

HOW TO COMBAT
ANTI-SEMITISM
IN AMERICA



How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America

THE SIX PRIZE WINNING ESSAYS IN THE CONTEST
CONDUCTED BY OPINION—A JOURNAL
OF LIFE AND LETTERS

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Published by

JEWISH OPINION PUBLISHING CORPORATION
NEW YORK • 1937

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

MARSTIN PRESS, INC., NEW YORK



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	7
A JOB FOR CHRISTIANS	11
<i>by H. C. Engelbrecht</i>	
STOP FASCISM: PRESERVE DEMOCRACY.....	25
<i>by Joshua Trachtenberg</i>	
A REALISTIC PROGRAM	43
<i>by Victor Eppstein</i>	
A UNIVERSAL PROBLEM	59
<i>by Harry Essrig</i>	
CURE THE CAUSES	71
<i>by Jessie Sampter</i>	
ACTION IS YOUR CUE	81
<i>by John Milton Caldwell</i>	

INTRODUCTION

TO DENY the existence of an evil is not to destroy, but to intrench it. This is essentially true of anti-Semitism in America—an evil often denied or ignored, yet which incontrovertibly exists today. Hence, when formulating the subject of the Essay Contest on which this symposium is based, the editors of OPINION invited consideration, not of *whether* anti-Semitism exists, but of *how* to combat it. They held that the time had passed for polite reticence and passive optimism; that like other prejudices, anti-Semitism would never be eliminated in the United States until it had been openly exposed; and that this could best be done by public discussion of ways and means by which to end it.

Had there been any doubts as to the importance and extent of the question, the response to the contest would have dispelled them. Out of the great number of those who submitted their views there was unanimous recognition of the fact of anti-Semitism, and of the necessity to combat it. Moreover, it is significant in this connection that more than a third of those who participated were Gentiles, that they were as keenly aware of the problem as were the Jewish contestants and as deeply concerned with its solution.

If a superficial denial of the existence of anti-Semitism is a danger to be avoided, the editors of OPINION are equally cognizant of the fallacy of hysterical and panicky approach to the problem. Nothing can be gained by overstating a situ-

HOW TO COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

ation such as this. The facts in themselves, unfortunately, are grave enough. It was, therefore, gratifying to find that most of those who submitted essays, pitched them in the key of realistic approach and thoughtful analysis. Such passages in the following pages as are found to be emotionally moving, will on scrutiny appear so not because they appeal to sentiment, but because they are surcharged with deep conviction and grounded on basic truths.

In dealing with the question of anti-Semitism, it is also necessary to guard against the tendency to substitute vague generalities for specific remedies. It does not suffice to deplore or even to denounce this evil. Concrete steps must be worked out, corrective action must be taken. It is precisely in this field that these essays mark a new departure, and make a positive contribution.

While it is obviously impossible here to give a resume of the points raised and the solutions proposed in the symposium, there is one note struck by so many of those who participated as to furnish the dominant motif. It is the recognition of the fact that the combatting and eventual eradication of anti-Semitism is not a Jewish nor even a Christian problem, but is basically an American problem. Jews must meet certain aspects of it, Christians must meet others. Both the problem and its solution, however, ultimately transcend either group, and concern America as a whole.

If anti-Semitism were to continue and to grow in virulence, it would betoken a disunited America. For no nation can

INTRODUCTION

truly be at peace which wars on racial and religious groups within its midst. The security and freedom of the least of its minorities is the gauge by which the greatest of countries must be measured. The orgy of hatred in which Nazi Germany is engaged—not only against the Jew but against Catholics and Protestants, liberals and independents as well—is the surest proof of its weakness, not of its strength.

We in the United States have witnessed desperate efforts on the part of the hate-mongers to import the methods of Hitlerism here, to exploit prejudice and bigotry. In times of economic conflict and social unrest that is the line of least resistance. But it is not in line with good sense or good will, and it is diametrically opposed to American ideals. Such is the consensus of opinion expressed in these essays, and concurred in by the judges.

* * *

The suggestion that these six essays, which first appeared in *OPINION*, be published in book form, first came from the authors themselves, and from readers of the magazine. Dr. H. C. Engelbrecht, winner of the first prize, himself a Christian, suggested that if these essays were to succeed in their purpose of helping to combat anti-Semitism in America, they must achieve an even wider and more diverse audience. His view was seconded by readers who wished to know how they could secure additional copies of the symposium to distribute among their acquaintances and to place in the hands of legislators, educators, clergymen, and laymen of all faiths,

HOW TO COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

It is in answer to these suggestions that the essays are now collected in book form. In publishing them the editors of *OPINION* take this opportunity to express their appreciation of the widespread public interest with which the contest was greeted, and of the co-operation of the judges in selecting the three prize winning essays and the three honorable mentions. They feel that the clear thinking and forceful speaking contained in this symposium can do much toward combatting anti-Semitism in America, and thereby advance the cause of tolerance and peace throughout the world.

—*Editorial Board of OPINION*

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A Job for Christians

By H. C. ENGELBRECHT

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H.C. Engelbrecht was born in Illinois where he was, for a time, instructor in history at the University of Chicago. He has served as Associate Editor of the WORLD TOMORROW, then History Editor of SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS, and is, at present, Editor of NO-FRONTIER NEWS SERVICE, devoted to peace news, and WORLD EVENTS. He is author of "Fichte," "One Hell of a Business" and co-author of "Merchants of Death," which was largely instrumental in bringing about the Nye investigation of the munitions industry.

A Job for Christians

AS A CHRISTIAN, I find it difficult to look a Jew in the eyes without a sense of shame. As a member of one of the great majority groups which outnumber the Jews of the world more than 100 to 1, I feel like a cad and a coward because of anti-Semitism. For many centuries now, a people constituting less than one per cent of the world's population have been the butt of ridicule, hatred and persecution at the hands of the 99 per cent, and particularly of the Christians among whom they were living. What under the circumstances becomes of Christian love and charity or of our highly-touted fair play and sportsmanship is something even the Seven Wise Men of Hellas would find it difficult to discover. Yet Jew-baiting goes on more viciously than ever and it discovers more "justification" for itself as it continues.

For anti-Semitism there are many rationalizations. The Jews are radicals, says one Jew-baiter; they are wealthy reactionaries, says the next. The Jews are trying to rule the country and the world; they are also unpatriotic, denationalized internationalists. The Jews are religious fanatics; they are likewise irreligious atheists and destroyers of all sacred things. The Jews are overcrowding the universities and the professions; yet they are an illiterate, uncouth, loud-mouthed rabble. The Jews

are dishonest in business and penny-pinching skinflints; they are also irresponsible spendthrifts always in need of charity.

The contradictions in this "indictment" do not trouble the Jew-baiters nor do they bother much about adducing proof of their "charges." Many Jews, however, are sensitive about the vilification of their enemies and they seek to "adjust themselves" in order to avoid criticism. Everywhere there may be found Jews extremely concerned about the actions of their fellows, fearful lest these cause new hostility. There was much questioning eye-brow raising in Jewish circles when Henry Morgenthau, Jr., became Secretary of the Treasury. Would not the Jew-baiters say that this proved Jewish financial rule of the country? When Huey Long was assassinated by a man named Weiss, thousands in the Jewish community feared that he might be a Jew. When three children were found dead in the Pennsylvania hills with peculiar scratches on their foreheads, scores of Jews waited in agony for the cry of ritual murder. When Jewish peace leaders joined the nation-wide attack on the munitions makers, nervous fellow-Jews implored them not to expose the Jews to further attack.

Such trepidation is easy to understand, but it is useless. Anti-Semitism is not built on solid charges, but on prejudice and tradition. Jew-baiters do not worry much about facts. Statistics will show that the Jews played a very

minor rôle in the Bolshevik revolution, yet Hitler will continue to assert that the revolution was 98 per cent Jewish-made. Let every Jew be a Maine Republican, a Rabbi Wise religionist, or an East-side, tenement-dwelling proletarian, their enemies would yet accuse them of being radicals, irreligious, and lords of international finance.

In view of that, the first and most important thing for Jews is not to be driven into an attitude of retreat. Never back up! Never trim your sails to the poisonous winds of anti-Semitic detraction! Do not permit the vilifications of Jew-haters to rule or determine your lives! Above all, avoid by all means the ghetto mind-cringing before slander, fawning before ignorance, taking on protective coloration!

Not that pugnaciousness or a chip-on-the-shoulder attitude is advisable or useful—not at all. Tact is always helpful in human relations, but tact is not groveling. A bent shoulder is an invitation to place burdens upon it, lying abjectly on the ground is certain to result in stepping-on. To the anti-Semite, timidity is merely an excuse to add contempt to abuse, insult to injury. Hence, all the tact, kindness, consideration, decency and helpfulness in the world—but no ghetto attitude of fear, groveling, and apologies for being alive.

THERE ARE two kinds of anti-Semitism in this country: one is malicious, the other is based on ignorance. The approach to these divergent diseases is naturally different.

As for malicious Jew-baiting, there is but one thing to do: Fight with all possible resources of the law. In Switzerland, recently, the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, long recognized as forgeries and frauds, were taken into court and their publication adjudged libel. In this country, apparently, the laws do not cover group-libel. Liberal leaders and champions of civil liberties consider group-libel laws very dangerous double-edged weapons which will muzzle the free expression of opinion and criticism. This objection is well-taken, so that Jews had better not work for laws covering group-libel.

But in most cases present laws are quite adequate. Anti-Semites seldom stop at generalities. They point fingers at specific persons, charge individuals with various delicts, and insinuate all manner of wrong, from murder to treason. Such individual libel offers ample opportunity for action.

Suppose there were a committee of Jews and Christians, amply supplied with funds and legal talent, which would single out some of the worst anti-Semites for a libel action. There would be nothing vindictive in this, but merely the purpose of stopping a malicious slanderer. The suit would ask for high sums as damages and whatever the verdict awarded to the injured party would go to

some charity or for Jewish refugee work. Such legal action would be purely defensive; it need not be spectacular; it might be conducted entirely by non-Jewish attorneys. The effect of such a libel suit is likely to be very salutary. After several actions of this kind, a legal warning would be sufficient to stop the most malicious of the slanderers.

This is not an untried expedient. Theodore Roosevelt went to court in order to stop the slanderers who said that he was a habitual drunkard. He won the suit and stopped the vilification. Some years back a prominent peace worker was irked by the persistent charge of Communism made by a professional patriot. She sued for libel and a famous trial resulted, in which she was awarded a considerable sum in damages — much to the dismay and discomfiture of the slanderer.

