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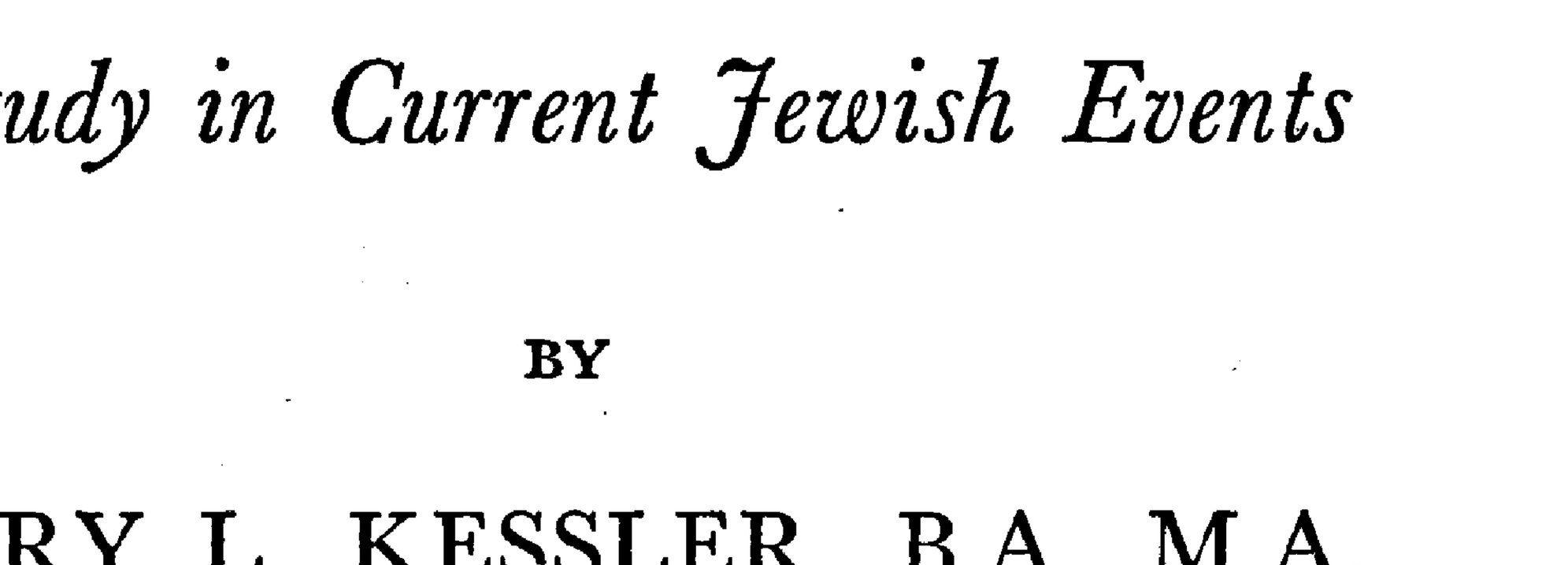
# JEWS AND WORLD AFFAIRS

# JEWS AND WORLD AFFAIRS

*A Study in Current Jewish Events*

BY

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*To the Memory of*

JOSEPH BRAGIN

*My Teacher and Friend*

# PREFACE

The role of scapegoat, once regarded as a relic of a barbaric past, is being resurrected on a vast scale in this day and age. Thousands of Jews and Christians in certain European countries are playing the tragic role of the "Wandering Jews" of the 20th century. Racial myths of "Aryan" superiority, like the superstitions of demons and evil spirits in their day, are confusing men's minds and unleashing the basest of passions of intolerance and hatred. It is precisely in such an atmosphere that the Hitlers and Goebbels are able to breed and infect entire nations with their virus of hate and persecution.

Anti-Semites, from Haman to Hitler and, of late, Mussolini, have attacked the Jews as a dangerous people who are to be held responsible for the misfortunes of mankind. Internationalism and chauvinism, pacifism and militarism, socialism and capitalism, communism and democracy—rather self-contradictory "isms"—are laid simultaneously at the feet of the Jews! Reasonable persons know that Jews, wherever they may reside, are as much the products of their environment as are their non-Jewish neighbors.

It is not within the scope of this book to discuss

the significant creative and reconstructive work of the numerous Jewish organizations, at home and abroad, in the fields of education, religion, social service, philanthropy, vocational training and colonization. In the main, the restrictive measures imposed upon Jews by certain governments are considered in the light of related world affairs. It is hoped that this background, supplemented by a more comprehensive history text book, will aid the student in understanding and interpreting contemporary Jewish problems.

H. L. K.

JULY 1939.

# INTRODUCTION

One of the handicaps which has confronted the teacher in the modern Jewish school, particularly in the upper grades, post-confirmation and high school classes, is the lack of suitable text books and supplementary materials as essential aids in the teaching of contemporary Jewish history. The shortcoming in this field of Jewish study is especially regrettable, for it renders it most difficult for the teacher to transmit to the pupils an adequate knowledge of the background of the current Jewish scene, an important stepping stone in the process of integrating them into the living, pulsating Jewish community.

In this work, the author presents the salient facts concerning the situation of the Jews in various lands. Both sides of controversial issues are generally set forth clearly and succinctly. Neither is there any attempt to soft-pedal or equivocate.

Very dismal indeed is the story which he recounts of Jewish misery and persecution in European lands, of increasing un-American discrimination and intolerance in the United States, and of shocking betrayal in Palestine by the mandatory power, in

total disregard of solemn pledges made and reiterated in the presence of the world, and of the commendable record of constructive achievement which the Yishuv already has to its credit.

Dark, dense clouds hover over the camp of Israel in the lands of oppression. Again the Jewish people is being utilized by tyrants as a scapegoat to divert the attention of the misguided masses from their misdeeds. For the presence of the Jews in their midst is anathema. The democratic ideology and concepts inherent in Judaism, with its emphasis on equality, freedom and the sacredness of human life, run absolutely counter to the medieval principles which their governments emulate—racial intolerance, suppression of liberty and degradation of human personality. Again the Jews serve as a barometer of civilization, reflecting pretty accurately by the treatment accorded them and the conditions under which they are compelled to dwell in a particular country, the character of civilization prevalent there.

The material embodied in this book should prove helpful to teachers and group leaders in reenforcing the Jewish apperceptive mass of the young people entrusted in their care, and in converting, wherever possible, the deep personal concern in the tragic plight of our unfortunate brethren abroad manifest on all sides, into abiding interest in the more hopeful creative and colorful aspects of Jewish life.

MORDECAI SOLTES.

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# JEWS AND WORLD AFFAIRS

# CHAPTER I

# GERMANY TURNS BACK THE CLOCK OF CIVILIZATION

## *BOOK BURNING*

On May 10, 1933, in front of the Berlin Opera House—and in a number of other cities—huge bonfires were made which shot up flames of unholy light. Truck after truck rolled by to be emptied of its load. Bands played; hooligan mobs sang; Nazi storm troopers gave curt orders. The works of more than one hundred and fifty internationally famous scientists, artists and intellectuals—Jews and non-Jews—were thrown into the flames in a heap. Among those thus signally honored were the writings of Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Jacob Wassermann, Havelock Ellis, Oscar Wilde, Emile Zola, Lion Feuchtwanger, Erich Maria Remarque, Heinrich Heine, Max Reinhardt and Emil Ludwig.

It is difficult to account in rational terms for the reversion of a once civilized and cultured people to a state of barbarism. Perhaps it is unjust thus to indict a whole people which is as much a victim of the

modern Attila as is the Jewish element. It is a sad fact, nevertheless, that an entire generation in Nazi Germany and elsewhere is being infected systematically with the poisonous virus of intolerance and hate which may destroy civilization as a whole unless it is checked in time by the more enlightened peoples of the world.

## *GERMANY AND THE WORLD WAR*

Germany paid a particularly heavy toll for her warmongers' militaristic aims in the World War. This is a fact which is generally conceded. Aside from the death of millions of her citizens, Germany was deprived by the Versailles Treaty of about one-tenth of her population, a part of her European land, all her foreign colonies, a large portion of her natural resources, a part of her manufacturing establishments, a part of her agricultural output and her merchant marine. The German Republic was deeply humiliated by the allied occupation of her most important industrial area—the Ruhr. The post-war decade was one of extreme suffering and misery for the German masses as a whole. The usual aftermath of war brought in its wake dislocated industry, unstable government, and a lack of such bare necessities as food and shelter. Add to this the consciousness of the war-guilt and the humiliation heaped upon the vanquished by the victors and it is not surprising that the German people as a whole showed the unmistakable symptoms of a national inferiority complex.

## *THE DEMOCRACIES' RESPONSIBILITY*

The allied powers either failed to understand the potential menace inherent in the collapse of the morale of the German nation or, having recognized it, were powerless to refrain from exacting the "pound of flesh" from their erstwhile foe. To be sure, there did appear on the scene in those fateful days the heroic figures of Wilson, Stresseman and Briand who, in spite of the unloosed passions of hate and vengeance, sought to heal the national wounds. But unfortunately, the vindictive policies of Clemenceau and Poincaré took precedence over the long-range visions of the "apostles of peace." Democracy could not flourish where people hungered for bread, sought employment in vain, and suffered loss of self-respect particularly at the hands of foreign "democratic" powers. Hence, the demise of the Weimar Constitution in so short a time. The birth of the National Socialist Party in Germany in the early years following the signing of the Versailles Treaty is to be explained largely in terms of the German economic and moral collapse and the ensuing widespread suffering. The world economic depression of 1929 added its disastrous effects and, consequently, by 1932 the situation in Germany assumed a very critical stage. The number of unemployed alone in that year reached the figure of six and a half million out of a total population of some 65,000,000. The German masses were ripe for the seeds of Nazi culture. It is to the everlasting credit of the German people, how-

ever, that they had withstood the hollow but luring promises of that demagogue, Adolf Hitler, for the length of time that they did before succumbing.

## *THE NAZIS TAKE CONTROL*

When the Nazis came into power in 1933, anti-Semitism reared its ugly head in Germany and has held sway there ever since. It has not confined its devastating activities to Germany alone, but has since dug its deadly fangs into the body politic of the Reich's neighbors, viz., Poland, Danzig, Hungary, Rumania and Italy as well as in Palestine and even in the Americas. The Jews who have lived in Germany for more than sixteen centuries and have since become an integral part of the nation have suddenly been turned into outcasts and pariahs, without any rights whatsoever, civic or human. It seems as if the Nazi rulers will not rest content until they have completely reduced the Jews to the position of "helots"—state serfs—assuming that enough of them survive the many trials and tribulations which now make up their daily rations. One looks in vain for any reasonable explanation for this unprecedented throw-back to the terror of the Inquisition era. The Nazis, of course, have turned out loads of propaganda material which seeks to brand the Jew—poor or rich, humble or prominent, ignorant or cultured, pacifist or militarist, reactionary or radical—as the very devil incarnate. Once again the Jew has been conveniently utilized as the scapegoat to assume all the ills which had ever befallen Germany or the world at large. The

accusations of the Nazis against the Jews are so self-contradictory that they are devoid of any rational meaning whatsoever.

## *NAZI SLANDERS*

The defeat of the German "invincible" army in the World War has been a bitter pill for German nationalists to swallow. The Nazis attributed the German debacle to the cowardice and treason of the "International Jews." Even a cursory perusal of the official records shows the stark falsity and maliciousness of the Nazis' charges. According to the census of 1910, there resided in Germany approximately 600,000 Jews, constituting about nine-tenths of one per cent or slightly less than one per cent of the entire population of some 65,000,000 people. During the World War about 96,000 Jews—constituting 16 per cent of the whole German Jewish population—served in the German army and of these 80,000 were in the front line trenches. Furthermore, of the 96,000 Jews in the army, over 10,000, or about 10.4 per cent were volunteers. More than 12,000 Jews laid down their lives for Germany. The Kaiser's government decorated 35,000 Jewish soldiers for bravery. Of the 165 Jewish aviators at the German front, 30 Jewish aces gave their lives for the German fatherland. These few eloquent facts definitely give the lie to the Nazi slanders concerning the "cowardice" and "treason" of the German Jews against Germany during the World War (*The Jews in Nazi Germany*, published by The American Jewish Committee, 1935, p. 13).

Another standard Nazi lie is the charge that Jewish "domination" in the fields of finance, industries, professions, and civil service had a detrimental effect upon the whole German economy. In 1925 some 236,000 people in Germany participated in the management of the country's banks and stock exchange. Of this number about 7,500—roughly 3.3 per cent—were Jews. A disproportionate number of Jews eked out their livelihood from the clothing and fur industries. The "detrimental" effect of such "domination" becomes apparent when the contrast is noted between Leipzig's past prosperity and present decline as a result of its Jewish abandonment. This paradox—Leipzig's weakening as a fur market when Jewish furriers were driven out—must give even the Nazis much concern.

What of the alleged "Jewish domination" in the other fields? Out of the 21,700 instructors, professors, and educational administrators throughout Germany in the secondary schools and universities, prior to Hitler, 270 or 1.3 per cent were Jews.

In the field of law, there were 2,900 Jewish lawyers among the 13,579 lawyers in Germany in 1925. Thus the Jewish lawyers constituted about 20 per cent of the legal profession in Germany. This disproportionate ratio of Jews in the field of law in Germany, as elsewhere, may be attributed to the fact that Jews have always concentrated in the cities. This urbanization of the Jews the world over throughout their long history in the Diaspora has been the result of the many restrictions imposed upon them against owning

land. The practice of law is essentially an urban profession. The large number of Jews in this field may also be accounted for by the anti-Jewish discrimination in the civil service which made law one of the few careers open to Jewish intellectuals. The significance of this fact is grasped when it is noted that there was not a single Jew among the "12 governors of provinces, the 35 district presidents or the 400 presiding judges throughout Prussia for the six years preceding the Nazi regime." (*The Economic Destruction of German Jewry by the Nazi Regime,* 1933-1937, published by the American Jewish Congress, 1937, pp. 6-8.)

## *THE JEWS AND COMMUNISM*

The Nazis are notorious for their falsification of well-established facts regarding their opponents. In attempting to give plausibility to the lie that the Jews are responsible for Germany's ills, they have made "Jew" synonymous with "Communist." That is to say that Communism is inherently a Jewish movement; that every Jew is a Communist and, conversely, that every Communist is a Jew. It is not pertinent at this point to give a critical analysis of Communism as an economic or social philosophy. It may, however, be observed in passing that Nazism has certainly paid Communism a large measure of homage by adopting all of the vices of dictatorship—suppression of individual liberties—even though it has rejected its virtues of racial tolerance toward all who conform to the new political, economic, and social

order. At least in Soviet Russia one does not hear of anti-Semitism sanctioned by any responsible government heads nor any of the Nazi myths concerning self-appointed "superior" Nordics or "inferior" non-Aryans.

The last democratic election held in Germany in 1932 proves how baseless is the Nazi charge that Jew and Communist are identical. Approximately 334,000 Jews voted in that election. It is noteworthy that the Communist Party, allegedly composed of Jews, received 4,900,000 votes. Suppose it were assumed for the sake of argument that every single Jew of the 334,000 Jewish voters voted the "Red" ticket. The Jewish vote would then account for only 7 per cent of the entire Communist vote, while the contribution of the "German Aryans" to this vote would total 93 per cent. Of course, the assumption that all the German Jews, or even many of them, voted the Communist ticket is absurd when it is recalled that the Jews in Germany, who were largely engaged in trade, industry, and the professions, were essentially a middle class group—a group which is hardly radical, let alone Communist. It might also be added that in 1932 not even a single one of those elected of the Communist Party to the German Reichstag was a Jew.

## *THE NUREMBERG LAWS*

When the Nazis took control of Germany in 1933, they started a reign of terror unsurpassed in history for blunt brutality and savage sadism on a national

scale. To Hitler's bloody ax and charnel houses, known as "concentration camps," was added a more refined instrument of torture in the form of the "cold pogrom" which does not kill its hapless victim at once but by a deferred process of mental agony brings him to the verge of insanity or self-destruction, often both. The Nazis have attempted to give a semblance of sanity to their anarchistic deeds. In September of 1935, they adopted a series of laws known as the "Nuremberg Laws" which aimed at the complete elimination of the German Jews from the social, political, economic, and professional life of Germany. Every means of livelihood is being taken away from the Jew by this "cold pogrom." Some of the more fortunate ones are relieved of their property and savings and are given forty-eight hours or less in which to leave the country. More than 150,000 Jews have already been forced to become refugees and seek new homes in more hospitable countries. Some 700,000 still remain trapped, as it were, in the Third Reich. The ones that remain even temporarily in Germany, including Austria, are being ruthlessly eliminated from the life of the country and must subsist on the relief which their more fortunate brethren in other lands have been able to afford them.

Under the "Nuremberg Laws" and other decrees, a Jew cannot be a citizen in Germany. Likewise, Jews are barred from the practice of medicine, law, dentistry, pharmacy, accountancy, and journalism. The film industry, real estate, and the arts are also closed

to the Jews. Jews are deprived of legal protection. A German "Aryan" debtor need not pay his debts to a Jew if the German creditor has transferred the claim to a Jew. The Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels has "Aryanized" the cultural life of Germany. He has decreed that no film may be shown in which a single Jew has been engaged as stage-manager, director, producer, actor, singer, dancer, writer or cutter. The same applies to the theatre. Jewish conductors, composers and musicians have been summarily dismissed from German orchestras. Compositions by Jewish composers—living or dead—may not be played. It is a crime in Germany today to play or listen to the "Spring Song" of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdi.

German journalism once prided itself with such world-renowned publishers as Rudolph Mosse and Leopold Ullstein. Now there is not a single Jew either on the editorial staff or in the business office of any German newspaper or magazine. Even newsboys must prove that they are "pure Aryans" before they are permitted to shout, "Extras!" Jews may not even advertise in German newspapers. Late in 1936, two Jewish merchants of the city of Magdeburg were sentenced to several weeks in jail for having put an advertisement in a local paper.

Germans are interfered with by Hitler's storm troopers when they attempt to patronize Jewish stores. Very efficient means are resorted to in order to make the boycott of Jewish business establishments effective. Non-Jewish shops display such signs as

"Aryan Shop" or "German Firm." Jewish firms are smeared with the word "Jude" by the Nazi Brown Shirts. German Gentiles who bravely venture to enter a "non-Aryan" store are photographed and publicized with such euphonious epithets as "Aryan Swine."

## *"LEGAL" LOOTING*

Recently, in June of 1938, anti-Jewish excesses broke out in Berlin's main business section in the form of "bucket squads" disfiguring Jewish stores and Nazi rabble looting fashionable shops whose owners happened to be Jewish or partly Jewish. The German police were entirely indifferent to this latest spectacle of human degeneracy. It was heartening to learn that a goodly portion of the German public itself was heartily disgusted with these disgraceful antics. As a result of the unfavorable reaction created within the Reich as well as abroad, these anti-Jewish disorders were halted abruptly. It is generally believed that the Four-Year Plan Commissioner, Field Marshal Hermann Goering, and his aides-de-camp inspired these attacks on Jews to hasten their emigration. This would facilitate the "legal" appropriation of practically all the property and wealth of those Jews who still reside in Germany. For when Jews leave the Third Reich these days they seldom take with them any of their property or wealth. Shortly before the anti-Jewish outbreak of June 1938, Goering ordered German Jews to submit reports of their property, if above 5,000 marks, before June 30, 1938. That is the Hitler method of "simpli-

fying" finance in the Third Reich. A more appropriate term might be "highway robbery."

