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ANTISEMITISM IN AMERICA FROM THE END OF  
WORLD WAR II TO PRESENT DAY WITH AN  
EMPHASIS ON BLACK AND ARAB  
ANTISEMITISM

BY

ARNOLD L. LEVINE

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirement for the Degree of  
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## DIGEST

For either Christian or Jew to achieve objectivity while trying to evaluate the phenomenon of antisemitism is a difficult task indeed. This thesis purports to be a historical study and at the same time a comparative study of antisemitism. Historically it traces antisemitism from the end of the second World War to 1971. It also compares the brand of antisemitism unique to America with modern European antisemitism beginning in 1873 when Wilhelm Marr first coined the term. Despite specific differences one realizes that this unique prejudice and hatred of the Jewish people is widespread. As one analyzes the differences in cultural framework, for example, nationstate versus pluralism, hatred for Jews remains. There is no common denominator, but the prejudice seems always to pervade different cultures.

As one reads this paper it will become apparent that antisemites have different goals. There are limited objectives such as nothing more than trying to keep the Jews in their place. There are religious goals, to convert the

Jews or the secular counterpart, to assimilate them. Another more pervasive step is to drive the Jewish people out of a society. The most ambitious goal views the Jew as one who should not be tolerated any place on the globe, therefore the antisemite seeks to exterminate them. These are all levels of "achievement" for antisemites, some are really convinced that there is something wrong with Jews. They feel that ridding the world of Jews is doing the people of the world a favor. The Jewish people represent a racial danger. Other antisemites realize that there is something to be gained by being an antisemite, they are able to utilize antisemitism for their own ends. These agents are always operative in conjunction with each other and are motivating factors as to why there is animosity in the world toward the Jews.

## CHAPTER I

### AFTER WORLD WAR II REACTION TO THE HOLOCAUST, BEGINNINGS OF REPENTANCE

In the United States since World War II discrimination against the Jewish minority group has been a phenomenon to contend with although its more active, overt manifestations have been sporadic. Jews have been viewed as immigrants by the Protestant majority of America. They have maintained an identification with their religion and a cohesiveness which has subverted efforts at total assimilation. The Jew has acculturated nonetheless and has been able to contribute to the culture of which he is a part. The problem of antisemitism persisted in the post World War II years in active as well as passive forms.

Active antisemitism in the United States would include persecution in the form of economic prejudice and discrimination. This could be a function of the lower class economic position or at the other end of the spectrum the wealthy Jew may serve as a threat to the upper class



person. When an economic recession hits the economy of a country and the misery that accompanies it seeks outlets, the Jew may be singled out. Economic factors are not the sole or primary causes of antisemitism but they do evoke it from a latent to an overt state.

Passive antisemitism would mean to include exclusions from living in certain neighborhoods or belonging to certain clubs. It could also be the fact of being excluded from representative positions in large industry or banking. Due to the fact that Jewish people are over-represented in the areas of mass communication and service positions and are virtually excluded from other major occupations it could seem that they enjoy an overall economic participation in American life--a deceptive and misleading fact..

The economic position of the Jew in post World War II American life could be attributed to the fact that those people who came to America after the ascendance of the Nazis in Germany were different from those of earlier migrations. The unskilled worker was the exception, there was a large proportion of people belonging to the middle class who had commercial experience. Historically Jews have always stressed education. This has enabled them to aspire to professional circles.

There is no one exclusive cause which affects anti-semitism in America. Economic crises result in conflicts of interest between the dominant majority and the threatening minority. Why are prejudices crystallized into the form of antisemitism and not a hatred of other minorities? The answer has evaded historians, sociologists and psychologists; there are theories but none has proved to be the one solution. It could be that the Jew has been treated as a racial, religious and national minority, thus being subjected to the problems of all of these types of groups. Another thought which has credibility is that the Jew has historically had a certain position of status in his country of residence. The Jewish people have been the target of a special prejudice because of an interaction of these multiple factors. Hostility toward the Jews crests in periods of economic crisis. During the war years the government increased its role in the employment of individuals who had heretofore been employed by private industry because industry, by itself, could not employ the working population. When there is a competition for jobs in a time of economic stress an envy arises on the part of the group which is not hired. In the period following World War II there was a catastrophic change which enveloped the

nation. Mass movements replaced the individualistic character of American life. There was an emerging national self-consciousness concerning majority-minority relations. The aftermath period reflected highly accelerated public interest in minority conditions. The Nazi threat from without had been erased and finally the American people were able to take a long look at themselves in the mirror. They realized that national problems were higher on the list of priorities than were international problems and ethnic discrimination was a leading nemesis to be considered.

There were many people displaced in Europe as a result of World War II. The United Nations assumed responsibility for resettlement of these people. The United States passed bills in 1948 and 1950 authorizing the admission of about 300,000 displaced persons. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 restricted immigration and thus reflected cross currents of American nativism and internationalism in public action. This effort to delay naturalization of foreigners was regarded by some people as a reflection of American antisemitic thought.