Malice deserves no consideration. Determined legal action by right-minded Christians and prominent Jews is certain of wholesome results. It will put the fear of the law in the hearts of such who care nothing about the truth or about fairness.

The second kind of anti-Semitism is based on ignorance, and that leads to a far more complicated problem. Why has anti-Semitism persisted these many centuries? Why is it that it frequently flourishes in places where there are very few Jews? Why are the same "charges" brought against the Jews today which were trotted out a thousand years ago, although the place of the Jew in the modern

world has changed radically? If answers can be found to these fundamental questions, the proper measures against anti-Semitism ought not be difficult to discover.

Admittedly, the situation is complex. The Jewish "problem" is that of all minorities against established majorities; it has economic phases which tie in with the present order of society; because the Jews are so frequently nomads by compulsion, it includes the problem of the immigrant; our highly developed nationalism projects the situation into the realm of anti-foreignism and the curious antagonism to strange customs; there may even be the hostility engendered by purely religious reasons. But beyond and beneath all of these friction points is one that is deeper, more abiding, and more fundamental, and that is tradition, specifically Christian tradition. This tradition is the soil in which Jew-hatred grows, it is the river bed in which the poisonous stream flows. Without it, Jew-baiting would be sporadic, widely-spaced in place and time, roused by specific incidents. Instead it is steadily persistent, omnipresent in the Christian world, subject to the whim and caprice of the Jew-haters. Without it, a calm examination into the factual basis of the charges made against the Jews would have dissipated anti-Semitism long ago. But now the mere repetition of age-old slanders is accepted as substantiation of their accuracy. In other words, because the Christian atmosphere has for so long been poisoned anti-Semitically, Jew-baiting

in a mild or virulent form is normal with Christians and it requires the assertion of Christian principles or a sense of humanity and fairness to root it out.

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LAST YEAR it happened to the writer that he began a conversation about the Jews with a good Nordic salesman in a Pullman car. The salesman began by telling about the Jews on his route, hard, unscrupulous fellows who pressed every advantage in order to increase their profits. Yes, the Jews were a hard lot to deal with. Curious to see the reaction, I told my fellow traveler that I knew a number of Jews who were conspicuous failures in business, because they were too kind-hearted and gave everything away. The salesman immediately cited two examples among his own customers "who were just like that." And how many Jews did he serve on his route? Exactly three — and two of these were too kind-hearted to be good businessmen. Yet his first and subconscious reaction was to tell about the hard, driving Jews in business. Why? Tradition, of course. Like all non-Jews he had imbibed a curious caricature of a tradition about the Jews and he repeated this parrot-like, although it actually did not square with his experience.

This anti-Jewish tradition among Christians is as old as Christianity itself. The New Testament clearly reflects the hostility between the early Christians and the Jews,

however large the number of Jewish adherents Jesus had at first. The appeal to the Gentile world accentuated this difference.

In the New Testament, the Jews are "hard-hearted and uncircumcized of heart"; "a veil is upon their heart"; they are "hypocrites," "blind leaders of the blind," "fools and blind." Some New Testament passages have even been interpreted in such a way as to prove the truth of Christianity by the continued existence of the Jews, for "this generation shall not pass till all these things be done." And then there is the supreme tragedy, the judicial lynching of Jesus in less than twelve hours "by the Jews."

Imagine now a pious and receptive Christian child learning the mysteries of its religion out of the Bible, in parochial school, in Sunday school, and from the pulpit. Again and again it is the perverse, stubborn, Jesus-hating Jews that appear as the villains in the piece. For centuries perfervid Christian preachers have poured out vials of hatred and denunciation over "the Jews" in their Lenten sermons, perhaps the most solemn of the year. And hardly ever have the teachers and preachers been conscious of the fact that they were planting the seeds or nourishing the growth of the noxious weed of anti-Semitism.

In the early church, every Church Father wrote a tract "*contra Judaeos*," against the Jews, aiming it at various heresies within the Church or at the "New Testament Jews." It was only natural that the Christians

should respond with anti-Semitism and that this tradition should carry on through the centuries as a disgrace to Christianity. Lacking a scapegoat for natural disasters, adversities, plagues, or hard times, there were always the Christ-killers. The pious Crusaders marching to free the Holy City from the infidel Turk took time out on the way to slaughter the Jews, other enemies of Christ. A monastic chronicler records simply: "In this year, with the help of God, we again persecuted the Jews."

After a time, this deeply-rooted antagonism found expression in a long series of legal restrictions as to marriage, residence, occupation, land-holding, etc., and a famous Pope ordered the wearing of a special badge by all Jews in order to identify them. The pretexts for these measures were found in secular fields. The Jews were usurers and extortioners, they took trade and commerce away from Christian merchants, they killed Christians when they attended them as physicians, they dominated the money market. But none of these charges would have been made, had it not been for the dominance of anti-Semitism in Christian thought. As the judge said in a famous case: "They may be innocent of these particular charges, but they deserved their punishment nevertheless."

This vicious historic process is repeated today in the lives of most Christians. Jew-hatred originates in Christian homes, schools, Sunday schools and churches—

quite naively and unintentionally in most cases. This seed may lie dormant and inactive, although its presence is readily recognized by the existence of anti-Jewish prejudices in communities where not a single Jew may be found. Again, it may sprout venomously and assimilate all the thousand and one rationalizations of anti-Semitism which past generations have brought forth.

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IN A SITUATION such as this it will not help to compile long lists of famous Jews who have aided the cause of science or medicine or literature or any other field of useful or artistic human endeavor. The list is impressive, to be sure: physicians running back to the early Middle Ages, mathematicians, chemists, physicists, musicians, poets, novelists, scholars in every department of human knowledge, philanthropists, statesmen and legislators — all are there in great profusion. World leaders like Einstein, Freud, Eisenstein, and many others; Nobel Prize winners a-plenty.

But given the psychological conditioning of the Christian community, all such proof of Jewish eminence, intelligence, and usefulness may only fan the flames of anti-Semitism the more. It may offer proof to naive Christians that the Jews are really dangerous rivals, crowding the Christians out of the professions, taking away their business opportunities, ruling the world of thought, finance, and politics.

No, the task to be done is to destroy anti-Semitism at its place of origin — Christian tradition. It is a job the Christians must do themselves, and every consideration of religion, fairness, and humanity cries out that it be done at once. The Christian sacred story need not be told in a way that it breeds Jew-hatred. On the contrary, every basic tenet of Christianity demands that it be told in the spirit of tolerance and love for all. Considering the times we live in, the savage preaching of Jew-hatred by the Hitlers and Streichers, and the sad plight of millions of Jews, special efforts are in order by all Christian leaders to prevent the spread of un-Christian hatred and intolerance and to atone for the centuries of persecution which they have — naively and ignorantly perhaps — visited on the Jews.

The same applies to all education. The schools must learn to teach more universally and to cease propounding anti-foreignism and a narrow nationalism. The fight against anti-Semitism fits in well with this larger program. In many communities, for instance, "The Merchant of Venice" has been a potent source of evil and many Jewish leaders have fought its use in high schools. Yet this very play might serve as an excellent text on tolerance, if properly handled. And there, precisely, is the rub. Children cannot acquire tolerance, fairmindedness, universality, if their elders do not possess them. And one rather suspects that a large numbers of parents, teachers and

ministers are urgently in need of an elementary education in these lines.

In a French religious journal there appeared recently a story about a little lad who came home and proudly related how he and his playmates had refused to accept a little Jewish boy into their games and had, instead, routed him to his home with sticks and stones. The father heard the story with dismay. He took his little boy in hand and read him a kindly but serious lesson in fairness and tolerance. The boy responded readily. He had not thought of it that way. Well and good, said the father, now let's both of us go and find this little Jewish lad, tell him we're sorry, and ask him to come over tomorrow and join your games. Father and son went, and one may guess that the lesson was learned for the time being. But where are the homes, the schools, the churches, the clubs, that teach and practice tolerance and fairness, especially toward the Jews.

In times like these, it becomes a further duty of the leaders in home, school and church to pay some attention to the doctrine of racialism and to destroy this fanatic pseudo-science. It would be a bad mistake, at present, to ignore this topic. Young minds — and many older ones, too — need guidance in this matter which threatens to elevate a bitter prejudice into the basic social principle. Reputable science has never believed in the "blood

theory" of culture and this fantastic doctrine must never be permitted to take root.

THE BASIC work in removing or preventing anti-Semitism in this country, then, is one for the Christians. What one may ask of the Jews is that they themselves do not contract this vicious disease in any form. Some of the worst anti-Semitic diatribes have been written by Jews. There are Jews today who refuse to employ their fellow-Jews and who discriminate against them exactly as the worst Jew-hater. This protective coloration is easy to understand, but it deserves nothing but the contempt with which it is generally viewed.

As for the Christians, let them learn the basic tenets of their religion: love, fairmindedness, tolerance! Let them drive forward with giant strides along the path now being followed by some of them in ridding their homes, their schools, their churches and their clubs of anti-Semitism. Once that is achieved, once the age-old tradition is destroyed, there will be little trouble in other fields, because anti-Semitism is largely without concrete basis and almost entirely a savage inheritance.

Preserve Democracy

By JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG

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Joshua Trachtenberg was born in Lincoln, Nebraska and attended school in Cincinnati and New York. He is at present Rabbi of the Temple Covenant of Peace in Easton, Pennsylvania, which he has served since 1930. He has published articles in many magazines, and has just completed a volume on "Jewish Magic and Superstition" which will be published this year.

Stop Fascism: Preserve Democracy

WERE THIS essay entitled "How to Eradicate Anti-Semitism in America," it should have to open with the grim admission: It can't be done! Not short of demolishing the America we live in and building a new one, at any rate. Even outside Marxist circles it is a commonplace that anti-Semitism, in its modern recension, is a disease indigenous to our economic system, which goads the underprivileged, in their ignorance of the operation of social forces, to exact payment of the eternal scapegoat, the Jew, for the iniquities of the system itself. This diagnosis, for all its simplicity, points directly to the etiology of the disease; the honest physician must prescribe a revolutionary revamping of our social system, and the elimination of those economic relationships which are responsible for social inequalities and injustice. Malaria can be permanently wiped out only by thoroughly draining the swamps where the Anopheles mosquito breeds, and radically changing the character of the terrain.