## *NAZI BARBARISM*

On November 7, 1938, a young Polish Jew of seventeen by the name of Herschel Grynszpan went to the German Embassy building in Paris and fired several shots at Ernst vom Rath, a secretary to the German Ambassador. The young lad, who was a homeless refugee, had been brooding over the contents of a post card from his parents in Germany who had been deported to the Polish frontier. Half-crazed by his family's plight, Grynszpan fired a shot which let loose the most brutal and cowardly attacks of a government in modern times against its own defenseless inhabitants.

The death of Ernst vom Rath was the signal for the commencement of the Hitler reign of terror. Thousands of unsuspecting and innocent German and Austrian Jews were jailed; Jewish stores were sacked and pillaged; synagogues were burned; homes were raided and looted. And while the law of the jungle was replacing civilization, the Nazi Government of Hitler and Goebbels gave free reign to the "Aryan" gangsters and vandals to rob stores, loot homes, and desecrate houses of worship. The German people looked on and could not even protest; they were as helpless as the Jewish victims themselves. The reign of terror was followed in quick succession by decrees barring Jews from virtually all business; theatres, concert halls, movies, high schools and col-

leges were closed to them. A "fine" of 1,000,000,000 marks ($400,000,000) was imposed upon the whole German Jewish community as the penalty for the assassination of the German secretary; Jewish proprietors were forbidden to re-open their shops but were nevertheless compelled to pay their employees; furthermore, Jewish storekeepers were compelled to repair the damages of the Nazi hooligans at their own expense!

## *WORLD PROTEST*

The latest display of Nazi barbarism has evoked an ever-swelling wave of protest from the masses and leaders in all walks of life both here and abroad. President Franklin D. Roosevelt denounced the uncivilized conduct of the Hitler regime declaring, "I myself could scarcely believe that such things could occur in a twentieth-century civilization." President Roosevelt gave emphasis to the American sentiment by calling home from Germany the American Ambassador, Hugh R. Wilson, to report on the latest conditions in Germany. The German Government retaliated by recalling the German Ambassador from Washington to report on the "singular" attitude of President Roosevelt and other leading Americans regarding the Nazi persecutions.

The Evian Intergovernmental Committee is confronted with a most pressing and urgent task of providing satisfactory havens of refuge for those whom President Roosevelt has described as "helpless, persecuted wanderers with no place to lay their heads."

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# CHAPTER II

# EUROPEAN JEWS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

## *THE MIDDLE AGES*

The position of the Jews throughout their history in the Diaspora was influenced by the surrounding political, economic and cultural conditions of their neighbors. The Jews were deprived of citizenship throughout the Middle Ages and were segregated into ghettoes in Europe because they were regarded as aliens. They therefore built up an elaborate communal structure of their own, the "Kahals," where they had their own courts of law, imposed and collected taxes, and supervised their own education.

## *AFTER THE FRENCH REVOLUTION*

However, more enlightened philosophical and cultural forces were at work which culminated in the French Revolution of 1789. The new ideal which brought renewed faith and hope for all the downtrodden and oppressed was expressed by the cry "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." This powerful appeal penetrated even the dark and sombre walls of

the ghetto and gave the Jews encouragement to struggle for civil and political equality. Indeed, a movement of Enlightenment or "Haskalah" arose which guided Jews away from the conception that they were to be cut off from the stream of European civilization. The French Jews adopted the principle that they were Frenchmen, first and foremost—French-men of the Jewish faith, to be sure. They no longer regarded themselves as a national group. Jews, they reasoned, were essentially a religious group. This new outlook spread rapidly and was accepted by many Jews in such countries as France, England and Germany. This new conception led to such divisions as Orthodox and Reform Judaism.

*WESTERN EUROPE*

Reform Judaism sought to divest traditional Judaism of its national character and to minimize the differences in form and practice between Judaism and Christianity. Assimilation was a direct consequence of this changed outlook. There remained but a short step to intermarriage and conversion to Christianity for many Jews in Western and Central Europe. Many took this step for they were eager to imbibe Western culture and civilization, to gain admission to the universities, and to take part in the professional, cultural and industrial life of their countries.

Jewish assimilation in France, England and Germany proceeded at a rapid pace because these countries were unified in a national sense and minority

groups with their peculiar languages and customs seemed quite out of place. Furthermore, Jews in Western and Central Europe constituted a very small fraction of the population.

## *EASTERN EUROPE*

The East-European situation was totally different. Such countries as Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Russia, and Russian-Poland comprised diverse nationalities within their borders. Jewish and non-Jewish minorities constituted a very substantial proportion of the entire population. The Jews in Eastern Europe adhered more steadfastly to the traditional folkways, customs, language, and religion than did their western co-religionists. This is not to imply that there were not or are not basic differences among the millions of East-European Jews. The Yiddishists led by the Jewish historian, Simon Dubnow, favored perpetuating the Yiddish language and achieving national autonomy wherever they lived in large numbers. The Zionists have been in favor of preserving the Hebrew language and rebuilding Palestine as the Jewish National Homeland.

Surrounded on all sides by intense national groups, it is not surprising that the East-European Jew found it difficult to forsake his "Pale of Settlement" and adopt the language and customs of these groups. Besides, the Jews in Eastern Europe formed solid blocks of the total population. The World War and its aftermath failed to bring about peace and understanding between the different nationalities. Indeed,

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it actually intensified their conflicting, chauvinistic passions.

## *AFTER THE VERSAILLES TREATY*

In 1919, the Versailles Treaty attempted to deal with Europe's "sore spot" of suppressed national minorities. The nationalism of these groups had been fanned by the war. After the war, they clamored for national independence which was extended to them on the basis of President Woodrow Wilson's idea of national self-determination. As a result, several new states were formed: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia; a number of other states were reconstructed: Austria (since made a province of Nazi Germany), Greece, Turkey, Albania, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland.

## *MINORITIES*

In spite of this attempt to cope with the problems of conflicting nationalisms, the doctrine of self-determination brought in its wake an even more complicated situation. The newly-formed and reconstructed states found themselves plagued in turn by the now-familiar demands of compact national minorities within their own borders. For example, in 1919, approximately 25 per cent of the inhabitants of Poland were of non-Polish nationality. There was a very large group of Ukrainians followed by compact groups of Jews and Germans among the 75 per cent of Poles in Poland. Czechoslovakia inherited some 3,500,000 Germans in the Sudeten area in addition

to large groups of Magyars, Ruthenians, Poles and about 350,000 Jews. Rumania's population of some 18,000,000 people included about four million non-Rumanian inhabitants who fell into the category of national minorities. Of these, roughly 1,000,000 were Jews. Similarly, the other states had compact blocks of so-called non-nationals among their inhabitants.

These national minority groups demanded protection at the hands of the League of Nations at the end of the World War. This was to be achieved by inducing the aforementioned states—with the addition of Italy and Turkey—to sign "Minority Treaties" which, in general, solemnly promised to guarantee the fundamental political, economic, religious, social, and cultural rights of national minorities. Incidentally, the Jews of Hungary and Turkey renounced the rights of national minorities accorded to them by the minority treaties. They do not regard themselves as of a distinct Jewish nationality but rather as Hungarians and Turks of the Jewish religion.

The League of Nations was set up as the guardian of the rights accorded to the minority groups in the treaties. Disputes regarding the violation of these rights were to be brought to the League and, as a last resort, to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

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# CHAPTER III

# THE JEWS IN POLAND—A STUDY IN MISERY

## *POST-WAR CONDITIONS*

Post-war conditions seriously dislocated the economic and political systems of the world. The war which was to "end wars" and make the world "safe for democracy" actually laid the foundations for future strife and sowed the seeds of regimentation and dictatorship. It has been said that the world powers are now divided into two broad camps: the "haves" and the "have-nots." The "haves" are those powers, like Russia, Great Britain, France, and the United States, which are reputed to have ample territory and raw materials for their populations. The so-called "have-nots," Italy, Japan, Germany, and a number of smaller nations are represented as being overcrowded and lacking in sufficient raw materials to take care of their national needs. Broadly speaking, the first group wishes to maintain peace and safeguard its possessions while the "dissatisfied" powers regard war as the only instrument with which to achieve their

imperialistic aims. How has the latter policy aggravated post-war conditions?

The world powers as well as the smaller countries are convinced that war is inevitable as soon as those nations which seek to profit from war are sufficiently rearmed. Consequently, all nations are speeding up rearmaments. Furthermore, the dictatorships are striving to become economically self-sufficient in the event that war should cut off the importation of basic necessities. This policy of self-sufficiency, or autarchy, is linked with high tariffs which result in cutting down imports. The immediate effect of this scheme is a general reduction in foreign trade. This in turn drastically reduces employment in all countries whose foreign trade is curtailed.

## *POLAND'S LOCATION*

A glance at a map will show that Poland is wedged in between the world's two strongest dictatorships, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. To withstand the powerful influences emanating from Berlin and Moscow, Poland is pursuing a policy of bilateral agreements with both of her powerful neighbors and with France, Rumania, and the Baltic States as a safeguard against the first two. But all nations are aware these days that treaties may become scraps of paper in the hands of the aggressor. Hence, Poland has seen fit to embark upon a vast rearmament program to safeguard her political sovereignty.

## *POLISH MINORITIES*

In 1795, Poland was dismembered by Austria, Russia, and Prussia. She regained her national independence in 1919 after more than a century of heroic struggles. Polish patriots and their compatriots, Polish Jews, fought side by side for the common cause of Polish liberty and freedom. The autocratic oppressor of the Poles then was the Russian Czar. Today, the oppressor of Poland's three and a half million Jews is the Polish Government itself. Verily, the enslaved ofttimes become the most vicious of taskmasters.

In 1919, the Polish Republic guaranteed civic, political, and economic rights to her minorities who constituted more than 25 per cent of the nation. Today they make up about 31 per cent of the total population. Present-day Poland is counted among the totalitarian states where democracy is gasping its last, if it is not wholly dead. The head of the government is still nominally the president but the once-representative body of the nation, the Sejm, has been rendered powerless. The actual head of Poland is Marshall Smigly-Rydz. Polish nationalism is intensified to a fanatical degree by the government, the militarists, and the church. The first victims to be hit by this extreme nationalism are the minorities, among whom are the Jews. When this exaggerated patriotism of the Poles is examined, it is found strangely akin to the "Aryanism" and National Socialism of Nazi Germany. Moreover, the former as well

as the latter are in reality a cloak to hide perplexing political and economic problems.

## *"POLONIZATION"*

After the World War, the Baltic States and other East European countries set up tariff barriers, in accordance with the policy of economic self-sufficiency, which brought ruin upon Polish industry and commerce. The world-wide economic depression of 1929 added its devastating effects upon the industrial and agricultural plight of the Poles. Thousands of landless Polish peasants streamed into the cities to seek jobs. The government assumed control of the banks, factories, and farms by establishing trusts and cooperatives. Recovery was to be brought about by a process of "Polonization." The chief victims of this process, though by no means the only ones, have been the Polish Jews. For them, "Polonization" has come to mean Jewish strangulation.

## *DISTRESS OF POLISH JEWRY*

The total population of Poland is about 33,000,000 —of whom 3,150,000 are Jews. Thus, the Jews constitute slightly less than 10 per cent of the entire population. The Jews have lived in Poland ever since the Middle Ages during which time they had been encouraged to settle there by Polish kings who sought to build a strong middle class to carry on commerce and trade. Poland possesses the largest Jewish population today—outside of the United States—and Polish Jews constitute the highest percentage of Jews in

any country in the world with the single exception of Palestine. The tragic situation of the Jews in Poland and in other East-European countries has been described by Otto D. Tolischus, of the "New York Times," in the issue of February 7, 1937:

"In all these countries the vast majority of the Jews, totaling some 5,000,000 souls, or 30 per cent of the whole Jewish population of the world, are now facing the choice either of repeating the Exodus on a bigger scale than that chronicled in the Bible, and somehow crashing through the immigration bars erected against them everywhere, or spending the rest of their lives in an atmosphere of creeping peril and dying a slow death from economic strangulation."

Why are the Jews the main sufferers from the political and economic revolutions now in progress in Poland and in other East European countries? This question is discussed more fully in Chapter XIX but it is significant to note, at this point, that the Jews have the most to lose because of their disproportionate concentration in the fields of commerce, trade and the professions. A few simple statistics will make clear the extent of the unhealthy economic and social structure of the Jews in Poland.

1. Although the Jewish population of Poland constitutes slightly less than 10 per cent of the entire nation, it comprises more than 30 per cent of the urban population. That is, the great majority of the Jews in Poland live in the cities while most of the Poles live in the rural areas.

2. Jews control about 60 per cent of the trade and commerce and 40 per cent of the small industries. It is interesting to note that the Polish language does not have a word which is the equivalent for "commerce." The word "Handel," which means "commerce" in German and Yiddish, is used.

3. Jews furnish approximately 30 per cent of all the Polish lawyers and 50 per cent of the doctors ("The New York Times"—February 8, 1937).

These few figures indicate that Polish Jewry is concentrated in the cities, in commerce, and in the professions in an abnormal ratio. However, the student must go beyond these and similar figures to get a true insight into the forces at work which have contributed to the development of this Jewish structure.

## *ECONOMIC ANTI-SEMITISM*

Economic anti-Semitism is largely responsible for the concentration of Jews in the aforementioned fields. The great number of Jewish lawyers in Poland can be explained by the fact that there are so few Jewish judges and Jewish prosecutors in the Polish courts. Many Jewish medical students might have chosen to work in related fields, like biology, chemistry, bacteriology, and in other types of scientific research if it were possible. Jews are virtually excluded from these and similar professional careers because they rest upon governmental patronage. There are only about 2,000 Jews among Poland's 80,000 teachers—or roughly 2.5 per cent of the

teachers are Jewish. The so-called large percentage of Jews participating in the commercial life of the nation should not be misleading. The vast majority of Jews officially listed in these occupations are small shopkeepers and peddlers whose entire "stock" seldom exceeds the sum of five dollars. The term "luftmensch" would be a far more appropriate one to describe their status than "merchant." These Jewish peddlers with their characteristic ghetto garb are pictures of misery and sorrow.

## *POLISH PEASANTS*

The lot of the Polish peasants is not a happy one, by any means, either. Approximately, 6,000,000 Poles of the rural areas are landless and destitute. The general standard of living in Poland is among the lowest in Europe. This accounts for the steady stream of thousands of landless Polish peasants to the cities to seek economic improvement in factory, mill, and store—fields already far too overcrowded.

## *ANTI-JEWISH LEGISLATION*

The Compulsory Sunday Rest Act compels shopkeepers to keep their businesses closed from Saturday noon to Monday morning. In effect, this law places unjustified burdens upon Jewish employers for it actually forces them to keep their shops closed from Friday evening to Monday morning. Jews in the East End of London close their places of business on Friday evening and Saturday but are permitted to keep them open on Sunday. The same is true on the East

Side in New York City. Poland, however, which signed treaties guaranteeing civil and religious rights to its minorities, has seen fit to be guided by the intolerant, Fascist states rather than by the great democracies.

In 1936, a bill was passed modifying the Jewish method of slaughtering animals for food. The Hebrew term for slaughtering animals in accordance with the Jewish ritual is "shehitah." What reason did the government advance for this piece of legislation? Its contention was that the Jewish method was not "humane." This seems rather ironic. Here we behold a government moved by animals being led to the slaughter, yet tolerant of pogroms and acts of terrorism against human beings. Had this bill passed in its original form it would have caused great hardship to the Jewish masses who eat only kosher meat. It would have compelled Orthodox Jews to stop eating meat or else import kosher meat at an exorbitant cost. The bill that finally passed permitted kosher slaughtering only for religious needs of the communities at very high prices.

What, then, was the motive behind the government's attempt to abolish "shehitah"? Thousands of Jewish workers are engaged in the meat trade and non-Jewish butchers have long coveted this trade. This was but another instance of the anti-Jewish aims of the government to oust Jews from various trades and limit the sphere of their economic activities.

## *"GHETTO BENCHES"*

"Ghetto Benches" have been established for Jewish students in Polish colleges and universities. This manifestation of Polish anti-Semitism is designed to separate Jewish students from non-Jewish ones. World-wide protests met this act of intolerance. In our own country, the American Section of the International League for Academic Freedom, on behalf of some 1,000 teachers associated with over one hundred universities, has appealed to the Polish Ministry of Education urging it to abolish the "Ghetto Benches." Prominent among the signers were such scholars as Dr. Alvin Johnson, Prof. John Dewey, Prof. Wesley C. Mitchell, and Prof. Albert Einstein. In addition, a protest against Jewish segregation in the Polish colleges and universities was signed by 179 non-Jewish scholars. The protest read in part: ". . . Such discrimination seems to us alien to the spirit of academic freedom and of the free cooperation in the pursuit of knowledge that is so essential to the world of scholarship. . . . In the pursuit of truth there is no room for religious or racial segregation. . . ." ("The New York Times," December 16, 1937).

There was a touch of grim humor in one report from the Polish city of Cracow where the college authorities solved the "ghetto bench" problem in a fitting manner. Those students who had signed a petition to segregate the Jews were themselves seated on separate benches.

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## CHAPTER IV

# POLAND "SOLVES" THE JEWISH PROBLEM

### *THE GOVERNMENT'S EVACUATION PLAN*

Thus far we have discussed and analyzed the tragic plight of Poland's three and a half million Jews in the light of their economic, political and civic conditions. Indeed, the Jews are the principal actors in this 20th century tragedy, but Poland is nevertheless baffled by its vexing "Jewish problem." How does the Polish Government propose to solve the problem?

Poland has proposed a very simple, if novel, solution: Let all the Jews emigrate from Poland. There will then be no Jews left and thus will disappear the Jewish problem. There will then be ample economic room for all Poles. One is reminded of the wit who remarked that the patient is dead but cured of his disease. Emigration of tens of thousands of Jews is put forth by the Polish Government at a time when world-wide immigration bars are higher than ever because of the economic depression of the last decade.

As a matter of fact, emigration from Poland of both Poles and Jews has always been very large.

According to M. J. Leshinsky, an authoritative Jewish statistician, more than four million Jews emigrated from Poland between 1830-1930. More than one million persons including 195,000 Jews left Poland between 1926 and 1936. It is noteworthy, also, that "the proportion of Jews in the total emigration rose from 9.6 per cent in 1929 to 56.7 per cent in 1935." In 1935 alone over 30,000 Jews—the greatest number for the period reviewed—left Poland. More than 24,000 of this number went to Palestine. Thus we see that the policy of Jewish as well as Polish emigration for the purpose of bettering their economic, political, and social conditions is not a new plan. This policy takes on a grave and serious aspect when we bear in mind that the Polish Government is supporting it at a time when most countries have passed drastic laws to curb immigration. Even Palestine is now admitting fewer Jews in accordance with the new principle of "political capacity"—not to arouse the Arabs unduly.

The Polish Government, then, seeks to solve its problem of "surplus population" by evacuating the Jews. But, inasmuch as the world-wide immigration bars show no signs of being let down to admit Jews, the government is seeking other ways of "Polonizing" its cities, commerce, and industries. It aims to industrialize between six and seven million landless peasants who are streaming into the overcrowded urban areas to seek bread and work. The government is of the opinion that these millions can be industrialized in proportion to the number of Jews eliminated from

the commercial and industrial life of the country. Indeed, there is a direct connection between this view and the recent claims Poland's Foreign Minister Josef Beck has made for part of Germany's former colonies to serve as a source of raw material for Poland's industrialization plan and to serve as an outlet for its excess population.

