance companies either will not insure businesses or demand impossible rates in such neighborhoods, these men have lost their savings and their capital—their means of providing a livelihood for their families.

A similar situation exists today in New York's teeming garment district, one of the trade hubs of the city. Because of the thievery going on in this area, the insurance companies are refusing to underwrite this industry, which may well force the entire garment trade out of New York City. There may not be sufficient police for this area as things are now, since to be entirely effective there should probably be an officer stationed every few feet.

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Mr. Klein served with the New York City Police Department for twenty-four years. He lectures and writes extensively on subjects relating to law enforcement. He is the author of the book: *THE POLICE: DAMNED IF THEY DO-DAMNED IF THEY DON'T*. At present, Mr. Klein is at work on a new book.

It is because of the climate that has been created, the attitude of letting the criminals "get away with it" rather than cause any physical injuries or possibly take a life in the effort to preserve order, that so many police are required. Not so long ago,

just the presence of a moderate number of the men in blue was enough to deter all but the most inveterate and wily criminals. Now, however, since the police have been ordered to "go easy" on the "petty" criminal, the thieves have been attracted to this area where thousands of garments on hundreds of handtrucks are trundled daily through the streets.

To shoot or not to shoot—is this really the question? When the Chinese farmers of a century ago knew that the bandits would come down regularly from their mountain hideouts to pillage and plunder, they ceased to produce more than enough to cover their immediate needs. What incentive does the government afford the entrepreneur—white or black—if it will not provide him protection for the stock he has managed to accumulate?

Last year's list of outrages in New York City included the student "revolt" at Columbia University. A few hundred students, with the help of a few hundred "outsiders", took over five buildings on the campus, and held a school administrator as a hostage. The university—serving 20,000 students—allowed this situation to continue for most of a week. In the early morning hours of April 30th, with conditions on the campus completely out of control, the police were finally called upon to clear the seized buildings and to arrest those demonstrators who refused to leave peaceably.

From a speaking date out of town, Mayor Lindsay issued the following

statement: "Regardless of the merits of their cause, a few hundred students cannot be allowed to impose their will on a university of some 20,000 students through destructive, illegal tactics." That this was a complete about-face on the part of the mayor was nowhere mentioned. Only two weeks earlier the very same mayor had given "don't shoot" orders to his Police Commissioner which in essence said: "Arsonists and looters *may* impose their will upon various sections of our city wherein reside hundreds of thousands of law-abiding citizens, and may carry on their destructive and illegal activities with impunity."

The conflicting orders and statements issued by those in political control have begun to undermine the police forces to whom the law-abiding citizens look for protection. In the same issue of *The New York Times* of May 1, 1968 containing the story of police action at Columbia University, there appeared a column under the headline: "*Major Crime Up by 24.9 in City.*" The last sentence in this column states: "The largest number of crimes continue to take place in the slum areas." A few pages further on, New York City Councilman J. Raymond Jones of Harlem is quoted as saying: "We in Harlem have suffered because the police have been so criticized that they won't come to our assistance when we want them."

In my book, *THE POLICE: Damned If They Do, Damned If They Don't*, I discuss this situation as it came up time after time during my police career. I do mention also, however, that the morale of the men

was generally high, and discipline in the ranks good. My interviews with the men who have been involved in the events of the past year reveal a startling and frightening change. On every hand come reports of a breakdown in discipline. When the patrolmen and sergeants on duty in Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant, following the killing of Martin Luther King, were handcuffed by orders which forbade them to take action against the looters and firebombers, the backsliding started.

There is no way to rationalize orders directing policemen to neglect their sworn duty to enforce the law. The men cannot conceal contempt for superiors who order them to do nothing when criminal acts are committed in their presence. Such orders have dealt a crippling blow against all law enforcement. In the police department, as in the military, the lower echelon is required to follow all orders of their superiors, unless any of these orders are actually unlawful. Whether it be the *Articles of War* or the *Rules & Procedures* of the New York City Police Department, those "unlawful orders" are spelled out. An order to a policeman to stand by and do nothing while felonies are being committed in his presence because of the possibility (unlikely) that any positive action he might take could lead to worse offenses, in effect directs the officer himself to aid lawbreakers by failing to carry out his sworn duty.

The complaints of small businessmen whose property had been destroyed in the riots were voiced at a meeting in the Brotherhood in Action

Building in New York on Monday, April 15, 1968. These citizens complained that their businesses had not been protected by the police who were present because those policemen were under orders from City Hall to take no action against the looters. As soon as the hoodlums and criminals realized that the police would not stop them, their numbers multiplied rapidly and the losses suffered were extensive. Many suits against the city have been instituted because of the failure on the part of the city to protect these citizens.

At Columbia University the administrators capitulated before a few hundred students who decided that they were better equipped to run the university than the men chosen for the job. As a result of vacillation on the part of the school administration, the students were encouraged to take over building after building. Respect for lawful authority disappeared as the situation finally went completely out-of-hand.

Are the campus extremists of today so all-powerful and all-wise that their teachers and advisors must bow down before their whims and demands? And who are these modern day hoodlums and criminals that they should be permitted to steal and destroy while the police stand by, handcuffed by vote-hungry politicians and "socially-conscious" officials?

While Mayors Lindsay and Daley were considering whether to shoot or not to shoot, the Solicitor General of the United States, Erwin N. Griswold, speaking at the Tulane University School of Law, said: "Violent



opposition to law—any law—or forcible disregard of another's freedom to disagree" is intolerable and "is nothing short of rebellious. What is at stake is not mere order, but also the lessons of history. True freedom and substantial justice come not from violent altercation or incendiary dissent. No mob has ever protected any liberty, not even its own."

There is much concern in this country with "freedom:" freedom of the press, academic freedom, freedom to dissent, and so on. Freedom is a mighty powerful idea, evidently only recently discovered, and no politician wants to be on record against it. But, freedom carried to an extreme must result in chaos. This is precisely what occurred in Germany under the weak Republic which preceded the rise of Hitler. The police were ordered at that time to "go easy" on the brown-shirted youths who rampaged through the streets and university campuses expressing their "right to dissent" by burning books, destroying property, and attacking Jews, Masons, Catholics, and anyone else who opposed them. German society collapsed into total anarchy as competing mobs of "politically committed" young people terrorized the country while the politicians held the police in check. The result was an hysterical overreaction by the German people who were only too happy to turn to a strong man who promised relief from the chaos. One of the reasons tyranny came to Germany was that the police were not permitted to enforce law and order by controlling those who, like our present day "dissenters," insisted on expressing their dissent by means of physical

force and street violence.

Whenever the police do take action to control the unlawful actions of the "dissenters" in our society, the liberals and the professional defenders of violence as a "civil liberty" enjoy making reference to our "police state." The explosion that rocked Chicago during the Democratic convention was, according to all these apologists for the violent behavior of our youth, a prime example of such a "police state" in action.

Just what is a police state? For one, in a police state people are seized and freedom is denied them WITHOUT confrontation, provocation or lawbreaking. In Chicago, the police were provoked and they were confronted with violations of their lawful orders. The control of such violations is not a police state action nor does it pose the threat of a police state. And Daley's orders to the police to prevent looting and other criminal behavior in order to protect private property, is not the behavior of a leader in a police state, where there is no protection at all of private property and criminal acts stem directly from the government.

In this country, in the year 1968, it is patently absurd to speak of "political repression" and "police-state methods" as the legal staff of the Civil Liberties Union is fond of doing. In America there is today no such thing as a political crime nor any laws to suppress peaceful opposition to the existing order or our present leaders. Such opposition has always been popular in this country, has never been suppressed, and is

certainly very fashionable at the present time.

What America needs is not repression but simple enforcement of the law. What happens when the police are ordered to "take it easy?" In the first place, they are accused of brutality no matter what they do. Secondly, they must be called in finally, anyway. Why wait until the devastation to property and public morale is so great that we are in danger of vigilante groups forming to do what the police have been ordered not to do? In New York, New Jersey, and other parts of the country, this is already happening. If people cannot rely on the police to protect them, they will take the necessary steps to protect themselves. The prospect of

an America split into armed camps of warring citizens is horrifying, but far from impossible if present trends continue.

We are not helping the Negroes by overlooking the depredations of the hoodlums and criminals in their midst. We are not helping our young people to become mature, intelligent citizens when we prostrate ourselves before the violent revolutionaries among them and cringe in fear at what might happen if we attempt to prevent them from tearing down our free society. Our citizens, white and black, young and old, are entitled to the full protection of the law. The alternative is growing unrest and civil disorder leading to an eventual overreaction which may well result in tyranny.



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## NOTES ON THE NEW ADMINISTRATION:

# NIXON AND THE MIDDLE EAST

*By Samuel L. Blumenfeld*

So far, the Nixon administration has turned out virtually as we predicted in the Fall issue of *IDEAS*. Mr. Nixon is steering a cautious middle-of-the-road course between liberalism and conservatism, giving to the liberals enough to stave off the harsh criticism of the press and enough to the conservatives to make them feel if not grateful for what we got last November at least relieved at what we narrowly missed getting. As a result, the political fever of the nation has subsided considerably. The new administration is now making efforts to end the Vietnam war, check inflation, cool down the Middle East, and end the draft.

This is a good start, and many are beginning to feel that Nixon may, after all, be able to give us the stability, prosperity, and peace that we all want so very badly.

Liberals, who have always hated Nixon with a passion still hate him and predict that he will cause all kinds of miseries. And staunch anti-Communist conservatives are disappointed that Nixon has not as yet made an effort to rid the State Department of left-wing influences. But with the administration in power only a month at this writing, conservative critics ought to reserve their judgment for a time. Conservatives have nothing to gain by being hypercritical of the new President before he has had a chance to show what he can do and what he can't do. Time, after all, will be the ultimate judge.

The Nixon victory in November, however, should have pleased conservatives for one very significant reason if nothing else. It proved once and for all that a Republican could win without the help of the liberal Northeast. It confirmed what we had pointed out in our previous article, that the Republican power center has at long last shifted westward, leaving the Eastern establishment isolated in its Northeast enclave. Thus, Nixon won without owing anything to the Rockefeller liberals and their ilk.

But Nixon knows that if he is to be re-elected in 1972, he must gain more votes than he received in November 1968. This means picking up votes in the Southern states or the Northeast, and this he will be able to do if he does not antagonize either region excessively. He must gain the confidence of enough

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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 an associate editor of *IDEAS*.

liberals to increase his following in the big cities and Northeast, and he must show sufficient understanding of Southern sensibilities if he is to hold what he won in the South and pick up additional votes in the Wallace states.

In addition to this, to win in 1972, he has got to make good on his major campaign promises. He must bring internal stability and security to the nation, honorable peace in Vietnam, continued economic prosperity without inflation, an end to the draft, and lower taxes. If he can do all of this, he will be the hero of the age.