But sometimes it is inexpedient or impossible to resort to such a thorough-going procedure, and instead of extirpating the source of the disease, steps are taken to limit its occurrence and to prevent its spread: spraying

marshy surfaces with oil, immunizing those exposed to it, etc. When such measures are adopted it is with the recognition that they are only partially effective, local and temporary expedients. The threat of malaria has not been obviated, and unceasing vigilance is required to ward off epidemic outbreaks.

This analogy must constantly inform our efforts to combat anti-Semitism. There is only one ultimate cure — to drain the swamps of our social life where the Anopheles of anti-Semitism breeds. Short of that we cannot hope to eradicate the disease; we can seek only to abate its virulence.

The day when a just American society renders anti-Semitism the anachronism it should long since have become is not yet near, dream and toil though we may for its coming. No realistic fight against anti-Semitism can possibly be unmindful of this final goal. But to refuse to avail ourselves meanwhile of whatever temporary measures we can devise to weaken the impact of the scourge would be sheer irresponsibility. What cause have we to hope that the United States will be immune to the more violent manifestations of a plague which world Jewry has not escaped? The unparalleled dissemination of anti-Jewish propaganda here during the depression years is only a prelude to what may and probably will come as our economic circumstances approach those of European lands more closely.

We need not search for the magic formula which will take the place of a painstaking examination of the various aspects of the problem, and of a program that will husband our meager resources and direct them where they will prove most telling. There is none. Nor, seeking a practical plan of campaign, can we place any reliance upon other than practical and realistic considerations, first among which must be the relative impotence of the Jewish group alone to affect the course of American attitudes. We are too few and too weak to reach the inner ear of the American people, to which in any event access is infinitely difficult for us by virtue of that very anti-Semitism we seek to combat. To scatter our feeble forces over the entire field of operations, vast and complex as it is, would be to destroy whatever effectiveness our efforts might attain. Yet this, blindly, is just what we have been doing. Tactically, our line is to concentrate our energies on the one restricted front where they may be most productive: to win over that necessarily limited body of non-Jewish allies who can be made to see our struggle in its larger aspects, and through their agency create the organisms which will carry our cause to the masses.

It is, of course, evident that the very social disaffection in which anti-Semitism is rooted affords us a measure of alliance and support. There are many who recognize that anti-Semitism is a potent buckler in the defensive armor of capitalism. In the degree that the various secondary

factors that make for the victimization of the Jew lose their force, the inchoate rebellion of the masses can be less readily diverted from the real oppressors, and the doom of the capitalist system draws nearer. The fight against anti-Semitism is a significant engagement in the greater war against economic injustice. That group which is alive to this truth will rally spontaneously to our side.

Yet we cannot afford to restrict our efforts to winning support on this ground alone. Jews themselves are not yet wholly convinced of the connection between social injustice and their own peculiar plight, and are not, by virtue of their economic interests, prepared to advocate so radical a solution of the Jewish problem. Nor is it politic to press an argument which might alienate a great many of those non-Jews who would come to our aid on less controversial grounds. We must find a more widely acceptable basis for gaining the alliance without which we are powerless.

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IF WE examine more closely the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, analyze those elements which direct mass unrest so inerringly against the Jew, we may discover this broader approach to effective alliance. Why is the Jew singled out as the scapegoat? The answer is not in doubt: because the Jew, as a member of a minority group, is in no position to defend himself; because the Jew, heir to a culture and a history and a cohesion which stamp him in

the popular mind as "different," protrudes from the undifferentiated mass which abhors individuality; because a hoary tradition of Jewish wickedness and contumely makes it a simple matter to pile on him one more sin, in the end, all the sins for which mankind suffers. It is this complex which renders the Jew so vulnerable in times of social stress and disturbance. Anti-Jewish propaganda, whether consciously Machiavellian, or merely the bilious drool of social distemper, trades upon these pre-existent factors.

Essentially, they present a single problem — one of education, of supplanting erroneous and harmful attitudes with others socially desirable. But it is upon the first that we must lean most heavily in advancing our campaign. Can the defenselessness of a minority be transmuted into a shield, behind which the group may enjoy a modicum of security and peace? Ruling out, as we must, all sentimental appeals to motives of chivalry, of decency, of fair-play, that are fondly presumed to animate the "civilized" branch of homo sapiens — for the mass of humans "play fair" only when it is to their personal advantage to do so — is it to the profit of the American to give the Jew a "square deal" *because* he is a defenseless minority?

It is. The status of the Jew is the touchstone of the quality of our democracy, of the value of our constitutional rights. Because he is a minority and therefore the legitimate prey of those forces that would destroy our

democratic system, attack upon the Jew is the entering breach in the wall of American liberties. Those who cherish the hard-won victories of American democracy and would preserve them can and must be made conscious of the significance of the Jew as a social symptom. To protect themselves they must protect the Jew first; once he has come under the shadow of social ostracism, of civil disability, their own positions are already undermined and tottering. The proofs need not be adduced; they are only too well-known. We include here, of course, the Negro, the Mexican, the Japanese, all minorities whose weakness lays them open to attack. But the symptomatic value of the Jew is unique in that he has become the traditional first line of offense in the war upon human rights. Aping their European mentors, there have come into the open in this country a host of bodies whose purpose, ostensibly, is to denigrate the Jew. But even a cursory examination of their platforms, and of the course of their trans-oceanic models, reveals that the entire corpus of our social liberties is subject to their fire, that once the Jew has been disposed of no other American will be safe. We have a word for this—Fascism!

The fact that our position is bound up with the preservation of American rights and principles is our greatest source of strength. Most men, however well-intentioned, are apathetic to the plight of their fellows until it threatens to overwhelm them too. The most powerful in-

HOW TO COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

centive to dash out the fire in a neighbor's house is the apprehension that it may before long consume one's own home as well. This is the basis of our appeal to America.

"Democracy," "civil liberties," "freedom," are abstractions which few comprehend, and fewer have experienced. Obviously, only a small group of the socially minded, the politically aware, can be moved by such an appeal. We cannot go it alone. That is the start of any program to combat anti-Semitism. But in the consciously democratic, anti-Fascist forces of this country, small though they may be, we have an incalculable source of strength. Nor should we permit paucity of numbers to deceive us as to their power. They represent the articulate leadership of the true America, publicists, clergy, educators, labor leaders, liberals in every profession and trade. They can rally behind them a great mass of individuals whose thinking they do and whose opinions they shape. Through them the defense of Jewish rights, as of American, can seep down to lower layers of American humanity.

But we cannot — as we do not — advance this cause on the basis of self-interest alone. Only as we are sincerely zealous for the preservation of liberty for all the American people, can we convey the fervor of our own crusade to others. Yet the self-interest cannot be blinked. Here we have the common ground upon which specifically Jewish and broadly American interests coalesce, without argument or persuasion. Not by exhorting, by preaching, by

pleading our own need, can we arouse these other Americans to the danger that is inherent in the Fascist mentality, but by constituting in our combined strength the conscious vanguard of our common cause. It is high time we freed ourselves of the aptly categorized "sha-sha" philosophy of Jewish polemics, which sought to turn away wrath with gentle words, to obscure the Jew from the public gaze. As though such a superficial tactic could in any wise affect fundamentals! It failed us in Germany; in England it proved a broken reed; it has failed us here too. "Anti-defamation" campaigns and pious statistics are less than no defense. We must be prepared, in conjunction with all the progressive forces that can be mobilized on this front, to utilize every available weapon against the Fascist and anti-Jewish menace: the legislatures, the law-courts, the boycott, a relentless propaganda. And all, not to protect Jewish rights, but to *protect American rights*.

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AMILITANT anti-Fascist offensive offers the sole hope of executing the remaining phases of our campaign. Those non-Jews who become aware of the identity of interests will necessarily exert themselves to counteract the other weaknesses in the Jewish position. Antipathy toward "difference" is a common human attitude; to uproot it is no small task. For it represents a measure of self-defense against those forces which by their very existence seem

to challenge the comfortable rightness of things as they are. In tight little worlds such as modern states, the natural pull of social gravity, fostered and strengthened by nationalist philosophies, is toward cultural unity. Even in America, which has never known a unified culture, this tendency has expressed itself in local and regional forms. The *tradition* of Jewish "difference," rather than its actuality, is an inherent feature of the western cultural atmosphere. The Jew, by virtue of this tradition, is an object of fear and suspicion; he impugns the adequacy of his cultural environment simply by existing. This is the unconscious reaction of the "native" to the Jew, and indeed, to all "foreigners." This is why the Jew always remains an "alien." Yet this attitude is in conflict with the more enlightened and more truly American concept of "cultural pluralism," which has won increasing adherence since the ill-omened Zangwillian "melting pot" philosophy was in the heyday of its popularity.

In the defense of American rights the importance of this view of America as a cultural pluralism cannot be exaggerated. The target of the Fascist is only euphemistically the "foreigner" and his "foreign ideas." It becomes necessary to educate the American to an appreciation of his Americanism, with its conglomerate "foreign" components, to an understanding of the value of "difference" within the peculiarly American unity. The heterogeneous composition of our population should facilitate this proj-

ect, yet, admittedly, it can hardly influence the great mass of Americans. But again, those who are converted are a source of great tactical strength. The brunt of such a propaganda can be borne only by the organized forces of anti-Fascism, in which, at best, we can play only a strategic role.

Especially in the final phase of the campaign, addressed to the lowest common denominator of American humanity, are we impotent, unaided, to affect the deep-seated prejudices and delusions that are basic factors in anti-Semitism. The Jew has yet to make an impress upon a preponderant section of the American public simply as human being. Here we approach the heart of our problem, for it is the "demonic" Jew, the Jew who somehow stands apart from human-kind, who is forced to bear the burden of the world's woes. Who has not heard: "Oh, Goldberg is a white Jew; he is not like other Jews?" The futility of adducing statistics to demonstrate that Jews are not all Communists, are not all capitalists! Such charges are but subtle rationalizations of the gravamen of the case against the Jew. He is not, in basic human qualities, member of *our* human race — this is the unvoiced and unconscious foundation upon which are reared all the other, more "reasonable" accusations.