Thus far Poland's claims for colonies have not been taken too seriously. Nevertheless, the Polish Government has been much more successful in its policy of impoverishing and strangulating thousands of its Jewish citizens by supporting boycott movements against them, segregating them in the colleges and universities by means of the "Ghetto Benches," evicting them from their occupations, and tolerating pogroms against them.

## *JEWISH SOLUTION*

What is Polish Jewry's attitude to their government's "evacuation plan"? Are they resigned to their fate? It may be stated most emphatically that Polish Jewry does not consider itself "surplus population," and needless to say, they do not look with much favor upon the proposed "evacuation plan." They quite naturally regard Poland as the land where their ancestors had not only lived for many centuries but had also taken a conspicuous role in its upbuilding.

The Jews have advanced two plans to aid in the solution of Poland's economic crisis. These plans attack the ills of Poland's economic structure as it affects the nation at large as well as the Jews. First,

there is the land problem facing approximately 6,000,000 peasants. They are without land and have no alternative but to seek economic security in the already overcrowded cities. The Jews suggest a land reform policy whereby the large estates, created under the old Polish aristocracy, would be broken up and divided among the land-hungry peasants. The crux of the matter is that the many landless peasants, because of their dire distress, have actually begun to cast menacing looks at the vast estates of the big landowners. Confronted with the unpleasant prospect of having their estates divided, the landowners have resorted to the familiar device of inciting the wretched peasants against the Jews by blaming the Jews for all the ills in Poland and in the world at large.

The second plan the Jews offer affects their own abnormal economic structure. Polish Jews realize that proportionately there are too many Jewish business men, traders, and professionals such as doctors and lawyers. They would like to see an increase in the percentage of Jewish workers in field and factory. The success of such a plan calls for a complete change of attitude on the part of the Polish Government which bars Jews from getting employment in the agricultural cooperatives and factories and then, paradoxically enough, blames them for crowding the fields of commerce and the professions.

## *JEWISH "OVERCROWDING"*

Incidentally, the Jews also point out rather concretely that the so-called overcrowded situation in the fields of industry, commerce, and professions is not nearly as alarming as the anti-Semites and government officials would indicate. They point out "that of the total population of Poland only 6.2 per cent is engaged in trade and commercial pursuits as compared with 11.5 per cent in Germany, 12.4 per cent in the United States, and 14.6 per cent in Great Britain; while as to physicians, for instance, there are only 3.1 per 10,000 population in Poland compared with 106 in Switzerland" ("The New York Times," February 10, 1937).

That Poland is facing an economic crisis of the first magnitude is admitted by all. But it is equally admitted by all competent and fair-minded people that world conditions are largely responsible for that. It is a sad fact that Polish Jews are being hit by the economic crisis in a double sense—as Poles and as Jews. The Polish Government offers the Jews, comprising almost 10 per cent of the entire population, the equally bitter alternatives of exile or economic pauperization. Large-scale emigration at present is not feasible because of the world-wide immigration bars in most countries, including Palestine, which hitherto have been havens of refuge. Hence, the Polish Government has adopted the policy of eliminating the Jews in a wholesale manner from its industries, trades, and professions.

Is the evacuation of countless numbers of human beings—be they Jews or non-Jews—in accordance with the dictates of humanity and civilization? Is it just to annihilate thousands of people who from the 11th century have lived in, and shed their blood for, a land which they called their own? Can a government exterminate a large part of its commercial, industrial, and professional classes without doing itself irreparable harm?

It might be well for Poland and other anti-Semitic governments to pause in their work of destruction and ponder.

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# CHAPTER V

# RUMANIA REPUDIATES HER MINORITY TREATIES

## *KISHINEV POGROM*

Jews have never fared any too well in Rumania in the past and their present status and future outlook are none too bright. The name Kishinev since 1903 has come to be associated with bloody massacres and pogroms. It matters little that in those days the villain in the Jewish tragedy was the Czar of Russia. In 1939, despite the fact that the Czar has been relegated to limbo and Kishinev is now a Rumanian city, the Jews are still the chief targets of the Rumanian Fascists and would-be Hitlers.

## *POST-WAR MINORITIES*

In the peace negotiations following the World War, Rumania was amply rewarded for the aid she had rendered the Allies. Her size and population were more than doubled. From the former Austria-Hungary, Rumania obtained Bukovina and Transylvania; she annexed Bessarabia which was formerly a

Russian province. The number of Jews in Rumania doubled as a result of these annexations.

The problem of national minorities in Rumania has been a serious one. Out of a total population of about 20,000,000, more than 4,000,000 or 20 per cent include such non-national Rumanians as Ukrainians, Germans, Jews, Magyars, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars. There are approximately 1,000,000 Jews in Rumania as a result of the annexation of the three provinces of Bukovina, Transylvania and Bessarabia after the war. During the peace negotiations in 1919, Rumania rather unwillingly signed a national minorities treaty guaranteeing the religious, political, and economic rights of her non-national elements. She signed this treaty not because of any great love for the minorities but rather because she was loathe to give up any territorial gains with which the Allies had threatened her in the event of her refusal to sign.

## *ANTI-JEWISH DISCRIMINATION*

Rumania's treatment of her minorities in the past has earned her a large measure of notoriety. Recently, this policy of racial discrimination has become intensified. This may be attributed to the spread of German Nazi propaganda with its emphasis on racial, religious, and national intolerance. The internal political and economic unrest and the war-threatening international situation are important factors which shed much light on the nazification of King Carol's regime. The Rumanian Government has torn

a leaf from the annals of Hitler and is losing no time in infusing vigor into the slogan: "Rumania for the Rumanians!"

One of the first instances of discrimination was the decision to end the legally established subsidy for Jewish religious institutions. The other religious groups were not to be affected by this decree. A strong protest against this piece of anti-Jewish legislation was lodged with the Rumanian Minister at Washington. The protest proved effective for the original decision was subsequently modified. A second instance of discrimination is the vicious "numerous clausus" which places a drastic limitation on the number of Jewish students seeking admission to the universities. In a number of instances the policy of curtailing the percentage of Jewish students has been superseded by one of not admitting even a single Jew.

## *THE MINORITY TREATY VIOLATED*

Some time ago, a law was passed curbing the number of non-Rumanians employable in the civil service. As would be expected, Jews are placed in the category of non-Rumanians in a number of provinces acquired after the war. This policy is followed despite the provisions of Article VII of the Minorities Treaty where it is stated that:

"Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory who do not possess another nationality" shall be regarded "as Rumanian nationals . . . without the requirement of any formality." Article VIII of the same

treaty has a significant provision which is honored more in the breach than in the observance. It reads as follows:

"... all Rumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion ... (such) differences shall not prejudice any Rumanian national in ... admission to public employments, functions and honors for the exercise of professions and industries."

Despite these high-sounding safeguards, an increasing number of anti-Jewish manifestations have begun to threaten the Rumanian Jews of late. This applies to the Jews of "Old" Rumania as well as to those in the annexed territories. In one city the authorities are prohibiting the Jews from slaughtering animals according to the Jewish ritual ("shehitah"). In a Bessarabian town, the mayor has forbidden the use of the Yiddish and Russian languages in all public places. In the capital, Bucharest, a campaign directed against Jewish lawyers has been undertaken. In the city of Jassy, Jewish shopkeepers were ordered to keep open on the Sabbath. Decrees are being drawn up to deprive the Jews of their citizenship guaranteed them by the Minorities Treaties.

Judge Julian W. Mack, Honorary President of the World Jewish Congress, lodged a protest with the League of Nations against the treatment of the Jewish minorities in Rumania. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the American Jewish Congress, after an

interview with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, reported that the President "profoundly regrets the renewed oppression, political and economic, of Jewish populations in Central and East European lands, indeed, everywhere."

## *RUMANIAN ANTI-SEMITES*

The precarious position of Rumanian Jewry is vividly perceived from a glimpse at a few outstanding political personalities whose conflicts and contradictions find agreement in at least this respect: they seek to further their own ends by using the Jew as a political football.

In an interview with a London newspaper soon after his political elevation, the late Rumanian Premier Goga assured the correspondent that his regime was "not at all anti-Semitic in principle" but he hastened to add that he intended to "clean out" all of Rumania's Jews. Fortunately, this "9 per cent Premier" did not succeed in his aims for France and Czechoslovakia disapproved of his Fascist program. These democracies warned of an embargo on credits and munitions delivered to Rumania. Shortly thereafter, Goga relinquished his post. He has since died of a paralytic stroke.

One of the most notoriously ferocious Jew-baiters in Rumania is Alexander Cuza. The following is a little "tête-à-tête" between Cuza and G. E. R. Gedye, "The New York Times" European correspondent ("The New York Times," January 22, 1938):

CUZA: "Tell the readers of the 'New York Times' that you have talked with Rumania's most ferocious anti-Semite and that you found him a pleasant old gentleman of 80 who wishes no harm to anyone and wants only this—that every single Jew shall pack up his baggage and leave Rumania."

CORRESPONDENT: "Do you agree that the government intends merely to revise the naturalizations Jews acquired after the war?"

CUZA: "I cannot reply for the government. Speaking only personally, I say definitely that the program of myself and my followers is to force every Jew from the country and let the Rumanians come into their own at last before worse happens. . . . The next most urgent question is rescuing the nation's health from the hands of detestable Jewish doctors and apothecaries . . ."

The "harmless" gentleman of 80 closed by saying, "We are not savages. We are a cultivated, independent nation . . ." This infamous anti-Semite was actually indignant at the Pope for not joining the campaign against "the spawn of the devil" (the Jews, of course!).

## *KING CAROL AND THE JEWS*

Outside of his own country, Carol has often been romantically pictured as the gallant lover of his red-haired, uncrowned Jewish queen, Madame M. Lupescu. His craftiness and demagogy, however, should not be underestimated.

In an interview for the "Daily Herald" of London, King Carol tried to justify the new anti-Semitic measures of his government. He insisted that "those Jews who lived in Rumania before the war will remain untouched." He added, however, that the 250,000 Galician and Russian Jews who, following the war came in "illegally" had invaded the villages and are not a good element. The King then made the assertion that these "invaders," as he termed them, are not protected by the Minorities Treaties. The late Goga estimated the number of "invaders" to be 500,000 and Cuza insisted that there was no distinction between the "invaders" and the rest of the half million Jews of "old" Rumania. Thus it is to be noted that, although the King differs with Cuza in his estimate of the number of Jewish "invaders"—a quarter of a million as against a million—the King and his "Minister without Portfolio," nevertheless, have a common purpose: to expel as many Jews from Rumania as possible and to deprive the rest of them of their civic and human rights.

## *THE "INVASION" ISSUE*

The "invasion" issue might justly be termed a "red-herring" for its purpose is none other than to becloud Rumania's repudiation of her solemn promises to guarantee political, civic and religious rights to the national minorities. On the surface, the charge of "invasion" appears to have a degree of plausibility. It is a fact that the Jewish population has definitely increased since the war. But so has the size of Ru-

mania which has more than doubled since the war. The cry of "invasion" becomes increasingly ominous for it portends governmental policies which may ultimately affect the rest of the national minorities in Rumania.

## *RIVAL ANTI-SEMITES*

King Carol is a shrewd politician. He believes he can strengthen his bargaining power by aligning himself in conducting foreign affairs with Mussolini and Hitler. Internally, Rumania shows the familiar post-war symptoms of political and economic unrest. Carol has proven himself an apt disciple of the brown-shirted Fuehrer in adopting anti-Jewish policies as a political expediency to direct Rumanian discontent in the direction of a convenient scapegoat. The King's affinity for Nazi techniques, however, has not prevented him from having his erstwhile supporter, the chief of the anti-Semitic "Iron-Guard," Codreanu, arrested, tried, jailed, and lately slain by Rumanian police while "trying to escape" from prison. Codreanu was an outstanding Rumanian Nazi who was waxing a little too powerful for the ruler. It was a case of rivalry between a "moderate" Fascist and anti-Semite who seeks to reduce to ruin a quarter of a million Jews gradually, and a rabid Fascist and anti-Semite who sought to achieve the same goal a little more in accordance with German efficiency and thoroughness.

In retrospect, one comes to the dismal conclusion

that at present, Rumanian Jewry finds little to choose between "the devil and the deep blue sea."

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# CHAPTER VI

# HUNGARY GOES NAZI

## *POST-WAR HUNGARY*

Hungary was proclaimed a republic after the World War. That war proved exceedingly costly to Hungary both in geographical area and population. In 1920, by the provisions of the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary lost about 70 per cent of its territory (Transylvania to Rumania, and Croatia and Slavonia to Yugoslavia) and approximately 60 per cent of its population. Thus its former population of 25,000,000 has been reduced to some 9,000,000 souls.

The new Hungary is a kingdom with an empty throne, the head of the government being Admiral Horthy, styled regent. This title is a symbol of Hungary's persistent refusal to acquiesce in the provisions of the treaties which reduced her to about the size of the American State of Indiana. There is still hope in the hearts of Hungarian royalists for a restoration of the Hapsburg monarchy in the person of Archduke Otto.

## *"NUMERUS CLAUSUS"*

Anti-Semitism is not a new phenomenon in Hungary. Back in 1922, the Hungarian monarchists—encouraged by the "March on Rome" by Mussolini and his Fascists—organized the "Awakened Magyars" whose avowed purpose was the restoration of the monarchy. This they sought to accomplish by fighting the trade unions, the liberals and the Jews. The most available victims were the convenient scapegoats, the Jews. Hence, in 1925 the number of Jewish students wishing to enter the high schools and universities was drastically restricted by means of the infamous "numerus clausus." The Jews lodged a complaint with the League of Nations which declared this restriction a gross violation of the Minorities Treaties. Eventually, in 1928, the law was modified—in theory only, to be sure. Instead of restricting the number of students to the high schools and universities on the basis of race or religion, it was decided to give preference of admission to the children of officials and members of certain professions. Obviously, the professions selected were those where the percentage of Jews was small.

## *REVISIONISM*

Hungary has never for a moment forgotten the losses sustained by the World War—two-thirds of her land area and three-fifths of her people. The foreign relations of Hungary, therefore, have largely been shaped by her demands for treaty revisions whereby

her losses might be retrieved. The irredentist movement to revise her present boundaries, consequently, has tended to ally her closely with Mussolini and that other "revisionist," Hitler. This close relationship with the Italian and German Fascist powers has had its inevitable effect upon the growth of a Hungarian Nazi movement within the country.

## *ECONOMIC DISTRESS AND ANTI-SEMITISM*

The precariotus economic conditions in Hungary augur ominous days of political unrest and chaos. There is the familiar scene of mounting costs of living and widespread unemployment especially in the urban centers. Hungary which is predominantly an agricultural country—more than four-fifths of its land area is devoted to agricultural purposes—has recently entered a trade agreement with Germany whereby she exports to Germany about three-fifths of her agricultural produce. Germany, lacking sufficient gold and foreign exchange, does not pay for these imports in money but in manufactured goods and especially armament equipment which can scarcely substitute for bread and butter.

It is in precisely such an atmosphere of mass suffering and widespread discontent that the Hungarian Nazi movement thrives. The professional Jew-baiters are on the spot to exploit the aroused feelings of the Hungarian peasants and city dwellers for their own political ends. In a typical Nazi circular the Hun-

garian anti-Semites repeat the well-known stock phrases to the workers about:

". . . international capital, the Jews and the Free Masons stealing the bread from your mouths; they have taken gold, diamonds and everything valuable out of the country in secret ways. . . . Your bread and your fate rest with Hungarian National Social-ism . . ." ("The New York Times," June 1, 1938).

The Nazi campaign is directed chiefly against the Jews. This has had a most unfortunate effect upon the entire Hungarian economic system for those Jews who own a large measure of capital have quite naturally sent much of it out of the country to safer places. Money which would normally have been invested in new homes, buildings, and business at large thus increasing employment has been withdrawn resulting in greater unemployment and suffering. The poor and ignorant masses, at a loss to understand the causes of their misery, are lured by the glittering but hollow promises of the Nazis. Thus a vicious cycle is set up. The growth of the Nazi movement has caused the government to take cognizance of its potentialities and, as a result, Hungary has made anti-Semitism official and legal.

## *THE "20 PER CENT" RATIO*

In May of 1938, the Hungarian Parliament under the former Premier Daranyi passed legislation which fixed a Jewish ratio of 20 per cent in all economic and cultural fields. This law provides for the elimina-

tion of Jews from the fields of banking, industry and commerce within the coming five years until the proportion of Jews in these fields is reduced to the 20 per cent ratio. This figure has to be reached in the textile industries within ten years and in the arts and professions within one year. This law applies equally to "bona fide" Jews as well as to "assimilationists" who were converted to Christianity after August 1, 1919. Another law threatens to deprive those Jews who were naturalized since 1914 of their rights of citizenship. These pieces of anti-Jewish legislation are clearly a violation of the Hungarian Constitution and Peace Treaties which guaranteed the Jews and other minorities civic, religious, and economic equality.

In December 1938, a new and more drastic anti-Jewish law was presented to the Hungarian Parliament for approval. This law is based upon a "racial" basis very similar to the German prototype. Jews will be prohibited from forming more than 6 per cent of any elected groups throughout Hungary; they are to be excluded from the Senate; they may neither exceed 6 per cent of the members of any profession nor 12 per cent of those engaged in commercial pursuits.

There are approximately 444,000 Jews in Hungary, constituting about 5 per cent of the total population. Superficially, it looks as if the restrictions will not work too much havoc with the Jews since they make up but 5 per cent of the nation. A closer analysis will,

however, dispel this unfounded view. Though there are but 444,000 Jews in Hungary, some 350,000 live in Budapest, the capital city, while the rest are concentrated in other urban centers. Commerce, industry, and the professions are essentially urban pursuits which accounts for the disproportionate concentration of the Jews—an urban people—in these fields. That the restriction of Jews in the economic and cultural fields may prove detrimental to the whole Hungarian economy is tacitly admitted by the government in "allowing" a number of years within which to achieve the complete "Magyarizing" of the industries and the professions.

## *HUNGARY AND NAZISM*

Hungary's foreign affairs are so closely linked with her national demands for boundary revision that democracy can hardly thrive there. With Hungary and Czechoslovakia gone Nazi, the way would be clear for Germany's "Drang nach Osten"—the push to the East!

Hungary's violation of the constitution which guarantees equal rights to all Hungarians hits the most defenseless section of the nation, namely, the Jews, first. Recent events in the other dictatorships have shown, however, that the same fate lies in store for other elements of the population.

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# CHAPTER VII

# AUSTRIA—A STUDY IN NAZI CULTURE

## *POST-WAR AUSTRIA*

Before the World War, Austria was an empire. The Treaty of St. Germain reduced the empire largely to the city of Vienna and a few suburbs. Austria was proclaimed a republic in 1918. Since then, greatly reduced in area and population, Austria had suffered economic hardships and on a number of occasions had come perilously close to national bankruptcy. In 1931, the former German and Austrian republics reached an agreement to conclude a customs union in the interest of improving mutual economic conditions. This plan called for the abolition of customs duties between both countries in order to facilitate trade. France was unalterably opposed to this scheme for she saw in it a much-strengthened Germany. In 1938, the nations of the world took cognizance of the German invasion of Austria and accepted it as a *fait accompli*. Thus, ironically enough, what was withheld for years from the two republics became an accomplished fact overnight for more than 6,500,000

Austrians, including approximately 6,000,000 Catholics, 300,000 Protestants and 200,000 Jews.