Much of what he will be able to do, particularly in the sphere of foreign affairs, will depend on factors and forces beyond Mr. Nixon's control. For example, concerning the Middle East, Nixon, during the campaign, expressed the view that peace could be maintained in the region if Israel had sufficient deterrent power to discourage Arab military adventures against her. He saw the necessity of selling Israel the Phantom jets needed to supplant the Mirages embargoed by the French. Since the inauguration, however, because of the frightening escalation of reprisals, President Nixon has shifted his position from that of bolstering Israel's defense to "de-fusing" the Middle East. Nixon has called for talks at the United Nations of the big powers to see what kind of a Middle East settlement could be obtained. He has said further that no solution would be imposed by the United States on either side of the dispute if they could not reach an agreement.

So far, all of this sounds quite reasonable until you try to find a genuine, permanent solution to the Middle East problem acceptable to both sides. A true settlement would have to include recognition of Israel by the Arab countries and the normalization of relations in the area; an agreement on frontiers which would provide Israel with border security and return to the Arabs of some of the territory lost by them in the 1967 war; an end to Arab guerrilla terrorism now aided and abetted by Arab governments; a solution to the refugee problem by resettlement mainly in Arab countries.

At this point we doubt that the Arabs would agree to normalizing relations with Israel. What has happened in twenty years is that hostility and non-recognition have become the norm, and that Arab politicians have built their power on the basis of this anti-Israel sentiment which they must constantly feed. Recognition of Israel would require the kind of mental re-adjustment on the part of Arab leaders and their people which is, in our opinion, beyond the realm of possibility at this time.

In addition, we doubt that the Soviets would encourage a change of view on the part of their Arab clients which would make Soviet military presence in those countries no longer necessary.

Thus, Arab and Soviet leaders have nothing to gain by recognizing Israel and normalizing relations in the area. Should they offer recognition, it would simply be



to expedite the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territory. Once that was accomplished and the territory firmly under Arab-Soviet control, recognition could be nullified or simply not honored on a variety of grounds, and the Arabs would proclaim a great victory over Israel and the West in having recovered the lost territory without a fight. However, we cannot conceive of Israel retreating from the occupied territory merely on the basis of an Arab-Soviet promise of recognition.

The only way Israel can safely agree to a troop withdrawal is if they see genuine, concrete actions on the part of the Arabs to solve some of the Middle East problems. For example, before withdrawing from Arab territory, Israel could require the refugee problem to be solved by resettlement of the refugees in the Arab countries and the closing down of the refugee camps. The resettlement project should be well under way or nearly completed before Israel leaves the occupied territory. In that way, the Arabs would have a chance to demonstrate that they really want to create the conditions of peace on Israel's frontiers.

But the refugees represent an important political asset for the Arab leaders and their Soviet protectors. It is in the refugee camps that terrorists for guerrilla warfare against Israel are recruited. Thus, it is unlikely that the Arab leaders will agree to resettling the refugees and closing down the camps. In addition, the continued existence of the refugees provides excellent moral blackmail for the Arab states at the U.N.

In short, we see no reason to be optimistic over the prospects of a settlement being reached between Israel and the Arab countries in the foreseeable future. Thus, perhaps the best thing that President Nixon might do is supply Israel with the necessary weapons to deter Arab-Soviet aggression and make appropriate noises about peace and a settlement, realizing full well that the area is not yet ready for peace and will not be ready for peace for at least several more years.

The Israelis have demonstrated that they are quite capable of taking care of themselves provided they have the arms. They demonstrate most forcefully to the entire world the high price that small nations must pay if they wish to remain independent in certain areas of the world. There are a large number of different nationalities living under the domination of the Russians which would like to have their independence. But without military power, their yearning for freedom will forever go unfulfilled. Military power is the sole custodian of national sovereignty.

Israel, like the United States, gained its independence in battle and has maintained it solely by strength of arms. Any sign of weakness has always been interpreted by the Arabs as an invitation to aggression, which was the situation which led to the Six-Day War.

Israel has faced the reality of its military situation with remarkable adaptability, which is a reflection of the nation's vitality. It is remarkable that the Jews, after living for centuries in a state of abject persecution and defenselessness,

should have developed in the new Israeli generation a bold, fearless, combative spirit which few nations, large or small, now exhibit. The Six-Day War is undoubtedly one of the most extraordinary military feats of the century, and it required an incredible kind of daring and self-assurance to carry it out.

In its political maneuvering, Israel must have the same kind of adaptability which characterizes its military actions. Israeli leadership, in fact, seems to have finally gained this quality. As Abba Eban said in defending the Beirut airport raid, there are times "when to be alive is more important than to be popular. If you are alive you can work patiently to reconstruct your popularity." In other words, military reality has become the prime determinant of Israeli diplomacy and foreign policy, and it warms a conservative's heart to hear the Israeli representative at the U.N. talk back to the Kremlin representative without fear or equivocation.

It was bound to come to this. The demands of survival are quite explicit. They require very clear-cut choices. Thus, Israel has no choice but to remain in the occupied territory until a real settlement is possible, and this may not be for a good many years. Israel has no choice but to maintain its military superiority and develop even greater military capability as long as the Soviet Union, with its missiles, bombers and nuclear weapons is committed to the Arab cause. Israel has no choice but to destroy Arab guerrilla terrorism wherever it can.

In short, Israel's ability to defend herself is her only guarantee of survival, and therefore, while every diplomatic effort should be made to attain peace, Israel can survive and indeed thrive under a continuing state of siege for many years to come.

President Nixon's task will be to sell Israel the arms she needs to defend herself so that there is no danger of American troops ever being ordered into the Middle East. General Dayan has stated that under no circumstances would he want "American boys to fight for Israel." The Israelis mean this and surely no American wants to see us directly involved in the area. Fortunately Israel can be maintained as a pro-Western beachhead simply by arming her sufficiently. If President Nixon unequivocally declares himself ready to do just this, then there will be a much greater chance of fanaticism giving way to reason in the Arab capitals.

# NIXON AND VIETNAM

*By Jack Ross*

With the new administration beginning to take shape in Washington, it would appear that the Nixon policy is developing along lines predicted by astute observers long before the final ballot was counted last November. Its new rule of thumb seems to be "a little something for everybody"—Laird and Mitchell for the conservatives, Finch and Farmer for the liberals, with Rogers an unknown quantity somewhere in between.

On the assumption that half a loaf is better than Humphrey, some conservatives seem content to settle, temporarily at least, for the moderate policies and domestic peace and quiet promised by the new arrivals in Washington. Some others, however, remain purists and decry the ideological shilly-shallying of an administration which was, after all, elected by a coalition of voters ranging from centrist to conservative in their views. They point out that in a complete reversal of the 1964 results, the 1968 voters chose the two more conservative candidates by a two to one margin over the liberal offering. Mr. Nixon, they say, should bear this in mind and map his policies accordingly. Without condemning the new administration at this early date, we can certainly agree with this last point. The people voted for a departure from the policies of the last eight years and they are entitled to have their wishes respected. Nowhere is this truer than in regard to the question of Vietnam.

Under the benign but somewhat beclouded gaze of Lyndon Johnson, the war dragged on for more than five years. Each Pentagon proposal for escalation was pondered at length by the President, discussed unhurriedly by the Departments of State and Defense, and finally acted upon after Hanoi had had sufficient time to brace itself economically and militarily for our increased pressure. Foreign supply ships, many flying the flags of nations "allied" with the United States, steamed in and out of Haiphong harbor unmolested while American planes dropped countless tons of bombs on rice paddies, jungles, and primitive bridges which mysteriously seemed to be rebuilt within a few days—often a few hours—of their destruction. Our pilots were told where to bomb—or, more importantly, where *not* to bomb—and how many bombs they were permitted to drop on these specified targets.

Meanwhile, the life of North Vietnam continued—a bit ruffled no doubt—but continued nevertheless while Huntley and Brinkley expressed amazement that "all the might of the United States cannot seem to bring a tiny Asian nation to its

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knees." It was only too clear to Chet and David that the war was unwinnable. After hearing such sentiments expressed on their television screens night after night accompanied by the most detailed picture coverage of wounded and dying American fighting men, many began to agree that the war could indeed not be won and might, in fact, not even be worth winning. They were at least partially correct, for the war was certainly unwinnable so long as our government's policy of gradual and partial escalation prevented the military, who should after all know something about winning wars, from winning it.

Finally, after more than five years of this Keystone Cops strategy of confusion, vacillation, and failure, the American people were quite correctly, fed up. In response to growing popular discontent, the Johnson administration declared itself ready to explore all avenues to peace—all avenues except, of course, that of victory. A partial bombing halt was followed by a full one, and then came the Paris peace talks. Soon, with the new administration about to take power in Washington, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge replaced Averell Harriman as chief American negotiator. Under the Democrats' guidance, every move in Paris was a concession to the Communists. They demanded that the Vietcong be present at the talks—and we agreed. They demanded a total halt to the bombing—we agreed again. They suggested an undivided round table and, once more, we agreed and gave in. Before withdrawing into well deserved retirement, Mr. Harriman paused to remark (as if we needed to be told) that the thought of victory in Vietnam was simply too absurd for contemplation—words which could well serve as the Johnson administration's epitaph.

At this writing, both the peace conference and the war continue to drag on. If press reports can be believed, the significant bargaining is taking place behind closed doors in secret negotiations between the principals. We have no inside information as to the precise points being discussed, but the general issue at stake is hardly a secret. It is whether or not South Vietnam is to survive as a free and independent non-Communist state. On this point it seems to this writer that there can be no compromise. For a Free Vietnam is precisely the "limited objective" about which we have been hearing so much since 1964. If we do not achieve at least this minimal condition, then we have been fighting all these years not for a limited objective, but for no objective at all.

Mr. Lodge and the allied negotiating team would do well to consider that, in a very important sense, they and their Communist adversaries across the table are not alone in that conference room. Present too are the ghosts of thousands of America's sons who have given their lives for a free Vietnam and for the honor of their country. They did not die so that a coalition government which includes their killers could be installed in Saigon. For their sakes and for the sake of our national interest in the area nothing short of a South Vietnam free of Communist influence should be accepted by the negotiators for our side.

If the Nixon administration can achieve such a limited victory at the peace

table, conservatives will be the first to offer congratulations; but if it becomes clear that no such result is forthcoming from Paris, it is to be hoped that our new President will have the courage and resolve to order the military, at long last, to take all the steps they deem necessary to bring this conflict to a speedy and victorious conclusion.