Does this sound too wild to credit? Here are a few of the lunacies that pass for truth in America — they come from the lips of farmers, a judge, a superintendent

of public schools, reputable business men, railway conversationalists, a cross-section of the American people: that Jewish heads are crowned with horns, that Jews are possessed of a distinctive odor (one man said he could distinguish a Jew by his odor twenty feet away), that all Jews, without exception, walk with toes turned out, that all Jewish women are big-busted, that Jews still practice sacrifice (at the Chicago World's Fair more than one person poked around in the Jewish exhibit hunting for the sacrificial instruments) and that occasionally the victim is a human being, that Jews are privy to the dark secrets of Black Magic! These are some of the "facts" current in this land. Of course, only rarely do such "facts" startle incredulous Jewish ears; many Americans undoubtedly have not yet acquired this information. But significant is the subconscious readiness to believe such things. This is not the place to discuss the historic background of this "demonic" picture of the Jew — but that it exists there can be no denying. It is this conception that makes it possible for the mass of Americans unthinkingly to subscribe to the legend of the "international Jew" preying upon the world, whether through Communism, or "international finance," and to the rest of the hackneyed stock-in-trade of anti-Semitic incitement. The Jew is inhuman and anti-human; such a view lends zest and facility to the channelling of mass unrest against him.

What measures can possibly uproot such fantastic no-

tions, re-educate a continent? We need not delude ourselves with wishful thinking; the lessons of millenia are not to be undone in a generation or a century. But in a small way at first it should be possible to develop a program which can make some impression upon the American public. And here again we must turn to our Christian friends, the defenders of American democracy, for the effective force behind such a program. Our own propaganda, however subtle (a virtue it has yet to acquire), is suspect, as all self-pleading must be. The only way America at large can be reached is through those who already have its trusting ear: ministers, teachers, publicists, etc., who exert the greatest direct educational influence. Fortunately, this comparatively small group is not unapproachable.

A large, if not a major, proportion of Americans come to know Jews personally only in adult years. The conceptions, or misconceptions, formed in childhood leave a permanent scar upon the mind. And it is in the church school that most children first make the acquaintance of the Jew. The Bible, and especially the New Testament, is their earliest and most moving text — but Scripture as perceived through the eye of the teacher. In his hands rests the power to shape initial attitudes. The minister and teacher of religion who is alive to his role in the educative process, and conscious of the responsibility it imposes upon him, can lay the basis for a fair attitude. "The

Jews killed our Lord" is still the first and most persuasive plank in anti-Semitism. Even when concern with religion dies, and religious affiliations are broken, the subconscious retains that initial childish upsurge of loathing and hate for the less than human creatures who could so misuse the gentle founder of Christianity. Break down that foundation and the entire structure begins to totter. Yet this is only a beginning to what the religious schools can do. The power of the Church, which must see that its own future is doomed along with the Jew's, to establish him as fellow-human, is an inestimable weapon in this struggle.

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IN THE broader field of education, too, we can develop a positive approach to the Jew as American and as human. Instruction in our schools is hardly responsive to the demands of American citizenship today, and to the crucial problem of group relationships. Nor does it recognize even in the smallest degree the role of the Jew in world and in American history. For most Americans the Jews ceased to exist when Jesus died — and yet, perversely, they still haunt the earth. That hiatus in the popular comprehension of the Jew is condoned by our educational system, which must bear a good share of the guilt when it is filled in with all sorts of fable and invention. What do Americans know about the Jew, beyond a few Biblical names, and the inflated fame of the Rothschilds? How many

Americans have ever heard of Jewish collaboration in the voyage of Columbus, of the pre-revolutionary Jewish settlements, of Haym Solomon and the Franks family, of Jewish participation in every major American development?

This, in small measure, is the kind of knowledge we must impart to Americans if we would counteract the pernicious falsehoods that pass for truth. And every organ of education and propaganda must share in the task. It is not a question of parading offensively vaunted Jewish achievements, which seems to be the sole conception of educational propaganda that many Jews own, but rather of establishing the Jew as American in the mind of America, of restoring the Jew to the realistic, earthy plane upon which other peoples have spent their existence.

What are the practical implications of such a program? Its breath-taking scope, essential in every respect, is itself irrefutable proof of the futility of lone Jewish sniping. Short of a revolution, which can destroy the merit of anti-Semitism as a social cathartic, the merest start can be made only through the medium of an embracing union of anti-Fascist forces. The nuclei of such an organism are already in existence — the various “good-will” movements, the League Against War and Fascism, unorganized liberal opinion. But the appeal of the so-called “good-will” bodies, on grounds of humanitarianism and brotherhood, can hardly rise above dilletante idealism. Their program

has lacked fire, has lacked grounding upon American realities — and thus, their audiences have been circumscribed and unmoved. This movement will have to submit to a transfusion of crusading blood, become part of the drive to preserve true Americanism, before it can have any wide influence. The League, because of its association in public opinion with Communism, has not won the mass adherence its militant and dramatic program might have brought it. Unorganized liberal sentiment is powerless. The prerequisite for any effective propaganda must be a true “united front” comprising all these groups on a broad basis of defense of American liberties. Then it will be possible to map a comprehensive campaign that will make its mark upon the American scene, through a myriad subsidiary units in every community in this land, drawing in especially those who have most immediate contact with the masses.

Can it be done? Can we organize the forces of democracy in this country to attack what is fundamentally an American, not a Jewish, problem? In more than one European country opinion has been regimented through organization and propaganda for ends diametrically opposed to ours. Can we apply the same vision and skill to a message of enlightenment and liberty? We cannot stop now to weigh odds; too much is at stake for us not to make the attempt. Granted that a militant minority can be aroused to the peril of Fascism; granted that even more

STOP FASCISM: PRESERVE DEMOCRACY

can be stimulated to examine the pretenses of anti-democracy critically and skeptically; granted that Jews and Christians can work together for the larger end, the scourge of anti-Semitism is not beyond control. We can at least keep it within bounds, prevent it from assuming the epidemic proportions that have taken so bitter a toll of peace and freedom in other lands.

A Realistic Program

By VICTOR EPPSTEIN

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Victor Eppstein was born in the heart of the Illinois cornbelt. He served as a reader in the Greek Department at the University of California and later was ordained as a Rabbi in the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York. He has served congregations at Havana, Cuba; Kingston, New York; and in Scranton, Pennsylvania.

A Realistic Program

IT IS an astounding fact that whereas nearly all Jews and a very great number of cultured Gentiles in America have given much earnest thought to the evil of anti-Semitism, very little has thus far been achieved in the direction of a popular understanding of the nature of this problem. This is true because heretofore two very plausible fallacies have had the widest dissemination and the support of most prominent leaders; these are (a) the belief that racial and religious prejudice can be overcome through mutual understanding and good will, and (b) the doctrine that the Jewish group can itself put an end to anti-Semitism by living up to an exalted concept of self-discipline or Jewish noblesse oblige.

The teaching of "good will" and the practice of self-discipline are obviously worthy ideals; but those who offer them as cures for anti-Semitism err psychologically, philosophically, historically and—practically. The Good Will Movement is unlikely ever to reach those who have most need of it. People who are conditioned to anti-Semitism are conditioned to resist the arguments and appeals of Good Will: some there certainly are who "fail to understand" on purpose; others hate because of their very understanding.

Nothing is more discouraging to Jews than the consideration that they are often despised for living in accord with certain principles to which their persecutors render lip-service. A certain Bolitho, who served His Britannic Majesty in Palestine, justifies his contempt for the Jews by pointing out that they want to *buy* back their ancient soil instead of winning it with the sword. Nazi ideologists condemn Jewish scientists because for them Truth is objective, and not merely something useful to the Fatherland. G. K. Chesterton was outraged at the thought that British Jews have foreign kinsmen who profess patriotic allegiance to other European powers. When a people is hated for its very virtues and for the outer circumstances and vicissitudes of history even more than for crimes and vices attributed to it by prejudice, it is clear that the preaching of understanding and good will, fruitful though it may be, cannot end the persecution.

If self-discipline is a noble ideal, the emancipation of Israel through superior conduct, through Jewish noblesse oblige is nevertheless a fatuous conceit. Everyone *ought* to live as decently as he can, and very likely does. To err, however, is human, and not even the best of nations can transcend humanity. Our Jewish citizens, be their intentions ever so lofty, must sometimes err and stumble, and then the devil will have them by the coat-tails. Moreover there will be found among this people, no less than among others, the black sheep, the weakling, the renegade, the

moron and the victim of demoralizing poverty. Every minority on the defensive knows that a hundred saints and prophets cannot outweigh the calumny inspired by one of its boors and rascals.

Again it has often appeared that the most impeccable Jews, the Einsteins and the Brandeises, and the most worthy, the Heinrich Heines and the Karl Marxes, draw the enemies' fire more fiercely than do the sinners and wastrels who fall farthest from the ideal of fine living. Perhaps this explains why the devotees of Jewish group responsibility in practice content themselves with the avoidance of notoriety and association with unpopular causes, ever ready to climb on the band-wagon and to conform with the fads and mores of the majority. Respectable conformity is the practical, human equivalent of the utopian ideal that Jews "must be better than others to avoid persecution."

Respectability cannot save the Jews, but the dogma that Jews ought to sacrifice personal idealism and social conviction for the survival value of conformity really can retard the solution of the Jewish problem. A great Jewish fraternal order has come to devote more and more of its activity on behalf of the Jews in America to anti-defamation and apologetic enterprises. It is a very natural, nay inevitable step, from trying to make a people *be* better to contenting oneself with trying to make the people *seem* better. There have been painful instances in which the

B'nai B'rith, following its policy of ethical cosmetic, has actually tried to bring pressure to prevent Jews from assuming leadership in liberal movements for the social welfare of America and the human race, for the explicit reason that the causes were unpopular and such leadership might result in local outbursts of group discrimination. This attitude, were it to prevail, would prevent Jews from working for the improved social order in America wherein alone lies their own freedom and security.

The Good Will Movement and the attempt to make Jews seem or become better are not intrinsically unworthy; to the contrary, they are praiseworthy endeavors and have indubitably produced many good results. They should be continued and supported for what they are, however, not for what they have professed to accomplish. In the solution of our present problem we are compelled to reject both as unlikely successfully to combat anti-Semitism in America.

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THINKERS who have maintained that the Jewish problem can be rightly comprehended and solved only on a universal or international basis are demonstrably in the right. This fact has in recent years been underscored in red letters by the organization of anti-Semitism along international lines with Berlin as world-headquarters. The convocation of a World Jewish Congress dramatical-

ly emphasizes the need of international cooperation among Jews for the amelioration of their condition within their several countries.