## *NAZI "LAW AND ORDER"*

March 11, 1938 saw the last of the Republic of Austria. On that day, the Nazis seized the government and appointed the Austrian Nazi, Dr. Arthur Seyss-Inquart, Chancellor in place of ex-Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg. The new head of Austria lost no time in requesting his chief, Adolf Hitler, to dispatch German troops into Austria to restore "law and order." Thus Austria became a mere "gau" or province of Great Germany and Hitler became absolute ruler of 73,000,000 people. Over six and a half million Austrians immediately received a dose of Nazi culture—via executions, concentration camps, and wholesale looting of homes and stores by Nazi thugs.

## *REIGN OF TERROR*

The chaos, brutality and gangsterism which hit the Austrian people with the "home-coming" of the Austrian "ex-paper-hanger" has not ended yet. Indeed, Anschluss between Germany and Austria has finally been achieved at the expense of the latter's national independence but to the Austrian Jews fell the lot of suffering in a double sense—as Austrians and Jews. The second week in March of 1938 saw a quick succession of official decrees depriving the Jews not only of their rights of citizenship but also of all elementary rights of decency and humanity. Looting

and pillaging of Jewish stores and families with the full approval of the forces of "law and order," were reminiscent of barbarian invasions long thought of as relics of the Dark Ages. Hundreds of innocent Jews were arrested; many were either murdered outright or tortured to the point where suicide afforded the one asylum of relief. Nazis have been picketing Jewish cafes and shops threatening "Aryans" who wished to enter and forcing Jews who entered to leave. In the Jewish quarter of Vienna—the Tabor-Strasse—Nazi Storm Troopers of "Nordic" superiority caught an "Aryan" woman who had committed the crime of patronizing a Jewish store and compelled her to parade with a sign which read, "Only Aryan swine buy from Jews." The quaint city of Salzburg has already been given its cultural baptism. Huge bonfires have burned to ashes the works of such writers as Sholem Asch, Franz Werfel, Lion Feuchtwanger, Emil Ludwig, Jacob Wassermann and others. The full story of Nazi bestial sadism in Austria is yet to be written. "The New York Times" of May 23, 1938, however, contains an account of a number of Nazi brutalities which brand them as a product "of an organized, cold-blooded terrorism unprecedented in modern times." A few specimens of the Nazi terror follow:

"In prisons and S. A. (Storm Troop) barracks and commandeered quarters well-bred men and women are still being compelled to scrub floors, wash dishes and clean the boots of Storm Troopers. Elderly pro-

fessors and former commercial magnates are still forced to do 'physical jerks' until they fall from exhaustion. . . .

"In the matter of actual physical ill-treatment there is no doubt that so far it is the Jews who have suffered far beyond anything experienced by other victims. It has been a common practice for squads of Storm Troopers to make the rounds of cafés, order all Jews to stand up, and then march them out to kneel in the gutter and scrub off the pavements the emblems of the Fatherland Front that the old régime had left painted there. When the supply of painted emblems gave out . . . the Storm Troopers daubed new ones on the pavements overnight to find work for the Jews next day. The victims were compelled to buy buckets and scrubbing brushes for this work themselves. Lye or hydrochloric acid was put into the water. The weather—and it was normally cold and rainy during this time—made no difference in the sport. The hands and knees of the victims were soon rubbed raw. Jeering crowds of lower-class Viennese invariably surrounded the kneeling victims and applauded the pastime.

"An American woman who was departing from Vienna was leaving her real estate agent's office with him when she encountered two Storm Troopers on the stairs.

"Are you fully Aryan?" they asked the agent.

"No, I am Jewish," he replied.

"Then you must come with us to clean the lavatories of our barracks," he was told.

"The American woman protested, showed her passport and argued that the man was in her employ. The argument prevailed, but the Storm Troopers departed with the remark:

"All right. We will fetch him later.

"General Sommer, leader of the Jewish War Veterans Association, was ordered out to sweep the streets. He appeared in the full uniform of his rank, so he was put to work in a side street where he was not so conspicuous.

"As a result of all this, Jews soon were rarely seen on any Vienna streets. They stayed in their homes all day, emerging only under cover of night. The terror of some families is still pitiable. They listen apprehensively to every footfall on the stairs, start at every knock on the door, believing Nazi Storm Troopers have come for them.

" 'Aryan' friends of one elderly Jewish merchant told this correspondent that they had seriously considered arranging for his arrest and quiet detention because he had sat at home, expecting capture, for weeks and his state of mind had become such that they expected him to commit suicide from sheer apprehension.

"The number of suicides, especially among Jews, has been sensational. Every effort has been made to keep the precise figures secret. One of the most closely guarded official secrets is the number of burials in Jewish cemeteries. An American correspondent nevertheless succeeded in getting the suicide figures for three days in one week. They were 131, 201 and

205. On a single day last week the number of Jewish suicides alone was 112.

"There was a particularly pathetic case in the collective suicide of a formerly prosperous Jewish merchant and his whole family. His shop had been looted, his savings sequestered and his home stripped of most of its furniture. He turned on the gas for himself and his wife, son, daughter-in-law and grandchild.

"Almost as bad as the physical ill-treatment has been the looting—burglary in uniform, it might be termed. Squads of uniformed troopers have raided Jewish-owned shops and private homes alike, literally stripping them of everything portable. This practice became so general that the newspapers printed a notice advising Jews in such cases to telephone to the police. When many victims attempted to do so they found the telephone cut off, but the invaders, if they needed an extra truck to carry off the loot, could dial a number, say, 'Give us connections,' and thereafter call any number they desired.

"There is a well-authenticated case of a manufacturer whose business and bank account were taken over by the Nazis. His entire fortune was involved. Immediately afterward, his home was raided. His furniture and silver were carried off and even the rings stripped from the fingers of his family. He applied for permission to leave the country and was told that he could go within a fortnight. Then the treasury authorities decreed that before he went he must pay 3,000,000 schillings because he had wealthy

relatives and some resources abroad. This was a man who with his family committed collective suicide. The final touch of callousness was that after his death the Nazis hung out a placard over his door reading, 'Bitte nachahmen,' which may be freely translated as, 'Please follow suit'."

One diplomat in Vienna whose bureau is crowded daily with an influx of Jewish applicants seeking permits to leave the country made the following sensational statement:

"I no longer try to prevent Jews from committing suicide because there is absolutely no hope for them. They come here and talk about doing it tomorrow or next week as calmly as if they were saying that they were going to make up their accounts. And what can I say? There is no way out for them. No country will take them even if these people here would let them go. It is impossible in any way to prevent their suicide!"

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## CHAPTER VIII

# MUSSOLINI APES HITLER

### *MUSSOLINI AND ANTI-SEMITISM BEFORE ADVENT OF HITLER*

For years anti-Fascists had found one bright spot in Mussolini's Italy—anti-Semitism was conspicuous by its absence there. Of course, there were numerous cynics even then who wondered how anti-Jewish feeling could exist where there were so few Jews and even they were so completely Italianized.

"The New York Herald Tribune" of July 31, 1938, quotes the Italian dictator as having spoken before the Chamber of Deputies in 1929 on the Lateran Agreement between the Church and State as follows:

"It is ridiculous to think, as some say, that the synagogues should be closed. The Jews have been in Rome since the time of Kings . . . There were 50,000 at the time of Augustus and they asked to be allowed to weep over the corpse of Caesar. They will remain undisturbed as will all who believe in another religion."

In 1932, Emil Ludwig, the noted biographer, pub-

lished a series of talks that were held between him and Mussolini in the Palazzo di Venezia, entitled "Talks with Mussolini." During one of these conversations, Mussolini was asked whether he believed in race purity. He is quoted as having answered, "Of course there are no pure races left; not even the Jews have kept their blood unmingled . . . Race! It is a feeling, not a reality; ninety-five per cent, at least, is a feeling. Nothing will ever make me believe that biologically pure races can be shown to exist today. . . . No such doctrine will ever find wide acceptance here in Italy. . . . National pride has no need of the delirium of race."

When Emil Ludwig remarked that that was the best argument against anti-Semitism, Mussolini stated:

"Anti-Semitism does not exist in Italy. Italians of Jewish birth have shown themselves good citizens and they fought bravely in the war. Many of them occupy leading positions in the universities, in the army, in the banks. Quite a number of them are generals; Modena, the commandant of Sardinia, is a general of the artillery."

## *THE ROME-BERLIN AXIS AND ANTI-SEMITISM*

World Jewry's complacency regarding Il Duce's benevolent attitude toward the Italian Jews began to be rudely shaken in 1936. In December of that year, 214 Jews were arrested and 3 were publicly flogged in Tripoli, the capital of the Italian colony of Libya, because they failed to keep their stores open

on the Jewish Sabbath! The Rome-Berlin axis, the partnership between Mussolini and Hitler, unmasked Fascism's true attitude toward the Jews.

The latest nation to go "Aryan," according to Mussolini's "race scientists," is the Italian people who must preserve their "purely European" character from "contamination" by the Jews. In September of 1938, the Italian Cabinet suddenly ordered all Jews who had entered Italy since 1919 to leave within six months. This order was to apply to the Jews of Italy and to those of Italy's North African colony of Libya but not to the new Italian empire in East Africa, namely Ethiopia. This order was immediately followed by another drastic decree banning Jewish teachers and students from all Italian schools and universities. This abominable decree affects hundreds of Italian Jewish teachers and some ten thousand students. Among the teachers thus affected are scholars of international renown—Prof. Valero Artom, Professor of Gynecology in Rome University and Italy's leading obstetrician, and Prof. Tullio Levi-Civita, Italy's greatest mathematician whom Einstein considers his ablest disciple. Early in October, an order was given by the Ministry of Corporations to all the prefects in Italy not to issue new licenses for opening shops or public establishments to Jews. Thus a beginning has been made to oust Jews from commercial activities.

By March of 1939, over 10,000 Italian Jews found themselves among the ever-increasing number of refugees from Fascist countries. The remainder of the

Italian-Jewish population—there are 58,000 Jews in Italy according to a recent census—will exist under the shadow of Italian "Nuremberg" laws which will inevitably relegate the Jews to the status of "declassed" and unwelcome foreigners after their property and savings shall have been expropriated and they shall have been ousted from the economic and professional life of the country.

## *JEWISH ANTIQUITY*

It is both tragic and ironical that the issue of race should be the pretext of persecuting the Jews of Italy. For years, Italy has been the classic land of Jewish antiquity and assimilation. Italy's Jews were as Italianized in every sense of the word—in language, looks, customs and intermarriage—as any other section of the population. A number of Italian Jews have traced their descent to Jewish nobility who were brought as captives to Rome by the Roman Titus who destroyed the Second Temple in the year 70. And now Mussolini's race professors prattle about "race purity!"

## *JEWS—THE SCAPEGOATS*

Why this sudden fear of a peaceful group of Italian Jews who constitute about 1 to 1,000 of the rest of the population? A number of theories are current. Some believe that Mussolini is enacting these anti-Jewish decrees as a means to curry favor with the Moslem world, part of which is opposed to Jewish interests in Palestine. Others are of the opinion that

Il Duce is using anti-Jewish measures to rebuke world Jewry which is inherently opposed to Fascism. There are still others who maintain that the Italian dictator has been impressed by Hitler's success in expropriating tremendous sums from the German-Jewish population and that he, too, needs money to bolster his country's finances.

## *FASCISM AND MINORITIES*

Whatever the reasons are for Mussolini's yielding to the "Aryan" ravings of his partner, Hitler, this change of heart in Mussolini will be a blow to those people who believed that Fascism and minority persecutions are not necessarily related. This illusion has now been rudely dispelled for it must be recognized that there is an inherent and inseparable connection between totalitarian dictatorship and persecution of minority groups—be they Jewish, Catholic, Protestant or Mohammedan. The Jews are the first line victims for their security is dependent upon the collective moral conscience of the democratic countries which, of late, have permitted their consciences to sleep while the Fascist tyrants claimed new victims in the name of "might makes right."

## *THE POPE OPPOSES JEWISH PERSECUTION*

The Jews will long remember the words of Pope Pius XI who was moved to speak out against the persecution of Jews, as follows:

"Toward the Israelites we are not only extremely anti-Christian and anti-civil but inhuman. For them

the misery of exile and outlawing is not enough; it goes on to the pillory, beatings, woundings and death. Propaganda against Jews assumes, wherever it is organized and led, proportions unworthy of twenty centuries of Christian civilization."

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## CHAPTER IX

# CZECHOSLOVAKIA—A DEMOCRACY BETRAYED

### *GERMAN IMPERIALISM*

The gallant little outpost of European democracy, Czechoslovakia, has been vanquished by Hitler, the arch foe of democracy and liberalism. Masaryk is gone; Benes is in exile; tolerance and justice toward minorities are relics of the past.

Dismemberment spells the sad fate of Czechoslovakia. Carved almost entirely out of the former Austria-Hungary, it was one of the richest agricultural states of Europe. Its immediate neighbors—Germany, Poland and Hungary—had cast hungry eyes upon its resources and territory ever since the signing of the Versailles Treaty. Located in the heart of Central Europe, it was in a direct line of Nazi Germany's "Drang nach Osten"—push to the East—toward Rumania's oil fields and the rich wheat fields of the Ukraine. Such a fate for the Czech State was not altogether unexpected ever since the policy of war-bluff and saber-rattling had netted Hitler the rearming of the Rhineland and the annexation of

Austria while the world looked on aghast but nonetheless resigned. The irony of it is that Czechoslovakia was the only genuinely progressive and democratic country which arose from the ruins of the World War.

## *THE MINORITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA*

In 1919, the Czech State which was composed of about 66 2/3 per cent Czechs, 20 per cent Germans and some 10 per cent of Hungarians, Poles and Jews, signed the Minorities Treaties guaranteeing equality before the law to all the inhabitants—regardless of race, religion or nationality. The government was genuinely democratic for the minority groups were given proportional representation in Parliament. With the advent of Hitlerism and its persecution of minorities and religious groups, ominous forebodings were in evidence in the Czech State where so many national blocs dwelt in such close proximity. A Czech "Hitler" arose in the person of Konrad Henlein who, using his master's propaganda technique in all its ramifications, deceived the Germans in the Sudetenland into believing that they were being terrorized by the government at Prague.

In these days of barbarism toward the Jews in many European countries, it is a distinct source of pride and pleasure to recall the justice, kindness and fair play which the former Czech Government and people accorded to the Jewish citizens during the twenty years of existence of Czechoslovakia as a free, democratic republic up to the Munich Pact. The 350,000

Czech Jews constituted about 2.5 per cent of the entire population. When, on certain occasions, some local authorities in Bohemia attempted to prohibit "shehitah"—the slaughter of animals according to Jewish ritual—the Central Government annulled the decision declaring that there must be no interference in Jewish religious matters; it also threatened to punish all who were guilty of libeling the Jewish religion. When the illustrious founder and first president of Czechoslovakia, Thomas G. Masaryk, who was a warm friend of the Jews, died on September 16, 1937, the rabbinate proclaimed a month's mourning and memorial services were held in all synagogues. Under Masaryk and Benes, his co-worker and successor, the Jews as well as all other minority groups enjoyed full political and civic rights and participated in all aspects of Czechoslovakia's economic, political, and cultural life.

Since 1933, when the concentration camps in the Third Reich were filled with Catholics, Protestants, Jews, liberals, socialists and democrats, great numbers of unfortunate human beings found a haven of refuge in the Czech Republic. The problem of refugees from Germany and Austria had reached such vast international proportions that an Intergovernmental Conference was held at Evian-les-Bains, France, in July of 1938 at the suggestion of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Now the scope of the conference will have to be extended to relieve thousands of Jews and democratic Germans from Czechoslovakia which has been reduced to a "protectorate" of

Hitler and his terrorists who have infected it with the virus of hate and intolerance.

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## CHAPTER X

# THE REFUGEE CONFERENCE AT EVIAN-LES-BAINS, FRANCE

### *NAZI BRUTALITY*

The world has recently been shocked by an event unprecedented for its brutality and ghastliness. The Nazis—notorious for their sadistic practices upon helpless victims—set several hundred Jewish refugees afloat on the Danube River. These hapless persons were in sight of the frontiers of three countries which refused to permit them to land; neither were they allowed to return to the country whence they were driven out. Thus were they compelled to drift as human flotsam and jetsam down the Danube for several weeks.

The increasing extent and desperate plight of political and racial refugees from Germany, including Austria, have reached such vast proportions since the advent of Hitler that the nations of the world find themselves confronted by a problem of the first magnitude. Political refugees are no new phenomenon in world history. Men have chosen the rigors and perils of exile from time immemorial rather than

suffer political, religious or economic tyranny. Plymouth Rock remains as an everlasting symbol of those hardy and courageous liberty-loving Pilgrims who braved the stormy wastes of the Atlantic to live in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. But never before have governments waged such ruthless warfare upon millions of their own defenseless citizens as to make exile the only means of relief for them.

## *AMERICA TAKES THE LEAD*

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's message to the democracies of the world to convene in order to facilitate the settlement of political refugees filled millions of dejected hearts with hope. This invitation to the more enlightened nations was issued through the office of Secretary of State Cordell Hull, toward the end of May 1938. Delegates from some thirty democracies convened for this historic conference in July 1938, at Evian-les-Bains, France. The conference was an intergovernmental one, for the problem of refugees had become an international one. The nations which participated in the meeting at Evian were either European or American democracies, with the exception of New Zealand and Australia. Italy declined the invitation out of deference to the other member of the Rome-Berlin axis. Such refugee-producing countries as Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Rumania were not invited; neither were the governments of Russia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey or Spain. The United States, Great Britain and France

were represented respectively by Myron C. Taylor, Earl Winterton, and Senator Henry Berenger. James G. McDonald—formerly League Commissioner for Refugees from Germany during the years 1933-1935 and president of President Roosevelt's advisory committee on refugees—served as adviser to the American delegation. George Rublee, American director of the Evian Committee, later approached the German Government with a business-like scheme to permit the refugees to take a remnant of their property with them.

## *PROBLEMS OF THE COMMITTEE*

One of the major problems which confronted the delegates at Evian was the one dealing with the function and scope of this new intergovernmental committee. What type of refugees was the committee to aid? There are between five and six million Jews in Poland, Rumania, and Hungary who are actual or potential refugees. Germany and Austria have some 800,000 Jews who must be evacuated. Then there are about 1,000,000 persons of mixed Jewish and German blood—including half a million non-Aryan Catholics—who fall into this category. Besides the Jewish and non-Aryan refugees, there are approximately 30,000 anti-Fascist Italians in France, an ever-increasing number of Spaniards and about half a million war-time refugees. The problem of the latter has been partially solved for they have been receiving their legal papers for immigration purposes, such as pass-

ports through the Nansen Office which was created by the League of Nations. Then there arose the question concerning the status of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees. Should this body function under the League of Nations—the League Council decided in May 1938 to merge the Nansen Office for war-time refugees with the High Commission for German Refugees—or should it function outside of it and be independent of it?

## *AMERICAN AND BRITISH VIEWPOINTS*

The United States delegation favored keeping the Evian Committee independent of the League as well as extending the scope of the committee to include all refugees, present and future ones. In line with the foregoing policies, it was felt that it would be easier for an independent committee to deal with Germany which looks with disfavor and contempt upon the League. Furthermore, if the Evian Committee were within the framework of the League, such League members and refugee-producing countries as Poland and Rumania might hamper its work through their veto power. With the committee outside the League, membership could be limited exclusively to the democracies which are the countries that will receive the refugees. The British delegate favored limiting the committee's aid to the refugees from the Third Reich, including Austria, probably out of regard for Mussolini who has steadfastly opposed granting legal documents to anti-Fascist Ital-

ians since 1925. The British viewpoint also preferred having the committee work under the aegis of the League.