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# THE JEWS AND GENERAL FRANCO

*By Michael S. Kogan*

The history of the Spanish Jews begins in the earliest centuries of the present era. Its initial phase ended abruptly in 1492 when, at the urging of the fanatical monk, Torquemada, the Jews were expelled from the country by the Spanish crown. This act of religious intolerance brought to an end what was later to be referred to as "the Golden Age of Spanish Jewry." As the great modern historian Salvador De Madariaga has stated;

During the fourteen centuries which span the period between the fall of Jerusalem (in the year 70) and the expulsion from Spain (in 1492), the Jews contributed to the commercial, industrial, political, judicial, scientific, historical, philosophical, and literary life of the country with a brilliancy higher than their mere numbers might lead one to expect.

The expulsion deprived Spain of some of its most creative minds and left the country intellectually impoverished for centuries to come. The exiled Spanish Jews had called Spain Sepharad and became known as Sephardim. They scattered throughout the world establishing far-flung communities in which they preserved the language, culture, and social mores of their homeland. However, in Spain itself there was no visible Jewish presence for nearly four hundred years following the expulsion.

Then, in the latter years of the nineteenth century, the modern phase of Spanish Jewish history began to unfold as a small number of Jews from Morocco and northern Europe drifted back to the land their ancestors had left four centuries before. They were welcomed by the tolerant King Alphonso XII and later by his son Alphonso XIII who viewed the expulsion of 1492 as a black mark upon the honor of Spain and did all he could to erase it. He restored ancient synagogues which had been converted into churches, voided medieval anti-Jewish laws and established a chair in Hebrew literature at the University of Madrid. He further evidenced his good will by intervening with the Turkish Government on behalf of the Jews of Palestine who were at that time threatened with deportation.

In 1923, General Miguel Primo de Rivera became Dictator of Spain, ruling in the name of Alphonso. In the same year, a young lieutenant colonel in the Spanish

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Army was named commander of Spain's Foreign Legion. His name was Francisco Franco and he was destined to play a vital but little known role in the lives of tens of thousands of European Jews. A careful study of even this early period in his career will reveal Franco's special concern for the Jews in the area under his command. The earliest evidence of this dates back to October of 1923 and July of 1924. During these months, Franco composed several memoranda to General Primo pleading with the Dictator to continue Spanish rule over Morocco on the grounds that Spain could not abandon "the many thousands of Spaniards" who had lived there "for centuries". Now, there were not "many thousands" of Spanish Christians in Morocco at the time. There were, however, thousands of Sephardim residing in the territory. It was to these "Spaniards" that Franco was referring. The fact that he considered them to be Spanish and, as such, entitled to the protection of that country's flag is of crucial importance as we shall see in a moment. Franco's dispatches from the Moroccan war zone, where Spain was locked in a lengthy struggle with the Arabs of the area, continued to include especially poignant and moving accounts of the suffering of Jews forced to evacuate their homes in the fighting. His sensitivity to their plight influenced the thinking of General Primo who was moved to issue a remarkable edict. On December 20, 1924, he decreed that any Sephardic Jew anywhere in the world was entitled to be granted Spanish citizenship on request. The Jews who took advantage of this statute helped to swell the small but growing Jewish population of Spain and soon there were communities of Jews in both Madrid and Barcelona large enough to establish modest synagogues.

The growth of these communities was abruptly halted in 1931 with the exile of King Alphonso and the proclamation of the so-called "Spanish Republic." As the Republic lurched unsteadily from Left-liberalism ever closer to Communism, the Jews of Spain became increasingly more fearful. They were middle class and they were religious; on both these counts they were unwelcome in the militantly anti-bourgeois and atheistic Republic.

The first confrontation between the Jews and the new government developed when the Madrid community routinely requested permission to establish a Jewish cemetery. Their petition was angrily rebuffed by Pedro Rico, the Socialist head of the Madrid City Council who flew into a rage at such "presumption" and decreed the secularization of all the cemeteries in the city. The situation grew steadily more intolerable until, in 1936, there were only twelve Jewish families left in Madrid. The last straw came in that same year when a frenzied mob of the Republic's Communist supporters broke into the tiny Madrid synagogue and sacked it, completely destroying the interior of the sanctuary. Such outrages were not unusual in Republican Spain; Hugh Thomas has recorded in his definitive work, *The Spanish Civil War*, that under the "progressive" rule of the Republic more than one hundred and fifty churches were burned to the ground and nearly 4,900 others severely damaged. In his famous political memoir, *Homage to Catalonia*, George Orwell vividly described conditions in Republican Barcelona in 1936:

Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with the red flags or with the red and black flags of the Anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle. . . . Almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt. Churches here and there were being systematically demolished by gangs of workmen. Every shop and cafe had an inscription saying it had been collectivized. . . . The wealthy classes had practically ceased to exist. . . . There were no well dressed people at all. . . . All was queer and moving. . . . I recognized it immediately as state of affairs worth fighting for.

Such was the true face of the Spanish Republic. That Orwell could view at first hand these nightmarish conditions and conclude that they constituted "a state of affairs worth fighting for" provides a telling commentary on the curious blindness, notable both then and now, of a certain segment of the intellectual community to even the most barbarous excesses—as long as they are committed by those on the political Left.

But the Spaniards who saw the laws and traditions of their country being trampled underfoot by the mob were not deceived by the fictions of the liberals. They saw the Republic for the monstrosity it was, and in July of 1936, they acted to salvage what remained of Spain. The Army, supported by the Church, the aristocracy, the middle class (to which the Jews belonged) and the more conservative political groupings declared war on the disintegrating Republic. General Franco took command. Flying from his post in the Canary Islands, he landed in Morocco after issuing a national call to arms;

Spaniards! To whomsoever feels a sacred love for Spain . . . the nation calls you to her defense. The situation in Spain is becoming more critical with every day that passes. Anarchy reigns in most of her villages and fields; government-appointed authorities preside over the revolts, when they are not actually fomenting them. . . . Can we consent one day longer to the shameful spectacle we are presenting to the world? . . . No, that we cannot do . . . Long live Spain!

The Jews were among the first to respond to Franco's call, as historian Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn has noted in an article in the French periodical, *Etude* for April, 1956 (my translation):

Upon the arrival of Franco in Spanish Morocco where he was well known and much esteemed, Jewish sympathies were poured out for the general. The Jewish community of the city of Tetuan gave him massive financial support, a fact of vital importance, not forgotten by Franco. . . .

This generous assistance given to the Nationalist cause in the

movement's earliest days, long before its success was assured and when finances were sorely needed, not only expressed Jewish distaste for the excesses of the Republic but also helped to cement the already cordial relations existing between General Franco and the Jews.

Much was made during the Civil War which followed of the fact that Franco's Nationalist forces received aid from Germany and Italy. The same people who professed to be shocked by this conveniently ignored the heavy support given the Republican war effort by the Soviet Union. The truth is that both sides in the Spanish conflict received significant help from totalitarian foreign powers. The crucial difference lies in their respective responses to that aid. The Republic had been well on its way to outright Communism long before the Civil War and was quick to sell its soul economically, politically and spiritually to the Soviets in return for Russian assistance once the war had begun. The Nationalists, on the other hand, by a series of subtle maneuvers by Franco which were nothing short of brilliant, managed to use the Axis powers to defeat Communism in Spain without giving them anything substantial in return. Witness Franco's meeting with Hitler on the eve of World War II.

Following the final Nationalist victory in 1939, Hitler decided it was time to cash in on the aid he had given to Franco. The Spanish leader agreed to meet him at Hendaye in 1940. Having made effective use of the Germans to win the war, Franco was eager to have as little more to do with them as possible. He came to the meeting prepared to resist all of Hitler's demands. In his recent book, *Franco: The Man and His Nation*, George Hills records the Generalissimo's maneuvering:

Franco arrived at Hendaye an hour late. He had deliberately delayed the train: "This is the most important meeting of my life," he said to one of the senior army officers with him, "I'll have to use every trick I can—and this is one of them. If I make Hitler wait, he will be at a psychological disadvantage from the start."

Hitler did not know it, but he had a hard day ahead of him. When the meeting finally got under way, Franco sidestepped the Fuhrer's demand that he sign a treaty with Germany, refused to enter the war as a German ally, declined to allow German troops to set foot on Spanish soil and threatened a general uprising of the Spanish people if the Germans attempted to "liberate" Gibraltar from the British. Hitler was speechless with fury. Not only did Franco have no intentions of becoming an ally of Germany, he was acting more like an enemy by placing one stumbling block after another in the way of Hitler's plans for the Western Mediterranean. The meeting broke up and the Nazis left in a rage, Ribbentrop denouncing "that ungrateful coward Franco who owes us everything and now won't join with us" and Hitler declaring, "I would rather have three or four teeth out than have to face that man again." This may have been the only diplomatic meeting on record at which someone managed to get the better of Adolph Hitler.



Of more direct importance for the Jews than Franco's personal dislike of Hitler, was the Generalissimo's contempt for Nazism as a philosophy and his disgust with its ghastly racial policies. His attitude on the subject had been evidenced several years before and is recorded in Brian Crozier's new biography, *Franco*:

It will be seen that Franco's first government was a very different and more complex creation than the "Fascist" or totalitarian fantasy of liberal and left-wing propaganda . . . *Noticiero de España*, Franco's quick weekly guide to events. . . . In its issue of 8 January (1938) carried an erudite and humane article on the Jews, by the great novelist Pío Baroja, who calmly and methodically refuted Hitler's anti-Semitic race theories.

During the same period, Franco's brother-in-law, Ramon Serrano Suñer, political leader of Nationalist Spain, expressed the regime's distaste for Nazi racial theories. He declared such views to be "fantastic grotesqueries" which could only be taken seriously "by a dozen or so freaks." Tragically, however, far more than a dozen "freaks" believed them. Even as Serrano spoke, the holocaust which was to consume nearly 6,000,000 Jewish lives was about to burst upon Europe. During this tragic period, few political leaders took action to help hounded Jews. Foremost among the handful who did was Francisco Franco. The story of his untiring efforts to save Jewish lives forms one of the most remarkable chapters of modern Jewish history. Hills records:

Franco was far from impassive to their (the Jews') fate. He protected Jews wherever Hitler held power to the limit of his ability. He could not save them as a race, but he could and did save individuals in so far as he could extend to them the legal fiction that the Sephardim were still Spaniards although their ancestors had left Spain four-and-a-half centuries previously.

Franco's "legal fiction" regarding Sephardic Jews is further discussed in the fascinating book, *Wartime Mission in Spain* by former American Ambassador to Madrid, Professor Carlton Hayes:

The Spanish Government was anxious to use its good offices to rescue as many Jews as possible from Nazi oppression and persecution and was ready to assert a fanciful Spanish "citizenship" for Sephardic Jews in German-occupied territories as a basis for asking the Germans to free this group of Jews and let them join the other refugees in Spain.