The Zionist movement has long recognized the universal nature of the Jewish problem, finding its origin in centuries-old history and the peculiar international position of the Jew, nation-less for eighteen hundred years, yet never abandoning his hope of national restoration on his own national soil. This movement was organized at the close of the Nineteenth Century, when it had already become evident that Israel's homelessness and insecurity could not be ended through "assimilation." Too many Jews refused to assimilate; too many nations refused to consent to their assimilation; too many refused to believe this assimilation was more than a malevolent pretense. The restoration of a Jewish Palestine became for some Jews the goal of historic fulfillment, for others the attempt to "normalize" the Jewish people and its position in the world,—to assimilate as a nation among nations, if you please, where they had failed to assimilate as individuals or minority groups within the nations.

It is useless for American Jews to hope completely to solve their problem apart from their blood-brethren of other lands. Willingly or reluctantly, they must ever be concerned as they shall always be affected by the life and fate of these "foreign" Jews. In large measure, then, anti-Semitism in America must be overcome through

A REALISTIC PROGRAM

liquidating anti-Semitism in the world, through helping in the solution of the universal Jewish problem. To this end an important part of our program will be full participation in the causes of self-defense and rehabilitation represented by the World Jewish Congress and the Zionist movement.

Although anti-Semitism cannot be altogether abolished by our efforts at home, its most heinous and dangerous aspect, however, can be effectively combated and overcome on the American scene; we can render it less destructive, we can avoid the ascendancy of organized and conscious persecution. Persecution is not synonymous with anti-Semitism; it is merely a tendency, a potentiality. Anti-Semitism has been utilized throughout its history to turn the Jew into a scape-goat, to direct against his hated and defenceless person the violent attacks of discontent engendered elsewhere, thereby shielding from popular fury iniquitous institutions, vested interests, personal privileges, and their human embodiments; by compounding misery, they who sowed the wind needed not to reap the whirlwind.

In the world today, organized Jewish persecution, like all other contemporary minority persecutions, is a concomitant of the economic maladjustment of our social order. It is in a class with Xenophobia and "Red-baiting." It can be avoided for a breathing-spell of unknown but limited duration by achieving economic reforms

which alleviate the suffering of the victims of maladjustment, such as relief for the technologically unemployed, subsidies for the agrarian middle-classes, and the like; but in the long run, inevitably, the persecution of minorities can be prevented only through removing from the social system the very causes of economic maladjustment.

We are inclined to forget that social machinery is only a metaphor, that "the economic machine" is after all but a pattern of social relationships. When a physical machine wears out it breaks down and we replace it with a new one. But when the economic machine "wears out" it can be kept running, although at the cost of human suffering which increases by geometrical progression. It cannot be replaced without depriving certain classes of our fellowmen of power, prestige and privilege to which they have become accustomed and which they feel to be rightfully and inalienably theirs.

This transformation of the pattern of social relationships, that is, the substitution of social authority for unlimited individual or class control in the production and distribution of wealth, must follow naturally in the free exercise of democratic institutions of government. The State is responsible to a majority of the electorate through its parliamentary representatives, and since capitalism tends toward concentration and monopoly, the conservative class tends to shrink in size and to lose corre-

spondingly its influence upon legislation. As the demand for change, for a "new deal," threatens their vested rights with increasing unpopularity as the result of expanding popular hardship, the favored classes feel constrained to resist the trend of the times. They must utilize subterfuge and demagoguery to overthrow political democracy or at least to render it innocuous.

In the present crisis in capitalist economy, the oldest political trick of all, the scape-goat, has again proved to be an effective device for misleading the discontented and concealing from their wrath the true causes of their suffering. The existence of racial or doctrinal minorities, especially such as are already subject to disfavor or prejudice, provides the sacrificial victims who are to be consecrated to Azazel. The menace of the Godless Communist and the perfidy of the International Jew have been employed with scientific thoroughness to overthrow democracy in Germany and Italy, to prevent its rise in Central Europe, China, Japan and Latin America, to justify the present campaign against Spanish democracy, to threaten the stability of democracy in France and England. In some of the countries enumerated, particularly Italy, China and Japan, where the Jewish minority is scarcely discernible, anti-Semitism has played almost no part, but with the development of Berlin's international propaganda demagogues in these lands, too, are beginning to appreciate the value of "race science." It may be stated

that the present crisis in world capitalism has witnessed increased anti-Semitism in all capitalist lands. On the other hand, the Soviet Union which attempts to remove the actual causes of economic disorder can afford to outlaw anti-Semitism; this fact is significant, not as indication of Muscovite righteousness, but as external evidence, a sort of laboratory control, in the analysis of racial persecution as a political manipulation.

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WHAT are the chances of a movement in America to blame and persecute our Jewish citizens for the sins of our economic disorder? Ever since Hitler's ascendancy the Jews in our own country have been losing their former comfortable feeling that American Jewry was exempt from the experience of Old World Jewries, that persecution was ever to remain for them a subject to be studied from afar or an occasion for altruistic concern; even those upon whom their Jewishness rested very lightly if at all, the "assimilated" Jews, now found it easy to imagine American pogroms and publicly sanctioned discriminations from whose effects even they might not escape. To what extent are such fears and premonitions justified by the objective facts and potentialities of contemporary America?

The existence of anti-Jewish prejudice in the United States cannot be doubted by anyone who is conversant with the disclosures on the subject made by competent

and often impartial investigators and reporters. Although in pre-war days it was largely confined to social slights and discriminations, such as exclusion of Jews from fraternities and clubs, even then and earlier there could be found manifestations of a desire on the part of sections of our population to exclude Jews from positions of public trust and honour. As an economic force, however, this early anti-Semitism was altogether latent and unrealized; America was for the Jew as for the Gentile a land of ample economic opportunity. It was even believed by Jews and enlightened Gentiles that such prejudice as existed was waning and that a time would soon come when the last vestige of social and political prejudice would disappear. This belief is seldom expressed today.

It has been established that Jews are now facing intense economic discrimination. It ranges from the casual type exemplified by the ubiquitous "Christian only" advertisement, to a systematic exclusion which the American Jewish Congress has uncovered as the fixed policy of many large corporation personnel departments. Corporations which follow this policy usually attempt to justify it on grounds of expediency; sometimes they deny or modify it in the face of unfavorable publicity; it thrives best where nothing is to be lost through antagonizing the Jews as possible sources of patronage. This peculiar manifestation of economic competition clearly indicates the degree and vigor, as well as the potential malignity of

American anti-Semitism.

Can there also be found in objective fact any tendency on the part of American capitalism to make use of this prejudice in the familiar scape-goat pattern described above? An abundance of evidence in the affirmative has appeared in the pages of *OPINION*, the *Jewish Daily Bulletin* and other periodicals. Professional anti-Semites have in this country undertaken to organize opposition to "Jewish influence," "Jewish Communism," etc. Characteristically, they uncovered the Jewish menace in our democracy,—Roosevelt was a Jew whose real name was Rosenfelt, Justice Brandeis and Professor Frankfurter were Communists, the Third International was in control of the White House. Although a few of these mercenary rascals were under Nazi supervision, others were merely following the Nazi example. The swastika appeared on American soil, private armies were being recruited from among the unemployed to march on Washington and purge the nation of "Jewish Marxism." The significant circumstance is that this inchoate attempt to overthrow American democracy over the broken body of the Jewish scape-goat was already finding financial encouragement from industrial and financial leaders.

This movement has subsided. As it became evident that the government intended to go no further than the curbing of certain "abuses" and that the cost of "socialistic" spending was not to be met immediately by capital levies

A REALISTIC PROGRAM

and huge taxes upon the largest incomes, the anti-Semitic organizations were allowed to languish for want of funds. An important factor was the role played by the judiciary: in the courts capitalism found a ready made bulwark against the translation of popular will into legal process; there was a safe limit beyond which the people could not go in their march against the system that made them suffer. Anti-Semitism could be put back on the shelf.

But within the next few years it will again be needed for active service. Since the fundamental causes of the depression remain with us still as in 1932, government may not abandon its expensive relief program; this is the true meaning of the recent election. People voted for Roosevelt not so much out of gratitude as out of fear of Republican reaction. But if the present program be continued, sooner or later we shall find it necessary to lay huge burdens of taxation upon the wealthy to maintain national solvency, or we shall head straight into the horrors of uncontrolled and uncontrollable inflation. In either case the scape-goat will have a job: in the former, to cover up the fascist advance; in the latter, to prevent an honest to goodness revolution.



THERE is an alternative. Those who wish to save the Jews from persecution should place themselves in the ranks of those who are trying to lead America toward this alter-

native. The present program of palliative relief must give way to a program of fundamental reconstruction. American democracy must be socialized by subjecting industrial production and distribution to the will of the people's Congress. The first step is to abrogate the judicial veto and to enlarge the express powers of the national government through immediate constitutional amendment. A gradual march in the direction of socialization will follow.

At the same time energetic measures must be adopted to prevent the inevitable reactionary attempt to overthrow democracy. In Spain the government found it necessary to arm its workers. In America let it be beforehand by strengthening the organization of labor, and by systematically removing from key positions in Army and National Guard all officers whose loyalty to the constitution may be qualified by class allegiance. It will also be necessary to outlaw and confiscate privately owned military equipment and armories. The use of military uniforms by private organizations must be proscribed. The legal definition of criminal libel must be extended to include racial and religious groups. Some of these measures may appear too harsh, as bordering closely upon the dictatorial edicts of undemocratic regimes. Yet the experience of democracy in France, England, Spain, and the German Second Reich proves at once their indispensability and their inevitability if American democracy is to survive. If only the constitutional provisions of the preced-

ing paragraph be adopted they will threaten no true lover of democracy. The latter will rejoice to see a people's government equipped to hold its own against reaction.

And how will all this help to combat anti-Semitism in America? In the only way possible, if our objective be permanent security from the fear of organized persecution and the threat of exclusion of Jewish citizens from participation in the cultural and economic future of America. In the only way possible, within the limited scope of the domestic situation, by a program designed (a) immediately to prevent by law the victimization of any racial or doctrinal minority as a whipping-boy for the ills of society, and (b) ultimately to consign the scape-goat device to "otiose desuetude" along with such outmoded aberrations as the dogma of the Divine Right of Kings, by perfecting the instruments of democracy and thereby enabling the people to redress economic as well as political wrongs.