The Intergovernmental Committee decided to expedite matters of immediate urgency, leaving the problem of the other categories of refugees for another meeting. The more immediate problems resolved themselves into the following:

(1). Means of providing the refugees from Germany and Austria with passports to furnish them with the legal status which they lost when they were deprived of citizenship in the country of origin.

(2). Concrete steps in aiding the refugees to find countries wherein to settle permanently, and

(3). Definite steps to prevail upon Germany to let the refugees finance their forced emigration with a substantial part of their own wealth.

*MYRON C. TAYLOR*

While the delegates of the different countries deliberated, the fate of millions of human beings who once felt the comforts of a home and a homeland hung and still hangs in the balance. The eloquent address of Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the United States delegation, at Evian Conference portrays the hopeless plight of the exiles and contains a humanitarian appeal to the democracies of the world to relieve the burden of the afflicted. A few excerpts of his address follow:

"Some millions of people, as this meeting convenes, are, actually or potentially, without a country. . . .

"Men and women of every race, creed and economic condition, of every profession and of every trade, are being uprooted from the homes where they have been established and turned adrift without thought or care as to what will become of them or where they will go. A major forced migration is taking place, and the time has come when governments—I refer to those governments which had had the problem of political refugees thrust upon them by the policies of some other governments—must act and act promptly and effectively in a long-range program of comprehensive scale. . . .

"In conclusion, I need not emphasize that discrimination and pressure against minority groups and the disregard of elementary human rights are contrary to the principles of what we have come to regard as the accepted standards of civilization. . . .

"The problem is no longer one of purely private concern. It is a problem for intergovernmental deliberation. If the present currents of migration are permitted to continue to push anarchically upon the receiving States, and if some governments are to continue to toss large sections of their populations lightly upon a distressed and unprepared world, then there is catastrophic human suffering ahead which can only result in general international strain which will not be conducive to the permanent appeasement to which all peoples earnestly aspire."

## *RECENT COMPLICATION OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM*

Since the assassination of the secretary to the German Ambassador in Paris early in November 1938, the problem of evacuating the German refugees has been rendered more difficult and more complicated than it was in July 1938 when the Intergovernmental Committee convened at Evian-les-Bains, France. The Evian Committee had planned the annual emigration of some 100,000 refugees who, it was hoped, might be allowed to take part of their property or savings with them to make a fresh start in the new country. The recent 20 per cent "atonement" tax, imposed upon the German Jews following the shooting of the third secretary of the German Embassy to raise the $400,000,000 fine, the 25 per cent "flight" tax, and the liquidation of all Jewish business are reducing the Jews to the most abject penury and desperation.

## *WHITHER SHALL THEY GO?*

The burning question before the Evian Committee and before the leaders of all democratic countries is: "Whither shall they go?" The United States immigration quota permits about 27,000 Germans per year. At this rate, about one-fifth of all the Jews in Germany could be admitted into this country within five years. Since an immediate evacuation of all the Jews from Germany is of primary importance, it was imperative that other suitable colonization areas be

considered. Although Palestine has already admitted thousands of German-Jewish refugees, it is believed that about 100,000 can still be absorbed over a five-year period. Other areas suitable for large-scale immigration which are being considered are Birobidjan in Soviet Russia, Brazil, Columbia, Peru, British Guiana, and Argentina in South America. Australia and Canada have indicated a willingness to admit a substantial number of refugees. The British colonies of Tanganyika, Kenya, and Northern Rhodesia in Africa have also been proposed as areas for the settlement of refugees. The plan to open Tanganyika, which was formerly German East Africa, to Jewish settlement has already aroused Nazi protests. Speaking before the American Jewish Congress on November 24, 1938, Dr. Stephen S. Wise declared:

"We lift up our voices tonight not only in sorrow for unspeakable tragedies, but in most solemn protest against any and every thought of settling German Jews in the German colonies of yesterday. Having lived under the blight and burden of the Swastika, no Jew must ever again be compelled to touch the soil over which the German flag has ever waved."

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# CHAPTER XI

# THE JEWS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

## *THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE JEWS*

The Russian Revolution of 1917 hit the Jewish population a particularly hard blow because of the fundamental change it wrought in their economic structure. The fact that the Jews of Czarist Russia had been forbidden to own land beyond their immediate needs accounts for the small percentage of Jews engaged in agriculture before 1917. The overwhelming majority of Russian Jewry tried to eke out a living by means of business and petty trade. The Revolution abolished private retail trade and nationalized commerce, industry, and agriculture, and made foreign trade a governmental monopoly. Furthermore, the economic changes brought about by the Revolution resulted in less chaos, during the transitional stage, to the non-Jewish Russians inasmuch as most of them had been engaged in agriculture. The Soviet Government, by nationalizing the land, released the peasants from the control of their former landlords. But those who had been

farmers before 1917 were able to continue working on the farms thereafter.

Since 1917, then, the Soviet Government has taken over direct control of the entire economic system of Russia, namely, its commerce, industry, trade, and agriculture. The Jews were compelled to make a complete readjustment to the new social and economic order. Inasmuch as they had been deprived of their previous occupations, though admittedly not very lucrative, they were obliged to acquire new skills to fit them for work in the factories and on the farms.

## *YOUNG JEWS IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE*

The new order in Soviet Russia, while it opened economic activities hitherto closed to the Jews, proved as great a hardship to the thousands of "declassed" Jews of the older generation as it did a boon to the Jewish youth. Literally, thousands of Jews of the older generation who were deprived of their subsistence couldn't adjust themselves to the new conditions. Substantially, the same state of affairs with regard to the older generation of Russian Jews exists even today, twenty-one years after the Revolution. The younger Jewish workmen, however, have had many opportunities opened to them; they have entered the industries and agricultural activities of Russia in an unprecedented degree. According to Dr. Arthur Ruppin, renowned Jewish sociologist and statistician, Jewish workmen in the factories of White Russia formed 33.8 per cent of all the laborers there

while they constituted slightly more than 8 per cent of the population of that area. Jewish workers constituted 81 per cent of the workers in the cotton mills, 77.5 per cent in the garment industry and 76 per cent in the printing trades. The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Government, initiated in 1928, was responsible for the entrance of considerable numbers of Jews into the factories of Russia. The Soviet Government has stimulated this movement to the factories by sending Jews from agricultural areas in White Russia and the Ukraine to factory schools and railway works in other industrial areas.

## *JEWS TURN TO FARMING*

In 1924, the Soviet Government embarked upon a new policy with regard to Jewish agricultural developments. It proposed to supply land for Jewish colonization in the Ukraine and the Crimea. It was planned to settle thousands of Jewish families on the land, thus facilitating the readjustment of a portion of the ruined traders and merchants who had been left without an economic foundation since the Revolution of 1917. Such organizations as the Jewish Colonization Association and the Joint Distribution Committee aided greatly in making these Jewish colonies a success. By 1932, there were some 15,000 Jewish families in the new colonies in the Ukraine and in the Crimea. Between 1924 and 1932 some 350,000 Jews were settled on the land forming four distinctly Jewish regions, namely, Stalindorf, Kalinindorf, Freidorf, and New Zlotopol. Where the Jews

form a clear majority of the population, Yiddish is recognized as the official language of the district. Several years ago the Soviet Union undertook to settle several thousand Jewish agricultural workers in Birobidjan which is located in the Far Eastern Region of Siberia. Thus, the "luftmensch" type of middleman and petty trader is giving way to a more healthy social type of Jew as worker in the fields and factories.

## *RUSSIAN JEWS AND CIVIL RIGHTS*

The 3,000,000 Jews in Soviet Russia today enjoy the same political, social, economic, and cultural rights as the rest of the population. The government has made the slightest expression of anti-Semitism a crime. The mere use of a term like "Jude," "Zhid" or "Sheeny" would make the offender liable to a prison term with hard labor. Admission to the schools from the elementary ones to the universities and civil service opportunities are open to Jews on an equal basis with others. There is no specifically Jewish economic problem in Russia. To be sure, there are still many Jews of the older generation who have given up all hope of ever finding a place in the new economic set-up. But their hardships are essentially economic ones which are shared by others and are not due to any anti-Jewish bias.

The numerous nationalities inhabiting the vast area of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are regarded as autonomous and, hence, are free to develop their own languages. Thus, the Soviet Regime recognizes over a hundred and fifty different lan-

guages among which is Yiddish. The works of Sholem Aleichem and Mendele Mocher S'forim are very popular among the Jews in Russia today. In the larger cities like Moscow, Minsk, Odessa, and Kiev, where large Jewish masses are congregated, there appear regular daily newspapers and weekly and monthly periodicals in Yiddish. In these cities are also to be found Jewish theatres and schools of higher learning where the work is carried on in Yiddish. In Odessa there is a Jewish museum named after that beloved dean of Jewish letters, Mendele Mocher S'forim.

## *RELIGION IN RUSSIA*

However, Jewish religious life in Russia, once the pride of world Jewry, has been virtually annihilated by the Soviet State. A similar fate has befallen other organized religious communities. The attitude of the Bolsheviks toward religion in general is epitomized by the slogan, "Religion is an opiate for the people." Hebrew culture is suppressed because of its religious traditions and associations. Even the study of the Hebrew language is forbidden. Zionism is regarded by the government as a "bourgeois," imperialist movement and therefore "counter-revolutionary"; hence, it is illegal. Zionist authorities maintain that many Russian Zionists still languish in Soviet prisons. Thus, it has been said that though Jews in the Soviet Union are free, Judaism and Hebrew civilization are chained and fettered there.

Nevertheless, when one contrasts the physical security and political equality of the Jews in Russia

with the tragic plight of the Jews in such anti-Semitic countries as Germany, Poland, Rumania, and Hungary, one cannot but regard the Jewish status in the Soviet Union as superior to that of the other countries, regardless of one's attitude toward the economic and political views prevalent there.

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# CHAPTER XII

# BIROBIDJAN—A PROPOSED JEWISH REPUBLIC

## *NATIONALITIES IN THE U.S.S.R.*

The Soviet Union, which is composed of many national and racial groups, encourages the various groups to use their own languages and develop their own cultures. To be sure, the diverse cultures and traditions of the different peoples inhabiting the U.S.S.R. are re-interpreted to harmonize with the prevalent Marxian philosophy of history and economics of the Soviet State. Moreover, those traditional elements which are at variance with Soviet tenets are soon excluded from the many national bodies of culture. In the case of Jewish culture, for example, the Hebrew language and literature, which are inextricably interwoven with religious associations, find no place in Russia today. Nevertheless, the Yiddish language and literature flourish on an equal basis with all other minority languages and literatures.

## *BIROBIDJAN*

The Soviet Government, in 1928, proposed to set aside a large tract of virgin soil in the Far Eastern region of Siberia for Russian Jews to build up as an autonomous Jewish territory. This territory was eventually to become a Jewish Republic, similar, for instance, to the small German Republic on the Volga and to the Republic of Armenia, both of which are constituent parts of the U.S.S.R., with representatives in the Council of Nationalities. In 1934, the Soviet Government proclaimed this region, known as Birobidjan, a Jewish Autonomous Territory.

## *ITS GEOGRAPHY*

Birobidjan is situated on the Amur River. It was a scarcely known territory until a few years ago; it emerged into prominence when the interest of the world was focused on the "Manchukuo affair." It takes its name from its two rivers, Biro and Bidjan, which flow into the Amur. It is located in the south-eastern part of the Soviet Union about 5,000 miles east of Moscow. This tract of land is bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the south by Mongolia, and extends from Lake Baikal eastward to the Pacific Ocean. Some 225 miles of the 3,000 mile borderline between Japanese-controlled Mongolia and Manchukuo and the U.S.S.R., lie in Birobidjan. In other words, approximately 7 per cent of the Russo-Manchukuan border lies within the Jewish "autonomous region." The greater part of Birobid-

jan lies in about the same latitude as southern Russia, southern Germany and northern Switzerland, that is between 48° and 49° N. Latitude.

The climate of Birobidjan is a continental one—hot, moist summers and cold, clear, dry winters. It is no further from the equator than Montreal or Paris. It comprises an area of some 25,000 square miles and is about the size of Holland and Belgium combined.

This far eastern region is well-stocked with animals such as squirrel, skunk, ermine, and fox. Fish abound in its many rivers and streams. Its abundant metals, such as iron, copper, and gold, its valuable rocks such as graphite, mica, marble and its asbestos, limestone, coal, and timber are a potential stimulus for the development of many industries. It has been estimated that two-thirds of its lowlands are suitable for agriculture and many and varied crops are already being grown such as oats, wheat, buckwheat and rye, in addition to most of the common vegetables. Because of these industrial and agricultural possibilities, Birobidjan has been spoken of by Soviet leaders as one of the chief centers for both the light and heavy industries in the Far East. The Trans-Siberian Railway, which runs through the center of Birobidjan, brings its eastern boundary within a few hours of the important city of Khabarovsk and within only eighteen hours' journey of the important Soviet seaport of Vladivostock.

The total population of Birobidjan is about 75,000

of which some 19,000 are Jews. The rest of the population is composed of Cossacks, Mongolians and Koreans. When the Jewish population reaches 50,000 the territory will be declared a Jewish Republic, according to the Soviet Government. Yiddish, the ghetto jargon which was once despised, is the official language of the administrative offices, the courts, and the language of instruction in the schools. The Soviet Government has aided the settlers in building houses and acquiring livestock by extending easy long-term credit arrangements. The settlers are given employment in state or cooperative industrial enterprises or in collective farms.

## *THE JEWS IN BIROBIDJAN*

According to an article by Elias Tobenkin in "The New York Times" of March 7, 1937, nearly half of the 19,000 Jews live in the city of Birobidjan which is the capital, or in nearby towns; and the rest live on collective farms. The city of Birobidjan has a Jewish theatre, newspapers, motion picture houses, hotels, parks, public baths, a radio station, a hospital, and several technical colleges. Most of Birobidjan's Jews have come from Russia though a number come from such foreign countries as Poland, France, Palestine, and the United States. Birobidjan, which was intended primarily for the Jews of Russia, may be opened also for foreign Jews, particularly from central and Eastern Europe, because their condition has become very critical.

## *ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES*

The project of building a Jewish Republic in the Far East where a new secular Jewish culture, divorced from its past religious and national associations, may be in the making, has evoked some enthusiasm. The advocates of the proposed Jewish Republic, in contrasting it with the upbuilding of Palestine as a Jewish National Homeland, point out that in Birobidjan there is no racial, religious or national rivalry, and, what is even more significant, that the plan has the active support, morally and materially, of the Soviet Government.

On the other hand, there are as many critics who are opposed to the entire scheme for they see in it only a means of carrying Soviet power, military, economic, and political, to the very doorsteps of Japan. They see the Jews as veritable targets for the Japanese guns. These adverse critics of the Birobidjan project maintain that the common border between Russia and Japanese-controlled Manchukuo augurs ill for sparsely settled Birobidjan when the inevitable conflict between the two powers finally breaks out. They regard Manchukuo as a springboard for the future Japanese invasion of Russia. Furthermore, they assert that aside from the military dangers facing the settlement, the natural obstacles in that distant and uncivilized region may prove quite insurmountable. To substantiate this claim, they point out that in the early years of the experiment more than half of the

new settlers left Birobidjan because they couldn't adjust themselves to the new environment.

However, this maladjustment at the beginning may, in large measure, be attributed to the lack of preparation and training on the part of the first pioneers. Discussing the question of the proximity of Birobidjan to the Japanese frontier, Lord Marley, member of the British Army General Staff, considers Birobidjan to "be about the safest place in the world in case of war because it is entirely self-contained and if it were cut off, it could live comfortably on its own produce." Lord Marley further states that "as regards military operations, I went for a day's shooting on the Amur River where you can get excellent pheasants and duck and tiger, if you want it—I didn't see any—and from the banks of the Amur River, running up about five or six miles, is extremely marshy grounds and quite impossible for military operations. The Japanese would be simply mad to advance through Birobidjan." (Article by J. M. Budish in "The New York Times," March 28, 1937.) In line with this analysis, the Jews of Birobidjan refuse to be alarmed for they believe the next war will be a war in the air, and people living in the densely populated cities in White Russia or the Ukraine will be far more exposed to air raids than the Jews of Birobidjan.

## *BIROBIDJAN AND PALESTINE*

Quite naturally, the student of Jewish affairs finds himself making a comparison between colonization

in Birobidjan and Palestine. The question often arises among partisans of both movements as to whether these projects are of necessity antagonistic to each other and hence mutually exclusive. That is, can one logically support both projects simultaneously?

In a number of aspects, both colonization projects are similar. In both countries it is necessary to prepare the prospective settlers to adapt themselves to the new environment. Technical matters of housing, sanitation, education, and the like, confront the colonists in Birobidjan as well as in Palestine. But there is a fundamental difference in the social, economic, and political matters between the two projects in the Far East and the Near East. In Birobidjan, the chief aim is to settle 100,000 or more Russian and foreign Jews to provide them with a secure basis of living in accord, primarily, with the Soviet economic and political system. The emphasis, then, is on a secure, prosperous physical mode of existence. There is no thought among the leaders of the colonization project in Birobidjan of developing the historic Jewish culture whose roots are in the dim, far-off past. Likewise is there no thought of strengthening Jewish national consciousness throughout the world. The Jewish cultural pattern spoken of in connection with Jewish life in Birobidjan is conceived to be wholly secular and is to be a product of the new environment under the Soviet ægis. In brief, Birobidjan may well be considered a land for East-European Jews who wish primarily to solve their

economic and political problems rather than as a center for the perpetuation of Jewish culture as it has developed through the ages.

In Palestine, too, Jewish leaders seek to provide a haven of refuge with a sound physical basis of existence for thousands of Jews who have become political exiles. But Palestine is inseparable from the Jewish historic past and, as such, is regarded as a cultural center which will strengthen Jewish consciousness and help perpetuate Jewish culture, the Hebrew language, and the Jewish people throughout the world.

Both forms of Jewish colonization, in Birobidjan and Palestine, are significant in current Jewish affairs. Each may perform an important function in helping to solve different aspects of that complex problem known as the "Jewish Problem," though of late, the Soviet Government has maintained an ominous silence as to the future development of the Birobidjan project.

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# CHAPTER XIII

# ZIONISM AND MODERN PALESTINE

## *ZIONIST IDEAL*

In a sense, Zionism has been co-existent with the Jewish people throughout the eighteen centuries of their dispersion in the Diaspora. Hebrew prayer and literature, Jewish pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and the many pseudo-messianic movements betoken a passionate yearning down the ages for a return to the ancestral homeland. It was not until comparatively recently, however, that this age-old dream for a restored Zion was translated into practical and concrete form.

## *THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION*

The Zionist Organization has represented the Jews of the world in the upbuilding of Palestine since its foundation by Dr. Theodor Herzl, the father of "political Zionism." The aim of Zionism was formulated at the first Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland, in 1897 and has come to be known as the "Basle Program." It reads as follows: "The aim

of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." Subsequent world Zionist leaders such as Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Dr. Nahum Sokolow have consistently sought to achieve this aim.

The world Zionist congresses discuss and take action on problems affecting Jewish affairs in Palestine. The congress is composed of two bodies: the General Council and the Executive Committee. The two bodies of the congress are made up of an equal number of Zionists and non-Zionists who, together, make up the Jewish Agency. The non-Zionists, while opposed to a Jewish State, are interested in the upbuilding of Palestine as a haven of refuge and cultural center for oppressed Jews.