The recent refugee movement has also been marked by: (1) the extremely cruel treatment of the victims of

political, religious, and racial persecution; (2) by the difficulty which these victims encountered in escaping and in finding a secure refuge as Nazism spread to even larger areas; (3) by the reluctance of the countries not immediately affected to admit them because of the deep economic depression then existing; and (4) by the breaking up of families on a scale previously unknown. Such has been the refugee movement which began with the rise of Hitler to power in 1933.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that America had much room for refugees at this point since the total amount of all immigration was far less than the quota which was permissible according to the quota laws. The Jewish survivors of the Nazi persecution that came to America settled mostly in large urban areas. These people were well educated, professionally trained and adapted to the ways of commerce. The refugees were viewed upon by the native American population thusly:

The general reaction of Americans toward the refugees may be summed up as one of compassion for the victims of persecution seeking a haven here. The refugees report that, on the whole, Americans have shown an attitude of friendliness and helpfulness. As the number of refugees increased, however, a certain amount of antagonism developed. Refugees began to be looked upon as serious competitors, especially by certain professional and wage-earning groups and in certain communities. These fears were allayed with the increased demand for labor brought about by the war.

Nevertheless, a certain degree of resentment has persisted in certain quarters and against certain groups of refugees.<sup>2</sup>

It did not take a long time for these people to acculturate. One may surmise that the few numbers of Jewish people did not amount to very serious competition for jobs with the majority and also that the beneficial influence of this minority far outweighed the threat they posed. New businesses were started by those skilled in mercantilism, some continued their professions in America. If there was a fear that these people would create a problem that feeling should have ceased.

The American public and government reflected a certain ambivalence with regard to policy toward refugee immigration. Nativists and the antisemitic elements of the population were opposed to acceptance of these people but the recognition of an international responsibility on the part of the United States government made limited immigration possible.

Due to the increase in technology and automation in the society and the subsequent reduction in manual labor and increase in skilled positions, post war America took on the appearance of a more middle class country. Automation helped to increase higher-skilled jobs and Jewish

people, due to their general educational level were able to help fill these positions. Job opportunities made it possible for Jews to avoid these areas: industry, public utilities, foreign service and professions where antisemitism prevailed. Discriminating job practices played a large role in American industry after the war. This is a form of native antisemitism, an economic persecution through discrimination.

To what extent is the concentration of American Jews in certain occupations and industries a voluntary choice and to what extent does it reflect discriminatory practices in employment and industry?

Though one may be able to site specific occasions where active prejudice prevailed it is nonetheless difficult to make a sweeping generalization about it. Patterns of discriminatory practices in employment are usually subtle and selective. There are firms which will employ Jews in certain capacities but not others; thus they are able to deny any discriminatory intent of nonemployment. It is often the case that American Jews use compensatory means such as going elsewhere for a job or going into business for themselves, thus prejudice in employment is justified and covered up by the Jews themselves. We find

the Jewish businessman working harder than his Gentile counterpart oftentimes, because he must survive the economic barriers set up against him. He is assailed with the charges of overaggressiveness and being a nonconformist.

During the war years the president authorized the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Committee, its purpose being the encouragement of all people in the national defense program. The downfall was that the committee did not have enforcement powers, nor did it have final authority to end discrimination, thus the agency became extinct.

On July 26, 1948, President Truman issued Executive Orders 9980 and 9981, dealing with racial and religious discrimination. Executive Order 9980 directed all hiring officers of the federal government to insure that in all personal matters...there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, religion, or national origin.<sup>3</sup>

These Executive Orders followed the president's Final Report on Fair Employment Practice completed in 1947 which showed that employment discrimination against Jews had increased markedly in the months following the war. The significance of this fact lies in the knowledge that there was a generally high employment level existing during the war. By 1949 six states enacted F.E.P.C. legislation and

a substantial body of bipartisan support was developing in the Senate and in the House for a permanent council for F.E.P.C. In 1946 Cincinnati enacted an ordinance against employment discrimination and soon after 45 other cities followed with similar legislation.<sup>4</sup>

As has been pointed out most overt manifestations of antisemitism seemed to disappear during the Second World War. A Fortune poll taken in 1943 and 1946 showed a slight decline in antisemitic attitudes after the war. Antisemitism has shown a fluctuating pattern which could be an indication that it is responsive to changes in socioeconomic conditions. Politics also interact with antisemitism in a complex fashion. Fear of Jewish power is a factor that politicians exploit in order to achieve their office. Jews are associated with political liberalism and are thus assailed. Some interpret Jewish feeling for a foreign state as being disloyal to America. Though some early causes of modern antisemitism in Europe were religious and racial, the American version of this hatred finds economic and political reasons as justifications for antisemitic attitudes.<sup>5</sup>

Morris Schappes, in his book A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States 1654-1875 reduces the causes



of antisemitism in America to:

In any society so class structured that a minority economically exploits, politically dominates and culturally controls the majority, the usefulness of antisemitism in all its forms and verbalizations is assured and endless because it helps keep that minority in power.<sup>5</sup>

One thing comes out of the above discussion of antisemitism in America, that there is a definite relevance of social conditions to antisemitism. Antisemitism is a product of the environment, it is a social product whose cause is not simply in the Jew nor only in the one who hates the Jew vitriolically. This hatred affects all people, not just Jews in America or other minority groups, its expression is in conjunction with the atmosphere of the times. Antisemitism may always be in a society in a covert state, it becomes expressed overtly only when the social situation brings it out.