For the rest, as concerns the conquest of anti-Semitism itself, and not merely the prevention of overt persecution, we shall have to turn, as stated above, to those international endeavours which shall one day succeed in restoring to Israel a sane and normal position among the peoples of the world. Thus altruism and self-interest coincide in a realistic program to combat anti-Semitism in America and to eradicate it from the earth.

A Universal Problem

By HARRY ESSRIG

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Harry Essrig was born in Palestine and received his early education there. He has contributed to various Jewish publications, and is at present studying at the Hebrew Union College and teaching at the Board of Jewish Education and the Isaac M. Wise Temple in Cincinnati, Ohio.

A Universal Problem

PROFOUND as the riddle proposed by the Sphinx to all passers and as destructive of those who flounder in its solution, the enigma of anti-Semitism has hounded the tortuous path of Jewish history for many centuries. No age but has woven its strand of persecution into the fabric of Jewish existence; hardly a land in which the Jewish minority has not been visited by this blight of happiness and comfortable adjustment. At times the undertone of hatred swelled and rose to high, screeching crescendos, but most always its subdued, monotonous repetition grated upon the group mind and wore away the resistance of healthy individuals.

Many generations have coped with this vexing problem and yet the answer is elusive. Solutions are seemingly at our finger tips but actually beyond our reach. Anti-Semitism burst upon a tolerant world in classical antiquity with the dispersion of the Jewish nation and the rise of Christianity to pre-eminence and power in the Roman Empire. Its seeds ripened under the cultivation of the Church during the Middle Ages and found sustenance in the social and moral sanction that feudalism gave to the policy of exclusion and disenfranchisement. It flourished during the centuries of wandering, to which the Jewish people were later subjected, when instability and insecurity cast a pall over their lives. Finally, phrased

in the pseudo-scientific language of the nineteenth century and thriving upon the universal restlessness and moral disintegration of the post-bellum era, anti-Semitism reached a climax, in the face of whose grim and relentless fury the civilized world is still reeling with surprise and chagrin.

Why are Jews hated? Why have they served as the safety valve of mankind, as the group upon whom were vented the dissatisfactions of a hostile world? Is it because there exists within all men an underlying suspicion of people different from themselves? Is it because we need in moments of deep unhappiness an enemy upon whom to shift the blame that the Jewish minority has been the scapegoat par excellence? Is emotion primary in the hatred of the Jew and the reasons alleged for its existence are only of secondary importance? Why is it that periods of rapid transition, economic struggles and change, war and religious unrest provide the background for the unfolding of the great drama of persecution and martyrdom? An understanding of all these moot points and an inquiry into the mainsprings of anti-Semitism is the prerequisite for an attempt at a solution of this bothersome problem.



ANTI-SEMITISM, in brief, is the result of many religious, economic and social factors. It is the outgrowth of economic competition and distress, often being utilized as a

subterfuge by those in power to divert a hatred otherwise directed against them. It arises from the religious fanaticism that at times infects the individual from early childhood and perverts his outlook even in maturity. It is a peculiar disease of the group mind, which regards any other person differently constituted with an instinctive feeling of hostility. Extreme nationalism and racial prejudices fan the flames of this hatred, while the abnormal position of the Jews as a group without a land commends it as the most feasible prey. Above all, it is the quality of the Jews as an eternal minority that presupposes their being the objects of a permanent antipathy. All these causes, deep-rooted as they are in the social structure and not always traceable to the immediate environment, whirl into a vortex of hate and persecution, the like of whose vehemence history has not yet recorded.

Various panaceas have been suggested to mitigate the evils of anti-Semitism. Some individuals have approached the problem with a hopelessness and a despondency characteristic of those who believe themselves doomed to eternal damnation. They have accepted the fact of their suffering as an inevitable scourge of the Jewish people, have rationalized its poignant results and have swallowed the bitter pill as a necessary discipline for keeping the Jewish cohesion intact. Impressed by its telling effect upon the generations that have preceded them and taking cognizance of the sad but true fact that anti-Semitism

was not in its essence a Jewish question but one dependent for its ultimate solution upon the outside world, they have resigned themselves to its ravages with humility and grace, submitting to the unknown power of chastisement. True that these pessimists turned inwardly to rear a strong wall of defense and immunity about them, hoping to salvage for themselves at least a sense of pride and satisfaction; yet their approach smacks too much of defeatism and of running to cover with the first inkling of danger.

Others, buoyed by a faith in the general progress of mankind and yet not venturing to galvanize their hopes into deeds, have projected the solution into an indeterminate future, into a Messianic era when the utopian dream of peace and justice will through some quirk of fate materialize. The re-education of the entire human race is the only possible event that can assure a cessation of hostility and prejudices against the Jewish people; they will not bargain for less. This is mere wishful thinking, since the advocates of this unrealistic view do not even trouble themselves to indicate the path whereby this re-education can be achieved. Gazing at the stars, they lose sight of the sordid world. This Messianic speculation and the hopeless pessimism indicated above are but two sides of the same coin. They both bespeak an unwillingness to grapple with the task and a passiveness whose only redeemable feature is that of martyrdom.

Another evidence of this theory of flight from reality may be detected in the effort of the assimilationist, who seeks through identification with the majority to wipe out his uniqueness and thus to minimize, if not entirely to eradicate, the antipathy to himself and his group. This view was largely in vogue during the period of our emancipation when the rise to power of the bourgeoisie, waving aloft the banner of fraternity and equality, heralded a rapprochement between the formerly despised pariahs and their fellow citizens. It is not necessary to dwell at great length upon the disillusionment that befell those who snatched at this last straw of salvation. It has finally been discarded by those who survived the unleashing of the Nazi terror. For the latter struck with greater vehemence against those elements within German Jewry that cultivated the same tastes and mimicked the ways of their neighbors. The hue and cry of the Nazis against those who have "corrupted the Aryan culture" still rings in our ears. We must pronounce the doom of such an escape, for assimilation has never even proven to be an expedient measure.

Aside from the fact that their enemies will not let the Jews perish through amalgamation with themselves, the vast majority of them do not wish to rule themselves out of existence. Though assimilation may at times solve the dilemma of the individual, national suicide will never be accepted by those who insist upon the right of the Jewish

people to continue contributing its share of values to the world. They do not seek for a *raison d'être*, in the same way that other groups, in normal and healthier circumstances, do not. They accept the fact of existence as sufficient proof of their right to live.

Another variation of the tendency to run away from the problem is the contention that we set up a Jewish "civilization," that we constitute ourselves as a self-contained group that will possess the spiritual strength and the necessary stamina to withstand the shock of anti-Semitism. While it may be advocated as a temporary retreat, as a shelter during the period when foreboding clouds sweep across the horizons of Jewish life, this remedy likewise is an evasion, and a palliative. It skirts the vital issues nor does it penetrate to the heart and core of the problem. For the Jewish group cannot shape its destiny nor strengthen its moral fibres in isolation today. If we erect cultural ghettos or crawl into shells of self-contemplation, we may build up inner fortitude in times of stress but we will, on the other hand, accentuate and broaden the gap between us and the other groups. This throws us back upon our own resources and drives away those whose fate is bound up with ours.



ANTI-SEMITISM is a universal problem, an affliction of the human race, and we alone must not bear this burden. Furthermore, it is no longer feasible in these days to

whisper of it in hidden corners nor must we fear lest public taste be offended, observing a chivalrous attitude towards those who plot our ruination. Whether we are submissive or not, irrespective of our tactics, anti-Semites will slander the Jewish name and call for pogroms if they choose to do so. Whether we protest with huge demonstrations or resort to more diplomatic channels, they will not be deterred from their plans if this suits their purposes. Our times call for a vigorous and realistic stand. We must combat anti-Semitism, if only for the satisfaction of not having given up without a struggle. But how?

Since proper conditions will eliminate one of the main causes of this universal hatred, the Jewish people must of necessity espouse a program of social change that will aim at removing the irritants and the jealousies developing from a competitive system. Only when the decay and the final collapse of the present capitalistic order is supplanted by one in which co-operation is the driving power and incentive, in which sharing and not self-aggrandizement in wealth is the ideal, can human happiness for all men be possible. When human beings will not be obsessed by insecurity and depressions, the motivation of their hatred will be removed. They will then not transform their dissatisfaction into a hostility toward a weaker group.

Anti-Semitism often arose as the product of competitive jealousy and was used by those in power to exploit ancient prejudices and divert the discontent of the

masses. By identifying and stamping oppressive capitalism as "Jewish," Hitler taught the people to wreak their vengeance upon the Jews. The Tsars too followed this procedure with uncanny ability. The victims were helpless. Sometimes the very economic positions into which they were placed made of them a target for hatred and violence.

On the other hand, their economic positions have very often compelled the Jews to become the allies of the entrenched powers. Yet their inner sympathies must surely have been evoked for the oppressed and downtrodden, if they were to remain true to the prophetic teachings. Faced with such an anomaly, Jews could do very little. This dichotomy will, however, disappear with the new co-operative order. What means or forms the program of social change should assume is a question irrelevant to our discussion. This is merely an indication where Jewish support should be marshalled, not with the robber barons of a declining order but at the side of those forces gathering strength to remake this, our unjust society.

The fear that an open avowal of a progressive social outlook will lead to an intensification of the hatred against the Jewish people can be easily disposed of and be silenced. Anti-Semites will label us as subversive elements even when we remain inactive in the sphere of social change. We must not be guided entirely by their reaction. As the struggle between the forces of reaction and progress be-

comes more acute, we must determine to our own satisfaction and future welfare only on which side of the fence we should rest. Under capitalism the seeds from which grow the weeds of anti-Semitism will germinate and flourish; under a co-operative society they will of necessity wither away and be gone with the wind. Furthermore, there are those who entertain the skepticism that the substitution of a better social order will not solve our problem. These are either impatient with the results or have gasped at the drastic procedure taken by Soviet Russia. Yet though the Communist regime has outlawed anti-Semitism, it need not serve as the blueprint for our future. Many countries are indeed ripe for a less ruthless change; the convulsions of the Soviet Union and its many errors, such as the persecution of Hebrew, Zionism and groups having minority opinions on religion, need not be repeated elsewhere. The cure is very simple: if anti-Semitism rises to a high pitch only when the people of a country are disturbed economically and if a change in the social order will remove the causes of suffering, then surely there is ground for the conviction that once the economic factors are ruled out of play and a world of plenty is ushered in, Jews will likewise share in its bounty.