Voting for delegates to the congress is carried on in a democratic manner by all Zionists who are over eighteen years of age and have paid an annual tax called the "Shekel."

## *ZIONIST GROUPS*

In the United States, the Zionist Organization of America is the official organization of the general Zionists. There are in addition, several distinct Zionist groups which are independent of the Zionist Organization of America. The Mizrachi represents the Orthodox wing of Zionism. The labor groups—Hashomer Hatzair, Poale Zion and Zeire Zion—combine socialist and Zionist theory and practice. These groups have their largest following in Poland and

other Eastern European countries. The Hachalutz trains young people to become pioneers, Halutzim, in Palestine. The Hadassah is chiefly interested in raising the health and sanitation standards in Palestine. The Revisionists are ultra-nationalistic, right-wing Zionists whose leader is Vladimir Jabotinsky. They oppose socialism and favor a Jewish legion and militant action in Palestine.

The two chief sources of money for the rebuilding of Palestine are the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod) and the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth l'Yisrael). Both of these funds depend upon voluntary contributions. The Palestine Foundation Fund promotes agricultural colonization, industrial undertakings, schools, public health, and sanitation. The Jewish National Fund buys large tracts of land and leases them to settlers on a perpetual basis to prevent land speculation.

## *THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF PALESTINE*

Palestine, slightly larger than the state of Vermont, is strategically located at the crossroads of three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa. It had been under the rule of the Turks from 1517 to 1917 when it was conquered by British troops under General Allenby. A Jewish Legion aided in this conquest. Palestine assumes vital importance for Great Britain because it is near the Suez Canal—Britain's "life-line" to India—and one of its cities, Haifa, is the terminus of the pipe-line from the Mosul oilfields.

## *AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY*

The Jewish population in Palestine has grown from a little over 60,000 in 1920 to approximately 400,000. Comparatively few Jews outside of Palestine were engaged in agricultural activities in the past because of the many restrictions imposed upon them. In Palestine the percentage of Jewish farmers to the total population is about 25 per cent, which is the greatest proportion of Jewish farmers to the total population anywhere else in the world. Indeed, the balance between the Jewish workers on the farm and in the urban industries is one of the outstanding features of the entire project of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The industrialization of Palestine has grown no less tremendously since the World War. Electrification from the water power of the Jordan River has been furnished by the Palestine Electric Corporation which, incidentally, is the largest industrial enterprise in the Holy Land. Another large industrial undertaking is the Palestine Potash Company which extracts the minerals of the Dead Sea, such as potash, bromides, and salt. Both of these projects were conceived and built by Jews; the former by Pincus Rutenberg and the latter by Moses Novomeysky. The modern port at Haifa has facilities for ocean-going liners.

## *TEL AVIV*

Palestine is very proud of the new Jewish city of Tel Aviv which was founded in 1908 on the sand dunes outside of Jaffa. It now boasts over 100,000 inhabitants, 99 per cent of whom are Jews. Its houses are built with an eye for space and sunshine, health, comfort, and beauty. Modern Jewish districts have also been built in such historic towns as Haifa, Tiberias, and Jerusalem.

## *REVIVAL OF HEBREW*

Another remarkable achievement of the Jews in Palestine is the revival of the Hebrew language as the common vernacular. Hebrew had not been used by the masses for over 2,000 years. In the last century of the existence of the Jewish State the popular language was Aramaic while Hebrew was confined to the priests and scholars. Though Hebrew was not in use as the daily language of the Jewish people throughout the long centuries in the Diaspora, it was far from being a "dead language." It was a living tongue for many traditional Jews when they recited their daily prayers and studied the holy books; Hebrew words and idioms inevitably crept into their letters and official documents such as the marriage certificate and the like.

Today, Hebrew takes its place along with English and Arabic as one of the official languages of Palestine. Hebrew is used in inscriptions on public build-

ings, postage stamps, coins, and in official documents. It is the language of the Jewish schools, theatres, newspapers, operas, factories, and the streets. Children can be heard playing (or quarreling) in Hebrew. Palestinians even point with pride to the development of a new Hebrew "slang" as a sign of the vitality and modernity of the language! The great pioneer in the revival of Hebrew was Eliezer ben Yehudah who worked incessantly toward the realization of this ideal until the very hour of his death in 1922.

*YIDDISH*

It might be noted, in passing, that for many years the language of the Jewish masses from Eastern Europe has been and still is Yiddish. This tongue was originally an off-shoot of the German language and, in the course of time, assimilated numerous Hebrew, Polish, and Russian words and expressions. It may be compared to Dutch and Swedish which, though derived from German, are distinct from their parent tongue. Furthermore, Yiddish is written in Hebrew characters. (Incidentally, this is also the case with Ladino which is the Spanish dialect of the Oriental Jews who were exiled from Spain in 1492.) In the last few decades, Yiddish has achieved great significance as the medium of political, cultural, and dramatic expression. In brief, it is and will probably remain for some time the vernacular of large sections of Jews who emigrated from East European countries.

## *EDUCATION*

In rebuilding Palestine, the Jews have laid great emphasis upon the education of their youth with their characteristic zeal for learning. A general school system exists, ranging from the kindergarten to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. As elsewhere, there are secular and religious schools. The common school subjects are taught in the former with the addition of Jewish studies which are studied from a cultural point of view. In the Talmud Torahs and Yeshivahs, the curriculum is devoted exclusively to the Hebrew language, literature, the Jewish religion, and holy lore. The schools, whether of the Labor Party or the Mizrachi, are under the supervision of the educational department of the Jewish Agency which derives its funds from the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod). The same may be said of the schools on the collective farms, the "Kvutzoth," where the emphasis is on manual training and farm work. There are also technical schools where courses are given in various kinds of engineering. The Hebrew University, formally opened on April 1, 1925, gives courses in Hebrew studies, Arabic, philosophy, psychology, mathematics, and in the physical sciences—chemistry, physics, bacteriology, and physiology.

## *CULTURE*

The high cultural level of the Jewish community life is eloquently attested by its fine theatres, opera

house, symphony orchestras, newspapers and other artistic activities in Palestine. The world-famous "Habimah" Theatre is located in Tel Aviv. Theatre-goers both in the United States and abroad were thrilled by its superb performance of the "Dybbuk." The labor theatre, "Ohel," portrays the social, political, and economic problems of Palestine.

The Palestine Opera Company produces the great operas in Hebrew translation. The Palestine Symphony Orchestra, among whose artists are many who were forcibly exiled from anti-Semitic countries, compares favorably with the first-rate orchestras of the world. Recently it performed with brilliance and distinction under the baton of the illustrious Maestro Arturo Toscanini. A number of talented painters and sculptors have created works depicting colorful types of people and scenes of modern Palestine.

Palestine Jewry have three daily Hebrew newspapers which represent the labor, liberal, and conservative points of view. The "Palestine Post" is an English daily published by the Zionists.

## *POLITICAL PARTIES*

The National Council (Vaad Haleumi) represents the Jews of Palestine before the British Administration. The Jewish Agency represents the interests of world Jewry in the upbuilding of Palestine. The Labor Party is the most influential in the country. As has been mentioned previously, the Mizrachi is chiefly interested in perpetuating the traditional standards of the Jewish religion. The Revisionists,

led by the former leader of the Jewish Legion, Vladimir Jabotinsky, are extremely nationalistic; they wear brown uniforms, have military drills and a military salute, favor a Jewish legion, and believe in combatting Arab terrorism with terrorism. In the economic sphere they are opposed to strikes and believe in compulsory arbitration in settling labor disputes. Hence, their opponents have dubbed them, "Jewish Fascists."

### *IMMIGRATION*

The pressure of Jewish immigrants seeking to enter Palestine has been intensified since the advent of Hitlerism in Germany and economic anti-Semitism in East-European countries. The Jews of Palestine and of the world are resolutely determined to continue the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home. Even the murderous onslaughts of Arab terrorism can hardly sway them from their chosen path.

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# CHAPTER XIV

# THE ARAB-JEWISH IMPASSE

## *ENGLAND'S "LIFE-LINE"*

Prior to the World War, Turkey controlled such important areas as Egypt, the Sudan, Arabia, Palestine, and Syria. The strategic location of these countries gave England great concern for her "life-line" route to the important crown colony of India. Hence, when Turkey lined up with the Central Powers during the World War, it was quite natural to find England using all her power and strategy to wrest control of these areas from Turkey.

## *"LAWRENCE OF ARABIA"*

Col. T. E. Lawrence—popularly known as "Lawrence of Arabia," around whom a number of colorful legends have sprung up—was entrusted with the mission of stirring up the Arabs against their erstwhile Turkish rulers. General MacMahon, who was at the head of the British forces in Egypt, in 1915, pledged Sheriff Hussein of Mecca the creation of an Arab State which would embrace all of Turkey's

former Arabian provinces as a reward for his aid in fighting on England's side.

## *THE BALFOUR DECLARATION*

On November 2, 1917, the British Government issued the Balfour Declaration, ostensibly for the purpose of strengthening world-Jewish support for the allied cause. This declaration reads as follows: "His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

## *JEWISH AND ARABIAN NATIONALISM*

The Jews hailed the Balfour Declaration as a definite pledge of a Jewish State on the part of England. A Jewish Legion was formed by a Russian Jew, Vladimir Jabotinsky, which aided General Allenby in dislodging the Turks from Palestine in 1918. Jewish national hopes were aroused. But, simultaneously, complications began to beset the resurgence of Jewish national aspirations in Palestine, for Arabian nationalism, long dormant, began to show unmistakable signs of rapid growth and claimed Palestine as an Arab State. The Arabs and the Jews began to show strained relations because of their conflicting claims

to Palestine as their exclusive homeland. They both based their claims on England's war-time promises to them. The Arabs argued that they constituted the majority of the inhabitants of Palestine and, hence, demanded the immediate application of President Wilson's principle of self-determination; the Jews, on the other hand, claimed Palestine as their historical homeland and pointed out that the Arabs had several national states while they had none.

## *THE PALESTINE MANDATE*

In April of 1920, at the San Remo Conference, Great Britain was allotted Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine as mandates. The assignment of Palestine to England as a mandate was officially approved by the League of Nations in 1922. The terms of the mandate specifically confirmed the Balfour Declaration by which declaration England had promised to establish a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. The United States endorsed the mandate.

## *SIR HERBERT SAMUEL*

The First British High Commissioner in Palestine was a British Jew, Sir Herbert Samuel, who took office in 1920. Shortly thereafter, he drew up a constitution for Palestine. The constitution contained provisions for a legislative council which was to consist of a high commissioner and 22 deputies of whom 10 were to be appointed by the commissioner while the other 12 were to be elected in the ratio of 8 Moslems, 2 Jews and 2 Christians. This proposed

constitution never went into effect because of the extreme opposition of the Palestinian Moslems to the legislative council. The various high commissioners including Sir Herbert Samuel in 1920, Lord Plumer in 1925, Sir John Chancellor in 1928, Sir Arthur Wauchope in 1931 and the present one, Sir Alfred MacMichael, have since governed Palestine with the aid of an appointed advisory council.

## *ARAB NATIONALISM*

The growth of education among the Arabs of Palestine has increased considerably since the World War. This has intensified the feeling of nationalism among the Arabs by giving rise to a large number of intellectuals who look to careers in government positions, some of which are held by the British and Jews. Under an Arabian government most, if not all, of the positions in the civil service would probably be allotted to Arabs.

Many Jewish writers are inclined to attribute the marked growth of post-war Arab nationalism largely to the Arab absentee land-owners' resentment of Jewish immigration into Palestine. The wealthy landlord, or "Effendis," exploited the "Fellaheen"—Arab peasants—in more than one way. They collected exorbitant rentals from the peasants who rented their land and paid pitifully low wages to those employed on their estates. The "Fellaheen" were constantly in debt for they were compelled to borrow at very high rates of interest. The Jewish "Halutzim"—pioneers—have awakened a desire in the hearts of their fellow-

workers for a higher standard of living, for a better distribution of material goods for themselves and their children—in a word, for a share of the benefits of modern civilization. The "Effendis" look with dismay upon the loosening of their hold on their erstwhile "serfs." They blame the Jews for this change and, hence, regard the Jewish upbuilding of Palestine with disfavor and consternation.

Arab nationalism, in its inception, was, no doubt, strongly stimulated by the absentee landlords who saw in Jewish colonization a challenge to their source of power and wealth. Nevertheless, the movement has since gained momentum and has spread to the masses of Arab youth who have become the implacable foes of British rule and Zionism. Arab leaders have asserted time and again that the "Fellaheen" are being forced to leave the land they used to cultivate as a result of Jewish land purchases. They now demand the most drastic curb on Jewish immigration into Palestine.

## *RIOTING*

In 1929, a threatening dispute broke out between the Arabs and Jews over the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. For ages Jews have worshiped at this Wall which is reputed to be a relic of King Solomon's Temple. Nearby is the Mosque of Omar, the sacred Mohammedan shrine. Anti-Jewish demagogues aroused the easily-excitable Moslems with propaganda that Jews intended to desecrate their most

holy shrine. These false accusations led to bloody clashes when the two groups happened to cross each other on the way to and from their respective places of worship.

These political, economic and religious grievances, real or fancied, resulted in violent anti-Jewish riots in Palestine in August of 1929. More than 100 Jews were killed. Ramsay MacDonald, who was then the Prime Minister of England, deemed the situation sufficiently grave to warrant the dispatch of warships and airplanes to Palestine to restore order.

## *THE SHAW COMMISSION*

Sir Walter Shaw headed a British commission which was sent to Palestine to investigate the causes of the riots and to make appropriate recommendations for their removal. The commission reported that the Arabs' hostility against the Jews resulted from their disappointment in failing to achieve their national and political aims of home rule and from their fear for their economic future because of Jewish immigration. The Jews were thus unequivocally blamed for the riots against themselves by the commission. On the other hand, the League Mandates Commission issued a report of its own to the effect that the outbreaks were in reality directed as much against England and British rule as against the Jews, and, furthermore, responsibility was laid squarely at the feet of Britain for failure to provide adequate police and military defenses.

## *POLITICAL GRIEVANCES*

Subsequent violent outbreaks in 1933, 1936, and at this writing bear the same underlying causes as those of 1920, 1921, 1924, and 1929. These causes may be summed up as follows: (1) Arab desire for national independence and (2) Arab opposition to the Balfour Declaration which pledges the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The general economic conditions in Palestine substantiate the assertion that the Arab masses have benefited greatly from Jewish immigration which brought with it new capital that started new industries and provided more employment and a greater distribution of wealth for Arabs as well as Jews. The standard of living of the Arabs—particularly those whose colonies border on Jewish settlements—has risen steadily since the commencement of large-scale Jewish infiltration into Palestine. Sanitation and health facilities, supported with Jewish funds and supervised by Jewish doctors and nurses, have checked trachoma and malaria which formerly spread blindness and death among countless Arabs. The Arabs who were removed from the land they used to cultivate as a result of Jewish land purchases were compensated financially. The British Government, too, has been engaged for the last few years in resettling Arabs who were deprived of their livelihood as a result of the transference of Arab land to Jews. Arab grievances, then, are hardly economic in character. The crux of all their fear of, and oppo-

sition to, the Balfour Declaration and Zionism lies in the national and political aspects of the upbuilding of Palestine as a Jewish National Home.

Arab leaders seek to dominate Palestine politically and see in Jewish immigration, with a possible Jewish majority, a direct challenge to their political aims. This political grievance, then, is the chief source of Arab objection to Jewish expansion in Palestine and of their demands for a drastic curb on Jewish immigration in accordance with the so-called "political absorbtive" capacity instead of the previous economic capacity. Arab terrorism in the Holy Land continues unabated and grows more reckless daily at a time which is so critical for thousands of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe who look to Palestine as well as other countries for a haven of refuge.

## *THE BRITISH DILEMMA*

The British Government finds itself in a veritable dilemma. Under the mandate, it is obligated to promote Jewish immigration into Palestine in accordance with the economic capacity of the country to absorb the newcomers. The British Government has definitely pledged itself to establish in Palestine "a national home for the Jewish people." The Arabs maintain that they cannot see how Great Britain can reconcile the Balfour Declaration with her parallel war-time promise to them of an Arabian dominion which, they claim, includes Palestine. The dark clouds gathering over the Holy Land look menacing to England which detects in them a possible storm of

a general Moslem revolt, fanned by funds and propaganda of the Fascist and Nazi powers, directed particularly at her rather than at the Jews.

In July of 1937, the Royal Commission of Inquiry, under the leadership of Earl Peel, investigated the causes of unrest in Palestine and recommended the partition of Palestine into three parts, an independent Arab State, an independent Jewish State, and a British mandate over a corridor located between the two states. The commission concluded that this plan offers the only feasible means of removing the fundamental causes of an apparently irrepressible conflict.

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## CHAPTER XV

# PROPOSED SOLUTIONS FOR THE PALESTINE DILEMMA

### *PALESTINE ROYAL COMMISSION*

In the middle of April 1936, serious disturbances broke out in Palestine with the Arabs attacking the British as well as the Jews. The situation reached such grave proportions in August of 1936 that the Palestine Royal Commission was sent to Palestine to inquire into the basic causes of the disturbances; it was also assigned the task of investigating the manner in which the British Government had been executing the terms of the mandate in relation to its twofold obligations to the Arabs and Jews. It was furthermore instructed to make appropriate recommendations for the removal of any fundamental grievances found in the course of the inquiry.

### *PARTITION PLAN*

The commission spent many months interviewing leaders of all factions in its efforts to arrive at well-founded grievances. In July 1937, the Royal Commission made public its findings and recommenda-

tions. It concluded that the mandate which specifically confirmed the Balfour Declaration, promising "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people," was incompatible with the parallel promises to the Arabs of Arabian independence. Therefore, it recommended that the mandate be terminated and in its place a plan should be substituted for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish State, an Arab State and a new British mandate over several holy cities, namely Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. In other words, the commission proposed that the northern region and the plain bordering on the eastern seacoast of Palestine, roughly one-quarter of the country, constitute a sovereign Jewish State. The Arab State would include about two-thirds of Palestine together with Transjordan. Great Britain would exercise a new mandate over the aforementioned holy cities in addition to a corridor leading to the Mediterranean Sea; a temporary British mandate would also be continued over Haifa, Acre, Safed, and Tiberias where there are mixed Arab and Jewish populations.

### *ARGUMENTS FOR PARTITION*

The Royal Commission justified its recommendation for the partition of the Holy Land by reviewing the incidents which led to Britain's contradictory pledges to both the Arabs and Jews during the World War. It analyzed the causes which brought about the sporadic clashes between the Arabs and the Jews as far back as 1920 and which have con-

tinued up to the very present. It pointed out that such European developments as the Nazi policy of forcible evacuation of Jews in Germany and economic anti-Semitism against the Jews in Poland resulted in an influx of Jewish immigrants into Palestine and, consequently, the fear and hatred of the Arabs toward the Jews was considerably intensified. Then, too, the increased measure of political independence which was in the offing for Syria, Iraq, and Egypt strengthened Arabian nationalism in its opposition to the upbuilding of the Jewish home in Palestine. As has been previously noted, the crux of Arab opposition to the Jews as well as to British rule lies in (1) the Arab desire for national independence, and (2) Arab opposition to the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

### *ARAB VIEW*

In the course of its investigation, the Royal Commission had occasion to sound out the representatives of the Arabs and Jews as to their views concerning the solution of their problems. The Arabs presented demands for the immediate establishment of an independent Arab Government which would rule over the Jews in Palestine. Thus over 400,000 Jews would constitute a mere minority subject to Arab rule.