Franco's efforts to save Jewish lives began in June of 1940. As the Germans swept across France, the Generalissimo threw open the gates of Spain to anti-Nazi refugees, many, if not most of them, Jews who would have met persecution and probably death at the hands of the Nazis and their collaborators in Vichy. Instructions were given to Spanish border guards to overlook the fact that many of these Jews had neither proper papers nor financial resources. Franco immediately

established reception centers for the refugees which he ran first by himself and later with the help of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. In his outstanding study of modern Spanish history, *Spain: The Gentle Anarchy*, Benjamin Welles of *The New York Times* records:

At least 30,000 Jews fled across the Pyrenees to find temporary—in some cases permanent—haven. Despite the presence of ten German divisions on his border, Franco resisted Hitler's pressure to impose the brutal Nuremburg racial laws in Spain. In fact, Franco ordered Spanish diplomats in the Balkans and in other Nazi-occupied areas to issue Spanish visas that saved an estimated 10,000 Jews from concentration camps and death.

In an article appearing in the *London Chronicle* of May, 8, 1943, Eli Rubin, an Austrian Jewish refugee who found his way to Spain recalled:

Spain was a great place for all the internees fleeing from Hitler and his French helpers; for the Jews it was in a double way an asylum, one against the deadly hate of the Germans and one against the no less terrible indifference of all the others.

Franco, it seemed, was one of the very few European leaders who cared enough to do something to save the Jews. In an article appearing in the *Jewish Digest* of May, 1962, historian Harry Ezratty wrote:

In every European countries where Sephardic communities existed, the Spanish Government stretched every interpretation of international law to grant aid where any minute legal excuse existed. Spain's efforts to save the lives and property of those it could stands as a shining light in Jewish history.

In the Autumn of 1940, Franco heard of the persecution of Jews in Paris and Vichy and issued orders that the Spanish consulates in those cities should register as many as possible as Spanish citizens to place both their persons and their property under the protection of the Spanish flag. Hitler fumed, but he dared not take any action which might have violated Franco's neutral position and pushed him into the arms of the Allies. In March of 1942, Franco protested against the arrest of Sephardic Jews in France and they were duly released. He took similar action in case after case in Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria and Greece. In all these countries, Spanish consulates worked overtime issuing passports to every Jew they could find, and in North Africa, Franco particularly infuriated the Germans by appointing as Honorary Vice-Consuls of Spain leading members of the local Sephardic Jewish communities. In most cases, Spanish officials did not investigate too deeply whether the Jews they were protecting actually had Spanish ancestry or not. They made a mighty effort to save as many lives as they possibly could.

The climax of these humanitarian efforts came in 1944. Isaac Weisman of the

World Jewish Congress told the story later that year at the organization's convention in Atlantic City:

Early in 1944, we received an urgent telegram from the Jewish Agency in Istanbul asking for every assistance to 400 Sephardic Jews in the concentration camp of Haideni who were destined for deportation to Polish death camps. Nicolas Franco, Spanish Ambassador to Portugal and brother of General Franco, got in touch at once with his government. He informed us shortly afterwards that his government had decided to protect these Jews and had so informed the German authorities. These 400 were saved and the Spanish Government agreed to take under its protection all Sephardic Jews in occupied territories whether in possession of Spanish documents or not.

Actually Franco was able to save many more than 400 of these Jews, for another 842 had already been shipped off to the Bergen-Belsen death camp. Learning of this, the Spanish leader demanded their immediate release. The Germans could not believe their ears and on January 18 sent a memorandum to the Spanish Foreign Office expressing Hitler's annoyance that Franco "saw fit to protest so much regarding the Jews." But, finally, after continued threats and complicated diplomatic maneuvers, Franco managed to accomplish the impossible. The Germans gave in, and in February of 1944, two trains carrying 1,242 Sephardic Jews from Bergen-Belsen and Haideni rolled across the Pyrenees to Spain and safety. When Franco discovered that these unfortunates had been relieved of all their funds by the SS, he raised such a protest that the Germans were forced into still another unprecedented action. They actually returned the money: a total of 44,000 dollars, 55,000 Swiss Francs, and 24 million drachmae. Franco even managed to get back the womens' jewelry!

Hills concludes:

How many Jews in all were saved by Franco's legal fiction that they were Spaniards does not appear to have been calculated; but the Sephardic communities of Greece and Bosnia survived the war; and the first ship to sail down from the Western Mediterranean into Haifa after the war was the Spanish ship *Plus Ultra* with 400 adults and orphans who had embarked in Barcelona.

In the *Congressional Record* of January 24, 1950, Rep. Abraham Multer quotes a spokesman for the Joint Distribution Committee to the effect that: "during the height of Hitler's blood baths upwards of 60,000 Jews had been saved through the generosity of the Spanish authorities." There is no reason to doubt these figures and they should, in fact, be brought up to date by reference to the fact that during the early 1960's, more than 50,000 Jews escaping from Arab persecution in Morocco were permitted to enter Spain without question or

formality and to embark from there to Israel.

Today, Spanish Government policy toward the Jews is still marked by friendliness and cordiality. When I visited Spain for an extended period in 1963, I found thriving Jewish communities in Barcelona and Madrid with synagogues and communal organizations to serve their expanding numbers. There are Jewish museums and even a Christian-Jewish Friendship Society and a high-level periodical of Jewish interest, *Sefarad*. During my visit, I had the opportunity of speaking with members of the community regarding Franco's rescue of Jews during the war. James Michener is quite correct in the observation he made in his book *Iberia* that in Spain "Generalissimo Franco is highly regarded by Jews." I found this to be the case with everyone I spoke to. Many of them owe their lives to Franco and they have not forgotten.

Of course, I was anxious to find out their views as to *why* General Franco had gone out of his way to save Jews and had, indeed, always exhibited such friendliness toward the Jewish people. Their answers intrigued me. One elderly gentleman at the Madrid synagogue explained that Franco had an especially acute sense of his country's history and was trying to make amends for the injustice of the 1492 expulsion. Another—a prosperous looking middle-aged businessman—assured me that it was Franco's memory of the vital aid he received in 1936 from the Jews of Spanish Morocco that accounted for his pro-Jewish attitudes. When I pointed out to this gentleman that evidence of this attitude can be found much earlier in dispatches Franco wrote long before 1936, a young man who had been listening to our conversation gave a knowing look and expressed his belief—which he claimed was shared by many Spanish Jews—that Franco's solicitude for Jews had its origin in his own family background. The Generalissimo was, he stated, himself a descendant of Jews who had converted to Christianity at the time of the expulsion. I discounted this possibility at the time, but I was to hear it raised again and again by other Spanish Jews and, years later, in several magazines and books. Mr. Benjamin Welles mentions it in *Spain: The Gentle Anarchy*:

There is one personal factor to be considered here, Franco's blood heritage. Many Spanish families boast Arab and Jewish blood as a legacy of their country's history, and Franco almost certainly has Jewish blood in his veins. Devout Catholic though he is, his cast of countenance, his surname, and even his mother's name—Bahamonde—are characteristic of Spanish Sephardic families.

Whether or not Franco is Jewish or partly Jewish in his blood line, there can be no debate over the debt of gratitude owed to him by the Jewish people. In the darkest period of Jewish history, in the face of the indifference of one half of the world and the hostility of the other, he extended the hand of friendship and aid. Surely such deeds deserve to be remembered. At the opening services dedicating the handsome new Madrid synagogue on December 16, 1968, the officiating rabbi

led the congregation in imploring God to "look with favor on the Chief of the Spanish State." To that prayer, Jews throughout the world can respond with a fervent "Amen."



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## RHODESIA:

### A CALM APPRAISAL

*By James LoGerfo*

On June 10, 1965, the self-governing British colony of Southern Rhodesia exchanged the traditional warm greetings with its sovereign, Queen Elizabeth II, on the occasion of her official birthday. There was no reason to doubt the sincerity of the exchange. On November 11 of the same year, the Southern Rhodesian prime minister, his cabinet, and the leaders of Parliament declared Rhodesia to be an independent state with Queen Elizabeth remaining as head of state. The former colonial relationship, had begun in 1923, but the Rhodesian leaders were growing weary of it. They felt themselves fully capable of bearing the enormous responsibilities of governing an independent nation; with the exception of foreign affairs and defense, they had been doing just that for the past 42 years. Moreover, they had witnessed in recent years one colony after another receiving complete freedom from the same colonial power. These erstwhile sister colonies ranged from Nigeria, the largest and most favorably endowed with natural resources, to the Maldiv Islands, whose only resource is cloves. The very nature of the Empire, and

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later the Commonwealth, had in the post-war period borne within itself the almost explicit assumption that all colonies would one day be granted independence. "The decision which we have taken today," said Mr. Ian Smith, the Rhodesian prime minister on the day independence was declared, "is a refusal by Rhodesians to sell their birthright." "There can be no happiness in this country," he continued, "while the absurd situation continues to exist where people such as ourselves, who have ruled ourselves for over 40 years are denied what is freely granted to other countries, who have ruled themselves in some cases for no longer than a year."

From 1953 until 1963, Rhodesia had been part of the Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Federation was devised as an expedient to placate the separate demands for independence and to consume all available political energies in a struggle merely to maintain harmony among the Federation's constituent members. The Federation was dissolved in 1963 as a result of unabated native demands for independence in the two African dominated regions, supplemented by a reign of terror in all three regions conducted by extreme nationalist groups. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were subsequently granted complete independence as Zambia and Malawi respectively. But Britain hesitated to grant equal status to Southern Rhodesia. The obstacle was the racial composition of the government, which was dominated by descendants of European settlers. Britain's rationale in granting independence to her other colonies

was that, having served under tutelage for a sufficient period of time, learning to satisfy the enlightened ideas of British political theory and constitutional forms, they were, *eo ipso*, prepared to join the family of nations. In each of the new nations, the racial composition of the government represented the race of the majority of the nation's citizens. There were four million Africans and 225,000 whites in Rhodesia, but the whites dominated the government. In 1961, even before the Federation was dissolved, the Southern Rhodesians drafted a constitution whose complicated franchise provisions offered the possibility of African rule within ten years. This constitution was approved by the House of Commons in Westminster and by the Queen's Privy Council. But it was found unsatisfactory four years later; the Labour Party now ruled the English government and committed official policy even more than before to the ideas of majority rule and "one man one vote." The negotiations between Britain and Rhodesia over the latter's independence were protracted over several years, but, at length, were proving fruitless.