But yet the picture is not complete. The Jewish people will still remain in an abnormal position without some form of a national home, not necessarily political but most certainly cultural. This will restore the balance of the

A UNIVERSAL PROBLEM

eternal nomads. In the first place, it will afford a natural adjustment within its borders for those who are anxious to conduct their own social experiments and to lead a highly-concentrated Jewish life. Secondly, the establishment of a center in Palestine will revise the ancient prejudices against the race of wanderers, who have been without a point of moorage for many centuries. The Jews in the Diaspora will continue their allegiance to their native lands and yet will be attached emotionally to the country where the Jewish spirit will come home once again to roost.

Thus Zionism and social change can alone serve to combat the evils of anti-Semitism, the latter by removing the causes that call it into being and the former by restoring to the Jewish people a sense of equality and of equilibrium. Good-will movements, counter-propaganda and efforts at educating the world at large, while they are commendable in themselves, cannot be effective in the long run in stemming the tide of hatred and persecution. We must utilize these means as well for whatever momentary good they may bring. Ultimately, however, a new type of society which will acknowledge the right of the Jew to a home will alone guarantee the demise of anti-Semitism. Only then will the riddle be solved and the Sphinx be slain.

Cure the Causes

By JESSIE SAMPTER

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Jessie Sampter was born in the United States. She is at present living in Givat Brenner, Palestine, one of the many communal colonies in that country. Miss Sampter has contributed poems and stories to OPINION and THE JEWISH FRONTIER, and is the author of "A Guide to Zionism."

Cure the Causes

CAN it be done? Can anti-Semitism be successfully combated in America or anywhere else? The fight, under this name or another, is centuries old but has never been finished.

To combat anti-Semitism is as impossible as to combat war. One may defend oneself against it, as one defends oneself against an attack in war; but that does not end war, though it may repulse an enemy. War goes on, this or another — and so does anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism is a form of war and has the same causes. It is not unique; its causes are those of the oppression and persecution of any minority. Its persistence and emphasis are different only because of the persistence and stubbornness of the Jewish people. Whether alien minorities be concentrated as in East Europe or Asia, or whether they be scattered as in America or West Europe — Jews, Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, Armenians, Assyrians — oppression of them, persecution of them is an act of war. That act may be the prohibition to visit a summer hotel or the butchery of a family.

Need I repeat the causes of war, which are the causes of anti-Semitism? Given an alien group or people, a social body that can be distinguished and whipped, hatred is ignited in times of economic pressure, hunger, and is di-

CURE THE CAUSES

rected towards the alien by the governing powers, oftenest in order to divert the anger of the people from the strong and the rich, by making the masses believe the alien to be in possession of what they lack and to blame for their want. Envy becomes resentment. The rich grow richer; and sometimes, truly, aggression and robbery may help to feed the hungry. There follows, always, that madness which is necessary in order that human beings may have the heart to murder one another: An ideology. In old times it was religious; today it is political and racial. Always it pretends that attack is defense; always it puts a halo of superiority about the head of the aggressor and a stigma of inferiority on the brow of the oppressed, so that it may justify in human terms the dark biologic trends of hunger and fear, the acts of theft and murder.

This ideology is a mask or a helmet; it is not a thing one can argue with, disprove, or even expose. It is as invulnerable as the logical delusions of the insane, because it is the same thing, the justification of an intrenched position. It cannot be touched by words. You might as well try to prove to a traveling salesman that his samples are inferior. There is no use in breaking the teeth of a mask or in cracking the skull of a helmet. At most, our arguments against this ideology may convince a neutral onlooker who has nothing to gain from it. Cure the causes of insanity, then you need not argue with a madman.

We all sometimes yield to the weakness of speaking our

mind; for when one cannot do anything else, talking is at least a relief. To join good-fellowship movements of rabbis and ministers, to join pacifist societies and parade against war, are ways of showing where we stand. But their value is only personal; they do our souls good but they cannot stop the hurricane. They are only oil on the troubled waters, which does not go very deep. No pacifism can stand when war rages, and no pacifist either. If he does not bring bullets, he brings food to support combatants; in prison, he strengthens the enemy by his absence; at the front, he nurses the soldiers back to war. Only express sympathy for Ethiopia or the Spanish Government, and potentially you are defending them. And if the logic of life literally stands you at a gate with a gun — as it does in the pogroms of East Europe and in the Arab attacks in Palestine — defending your comrades and children against murderers, know that this self-defense, heroic and pure, may save your comrades and your children for whom you are ready to lay down your life. But it will not prevent another attack, it will not touch the roots of war or the source of hatred. Jewish self-defense can save Jews but it cannot solve the Jewish problem.

There is, of course, one other possibility: A pacifist who commits suicide escapes the dilemma. Anyone can die. Defeatism, surrender leaves the aggressor without his prey. The lamb that has once been devoured cannot be eaten again, and henceforth the lion may go hungry. Had

the Jews in Europe accepted Baptism, had those in Palestine consented to have immigration stopped, had their passive resistance ceased, the enemy would have withdrawn, satisfied. But to be effective, defeatism must be complete. One must disappear. A little bit of defeatism, a compromise assimilation, adds shame to terror. Behold Germany: Its assimilated Jews today are like the ghosts of those who have died for a false cause — and know it.



IF anti-Semitism cannot be destroyed either by fighting it or by surrendering to it, is there no way of ending it? Must it endure so long as the Jewish people remain scattered among the peoples? The answer can be only the same as to the same question concerning war: Must it endure so long as there are nations? Is the only cure for anti-Semitism to destroy the Jews, the only cure for war to destroy the nations? If we grant one, we grant the other.

Israel is the one nation that in the teeth of war and destruction has persisted and has repeated throughout the generations and in changing, pliable forms, the unique rhythm of its life. Though economic causes may have engendered the hate that crushed us from without, the strength from within that resisted and lived was not economic. It was life itself, which all economies serve. Israel will outlive anti-Semitism and nations will outlive

war; for not minorities are the cause of anti-isms and not nations are the cause of wars. True, they are the stage upon which the tragedy is enacted; only their existence and persistence can expose its cause. The first step that we have to take to destroy anti-Semitism is not to combat it but to live with all our might, to be ourselves, to cast off the shrouds which assimilation has tried to wind about a living body. We have yielded to the charm, the lure of death. Even today, with the horror of Hitlerism fresh beside us, there are those who still see in Russian assimilation of its Jews a cure for anti-Semitism. There is no anti-Semitism in Russia. There was also none in Europe of last century's emancipation. Russia is repeating the same farce: A popular revolution, the rights of man or the rights of the proletariat guaranteed. If the Jew agrees to be nothing but a man or a proletarian, as well as a Frenchman, German or Russian, behold, he is no longer persecuted. In Europe he was permitted to keep his religion; in Russia he is permitted to keep one of his languages and its literature. One symbol of unity for group cohesion is left him. Any attempt to keep his full heritage is punished by economic discrimination, imprisonment, banishment or even death. Under such conditions, anti-Semitism cannot be combated because its antagonist is gagged. Anti-Semitism in Russia is dormant, lulled to sleep by its Communist Jews. The first step for us to take before we combat an enemy is to face

him. As a living entity, a Jewish community conscious of its national heritage, rich in the culture of its own people, yet discharging with a full heart all the duties and labors of love of American citizens, we challenge our foes, we call them out into the open to show cause why we should do otherwise. We shall not try to make ourselves liked by being agreeable according to the standards of our critics. We are what we are, an international people. Only internationalism — nations organized integrally — can overcome war. Only an international group with a national center can be strong enough to face the world in this new-old struggle for international and intra-national justice. A Jewish Palestine may not directly end anti-Semitism, as some of its protagonists hoped; but it makes a clear issue of it, a universal issue of the place of small nations in this distracted world.

Our first step in facing the enemy whom we would destroy is to face him, to be ourselves. The second step is to look to our weapons.

The only effective weapon against anti-Semitism as against war is democratic socialism, national and international. Without economic exploitation by one section of the population of another section, by one nation of another, the vicious circle cannot be begun. The Communists among Jews are right when they say that social justice will destroy anti-Semitism. They are wrong when they think that for the Jew to eliminate himself will hasten

social justice. Conformity only furthers dictatorship, and dictatorships are necessary for effective preparation for war. Democracy is slow, it delays war, it gains efficiency by the round-about means of trial and error. Peoples to-day cannot want war unless they are first made mad by hero-worship. That is the meaning of the present sweep towards dictatorships: Preparation for the Juggernaut.

War and anti-Semitism cannot be combatted successfully but they can be overcome by the course of civilization.

What does that mean for you and me, for the Jew in America? What are we to do? Societies for Jewish-Christian fellowship, the attempts to persuade or punish Jewish anti-Semites who employ only Christians or squirm into exclusive clubs and hotels, appeals to law against slander and discrimination, apologetic or indignant articles and sermons; these are all palliatives. They too are necessary; they are forms of self-defense. But the main battle lies elsewhere:

(1) Help to upbuild Palestine as a national center and to develop Jewish values in the wide periphery of American life. Help to organize the Jewish community, or join its organizations, learn Hebrew, study the ancient Jewish literature, its modern development, our history and customs; find your place among our people. The Jewish front is so wide, somewhere you will fit in. And all have their eyes turned to Zion.

CURE THE CAUSES

(2) Help to bring about democratic socialism in America, in the world. Join whatever bodies seem to you to be working for socialist democratic control of economic resources in this country, and for economic control of world resources by the community of nations.

Imagine what might have happened if all the Jews of Germany after the World War could have acted thus.

As for anti-Semitism as an individual psychological problem, if you are a Socialist, a Zionist, an American and a Jew, you will be far too busy and too strong to feel it.

Action is Your Cue!

By JOHN MILTON CALDWELL

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Action is Your Cue!

A JEW, as this Gentile sees him, is a human creature endowed with a complex racial heritage, the essence of which has never been expressed competently in Gentile ideology for the instruction and fortification of a Gentile world. Are we at liberty to say that the hope of such an ultimate expression is only a philosopher's pipe-dream? For the time being, at least, the turning facets of Hebrew spirituality must remain mysteries to us. It is too much to expect to experience a revelation of the inner crux of Jewish purpose in its moments of outer and immediate crisis. Yet those crises so concern all of us, Gentile as well as Jew, that we can meet with some understanding on this basis of immediacy. Gentile, no less than Jew, will be seared by the future fires of Fascism in the United States.