### *JEWISH VIEW*

The Jews, on the other hand, have been hastening their pace in developing Palestine along social, political, and economic lines with the ultimate view of the

mandate in mind, namely, the establishment of a national home. Jewish work has been accelerated in Palestine lately in a large measure because of the pressure of thousands of Jews who seek asylum from European anti-Semitic persecutions.

The Jewish view of the problem and its solution were set forth by the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi (National Council). They contended that the British Government could solve the problem by applying firmly all the terms of the mandate. Thus, Jewish immigration into Palestine could be regulated in accordance with the economic capacity of the country and the development of a Jewish majority in Palestine would be facilitated substantially.

### *WHO WILL GOVERN PALESTINE?*

The Commissioners rejected both of these proposals as incompatible and irreconcilable inasmuch as two conflicting national groups were aspiring to achieve the same goal within the same country. They argued that neither nationalism could attain its aim of home rule without frustrating the national aspirations of the other. Furthermore, they held that it certainly would be unjust for the Arabs to rule over more than 400,000 Jews who are thoroughly capable of self-rule; nor would it be fair to place almost 1,000,000 Arabs under Jewish rule. The resultant of these two opposing forces has led to an irrepressible conflict despite the material prosperity which Jewish immigration has brought to Palestine as a whole. The nationalism of each community has reached a

very high tension point. To withhold further self-rule from either of these groups would create a menacing degree of irresponsibility; anarchy and terrorism would continue unabated. Hence, the answer to the question, "Who in the end will govern Palestine?" is implied in the commission's plan of partition. For, while neither the Arabs nor the Jews can fairly rule all of Palestine, each of these peoples might justly govern part of it.

In effect, of course, both States would actually be protectorates of Great Britain and would enjoy a large degree of national autonomy. The relation between the Jewish and Arabian States and Great Britain would be along the lines of the recent Anglo-Egyptian agreement. The naval base at Haifa would assure Britain's control of the seacoast.

## *ADVANTAGES OF PARTITION*

The 404-page report shows awareness that the partition scheme cannot meet all the demands of the respective national groups and so it points out the many advantages that partition offers to each of them. The Arabs, in attaining their national independence, would be enabled to take their place on an equal basis with their fellow-Arabs of neighboring countries in the interests of Arab unity. Arab fear of a Jewish majority would disappear.

The Jews, on the other hand, would at last have a national home of their own. They then will have reached the primary goal of Zionism. The sovereign Jewish nation would give its nationals the same

political status the other nations give theirs. Then, too, the Jews would be freed from their fear of becoming a minority group subject to Arab rule.

## *REACTION TOWARD PARTITION*

It was inevitable that such a momentous question as the partition of Palestine should arouse mixed feelings of endorsement and hostility among Jews and Arabs. Some Zionists were thrilled by what they deemed was the realization of the 2,000-year-old dream of the Jewish people for a national state in the Holy Land. There are also Jews who favor the plan because they fear the possible alternatives, namely, drastic curbs on Jewish immigration into Palestine and the cessation of land sales to Jews. By far and large, however, both Arabs and Jews are opposed to the partition scheme. The Arab leaders are unalterably against the British mandate over Palestine in any form. The Zionists contend that the mandate which was accepted by Great Britain and the League of Nations and endorsed by the United States specifically included all of Palestine as the Jewish homeland. They do not accept the contention of the Royal Palestine Commission that the mandate over Palestine is unworkable. On the contrary, say the Zionists, the British Government has never made a real effort to enforce it. Therefore, they oppose all of Britain's concessions to the Arabs and refuse to accept the separation of Transjordan from Palestine. The non-Zionists are likewise opposed to the partition plan but for an entirely different rea-

son. They object fundamentally to the conception of a politically-sovereign Jewish State in Palestine or elsewhere for they see in such a conception a threat and a menace for the Jewish people as a whole. They foresee the development of a narrow nationalism and nationalistic rivalry in a Jewish State which would inevitably lead to more intense strife with the equally nationalistic Arabs. The non-Zionists are chiefly interested in the upbuilding of Palestine as a haven of refuge for the thousands of persecuted East and Central European Jews and as a cultural center for the Jewish people as a whole.

### *OTHER SCHEMES*

A number of other plans, antedating the partition scheme, have been presented to the different groups in the Palestine conflict. Col. Josiah Wedgwood, a Member of Parliament and a stanch supporter of Zionism, has suggested that Palestine become a Dominion within the British Commonwealth like Canada or Australia. It has also been proposed that Palestine should become a bi-national state in which the Arabs and Jews would have equal rights in conducting the affairs of state like the British and Boers in South Africa. Then there is the cantonization plan whereby Palestine could be divided into Jewish and Arab cantons or provinces which would be self-governing in such matters as social service, land sales, and immigration. These cantons would then be joined into a federation or central national government which would control all matters relating to

the welfare of the entire country; such matters as national tariffs, foreign relations, and national defense would be included in this category.

The Palestine Royal Commission criticizes the cantonization plan as wholly inferior to its own partition scheme. It contends that the Arabs and Jews would still regard the central government as an interfering and foreign body. Furthermore, increased Jewish immigration would eventually seek to expand at the expense of the Arab cantons and the problem of friction between the two nationalities would be back where it was originally. The commission also maintains that the cantonization arrangement still leaves a minority of each group in territory controlled by the other. Finally, this plan does not solve the vexing problem of national self-government. Thus, the Palestine question is as far from a solution as ever.

## *ENGLAND ABANDONS PARTITION*

In the early part of November of 1938, the British Government decided to abandon the tripartite division of Palestine as recommended by the Peel Commission of July, 1937. This new revision of policy came as a result of a report of the Woodhead Commission which investigated the practicability of setting up in Palestine independent Arab and Jewish States. The verdict of the Woodhead Commission was that "the political, administrative and financial difficulties involved in the proposal to create inde-

pendent Arab and Jewish States inside Palestine are so great that this solution of the problem is impracticable."

## *ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE*

Thus the British Government sought a common basis of understanding between the Arabs and Jews through a round-table conference. Leaders of the Arabs in Palestine and neighboring countries on the one hand, and of the Jewish Agency on the other hand were invited to a conference in London where it was hoped that a peaceful solution would be found to end the present tragic dilemma in Palestine. It proved to be a fruitless conference.

## *THE WHITE PAPER*

The latest plan to end the twenty-year conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine was set forth by the British Government in the White Paper of May 17, 1939. This plan redefines Britain's policies with regard to Palestine's government, immigration, and land sales.

The British Government proposed the gradual establishment of an independent Palestinian State which would be neither an Arab nor a Jewish State. This State would achieve its independence by 1949 if Britain were satisfied that the Arabs and Jews could cooperate in governing themselves without one dominating the other. In addition, Britain would seek assurances that the Jewish minority would be

safeguarded from Arab domination and that her strategic interests in the Haifa port would be safeguarded.

Jewish immigration into Palestine would be limited to 75,000 over the next five years. Thus the size of the Jewish national home would be "frozen" at approximately one-third of the total population unless the Arabs agreed to further immigration.

Regarding land sales to Jews, the High Commissioner would have powers to establish areas where land sales could be wholly prohibited, limited, or free.

## *JEWISH AND ARAB REACTION*

The Jews in Palestine as well as in all other countries were deeply disappointed in the proposals set forth in the White Paper. The Jewish Agency described the new policies as a "breach of faith," and "a surrender to Arab terrorism." The Jews maintain that the White Paper constitutes a violation of the mandate which provided for the establishment of a Jewish National Home. The new plan would make the Jews a minority in their own homeland. The Jews planned to take the matter up with the League of Nations and the World Court. Meanwhile, many Jews in Palestine announced their intention of adopting measures of passive resistance and non-cooperation until the British Government withdraws the "Black" Paper.

The Arabs oppose the White Paper on the grounds that the curb on Jewish immigration is not suffi-

ciently drastic; only the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration will satisfy Arab extremists. Furthermore, the Arabs demand complete self-rule now.

## *BRITAIN'S "APPEASEMENT" POLICY*

Britain's virtual nullification of her solemn pledges to facilitate the building of a Jewish National Home may perhaps be better understood by a reference to her relations with the Arab world. Five Arab States of Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Iraq, and Egypt lie across Britain's life-line. Palestine is also of vital importance to Britain because of the naval base and the terminus of the Iraq pipeline at Haifa. Furthermore, the strategic Suez Canal is nearby. The neighboring States have expressed sympathy for the Arab demands in Palestine. Hence, Britain's latest White Paper is in effect but another application of her "appeasement" policy to the Arab world which has recently been subjected to Fascist and Nazi propaganda to combat British imperialism.

The British are quite sure that in any event the Jews will hardly support the Fascist powers in case of war. Once again, the Jews are the hapless pawns in the international game of chess.

The Jewish Agency has struck the keynote of Jewish feeling when it cabled the National Emergency Committee for Palestine in New York, among other remarks, the following:

"This blow will not subdue the Jewish people. The historic bond between the people and the land of Israel cannot be broken. The Jews will never accept

the closing to them of the gates of Palestine nor let their national home be converted into a ghetto."

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# CHAPTER XVI

# THE JEWS IN THE NEW WORLD

## *OLD WORLD HATREDS*

Of late, rumblings of anti-Jewish feelings have been heard in certain countries of North, Central and South America. These sentiments of racial hatred, directed as usual against the most defenseless segment of the population—namely, the Jews—are a reflection of the old world hatreds rather than a product of local conditions.

## *ANTI-SEMITISM IN CANADA*

In Canada, for example, anti-Jewish activities have been confined to certain French-Canadian groups and to the Nazi-controlled Germans living in the Dominion. In the Province of Quebec public discussion of and opposition to Fascism has been banned on the grounds of being "Communist" propaganda. On the other hand, Fascist anti-Semitic groups are given full sway to organize and spread their insidious doctrines. Certain authorities in this Province have employed the shoddy Hitler formula, "Jew-

radical-communist," as a cloak for their reactionary opposition to the increasing labor union activities.

## *ANTI-JEWISH FEELING IN MEXICO*

In Mexico, anti-Jewish feelings have been painfully evident in recent months. In February of 1938, the Secretary of the Interior of Mexico ordered a nation-wide investigation of the status of all foreign immigrants residing in that country. This investigation was ordered, presumably, as a result of the complaints of a number of Mexican merchants against the competition of Jews who came to the country in the '20's from Eastern Europe. Thus "foreign immigrants" boils down to Jews again. The merchants maintain that Jews came to Mexico on condition of settling on the land as farmers but instead have engaged in business and, hence, their commercial activities are illegal.

## *ALLEGED VIOLATION OF AGREEMENT*

No doubt, many Jewish immigrants had originally intended to settle on the land in Mexico but were discouraged because of the many difficulties in obtaining land and unsuitable agricultural conditions. This accounts for the fact that some 10,000 of them settled in Mexico City where they entered into business activities. Approximately, 8,000 Jews are scattered in other parts of Mexico.

The Jewish Chamber of Commerce in Mexico City has branded as false the charge that Jews have violated their agreement. Moreover, it points out that

the Jewish merchants have aided Mexico materially by developing local industries and employing about 30,000 Mexican workers in Mexico City alone.

## *NAZI ACTIVITY IN MEXICO*

In Mexico, as in Ecuador and elsewhere, the campaign against Jewish merchants has been stimulated largely by local Nazis who thrive on racial and national hatred. Wherever German Nazis are found there is a drive to undermine the commercial, industrial and professional status of the Jews. These attempts to stir up enmity against the Jews is attributed by Frank L. Kluckhohn, "The New York Times" correspondent, to the activities of the German legation "working through the large numbers of Germans in Mexico, most of them members of Nazi organizations."

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## CHAPTER XVII

# THE JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES

### *IDEALS AND PRACTICES*

Article VI, Section 3 of the Constitution of the United States, among other things, states ". . . no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." This lofty sentiment became one of the most fundamental of American ideals at a time when other governments were busily engaged in harrying and persecuting religious minorities abroad.

Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to infer that American Jews have enjoyed social and economic equality ever since the adoption of the Constitution by the Fathers of our Republic. Not a few social clubs, colleges, residential districts, and business establishments have flaunted a "No Jews Wanted," or its equivalent, in the faces of would-be callers. And yet, at no time did this prejudice break out into traditional anti-Semitism with its social and economic onslaughts and physical pogroms which have become a by-word in Nazi Germany as well as in other European countries.

## *POST-WAR REACTION*

The greatest victims of religious persecution in America have been Quakers, Irish Catholics, and Negroes. The Jews, too, came in for their share of the bitter fruits of religious intolerance in the period of the '20's. The zenith of anti-Jewish feelings was reached in the era of reaction, bigotry, and chauvinism which came with the backwash of the World War when the infamous Ku Klux Klan attacked Catholics, Negroes, and Jews. Those were the days when anti-Jewish journals like Henry Ford's "Dearborn Independent" and the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* with their fantastic myths of a Jewish plot to wrest control of the world, were making the rounds and spreading race hatred. To be sure, the automobile king saw the light after he was sued for libeling the Jewish people, promptly apologized and withdrew his publications from circulation. The K.K.K. rapidly declined following its exposure as a fraud and racket by the late "New York World."

## *AMERICAN OPINION ON ANTI-SEMITISM*

In January 1936, the magazine "Fortune" made a survey of American opinion concerning Hitler's anti-Semitic policies. The question asked by "Fortune" was, "Do you believe that, in the long run, Germany will be better or worse off if it drives out the Jews?" The following tabulation shows the results of the survey:

| | *Worse* | *Don't Know* | *Better* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Northwest* | 52.7% | 32.2% | 15.1% |
| *Midwest* | 55.1 | 28.8 | 16.1 |
| *Southeast* | 60.0 | 32.5 | 7.5 |
| *Southwest* | 52.4 | 32.9 | 14.7 |
| *West* | 41.0 | 49.2 | 9.8 |
| *Pacific Coast* | 61.1 | 24.6 | 14.3 |
| *TOTAL* | 54.6% | 31.4% | 14.0% |

From these figures "it will be observed that anywhere from a quarter to a half of the replies were "don't know," while from 40 per cent to 60 per cent were explicitly opposed to discrimination against Jews. The result is to suggest that even in the Midwest an anti-Semitic propagandist would have up to 84 per cent of the population actively or passively against him.

## *EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN ANTI-SEMITISM*

The recent waves of anti-Jewish persecutions abroad have encouraged such Fascist and un-American organizations as the Silver Shirts and the Nazi German-American Bund to repeat the myths of Jewish responsibility for the ills of mankind. The American people as a whole, and loyal Americans of German origin, have shown and will continue to show unequivocal opposition to the un-American activities of these Nazi-inspired organizations which are seeking a foothold in this country.

## *FATHER COUGHLIN*

One of America's most outspoken anti-Semites and political demagogues is the Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin. The true caliber of this radio priest may be noted, for example, from his reference in a public address to the President of the United States as "that great betrayer and liar . . . Franklin Double-Crossing Roosevelt." Right-minded Americans, regardless of their religious affiliations, were convinced that this cleric was no great credit to his church or country.

In a radio address on November 20, 1938, Father Coughlin indulged in a bit of malicious Jew-baiting by characterizing the Russian Revolution as a "Russian-Jewish revolution," fomented and financed by the late Jacob H. Schiff and others of the banking house of Kuhn, Loeb and Co. What evidence did he cite to support his contention? He quoted from alleged United States Secret Service reports, a British White Paper and a pamphlet entitled, "The Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World," by Denis Fahey. He even quoted—or rather, misquoted—from a 1920 issue of the "American Hebrew" to bolster up his legless case.

## *THE SLANDERS REFUTED*

Kuhn, Loeb and Co. branded Father Coughlin's charges as absolutely false. The United States Secret Service in Washington, after investigating the matter, stated that no such report existed. "It is quite certain," Chief Frank J. Wilson declared, "that no such

report was ever made by the United States Secret Service." The British Library of Information in New York City likewise denied that any such report had ever been included in a British White Paper. Alexander Kerensky, the former Russian Premier who led the Russian revolutionary movement which overthrew the Czar, stated that "there was not a single Jew in the government established immediately after the revolution. . . ." Kerensky further characterized as "fantastic" the assertions found in the pamphlet by Denis Fahey to the effect that Jews and Jewish bankers abroad financed the Russian Revolution. An article in the "American Hebrew," dated September 10, 1920, credits the Jews with having aided greatly in the "annihilation of Russian Czarism." It may be that the writer of the article in question was rather liberal in his praise for the Jews. But what did Father Coughlin do? He "conveniently" omitted the words, "annihilation of Russian Czarism" and inserted the words, "the Russian-Jewish revolution" and thus completely distorted the original meaning of the article.

The insidious effect of Father Coughlin's demagogic propaganda—like that of the master demagogue, Hitler—lies in the resultant un-American religious and racial persecution which has already claimed so many thousands of innocent victims in this day and age.

## *ANTI-JEWISH DISCRIMINATION*

While the Constitution safeguards the political rights of all American citizens, it is a fact that the

Jews in the United States have suffered, as a group, from anti-Jewish discrimination, in the social and economic spheres. In his report on Jewish non-employment, published in a pamphlet entitled, *Jews, Jobs and Discrimination,* Rabbi J. X. Cohen states:

"For the majority of American Jews . . . there is abundant evidence that their economic adjustment has been hampered by the policy of discrimination which prevails in the field of employment."

The investigator did not find any evidence of objection to the Jewish religion, as such, except in the case of the observer of Jewish religious holy days. He did, however, find a large measure of prejudice based on the age-old account of the so-called Jewish betrayal of Jesus. A number of employers found objection to such "Jewish" traits, as loudness, aggressiveness, clannishness, an undue degree of ambition, etc., on the part of Jewish applicants. Others objected to the union activities of Jewish workers. The investigator is fully justified in his observation that it is doubtful whether Jewish workers would find better conditions for obtaining employment if they checked their union activities, for there are powerful unions in the mine and automobile industries, for example, where very few Jews are employed. Thus, it is a mistake to identify unionism with "Jewishness," for unions are a product of labor and industrial conditions and are not related to one's religious background, whether Jewish, Catholic, Protestant or Buddhist.

Rabbi Cohen also surveyed the field of anti-Jewish discrimination in (a) the white collar market, (b)

among employers, and (c) in the professions. Most of the positions in the white collar field are filled through employment agencies. It was found that managers of thirteen New York City agencies, which receive some 6,000 applications daily, readily admitted that anti-Jewish prejudice has been rather pronounced in this labor field. One agency, for instance, made it a practice of giving the applicants who entered the office a prepared circular, reading: "We cannot accept applications from Jewish bookkeepers, typists, clerks, and other classes of office workers, as we do not get calls for them." One of the larger employment agencies formerly used application blanks which called for the applicant's name, age, and religion. Another employment exchange requested the applicant to record, in addition, his father's and mother's ancestry. An investigator for the American Jewish Congress applied to employment agencies for one hundred jobs, such as stenographer, secretary, accountant, and auditor. He reported that, "in 91 cases, I was told that a Jew would be unacceptable." Rabbi Cohen points out, "If this ratio holds, it follows that in a city where Jews form nearly 30 per cent of the population, the chances against a Jew's obtaining employment would be more than ten to one!"