The obstacles to independence seemed to grow progressively more insurmountable, while the restlessness of the Rhodesian whites continued to increase. The doubt and internal flux which had beset Rhodesia since the dissolution of the Federation was discouraging foreign investment. Continued improvement in the standard of living of all Rhodesians and the development of the land's prodigious natural resources could proceed at a normal pace only when

the pall of uncertainty was lifted. These factors led, almost inexorably, to the Declaration of Independence issued on November 11, 1965. "Whereas, in the course of human affairs," claims the document, "history has shown that it may become necessary to resolve (sic) the political affiliations which have connected them with another people and to assume among other nations the separate and equal status to which they are entitled. \*\*\*Now therefore, we, the Government of Rhodesia, in humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destinies of all nations, ...will not be hindered in our determination to continue exercising our undoubted right to demonstrate the same loyalty and dedication in seeking the common good so that the dignity and freedom of all men may be assured....God save the Queen!" This reference to the sovereign was not mere ceremony or affectation. Rather, it emphasized that even after independence Rhodesia would still be a monarchy, with Elizabeth as the monarch. And despite what the British government has done or may do, the Union Jack would continue to fly and the national anthem would continue to be sung. Smith reiterated that Rhodesia's quarrel was not with the British people, with whom "we have the closest affinity, both in our way of life and in our conception of justice and civilization," but with an ideological abstraction advocated by the British government. More importantly, Smith assured Rhodesians, and the outside world, that Rhodesia had not rejected the possibility of racial harmony. The provisions of the 1961 constitution would be preserved and no radical

departures from it would be taken. The rights of all Rhodesians, African and white, were enshrined in the constitution and none would be abrogated or discarded. He, in effect, re-affirmed the possibility of eventual African rule.

Britain acted quickly to punish its impudent colony: aid and trade were halted immediately, preferential tariffs within the Commonwealth were ended, Rhodesian bank accounts in London were frozen; and there was a cessation of all tobacco purchases. An oil embargo was threatened, but its implementation was contingent on the failure of the other actions. Protests against the illegal seizure of power were raised in many other quarters, including many nations scarcely known for their adherence to legal forms. The Afro-Asian bloc was unanimous in condemnation; nations in Africa which were soon to fall into chaos and emerge as military or personal dictatorships were the most vociferous." Anyone who rebels should be dealt with savagely," proclaimed the Nigerian prime minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who would be dealt with savagely himself by his army shortly afterwards. Legal arguments, however, did not concern Tanzania's prime minister, Julius K. Nyerere, who candidly admitted that "Africa's objection is to this particular assumption of authority, not to illegality." The Smith government represents doctrines which are "inimical to the whole future of freedom on the continent."

The American Under Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams,

enunciated a long list of reasons why the United States opposed the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). Britain, he feared, would lose its traditional influence in Africa if Rhodesia went unpunished. In addition, since Zambia and the Katanga province of the Congo produce 25% of the free world's copper and Rhodesia supplies the electric power to operate the mines and smelters and provides the only exit route for the exportable copper, the bulk of the free world's copper would be mined and refined with morally tainted electricity. But more importantly, Williams was concerned that Rhodesia violated the traditional beliefs of the American government that government should be based on the consent of the governed and that all men are created equal. He also criticized Rhodesia's imposition of a state of emergency, with its odious similarities to a police state. Mr. Joseph Palmer, the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs complained, in addition, that the imitative language style of the declaration omitted references to human rights that so distinguished the earlier American Declaration of Independence. He considered the omission a "retreat from the main currents of the times." He was echoed in many liberal journals in the United States and in Britain. The popular weekly, *Newsweek*, for example, pontificated that the UDI was "so rash, so contrary to the course of modern history."

The important question is not whether 225,000 whites should rule four million Africans, but who should choose the rulers. The whites insisted

that the proportion of their race qualified to vote is greater than that of the African. They looked to recent developments in Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda as support for their thesis that immediate majority rule would have catastrophic consequences for Rhodesia. But the morally indignant liberal mind in the West could not accept anything less than complete and immediate majority rule. In its relations with Rhodesia, the British government has not moved one inch from this demand.

The governing term is morality. What the Western liberals want to impose on Rhodesia is a set of ideas which have no objective validity, however much to the contrary they may think. The principle of "one man one vote" has neither universal nor even civilizational validity. The liberal mind all too easily tends to confuse or combine his unique experience with universally applicable laws. The rise or fall of world civilization does not depend on strict adherence, always and everywhere, to the principle of "one man one vote." It is, rather, an ideological judgement which may at the right time and under proper circumstances suit the political needs of England or the United States. Circumstances did not and do not obtain in Rhodesia which require the complete application of the British Constitution; nor do circumstances in Britain require the imposition of the Rhodesian Constitution.

The circumstances in Rhodesia are *sui generis*, even in relation to its southern neighbor, the Republic of South Africa, where the native or Bantu must possess a permit to hold a

job or acquire property, even in areas prescribed solely for their use; and they are subject to 90 days detention without benefit of *habeas corpus* or a jury trial. It is capricious and misleading to compare the South African racial situation with that obtaining in Rhodesia. Whereas one might conceivably be led to see the logic of the basic South African philosophy of separate development, no humane man could deny that in its full execution, the policy based on this philosophy has often proven to be cruel and unjust. As we shall see, Rhodesia has no such policy.

The most tendentious objections to an independent Rhodesia concern the lack of sufficient enfranchisement of the African population. But a comparison between the actual situation and the objections raised in the West reveal the objections to be ill-considered, poorly grounded, and, often, specious. Prime Minister Smith, on Independence Day, declared his government's intention to abide by the constitution of 1961, the constitution which won the approbation of the morally punctilious British government, and he affirmed that independence would in no wise affect the opportunities and rights of Africans. Indeed, said Smith, "it is our intention, in consultation with the [tribal] chiefs, to bring them into the government and administration" on a basis acceptable to the chiefs. Certain changes, of course, had to be made in the constitution to take into cognizance the nation's new legal status. One such change was a revision in the apportionment of seats in the Legislative Assembly, or lower house



of Parliament. There were now to be thirty-three, instead of the previous thirty-five, representatives elected by citizens in Roll A of the electoral register, which consists primarily of whites; there were to be seventeen, as opposed to fifteen, seats chosen by Roll B electors, who were predominately African. Roll A voters also choose seventeen additional representatives who, whatever their color, serve the specific interests of the African population. The Senate, or upper house, was now composed of twelve seats elected by Roll A voters, eight African senators chosen by a combination of Roll A and Roll B voters, and an additional six seats held by tribal chiefs corporately representing all the chiefs in the nation. Thus, in the lower house, Africans were given an immediate increase in their representation without a substantial corresponding increase in the number of qualified voters, and in the upper house, African senators actually outnumbered whites fourteen to twelve.

Untouched by independence were the requirements for obtaining the franchise. Any Rhodesian citizen over the age of twenty-one is eligible to vote if he meets the registration qualification for either Roll A or Roll B of the electoral register. The qualification for enrolling in Roll A is the possession of either an annual income of £792 or real property worth £1,650. There are no education requirements for enrollees in this category, presumably because meeting the economic requirement presupposes considerable innate intelligence. Alternative requirements can be met by possessing an annual

income of £528, or £1,100 in property and a primary education; or £330 per year or £550 in property and four years of secondary education. Native chiefs automatically qualify for Roll A. The B Roll requirements are less rigorous. An annual income of £264 or property worth £495 will suffice to secure enrollment. Alternate qualifications for enrollment are: an income of £132 per year or £275 in property and two years of secondary education; an income of less than £132 will satisfy the requirements if the registrant is over thirty years old and owns property worth £132 and has a primary education. If a citizen has had no formal education at all, but is over thirty years old and has an annual income of £198 and property worth £385 he may still enroll and vote, once again on the assumption that his financial attainments, as modest as they are, reflect some degree of native intelligence and circumspection.

The government has facilitated African registration by allowing the purchase of property on installments permitting a wife who does not herself meet any of the requirements to vote nonetheless, provided her husband satisfies one provision or another. Under the requirements for Roll A, the government estimates that 10,000 Africans are qualified to enroll, but as a result of boycotts against political activities and frequent acts of terrorism and intimidation by various extreme nationalist groups, only 2,300 Africans have actually enrolled, along with 88,000 Europeans. The Roll B register contains 10,000 African names, a figure doubtless also affected by the

campaign of terror and intimidation; 500 Europeans are registered on Roll B.

The electoral and franchise systems have been described by Sir Roy Welensky, the former prime minister of the Federation as complicated, but fair and well balanced. Since the Rhodesians have not yet elevated the principle of "one man one vote" to that of divine fiat, they are aware that not all their citizens are capable of casting a judicious and thoughtful vote. A reflective vote presupposes, *inter alia*, political interest, an ability to read and follow arguments closely, and an understanding of the personal interests of the individual voter in any given issue. If these conditions are not met, even under the optimum conditions prevailing in Western countries, at least a substantial proportion of the Western electorate is able to meet them. Whereas the most dispassionate analyst of the Rhodesian citizenry must admit a very large percentage of Africans today are incapable of casting a reflective vote. And thus to grant the franchise to all Rhodesians over the age of 21 would be as impracticable as it would be fatuous.

When the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Joseph Palmer, scornfully dismissed Smith's favorable comparison between Rhodesian and American Declarations of Independence because the Rhodesian lacked a reference to human rights and the equality of man, he neglected to recall that despite the inclusion of such lofty references in the American declaration, the

Founding Fathers of the American Republic quite properly proceeded to exclude the primitive Indian from the franchise. And later generations of Americans even denied the Indian the basic amenities of civilization and the means to self-improvement with which the Rhodesians are undeniable providing the Africans today. A more contemporary analogy can be found in the Middle East. If Israel were compelled to accept the return of the Palestinian Arabs, or, less conceivably to accept assimilation into a larger semitic ethnic unit in the Middle East, she would, depending on the eventuality, either be faced with a large minority, or a large majority of citizens who have proven their singular inability to govern themselves with any semblance of stability or internal harmony.

To return to actual circumstances, however, the Rhodesians, as testimony to the prime minister's statement on Independence Day, have made and are continuing to make a sincere effort to provide the means of upward mobility for those Africans so motivated. In the field of education, for example, Rhodesian law requires all youngsters between seven and fifteen years of age to attend primary school. The recent average annual expenditure on African education amounted to 9% of the total budget, which in 1966 equaled £6.6 million, while only £6.15 million were spent on non-African education.

Thus, with ample educational opportunities available the percentage of Africans holding well paying jobs and entering one of the electoral registers, should increase steadily in

the years to come. A UNESCO report in 1964 found Rhodesia leading the rest of Africa (save the Republic of South Africa), all of Latin America, and Southeast Asia in sub-university educational opportunities: 91% of all children of primary school age are now attending school. Indeed, the proportion of pupils to total population is equal to that of New York City!

On the level of higher education, the universities are open to qualified students of both races. Of the 713 students attending University College in Salisbury, 190 are African, a figure not in proportion to the African population but certainly in proportion to those of each race interested in, and capable of, a university education.