My difficulty is that I cannot become a Jew even in imagination because I cannot so abruptly shoulder the centuries of passive existence, of wary alertness, and of shattered illusions of permanency. I can think as a Jew thinks, perhaps even feel as he does on the common plane of everyday life, but I can never understand that inherited sorrow which has been given form through the centuries. It is a paradox of a people hanging between a heaven and an earth with a nadir and a zenith forever askew. Because I cannot feel as a Jew feels in his racial continuity, I must be content to acknowledge his immediate presence in my

ACTION IS YOUR CUE!

universe. Never can I get into his skull, look out from his eyes on a Star of David, or sense his slightest emotion when he brings a piece of consecrated meat to his mouth. My ignorance of his inherited sensibilities is as deep, no matter if I read ten thousand of his books, listen to the low chorus of ten thousand of his oldest and wisest men, or pour my blood into a common cause.

Notwithstanding my ignorance of the cultural evolution of any such cause, I realize that all the laws of humanity should permit a great people to pursue a social integrity which may be theirs ultimately without any aid I could lend them in battling a common physical foe. Why, I ask, be so prodigal of blood and energy? Surely, says my Gentile sense of the order of a world, if we may strengthen our common power by union, then let Jew and Gentile unite against Fascism. If not, then such a people should at least go unhindered in bargaining with the universe for their own spiritual immortality in space and time.

The pity is that I do hinder them. I am a part of the bloc of resistance they must meet in the hourly arenas of the world. If I am not cruel, I am thoughtless. It is because I am only beginning to think as the Jew does. Perhaps in time I shall come to understand those feelings of his which are the sum total of his psycho-sociological reactions to a Gentile world.

There lies his first avenue of solution. I can think as the Jew thinks. I can meet him on the broad plain of tested

knowledge. I clash wits with him in a courtroom. I give my ailing body to his medicines. His healing potions are no different chemically than the prescriptions of a Gentile physician. They suffer no disastrous alchemy because a Jewish mind has advised them, or Jewish fingers powdered them in a Jewish pharmacy.

Do I not read the books of the Jew? Does he not read mine? It would be condescension to say that we meet on common intellectual ground. We have lived for centuries on that same ground, but we have not been allowed to realize it.



FOR those Gentiles who cry that the way to Gentile-Jewish rapport is through the feverish probing of custom sources and anthropological accretions, I have only the impatience one must have for the shortsighted hailing of the part as the whole. We Gentiles may be given an historical resume of every process in the Judean culture, but in the end we have only information without sufficient understanding. Yet we must have the form. Later, perhaps, we may achieve the substance.

And, after all, are we not men together in this universe? And as long as there are men on earth, will not some of them, warped by a chance distortion of embryonic cells and confirmed in such a deviation by an environment of suspicion, become obsessed with an animal lust for

ACTION IS YOUR CUE!

power to compensate their own spiritual insensibility? As long as a *fuehrer* feels his lack of harmony with a moral world, he will keep clashing his own cymbals of magnified personality. He must continue the din without cessation, for a moment's lull in the racket will give men time to think and to impart these thoughts to their less sagacious fellows. Jew and Gentile alike must unite to combat these renegades, not with guns, but with the calm appreciation of their own mutuality as a point of departure. Specific programs will, of necessity, spring from that cleared ground. The new understanding will come about as a result of the alignment of Jew and Gentile, not as such, but as men united against universal jingoism and shoddy opportunism.

It is true that, while we may not easily comprehend the emotional legacy of Jew, our antipathy to his presence is based almost entirely upon emotion which too often can be whipped into action by self-seeking opportunists. This is a greater blessing than might first be thought. That same shoddy opportunism of the American classes is always the sign of a shifting and desultory spirit of attack. Only in America will a class-baiting publisher desist from his manufacture of hate to give all his space to some event which may concern Jew and Gentile alike. There is no persistent or concerted persecution in America at all comparable to that in Nazi Germany. We still save our hatred for our idle moments. Such a state may not induce the

HOW TO COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

spirituality of constant oppression, but happily it gives breathing spells at fairly frequent intervals. The locusts are casual raiders. It is quite possible to harvest many crops between their visits.

I cannot say with so many others that the Jew is his own worst enemy. That mistaken platitude can too easily be twisted into a recipe for oppression in those eras when political expediency attempts to confuse our natural tolerances which distinguish us from beasts. Yet the latent intolerance of the Gentile is matched equally by the apathy of the Jew who, having made a success for himself on American terms, looks lazily at the plight of his less fortunate brethren and salves his racial conscience with the doubtful panacea of his carelessly contributed silver. He feels reasonably sure that when anti-Semitism flares again, he will be the last to be seared by it, and the chances are good that the winds of discontent and suspicion will veer again before they have blown hot and dry against his startled face.

We are all Jews and we are all Gentiles in this Western world. Let us, then be all Jew before we are all American. Let us be as Gentile as our heterogeneity will permit us. If what the centuries have handed down to the Jews is worth keeping, then let not any treasure go to dust in the empty rooms of their souls. Let us have no more apologetics, and no more Anglicizing of Jewish names. Repudiation of Jewish substance is the surest path to suspicion.

ACTION IS YOUR CUE!

I remember my own sudden, unreasoning hatred of the son of the Jewish hardware merchant when that son renounced his Jewish name because it might hinder him in his law practice. How cowardly! Had a Justice Brandeis been so dubious of his own strength, what a loss there would have been to the tribunals of the American nation! Relinquish not a particle of what is good and noble in your ancestry. I will honor your tenacity to a racial heritage even though I do not understand a tenth part of that heritage. If a Jew is in a high place in the nation, let it never be forgotten that he is a Jew. Let his every accomplishment be recorded in the daily press with the note that he is a Jew. The Gentiles must not be allowed to forget for an instant that American Jewry is a vital part of our social structure.

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IT can be made a good thing to be a Jew in the United States. But first we must know you as Jews as you know us for Gentiles. Action is your cue! You must be Jews with all your might as we must be Gentiles because in some past age there was an enlightenment and two peoples cherish two different rays of that far-off light whatever it was, whatever it may yet be.

Happily, a difference in spiritual approaches does not concern us in the problem of anti-Semitism in America. It is a psycho-sociological crisis which may be solved in

HOW TO COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

time by psycho-sociological processes. We must become inextricably enmeshed in each other's thoughts and social ideas. We must learn to laugh at our own fears and suspicions. Practical minds now call for practical aids, and they have every logical right to do so.

You must have many more friends among the Gentiles. You must have friends who will fight for your Jewish integrity to supplement your own fight for the same substance. You may gain such friends chiefly among the young Gentiles like myself, for we are still young enough not to have learned to turn injustice to our own ends. We still believe that Jews are men like ourselves, living and dying as men, and not our destiny's weapons to be discarded when they have served our use. You must make your young men and women intrude their distinctly Jewish characteristics and temperament into our Gentile consciousness. They must not be shy or diffident. They must not underrate their own powers. In an atmosphere where discrimination is kept to a minimum, they have every opportunity to maintain their Jewish identity to the complete recognition of Jewish integrity by the Gentile students. We must be able to respect the integrity of the individual before we may proceed to the problems of the whole. You must not hold any of your creative gifts in classwork, music, art, or dramatics. You have a double duty to complete: You must be thoroughly Jewish in a Gentile world, and yet translate the best of your Jewish

ACTION IS YOUR CUE!

genius into Gentile terms, especially those of the younger and more sympathetic Gentiles.

And sympathetic we are, indeed! I cite my own case, happy in the knowledge that it can be made fairly typical of the majority. I have lived and worked with young Jews for four years now. I know that their mental processes follow much the same patterns as mine, and that their end products of thought are not radically different from my own. On the basis of their intriguing aptness, I have added some two score Jewish turns of speech to my vocabulary. I have been a guest in Jewish homes, and have taken pride when such friends came to visit me. I have played basketball in the evening with a group of Jewish young men, only to lag behind because my fondness for rich Jewish cooking had destroyed my gastronomic judgment. I have seen the remarkable unity of a good Jewish family with its lack of selfishness and niggardliness. I have read tales of Jewish life in court and ghetto, and have sensed the unconquerable spirit of a people by the alternate light and shadow in its own records. I have seen the aged men, jolly, shrewd, sometimes acid-tongued, never deceived by the faulty rationalization of their young. I have seen the fire of the young men glow in the calm strength of the old men.

There are no fewer young men among you than there are among us as Gentiles. If you can cause a hundred thousand young Gentiles to realize, as I have been made

to, without sentimentality and misunderstanding, that the Jew in America needs no apologia for his own existence, but rather that we Gentiles need to affirm our debt to and constant dependence upon the Jewish temperament, then you will have one hundred thousand friends throughout life to aid in the minor crises that, unchecked, might quickly snowball to disaster.

I am not sorry that I have no spectacularly involved plan to offer, for the spectacular indicates a desire to attract unwilling and undeserved attentions. I am happy, however, to propose the unoriginal thesis that co-ordinate experience in the business of life breeds understanding. Bring your rabbis to talk at student meetings. Let the young Gentiles attend, as I did, such a meeting where a Jewish attorney addressed a crowd of Hoosier citizens, ridden by a petty dictator of a mayor, to hear that brilliant lawyer say again and again: "My brothers!"

The enemy which menaces world Jewry is an enemy which would strangle Gentile free thinking and free action as well. We are all in this thing together. We Gentiles must not wound our Jewish comrades in the darkness when silently we struggle against the hate, mistrust, and rabble-swill of Fascism. We are fighting against the same thing if only we can realize it.

Get at the young men, both Jew and Gentile. Their youth is for fighting under your counsel and direction. Let every young Jew say to himself: "Before I receive

ACTION IS YOUR CUE!

my college diploma, I will have sought out a Gentile, congenial to my personal interests and field of study, and I will open my mind completely to him, if he will do likewise with me." There will be openminded Gentiles in plenty if the Jew but declares himself. If this is not a plan of action, then consider it as the first step for the Union of Jewish and Gentile youth against patent and unmistakable foes.

The cautious among you will cavil: "But Jewry needs immediate action. However valuable this league of youth may be, it will be at least a decade before any body of Jewish and Gentile young men and women can be united into a cogent, motivated entirety"; Ten years, did you say? Will not the Hebrew calendar soon write up its fifty-seventh century?