## *THE PUBLIC CORPORATIONS*

In seeking to judge the attitude of employers toward Jewish applicants, Rabbi Cohen went through the files of an agency which has served many New

York companies. He tabulated the records of over four hundred firms in New York City. It was learned that "of these, 89 per cent or 356 declared that they preferred Christians." It was also found that a number of public utility corporations appear to be discriminatory toward Jewish applicants. A vocational counselor, attached to the placement bureaus which serve high schools, told an investigator for the American Jewish Congress that, "it is assumed by all the placement clerks that for jobs in large corporations such as the New York Telephone Co., they are not to send Jewish boys or girls." Incidentally, a discriminatory policy of this type is clearly a violation of the Civil Rights Law of the State of New York (Laws of 1933, Chapter 511, Section 42). This statute says that it is illegal "to refuse to employ any person in any capacity in the operation or maintenance of a public service, on account of the race or color or religion of such person." An anti-Jewish policy of employment was found to exist in the American Telephone and Telegraph Co.—the largest private industrial corporation in the world—as well as in the Western Electric Co., which is one of its subsidiaries.

*THE BANKS*

The survey on non-employment of Jews further disclosed that it is almost impossible to place Jewish applicants in the field of banking. Citing the three largest banks in New York City, the Chase National Bank of the City of New York, the National City Bank of N. Y., and the Guaranty Trust Co. of N. Y.,

which together employ about 20,000 persons, the investigator points out that there is doubt whether this number includes even two hundred Jews, or 1 per cent, in a community where Jews constitute approximately 30 per cent of the population.

## *INSURANCE*

A similar policy of discrimination exists in the salaried office positions in the field of insurance, according to the survey. Although the exact percentage of Jews in such positions was not determined, there is sufficient evidence to show a marked contrast between the small number of Jews in these positions and the large number of Jewish insurance agents who work on a commission basis. It is reported that a certain insurance company offered an applicant a position on condition that he change his "too-Jewish name" which ended in "berg."

## *THE PROFESSIONS*

In investigating the opportunities of Jews for employment in the professions, Rabbi Cohen first analyzed the factors which have brought about a disproportionate concentration of Jews in these fields. For example, he found that according to a recent study, "the proportion of Jewish students preparing for the practice of law, dentistry and medicine is more than twice (2.3 per cent) that of non-Jews." This is to be accounted for largely by the fact that Jews for historical reasons are essentially an urban people and professional services are required gen-

erally in urban communities. Anti-Jewish prejudice in the fields of commerce, industry, and finance result in restricting Jews to such professions as law, medicine and teaching where the law protects the practicing individual against discrimination. In the teaching profession the competitive examination insures a fair opportunity to the Jewish candidate. However, the investigator points out that there are instances of Jewish discrimination where the portions of the examination are primarily subjective and personal. The survey further disclosed that anti-Jewish discrimination definitely exists in the American colleges and universities as far as appointing Jewish scholars and teachers to their faculties is concerned. That such a policy exists is made increasingly clear "when it is recalled that the Jews constitute 3.6 per cent of the general population and about 7 per cent of the urban population of this country," while in a recent study of 179 universities, 87 stated that Jews constituted 2.2 per cent of their staffs and 62 had 1.8 per cent of Jewish teachers on their staffs, and the rest reported that there were no Jews on their faculties.

*MEDICINE*

In the field of medicine, the problem of anti-Jewish discrimination revolves about the admission of Jewish candidates to medical schools. Dr. Aaron Brown, chairman of the committee which investigated this problem for the American Jewish Congress, finds that "medical colleges are almost filled to present ca-

pacity. . . . In city and state-owned institutions, entrance examinations are fair and without discrimination. Privately endowed institutions (located principally in the East) . . . have a quota as regards Jewish students." The President of Wesleyan University advised the Jewish students in the pre-medical department that, "it is difficult for Wesleyan to place her graduates of the Jewish race in medical schools."

This discriminatory policy has compelled many Jewish students to go abroad for their medical training, particularly to Edinburgh and Vienna. Lately, Jewish medical students have been beset with additional hardships. The Nazi policies of anti-Semitism have resulted in the closing of many schools to the Jews which were formerly open to them. Moreover, the American Medical Association has requested hospitals to give preference to graduates of American schools when appointing internes. A pertinent question arises at this point: Is it in keeping with American ideals and traditions to base the admission of candidates to medical schools and internes to hospitals upon their race or religion?

*ENGINEERING*

Rabbi Cohen further reports that anti-Jewish discrimination is extremely intense in the field of engineering. Graduates of engineering schools usually try to obtain their practical experience and subsequent positions in the large corporations. Employers in engineering corporations regularly ask the applicants for admission to specify their religion, or they simply announce a policy of "Christians preferred."

## *DISCRIMINATION UN-AMERICAN*

Concluding his report on, "Helping to End Economic Discrimination," Rabbi Cohen remarks:

"Discrimination against Jewish persons in the economic field in the United States is a paramount issue confronting American Jewry. Its existence is a challenge to all right thinking Americans. Its continuance is a threat to democracy itself. We dare not leave that threat unheeded, that challenge unanswered. We will, we must work untiringly for the maintenance of true democracy and fair play for Jews in all fields of economic activity. Only in that way can we make our best contribution to the American commonwealth."

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## CHAPTER XVIII

# THIS "ARYAN" NONSENSE

### *RACIAL SHIBBOLETHS*

Much has been said in the last decade about the superiority of the "Aryan" race and the inferiority of the non-Aryan, Jewish race. Under ordinary circumstances, this pseudo-scientific racial verbiage might be relegated to the category of cheap comedy and course wit, were it not for the tragic consequences of this mumbo jumbo. Countless thousands of human beings, once happily engaged in the useful and time-honored occupations and professions in such lands as Germany, Italy, Poland, Rumania, and Hungary, are now being relentlessly persecuted, beaten, hounded, robbed, exiled, and deprived of the most elementary decencies in the vile name of racism.

### *A "PURE" RACE*

What is a "pure" race? Is there such a thing as a "pure" race? After considerable investigation and careful research, competent scientists are not at all certain about the exact meaning of race, let alone

"pure" race. They point out that for thousands and thousands of years, peoples of different areas of the earth and of diverse physical features and cultural levels have mingled and intermarried with the result that new racial mixtures were produced. Furthermore, this process is as old as man and it is still going on in our own day. Is there any scientific basis for the assumption that the so-called Nordic race possesses all of mankind's noblest virtues? None whatever! Scientific authorities, after many years of experimentation, maintain that such mental traits as creative ability, moral attainments, criminality, cultural achievements and vocational aptitudes, and such physical characteristics as height, color of hair, etc., are a result not only of one's heredity but also of one's environment. The environment, of course, includes one's educational background, economic status, social adjustment and a host of other considerations. The eminent anthropologist, Prof. Franz Boas of Columbia University, found that the American-born children of immigrants were of higher stature and of better bodily development than their foreign-born parents. Thus, a mere change of environment can have a profound effect upon individuals as well as upon whole groups of people.

### *SO-CALLED "JEWISH" TRAITS*

Cheap vaudeville jokers have often associated the hooked nose with Jews—as if such a nose were a mark of inferiority! Mediocre cartoonists have found in this characterization a source of jest with which to

tickle the vanity of those persons whose "probocides" were more genteel. Here is what Dr. Maurice Fishberg has to say on this subject:

"The present author (Dr. M. Fishberg) has investigated the subject among Jews in New York City and also in the various countries of East and West Europe, in North Africa, and Jewish immigrants from various countries of Asia. The results of these investigations do not bear out the popular notion that the hooked nose is to be considered the 'Jewish' nose, because only a small minority of Jews have the privilege of possessing this kind of nose. Among 2,836 adult male Jews in New York City, the percentages of noses were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Straight, or Greek | 57.26 per cent |
| Retroussé, or snub | 22.07 per cent |
| Aquiline, or hooked | 14.25 per cent |
| Flat and broad | 6.42 per cent |

"Among 1,284 Jewesses, the percentage of straight noses was even larger, and of aquiline and hooked noses even smaller than among men:

| | |
|---|---|
| Straight, or Greek | 59.42 per cent |
| Retroussé, or snub | 13.86 per cent |
| Aquiline, or hooked | 12.70 per cent |
| Flat and broad | 14.02 per cent |

"This shows that the predominant type of the Jewish nose is the straight."

Ironically enough, while a rather small percentage —13 or 14 per cent—of the Jews was found to have "Jewish" noses, the German population of Bavaria showed 31 per cent of "Jewish" noses! As a matter of fact, Fishberg observed that the forms of noses found among Jews had a tendency to vary with the environment in which they lived.

Much ado has been made by Hitler and Goebbels—neither of whom, by the way, is anything like the so-called "tall, blond Nordic"—about the fair-haired, fair-complexioned, blue-eyed "Aryan" type. What of the non-Nordic blonds? On this point Fishberg states:

"On the whole, it can be stated that most of the blond Jews are found in countries where the general population has a considerable proportion of blonds. This is exemplified by the number of blond Jews in England, 25 per cent; and in Germany where over 30 per cent of Jewish children had blond hair. On the other hand, in Italy, where the Christian population is distinctly brunette, less than 5 per cent of the Jews are blond. . . ."

What of the "Jewish type" of face and manner-isms? Such qualities as peculiarity in dress, coiffure ("payes" or side curls of Polish Jews), bodily carriage, gesticulations and other so-called Jewish traits are, in reality, social peculiarities resulting from the imitation of one's environment. In other words, characteristic traits, Jewish or non-Jewish, are products of a given environment and they are as changeable as the environment or the surroundings themselves.

## *THE URBANITY OF THE JEWS*

Anti-Semites have discoursed at great length about the "viciousness" of the Jewish mentality in seeking to outdo the less keen-witted non-Jew; they have harped upon the Jewish predilection for commerce, finance, and the professions—as if that were a mark of shame. It has been said that it is unjust to indict a whole group of people because of the faults and misdeeds of a few of its members. Furthermore, no large group of people can rightly boast of a monopoly of all the virtues, nor can any national or religious group be honestly charged with all or even most of the evil machinations of the devil. If it be a "crime" to engage in commerce, finance or the liberal professions in great numbers, as the Jews have admittedly done, then the nations of the world have a large share in this so-called "crime." The numerous restrictions they imposed upon Jews against owning or cultivating land and their policies of persecutions and expulsions account for the fact that for centuries the Jews have been an urban people. What is more natural than for city dwellers to acquire urban interests and urban traits? Commerce, industry, finance, and the professions are essentially city pursuits. Hence, Jews have concentrated in these fields in disproportionate degrees. Historically, be it noted, the Jews were not always so minded. In Palestine, before the dispersion, they were mainly an agricultural people. Thus, the mental character of the Jew-

ish people developed not from its "race" but clearly from its economic, social, and political history.

## *THE "ARYAN" RACE*

Of late, certain self-styled "race experts" have attempted to classify peoples. Much has been heard concerning the "Aryan" race. The term "Aryan," as used by historians and scientists, refers to the Persian and Indian languages and to the tribes that spoke those languages. Note the striking similarities of certain words in such languages as English, German, Latin and Greek which were derived from the old Aryan tongues:

| | | | | *Old* | *East Indian* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *English* | *German* | *Latin* | *Greek* | *Persian* | *(Sanskrit)* |
| mother | mutter | mater | meter | matar | matar |
| father | vater | pater | pater | pitar | pitar |
| three | drei | tres | treis | thri | trayah |

A cursory glance at these words shows how closely interrelated they are; hence, it is assumed that the old Aryan language was undoubtedly the common parent tongue. Basing their views on the foregoing assumption, certain pseudo-scientists have maintained that those peoples who speak Aryan languages are themselves of the Aryan race. But to do so is to disregard the facts of history as we know them. For example, the Greek language is the language of modern Greece. Yet, it is well-known that diverse races have succeeded each other or merged there since the days of Homer and Aristotle. Are the American Negroes,

Chinese, Russians, and Jews to be classified as Anglo-Saxons because they speak English? The Jews in Eastern Europe speak Yiddish which is a German dialect. It may then be argued that on the basis of language, the East European Jews are "Aryans"—Hitler to the contrary notwithstanding!

Incidentally, little is known of the ancient peoples who spoke Old Persian and Old Indian. Certainly, no one knows definitely whether they were blond, brunette or bald, whether they had long skulls or round ones, or whether they had straight or hooked noses.

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## CHAPTER XIX

# SOME ASPECTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

### *ANTI-SEMITISM IN ANTIQUITY*

Hatred of the Jews—ranging from social and political ostracism to physical attacks—has existed for many centuries. The Bible records the anti-Jewish attitudes of some of the earliest anti-Semites. The words of an ancient Egyptian Pharaoh have quite a modern ring about them: "Behold, people of the children of Israel are too many and too mighty for us. . . ." And so that dictator allayed his fears by setting taskmasters over the Israelites "to afflict them with their burdens . . ." (Exodus 1, 9-11). There was another classical anti-Semite, Haman, who is still regarded with humor and jest in Jewish folklore, who spoke thus to King Ahasuerus of Persia: "There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people of all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from those of every people; neither keep they the king's laws; therefore it profiteth not the king to suffer them. If it please the king, let it be written that they be destroyed . . ." (Book of Esther 3:8, 9).

## *RELIGIOUS FACTORS*

In ancient Rome, there was hostility both to Jews and Christians on religious grounds. Civic loyalty was inextricably bound up with the worship of the emperors. The Jewish and Christian conception of monotheism was fundamentally opposed to the idea of a divine emperor. Hence, they were accused of being irreligious.

As the Roman Empire crumbled and the Catholic Church began to supersede it, a growing chasm developed between Christianity and its parent religion, Judaism. The account of the Crucifixion as related in Chapter XXVII of the Book of Matthew in the New Testament left an indelible impression of contempt and scorn on the hearts and minds of Christians towards Jews down the ages. In vain have biblical scholars, among them Christians, labored to show that the Romans must be held responsible for crucifying Jesus, inasmuch as Jesus was accused of political treason. The whole Jewish people have been indicted for this crime and have borne the heavy weight of its guilt ever since.

## *ECONOMIC FACTORS*

In addition to the religious factors there are others which help explain the growth of that primitive phenomenon in modern dress, anti-Semitism. The economic motive has been and still is a potent cause of violent anti-Jewish prejudice. Its origin may be traced back to the Feudal Age, if not earlier. Feudal-

ism brings to one's mind images of vassals and lords, castles and jousts, knights saving damsels in distress, peasants giving homage and taking oaths. It should be noted, too, that feudalism was based on a society of definite and fixed classes of serfs and lords; that land was the all-important foundation of this economic and social system. Land was given by a lord to his vassal who took an oath of loyalty to him. A Jew could not own or cultivate land for, being outside the Church, he could not take the oath of fidelity. He was, therefore, looked upon as an alien and a stranger and regarded with suspicion and hostility. This distrust was further intensified by the current superstitions which grew up in the form of the ritual murder myth and the charge that the Jews caused the "Black Death" of the 14th century. The basic effect of the feudal system upon the Jews was their inevitable settlement in the slowly rising cities where they assumed the role of traders, artisans, and money-lenders.

The Jews, however, found no lasting security even in the urban pursuits of commerce and industry, for the rapid growth of guilds and crafts crowded them out. Therefore, money-lending remained their chief occupation in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the very peoples who forced the Jews into this field held them in contempt for being engaged in it. At first, Christians were forbidden by the Church to lend money at interest but, being in need of money itself, the Church turned this business over to the Jews. The Jews, on the other hand, taxed incessantly and

exorbitantly, deprived of the right to own land and finding money the only possession they could transport during their enforced expulsions, readily turned to this pursuit.

With the passing of feudalism, there emerged new trade routes, unexplored continents, and revolutionizing inventions. The commercial cities assumed added importance. Christian money-lenders and traders now began to regard the Jews as rivals. Economic competition and rivalry resulted in renewed anti-Jewish feeling. Shylock became a contemptible usurer while Antonio's trading ventures were wrapped in a cloak of respectability. The term "Jew" became synonymous with evil and inhumanity. Thus religious prejudice was coupled with economic rivalry to make the Jews hated and unwanted and persecuted down through the 18th century.

## *PERIOD OF "ENLIGHTENMENT"*

The new conceptions of citizenship which emerged in the 18th century profoundly affected the social, political, and religious status of the Jews. Church and State were to be separated; religious liberty was proclaimed; the State became a secular entity. Citizenship was to be based upon allegiance to the laws of one's country. The Constitution of the United States announced a lofty ideal in the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The French Revolution of 1789 issued a clarion call to the world proclaiming "Liberty, Equal-

ity and Fraternity" to all peoples including the Jews. The historical minority status of the Jews was to be obliterated, for the secular State was based on the equality of all of its citizens.

## *REFORM JUDAISM*

The Jews of Central and Western Europe, Germany, England and France were not slow in responding to these tempting opportunities of equality and freedom. There followed wholesale baptisms, intermarriage between Jews and Christians, and fundamental religious reforms which removed all traces of separateness and nationalism from traditional Judaism. Moses Mendelssohn translated the Hebrew Bible into German; Berlin became the new Zion; the Jews of Germany, England, and France became Germans, Englishmen, and Frenchmen of the "Mosaic persuasion."

## *RACIAL FACTORS*

Sad to relate, the nations have not kept faith. The passage of just laws and the adoption of well-intentioned resolutions have scarcely succeeded in blotting out the age-old accusation of "Christ-killers." Even those Jews who had become most completely assimilated and were as "Teutonic" as the "purest" Germans and as "Gallic" as the most nationalistic Frenchman were regarded as aliens and outsiders. Of course, the times had changed and civilization had progressed so religious tolerance could hardly be withheld from any group. Nevertheless, the old anti-

Jewish feeling was still there; so a new reason was invented for it. This invention consists of a theory of race inferiority and superiority which is nothing more than a rationalization of the original anti-Semitic bias.

This theory of "Aryan" superiority, which is now being peddled by Messrs. Hitler and Mussolini and a host of lesser satellites, was introduced, oddly enough, by a Frenchman, Arthur de Gobineau, in his book, *The Inequality of the Human Races.* The "Nordic" superiority myth was further developed by an Englishman, who became a naturalized German, Houston Stewart Chamberlain in *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century.* The theory is rather simple: The "Aryan" race is the highest and most civilized of all the races of mankind, and it alone has created all that is good and noble in modern civilization; the Jewish race, on the other hand, is the least creative, the most parasitic and is constantly bending all of its energy toward destroying civilization. Anti-Semites have utilized this "theory" as a sort of cloak to give their barbaric ravings a veneer of "science." Jews have been "blamed" for the birth of Christianity and have been accused of being the arch foe of religion; Jews invented capitalism and are all communist revolutionists plotting to wreck the world; Jews are clannish and provincial and dangerously international; Jews are pacifists and military conspirators, etc., *ad infinitum.*

## *PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTOR*

Looked at from a psychological point of view, anti-Semitism is a product of a human weakness to suspect the stranger and to blame him for one's failings and shortcomings. The Jews have thus been a scapegoat for individuals and nations for ages when things went awry. French reverses in the Franco-Prussian War were laid at the feet of the Jews as was Czarist Russia's debacle in the Russo-Japanese War; of course, Germany would have been victorious in the World War but for the Jews!

## *ANTI-SEMITISM AND DEMOCRACY*

Anti-Semitism is the antithesis and negation of democracy. It is inseparably associated with intolerance and repression in religion, politics, and civil liberties. The Jews are, to be sure, the immediate targets of such a policy of reaction; but it does not end there. The welfare of all other groups is at stake, for a social order is ultimately as strong and as sound as its weakest element.

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