Another example of the provision for the advancement of the African population is the land laws. In 1930, more than half the land mass of Rhodesia, 48 million acres, was set aside by the government as Tribal Trust Territory for the exclusive use of African farmers. A series of recent laws, notably the Land Act of 1963, now permits the African to own, in his own name, and on a freehold basis, as much land as he can afford to buy. If he practices the techniques of farm improvement on his land in the Trust Territory for more than three years, and if he is successful at it, he may buy land anywhere else in the country on the installment plan, or if he already possesses sufficient funds, a sign of past success, he may buy land outside the Trust without the three year apprenticeship. Thus, any black with sufficient funds can purchase land outright anywhere in Rhodesia.

He is free to live wherever he chooses as far as the law is concerned. This situation can hardly be compared to that obtaining in South Africa.

Rhodesia is, in Prime Minister Smith's words, "a meritocracy". An African who demonstrates his desire to be a useful and creative member of society is treated as a peer of his white fellow citizen. Similarly, the urban African can hold any job for which he is qualified; he also has free access to all places in all towns that are open to whites: the theaters, cinemas, parks, hotels, streets, games, and all other public facilities. The African professional may also reside in the best white residential districts; as a greater number of Africans are obtaining secondary educations and are willing to adjust to urban life, there will eventually be a gradual integration of such neighborhoods.

After independence, many Western observers, already bearing preconceived hostility for Rhodesia on the grounds of its non-conformist franchise laws, now seized on the imposition of a state of emergency to re-enforce their hostility to the Smith government. In fact, Under Secretary Williams made this point a major reason for American support for Britain's opposition to UDI. The idea of detaining the opponents of a government without warrants or recourse to habeas corpus struck Williams as redolent of an invidious police state apparatus. But similar suspensions of highly prized liberties took place in Britain and in the United States during the Second World War, with equal, or, in the case of the United States, less cause than

that which motivated the Salisbury government. Williams failed to recall that he also cited fear of continual external and internal war against the government as another justification for his opposition. Yet it was precisely this fear of war that was responsible for the state of emergency. The lamentable recent experiences with the extreme nationalist groups provided the other part.

Joshua Nkomo and his Zimbabwe (the nationalist name for Rhodesia) African People's Union had in 1960 instigated a lengthy reign of terror against both Africans and Europeans as a means of emphasizing the validity of Nkomo's demands for immediate independence under his leadership. The terror and intimidation were continued as a means of enforcing the nationalist boycott of the first elections held under the auspices of the 1961 Constitution. After this carnage, Welensky suppressed ZAPU and detained Nkomo. In 1963, the Rev. Ndabangingi Sithole founded the Zimbabwe African National Union to supplement what he considered the weak leadership of Nkomo. In the same year, the new prime minister of Southern Rhodesia, Winston Field, as an act of good faith with which to begin his administration, freed Nkomo and allowed him to form a new party on the condition that it, and he, act responsibly. Within a short time, Nkomo had threatened to seize the government by violence if necessary, and announced that if African rule came, all white men would have to sleep with rifles under their pillows. In addition, the two nationalist factions began to engage in savage factional

warfare. In reaction, the government passed the Law and Order Act and Unlawful Organizations Act, under which the two parties were suppressed and their leaders detained. Thus, there is little difficulty in understanding the motives of the government in imposing a state of emergency as independence approached. The leaders of ZAPU and ZANU were again detained, as were 1,800 of their followers for the duration of the emergency. With most Rhodesian Africans favorable to independence the only instigators of violence in the immediate post-declaration period were Tanzanian or Zambian infiltrators.

That the UDI earned the ideological opprobrium of the West was formally demonstrated to Rhodesia in a series of United Nations resolutions imposing economic and political sanctions with built-in increases in severity on the new country. Smith was aware, even as the declaration was being drafted that the wrath of the morally righteous world would soon fall upon him and his government. "There was no doubt," he told his people in a radio broadcast on November 11, "that the talk of threats and sanctions by Britain is no more than appeasement to the United Nations, the Afro-Asian bloc, and certain members of the Commonwealth; and undoubtedly some action will be taken." Action did come — in the form of United Nations sanctions which all UN members were required to observe.

The hypocrisy and expediency behind United Nations behavior are reflected in the justification used to



invoke the sanctions. Rhodesia, claimed her outraged critics, seizing on a pretext bearing only a tenuous relation to reality, was now posing a serious threat to international peace. By drawing such a hasty conclusion the UN had to circumvent its own basic procedures. It did not investigate the nature of the threat to peace, as required by the Charter, nor did it call on both parties, Britain and Rhodesia to seek an amicable settlement of the dispute through negotiations, a procedure also mandated by the Charter. But to have done so would have implied that the issue was confined only to those two countries and that the UN consequently lacked jurisdiction; to make such a confession would have meant denying to the UN's censorious members an opportunity for being censorious. Needless to add, there was no investigation to determine responsibility for the "threat to peace," nor was there a call to settle the dispute amicably, just a crude manipulation and evasion of legality to assuage the wrath of the prejudiced. There is no more reason for declaring Rhodesia a threat to peace than there is for a similar accusation against Israel simply because the latter's mere existence is offensive to some Arab states.

The consequences of sanctions, however, should not be treated as lightheartedly as the United Nations treated its legal obligation when it imposed them. Should the economic sanctions succeed, they will affect most severely the very people on whose behalf the world would like to think the sanctions were invoked. Britain has thus far refrained from the

use of force in its attempt to bring the Rhodesian government into submission on the pretext that internal order has not yet broken down. If sanctions fail, as they seem likely to do, and force is used ultimately as a replacement, the Rhodesian government could easily be driven into a military union with South Africa and Portugal, whose combined military machines might successfully resist any force sent by Britain or a combination of mid- or West African states. Increasing isolation will drive Rhodesia ever closer to South Africa and may well threaten the enlightened social policies of the Smith regime.

There is no reason in logic, justice, tradition, or common practice to prevent Rhodesia from maintaining its well-earned independence. She has mature, well-trained leaders, a prosperous economy, despite the sanctions, and has made her resources and opportunities available to any Rhodesian who qualifies to use them. Moreover, Rhodesian foreign policy since independence has been singularly pacific. During the debates on sanctions at the UN, Smith vowed not to take reciprocal action against any neighboring African states which voted for sanctions or took any other action in opposition to Rhodesian independence. It would be to Whitehall's advantage to relent, as a sign of Britain's own maturity and generosity. She is now losing \$70 million in trade as a result of sanctions; she has lost international prestige as a moral arbiter as a result of her hypocritical manipulation of legality for political purposes and yet she has not found favor with the most



radical African states which will be pleased only when Rhodesian independence is effectively terminated.

If the liberal mind, which governs in Britain and at the UN, can be brought to admit the existence of another, more realistic, view of the world than its own, tranquility will be restored to southern Africa and the

attentions of the concerned nations of the world can be directed elsewhere. Meanwhile, Ian Smith has given an indication of Rhodesian determination: "The mantle of the pioneers has fallen on our shoulders, "and we will, I am sure, be willing to face any difficulties which may occur....I believe we are a courageous people, and history has cast us in an heroic role."

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# WORK AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE JEWISH TRADITION

*By Rabbi Allen E. Maller*

The problems of welfare and unemployment are growing rather than diminishing in our expanding society. Three decades of government projects and plans do not seem to have eliminated the hard core welfare cases. The problem is that the programs were designed by and for people who valued work not only as a source of income but also as a fulfillment of personal worth. If they were unemployed it was usually due to circumstances (economic or health) beyond their control. They wanted to work. For these people, unemployment and disability insurance, health plans and pensions, were a solution.

However, today we have large numbers of people in the black community who lack this personal work ethic which sociologists associate with the rise of the Protestant Reformation. Although they are mostly Protestants, the religious values taught their ancestors as slaves were other-worldly and ecstatic.

Some economists seek to eliminate their poverty by simply having the government guarantee a minimum annual income to everyone. This is only one extreme example of an approach which holds that the work ethic is archaic. The Jewish religious tradition stands strongly opposed to this dismissal of the non-economic value of work.

It is obvious even to the casual observer that some men love their work, deriving pleasure and pride from the successful accomplishment of a given task, while others feel enslaved by work, suffering it only because they must work to make a living. This difference is not confined to any particular vocation and may be accounted for by differences in each individual's personality and by the varying attitudes toward work held by the worker.

The value of work in any given society is a function of its economic structure and its religious values. The importance of the latter can be clearly illustrated by comparing two different attitudes to work prevalent in Hellenistic times. The Greeks considered working for a livelihood as ignoble. Xenophon writes that physical labor is held in ill repute by civilized communities. Demosthenes taught that kindness, sympathy and skill are not to be expected from one indulging in coarse labor, for a man's instincts are like his occupation. The failure of Greek science to develop technology and industry is attributed by many to the lack of a desire to use "pure" science for "base" purposes. This attitude developed to the extent

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sive use of slave labor. Most work, even on management levels, was carried out by slaves. The Greeks reasoned that what was done by slaves was fit only for slaves. Thus work and the worker were regarded with contempt by the upper classes and the educated. The slave no doubt accepted the same values, and this helps to account for the low level of productivity that always characterizes slave economies. Many in the black community of America still suffer from this lack of a positive work ethic, and our welfare system discourages them even further by providing cash rewards for broken families and unemployment, instead of offering incentives to those who accept responsibility and work.

The Jews had a very different attitude toward work and slavery. Since they had been slaves in the Land of Egypt, as their religious leaders never ceased to remind them, they protected slaves and tried to weaken the institution of slavery. The slave was included within a man's own household and had the right, as did all the members of the family, to rest on the Sabbath and to be included in the holiday festivities. Even more radical is the commandment to protect the runaway slave: "You shall not give up to his master a slave who has escaped from his master to you, he shall dwell with you in your midst in the place he shall choose within one of your towns, where it pleases him best; you shall not oppress him." Thus the Bible assumes that justice is on the side of the runaway slave.

The biblical protection of the bond-servant was extended and amplified by the post-biblical sages and Rabbis. They stressed that all men were equal before God and that, therefore, the employer-employee relationship must be based on mutual responsibility and mutual respect. Rabbi Abaye stated that "The Merciful One demands that your servant be your equal. You should not eat white bread and he black bread; you should not drink old wine and he new wine; you should not sleep on a feather bed and he on straw."

Since the slave in Jewish society did not occupy the position of a despised and degraded outcast as he did in Greek society, and since Jewish slaves were not regarded as chattel, the work which they did was not held in contempt. In fact, just the opposite was true. Work was seen by the Rabbis as a means of adding to human dignity and illustrating to the world a man's freedom and independence. This idea is stated directly in the teachings of Rabbi Eliezer who says "Work is to be cherished, for of all the creatures that God created in His world He gave work only to man." Or as Rabbi Meyer says: "Did you ever see a lion farm, a deer tan dry hides, a fox care for a vineyard, or any of the animals do work? They satisfy their wants without working while men must work to meet their needs not because they are lower than the animals but because work is desirable."

Not only does work serve to differentiate man from the animal world but it gives each worker the possibility of individual pride of accomplishment. As Rabbi Elasar ben Asariah said: "Great is work. . . . Thus all men are proud of their craft. God speaks of His work; how much more should man." Rabbi Judah and Rabbi Simon proclaimed: "Great is handicraft for it honors those who do it." Labor is



considered of positive value not only for the laborer but also by God. In fact, work is so exalted by some of the Rabbis that there is even the statement that "Greater is he who enjoys the fruit of his labor than he who fears Heaven; for with regard to the fear of Heaven it is written 'happy is the man who feareth the Lord' but with regard to him who enjoys the fruit of his labor it is written 'happy shalt thou be and it shall be well with thee.'" Thus the worker is promised more than the man who is merely pious.

Whereas the Hellenistic world regarded work as the mark of the slave, the Rabbis regarded it as a means to independence and the basis of the individual's freedom. As long as a man could work he did not need to depend on charity. Therefore, the Rabbis say that a man should hire himself out to do strange work rather than accept charity: "Rather than require the help of your fellows, accept work which is strange to you." Even ritual commandments are subordinated to the importance of preserving man's independence. Rabbi Akiba said: "Rather make your Sabbath a weekday than need the help of your fellowman." And Rabbi Eliezer taught: "Great is work, for just as Israel was commanded regarding the Torah, so were they commanded regarding work, as it is written 'Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work.'" The importance of work as a basis for all religious activity is clearly stated in the medieval book, *Sefer Hebrit*: "I have observed that it is worthwhile for all God-fearing men, who desire to observe God's laws for the sake of His mighty name, to establish as the basic principle of all His commandments, that he should possess a skill in his hands which will enable him to sustain himself by their toil so that he should have no need for the help of others and should not eat their bread. Then he will have no expectation of gain from men, and will not flatter them.

If the pagan world despised work because it was done by slaves, the Rabbis viewed work as the mark of a free man. It was through his labor that man maintained his independence and that he merited his distinction from the animals. They were profoundly suspicious of charity because it degraded those who were dependent on it. This is why Maimonides in his eight levels of charity lists the highest form of charity as that which enabled a man to earn his own keep, thus preserving his independence and self respect.

The effect of Israel's experience as slaves in the land of Egypt on the later Jewish attitude towards servitude and labor has already been indicated. Surrounded by cultures which were supported by slavery, the Jews exalted labor as a distinctly human activity. But another concept, theological rather than historical, was important in forming the Rabbinic attitude toward work and the worker. The moral nature of God required that He judge man according to his deeds. The central concept of the covenant in biblical literature enforced the rule that men and nations are rewarded and punished according to the merit of their actions. One important source of merit was work. Rabbinic lore has it that "A blessing only alights upon the work of a man's hands." The Reformation leaders may not have known of these Rabbinic attitudes, but their re-reading of the Bible upon which

these ideas are founded led them toward an elevation of work. The interpretation of Rabbi Jacob of *Deuteronomy* 2:7 would have been heartily agreed to by the Puritans. "It is written, 'The Lord will bless thee in all the work of thy hands.' Rabbi Jacob said: One might think that he will bless us even if we are idle; therefore He says, 'in all the work of thy hands.' If a man works he is blessed; if not, he is not blessed." The Rabbis were themselves often workers: Hillel, Akiba, Meyer, Yose, Ben Chalaphta, Abba Saul and many others were able to work and still become great sages in the Law; the Rabbis realized, however, that very few had the mental ability to encompass the whole Law after a long day's work. They therefore stated: "If a man learns two paragraphs of the Law in the morning and two in the evening and is engaged in his work all the day, it is ascribed to him as though he had fulfilled the Torah in its entirety." And further: "An excellent thing is the study of the Torah combined with some worldly occupation, for the labour demanded by them both makes sin to be forgotten." In addition to this, the Rabbis stressed that even the pious student should maintain his independence which, as we have seen, they considered of prime importance. The sages say: "He who depends on his wife's earnings will not be successful." Another says: "A scholar who depends on his own labor. . . may be called happy."

The example of the working Rabbis and the frequent statements in the Jewish tradition of the vital importance of deeds as well as of study helped to emphasize the value of work and therefore of the worker.

This positive attitude toward work as a creative activity which raises man above the animal level and enables him to achieve independence and self-esteem has always been an integral element of the Jewish social ethic. Teachings reflecting this view were, as we have seen, incorporated into the religious literature of the Jews to be studied and followed by each new generation. In this way, industriousness and individual initiative came to characterize the business and professional lives of the Jewish people. With this strong work ethic permeating Jewish society, unemployment and idleness were not widespread. Nevertheless, one of the most important obligations of a Jew within the community was to give of his substance to help his less fortunate brothers. This sense of responsibility to the poor grows out of teachings found in the earliest strata of biblical law. In *Deuteronomy* 15:7-11, the Lord instructs His people:

If there is among you a poor man...you shall not harden your heart or shut your hand...but you shall open your hand to him, to lend him sufficient for his needs.

Not only the individual Jew, but the community as a whole had a sacred responsibility to help the poor. From the most ancient times, then, the idea that charity was an important social obligation has been rooted in the mentality of the Jew.

This is, we must remember, the same mentality which was shaped in accor-

dance with the positive work ethic we have already examined. And it is in the context of this view of work that Jewish teachings regarding the poor and needy must be seen. The biblical concern for social welfare did not develop in a vacuum; it was an integral part of a larger view of human nature which assumed that men desired to work and that if they were not working it was because of external circumstances which direct communal aid on a temporary basis could help them to overcome. Such attitudes have come down to us through the centuries and are still shared even by the poorest segments of Jewish society. And American society, through the Protestant Reformation, was influenced by most of these Jewish ideals concerning the merit of work.

Even thirty years ago, those who were poor did not lack the traditional work ethic; they wanted to work but they had been caught in the depression—there were simply not enough jobs to go around. The welfare programs instituted during that period were designed to get these people on their feet and back into productive roles in society. Today, however, the same programs have been vastly expanded and installed as permanent fixtures of our government apparatus. While the character of these programs has stagnated in a 1930's mold, the people served by them have changed radically. The current recipients of welfare—the new urban poor—are often those people in our society who are in difficult straits precisely because they have *not* absorbed the positive work ethic which motivates the majority of our people. Welfare programs which ignore this lack are simply self-defeating. Programs which helped the poor to achieve self-sufficiency in the 1930's have in the 1950's and 1960's created hard-core welfare cases in which two and three generations are content to remain on the public dole. Most welfare programs not only offer the recipient no incentive for self-improvement but in some cases even penalize the man who seeks to work by decreasing his welfare allocation. Some welfare programs are indirectly destructive. Thus the Aid to Dependent Children program helps weaken some families when the man realizes that his family can get more from welfare if he leaves them than he can earn for them.

It is time for us to re-evaluate our approach to the problem of poverty in our society. If the poor change, then the methods of helping them must change too. If simplistic liberal welfare programs have inured some of our fellow citizens to perpetual dependence, then we must now encourage them to raise themselves up by educating them in the positive work ethic and rewarding those who seek to follow it with jobs. The younger generation of the urban poor must be helped to understand that the one way for them to achieve a life of dignity and independence is through education and work. Continued government handouts and taking to the streets in riots will not give them dignity or status in our work-oriented society. The money used to fund federal give-away programs might better be turned back to the states and localities to be used for school texts and creative programs stressing self-help. The excellent program of job training and business investment originated by Rev. Sullivan of Philadelphia is a fine example of what should be done. He refused to take government money at first because he knew that bureaucracy was too stifling of incentive.

This path of education is long and tedious, but it is the only one which can possibly succeed. It will be decried as "too slow" by those who still cling to the fiction that overnight solutions are possible. In promising such solutions, they are not only deceiving the poor but are raising false hopes which, when unfulfilled, can easily change to frustration and anger. Regardless of the failures of our present welfare system, many liberals will continue with their outworn panaceas. Our new approach, however, is in the true interest of those we seek to help and in the highest tradition of the biblical spirit. It is the literal fulfillment of Moses Maimonides' teaching regarding the highest level of charity.

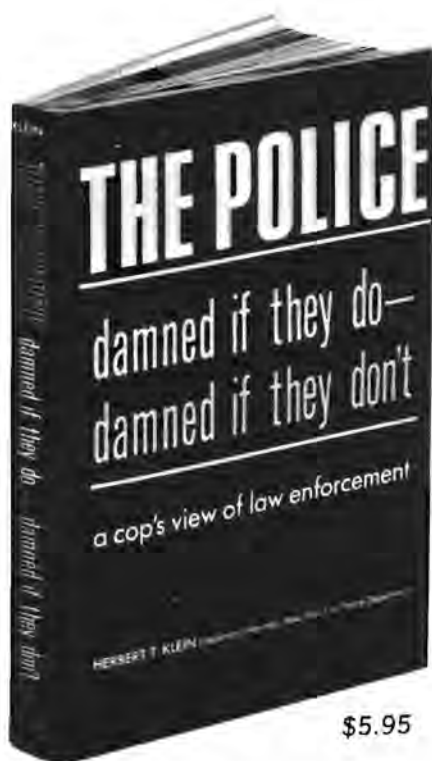
The most meritorious (form of charity) of all is to anticipate charity by preventing poverty; namely *to assist the reduced fellow-man. . .by teaching him a trade or by putting him in the way of business* so that he may earn an honest livelihood and not be forced to the dreadful alternative of holding out his hand for charity. This is the highest step and the summit of charity's golden ladder.

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## POETRY:

### "LETTER TO DREYFUS"

In Paris    having been one  
maggott for flies  
you knew the price    in Warsaw  
they handled you roughly,  
like bricks. Belsen-Belsen's  
only child's rhyme;  
I rip my black coat;  
I kiss my knees.

Belsen-Belsen is only a child's  
rhyme    they sing it  
in Bagdad, sing it  
aloud    Belsen-Belsen  
has a playful sound.

Dreyfus, nothing's changed.  
Last night I stared at my foot.  
I dreamt of young bodies  
in Bagdad; I wish I were  
an insomniac.

Spies! Sabateurs!

Rain!

William Solomon

## BOOK REVIEW:

*The French Enlightenment and the Jews.* By Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, Columbia University Press, New York (1968), \$12.50.

In *The French Enlightenment and the Jews*, Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg attempts to explain the tragic paradox of modern Jewish history: how could the atmosphere which produced the emancipation of the Jews in the French Revolution, have degenerated in less than 150 years into the atmosphere which produced and permitted the Nazi Holocaust? In his search for an answer, Rabbi Hertzberg lucidly examines the history of the Jews in France from the arrival of the Spanish Jews in southern France in the fifteenth century to the Revolution of 1789, and discusses the attitudes of French thinkers of the period regarding the "Jewish question." His startling conclusion is that the roots of modern anti-Semitism are not to be found in the religious doctrines of the Middle Ages, but in the semi-paganism of the "enlightened" and "progressive" French thinkers, the *philosophes*, the intellectual fathers of the Revolution.

The first two thirds of the book are given over to a detailed account of the struggles of the Jewish communities of France to gain a secure place of their own. The last third, analysing the attitudes of French thinkers towards Jews and Judaism, is of particular interest to conservatives, and it is

with this aspect of Rabbi Hertzberg's work that the bulk of this review will be concerned.

The author argues that since the time of Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV, both the Church and the state had begun to reformulate their positions on the Jews. Mercantilist economics had recognized the importance of Jewish commerce to the strength of the state, and the emerging laissez-faire school saw the widening of the sphere of Jewish economic activity as a means to freer, healthier, and more competitive trade. Greater freedom of economic activity was also seen as a means for "reforming" the Jew. Economic assimilation would lead to cultural assimilation, and the Jew would lose those negative attributes (religious and social) which the prejudice of the day believed him to have.

Christian attitudes toward the Jewish faith were undergoing profound changes, generally becoming more positive. There was a widespread re-evaluation and defense of biblical Judaism. The religion of ancient Israel was seen as the religion of "reason and nature." "Enlightened" Christian thought sought, however, to distinguish this pure and ancient Judaism from the Judaism of the Talmud, which was condemned as "base superstition." If the Jew would only return to his biblical roots and discard the Talmud, so the argument went, he would become socially acceptable.

Meanwhile, the apocalyptic tradition saw the Jew as an important part of the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom. In contradistinction to the

orthodox Catholic view, the apocalypticists saw the conversion of the Jews as a necessary precondition for the Second Coming of Christ. The references to Israel in biblical eschatology were not seen as references to the Church, the "New Israel", but as references to the Jewish people. A converted Jewry would form the nucleus of the Church of the Last Days. Increased toleration of Jews was seen as an aid to this necessary conversion, which would be accomplished through kindness and Christian example.

The economic and theological schools discussed above, the author argues, were not advocating the total emancipation of French Jews. They were advocating a gradual process by which Jews could gain admittance to society by becoming less Jewish. Further, Rabbi Hertzberg writes:

Theologians and economists had agreed that they were accepting not of the concretely existing Jew, but of some new Jew that they would remake, or who would remake himself, in the image of what they though he ought to be.

A reconsideration of the status of the Jews on a broader basis than that of economics and theology, is found in the work of the thinker, Montesquieu. Montesquieu was a believer in complete religious toleration. In a free cultural environment, good religious ideas would drive out bad; freedom would bring change. To impose religious conformity by law was tyranny. His public statements, which had great influence, were taken to mean toler-

ance for the Jew. In his great work, *L'esprit des lois*, which also expounded the political idea of separation of powers, he put the following statement into the mouth of a Jew confronting the Portuguese Inquisition:

If you do not want to be Christians, at least be human; treat us as you would if you had neither a religion to guide or a revelation to enlighten you and had to act only on the basis of the weak intimations of justice with which nature endows us.

In the ongoing debate in France on Jews and Judaism, Montesquieu was consistently quoted by the advocates of Jewish liberty. And he was thus cited in refutation of the man who became almost the liberal archetype of sceptical tolerance, Voltaire.

That Voltaire, the uncrowned king of the *philosophes*, was anti-Semitic is undeniable. He was a favorite source for Jew-baiting polemicists all over France. He was almost never quoted by contemporary champions of Jewish emancipation. Rabbi Hertzberg summarizes the Voltairean position as follows: "Not merely their (the Jews') religion but their essential and lasting character was evil." Racism was Voltaire's enduring contribution to European anti-Semitism.

Scholars have usually explained Voltaire's anti-Semitism in two ways: as the result of his hatred for Christianity (a faith which had grown out of Judaism); and as a residuum from his Catholic upbringing which he was

never able to entirely outgrow. Rabbi Hertzberg disagrees; he contends that Voltaire's anti-Semitism was a revival of ancient Greek and Roman attitudes, having little or nothing to do with Christian doctrine.

The anti-religious Voltaire rejected the Bible and biblical Jewish history and thought as central to the Western experience. In its place he posited the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome as the cornerstones of the West. The true classical culture, the actual golden age, had been shattered by the Christian religion. In his attempt to revoke 1700 years of Christian culture, Voltaire returned to the anti-Semitism of the classical world. He saw the Jew as a creature apart from the West, a pernicious Oriental, whose character, then and now, was inimical to the traditions of the enlightened world.

In 1772 this most "enlightened" of men wrote, concerning the Jews:

You seem to me to be the maddest of the lot. The Kafirs, the Hottentots, and the Negroes of Guinea are much more reasonable and more honest people than your ancestors, the Jews. You have surpassed all nations in impertinent fables, in bad conduct, and in barbarism. You deserve to be punished, for this is your destiny.

In his *Essai sur les mœurs* he explains his anti-Semitism in this way: "It is the inevitable result of their (the Jews') laws; they either had to conquer everybody or be hated by the

whole human race." Added to the hate-producing "law" was the maddening refusal of the Jews to accept the "enlightening" influences of Roman military occupation and Roman culture. This tenacity in preserving a traditional culture was most annoying to the "liberal" Voltaire. His first premise was that the Jews had no original culture worth preserving; their religious rites were "borrowed from the Egyptians". Since their culture was so inferior, the refusal of Jews to disappear into the mainstream of classical civilization must be proof positive of their evil nature:

They kept all their customs, which are exactly the opposite of all proper social customs; they were therefore rightly treated as a people opposed to all others, whom they served, out of greed and hatred, out of fanaticism...

In ancient times the Jews resisted the Romans; in modern times they refused the call of the heirs of the Romans, the *philosophes*. Voltaire concluded that they were inherently and implacably the enemies of the West.

Voltaire's anti-Semitism can be seen reflected in his associates. The Enlightenment scholar, Mirabaud, somehow concluded that because the Jews believed that the Lord was God of all men, they therefore hated humanity! D'Holbach, whose life-work was, in Rabbi Hertzberg's words, "to destroy Christianity," went beyond that purpose to engage in anti-Semitism for its own sake, concluding his *L'esprit du Judaïsme* with this stir-



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ring call for Europeans to give up Christianity, which he considered to be a "Jewish superstition:"

Europe! Happy land where for so long a time the arts, sciences, and philosophy have flourished; you whose wisdom and power seem destined to command the rest of the world! Do you never tire of the false dreams invented by imposters in order to deceive the brutish slaves of the Egyptians? ... Leave to the stupid Hebrew, to the frenzied imbeciles, and to the cowardly and degraded Asiatics these superstitions which are as vile as they are mad...

For d'Holbach, the evil in Christianity was an incursion of the Jewish-Oriental into Europe.

Denis Diderot, editor of the *Encyclopedie* and a leader of the radical faction of the "enlightened," would have disagreed with d'Holbach. He had a modicum of respect for Judaism as a religion. His approach was, according to Rabbi Hertzberg, "to find something in the *Jewish spirit*, not merely in the dogmas of their religion...and to define that something as the enemy of humanity." Diderot himself said that he found in the Jews "all the faults that mark an ignorant and superstitious people." His ultimate conclusion was "This people should be kept separate from others."

The Enlightenment tradition represented by Voltaire, d'Holbach and Diderot, the predominant faction of the *philosophes*, is characterized by

the author as "absolutist:"

It imagined itself as a positive force for the making of a new world, and everyone had to be remade in order to be part of the new heaven. The particular disaster of the Jew was that the men of the Enlightenment were not entirely certain that he could enter the heaven even after he was remade.

The minority strain in the Enlightenment was that of Montesquieu, who had more faith in the organic growth of the English constitution than in the synthetic secular millenium of the absolutists. The absolutists fathered the terror of the French Revolution; Montesquieu influenced the Constitution of the United States. In revolutionary France, as Rabbi Hertzberg demonstrates, Jewish emancipation required a great political struggle. The much praised and grandly worded *Declaration of the Rights of Man* was not thought to apply to Jews. The American Revolution, however, and the Constitution which followed, made no distinction between Christian and Jew and gave freedom to both.

Rabbi Hertzberg's monumental study has been received somewhat ambivalently by the liberal community. Old myths die hard, and the myth of the sceptical, slightly bemused, and tolerant "progressive" thinkers of the Enlightenment dies especially hard. Let us hope that Rabbi Hertzberg's book will help lead to the recognition that the Enlightenment was hardly the dawn of liberty, pure and unalloyed, but rather that implicit within it were some of the most monstrous forms of

tyranny, racism and religious intolerance which it updated and refined pre-

paring the way for the coming of Hitler 150 years later.

Andrew Saul Attaway

# Let My People Go

## A Reading For The Passover Seder

TO REMIND US OF THE  
THREE MILLION JEWS  
IN BONDAGE WITHIN  
THE SOVIET UNION

*The following paragraphs are to be read aloud by one of the participants at the Seder table during the latter part of the service, just before the door is opened for the symbolic entrance of Elijah the Prophet.*

Tonight, as we celebrate the liberation of our ancestors from Egyptian slavery, let us be mindful of our fellow Jews who remain in bondage within the Soviet Union. What meaning would there be in these Seder rituals if they did not move us to remember those who are not permitted to celebrate the Passover this year and to call to mind the thousands of closed synagogues, the imprisoned rabbis and teachers, the young Jews forbidden to follow or even to study the faith of their fathers, and the martyrs who gave their lives in Siberian labor camps and before Soviet firing squads, rather than abandon their Jewish heritage?

Today the oppressed Jews of Russia cry out for freedom even as their ancestors did in ancient Egypt. But, like the pharaoh of that age, the modern pharaohs who rule the Communist Empire "know not the Lord, nor will they let the people go."

And what of us who are comfortable and secure in this free land? Will we answer the cries of our brethren with silence? Will we be remembered as the generation that sat idly by while a Jewish community of three million souls was spiritually annihilated?

Let us resolve at this season of freedom to do all in our power to inform ourselves and our community of the tragic plight of Soviet Jewry and to encourage our government to exert sufficient pressures on the Communist rulers to end these horrors, so that the Jews of Russia, even as the Israelites of old, may be brought forth "from slavery to freedom, from anguish to joy, from sorrow to festivity, from darkness to great light."

Amen