In the broad sweep of history, the relations of a dominant majority of people toward an exposed, weak minority group--or of the conqueror toward the defeated enemy--first took the form of total annihilation or of cannibalism; then the form of total subjection; then a milder yet still severe form of subjection into an inferior case; then cooperation and equality.<sup>7</sup>

This has not been the development of Jewish history.

Israelites were slaves in Egypt thousands of years ago, in the 1940's the Jewish people were faced with Nazi genocide, from the rule of the Czars in Russia the Jewish community has been subjected to a policy of either forced assimilation or forced segregation, and Israel has had its very existence as a nation of the world threatened with three wars in its almost quarter century lifetime. In the United States the Jewish population has had to endure a more polite form of hatred since its arrival.

With the end of World War II the people of America faced the business of readjusting to a non-military life. A war had been fought and won. The enemy represented the greatest organized attack on democracy and on the Jewish people ever known in the history of man. This hatred of man for man was forged into a political weapon used with cold blood expediency to satisfy a man's craze for power. Just as Hitler used the Jews in his way, so too did the enemy he fought. Democracy in the United States had its ills to recover from during the post war period. The Holocaust was the culmination of two thousand years of Judenhause, Jew-hatred in the Christian world. The ramifications of the human situation which took place in Hitler's ovens were not totally apparent to the people of the world

during the years immediately following the war. The true criminal callousness and moral obtuseness began to unfold in the 1950's when the conscience of the world had begun to forget. Richard Rubenstein has noted that the only possible logic to human aggression is the logic of extermination.<sup>8</sup> Though Hitler's murder factories were not supported by Christianity the Church did less than was expected of it morally to bring an end to this dark age. The silence of the Church became louder than the anguished and forlorn cries of the Six Million people that perished.

Hitler provided an excuse for antisemites to mouth their hatreds. In the United States organized antisemitism heightened just before the end of the war. The editor of the newspaper, The Cross and the Flag, Gerald L.K. Smith, held a convention of his "America First Party" in Chicago on August 30, 1944. At this meeting a resolution was sponsored calling for the deportation of Jews "if they do not leave America voluntarily within five years." He also proposed "the sterilization of all those who stay." Smith claimed that he was opposed to subversive powers in America and felt that his brand of "nationalism" would save America, in a manner parallel to Hitler when he disguised his hatred with an appeal to the people of Germany that without the

Jewish menace Germany would be racially purer.

During the war years political antisemitism made its first significant appearance. This appearance showed that under certain conditions, namely the acceptance by part of the world community, the United States is not immune to the growth of organized political antisemitism. On the floor of Congress, Representative John E. Rankin (D-Miss.) became the leading Jew baiter. Debates on the Fair Employment Practices Committee prompted him to refer to the danger to the "white gentiles."

A Numerus Clausus, a quota regulation, was enacted in the American dental schools and graduate schools in clinical psychology amid storms of public protest.

From the above comments one can see that there was a definite heightening of racial prejudice during the final war years. It was the case, though, that antisemitism was fought by groups not always exclusively Jewish. Governmental agencies joined in as did educational and religious groups to try to eradicate expressions of prejudice and intolerance in America. This was to be an index to the future, for with the end of World War II and with the country enjoying economic prosperity antisemitism began to slacken.

In his book, The Anguish of the Jews, Edward H. Flannery refers to antisemitism in America as "polite anti-Semitism...a certain species of social discrimination against Jews...which became identifiable as a typically American outgrowth."<sup>9</sup> Rabid antisemitism did not take root in America and is the property of the lunatic fringe. Why? The poor economic state of affairs never hit in America as it did in Europe. The fact that fortunate economic conditions have prevailed in America has brought out a unique social hostility among groups. The American Jew, immediately following the war, strove to "make it" and by reason of his achievements suffered discrimination, not by reason of his differences. Freud made the point that hatred grows as the minority group which is discriminated against by the majority grows in competition with the discriminators. This was the case with the post World War II Jewish community of the United States.

"Radical right" groups and individuals felt a need to revive their diatribes of overt antisemitism after the termination of war time restrictions. "Nationalist" groups such as the American Nationalist Party, organized by Senator Robert R. Reynolds with assistance from Gerald L.K. Smith proved to be abortive. The Party hid behind a screen of

respectability until a nationwide newspaper chain exposed its true objectives.

The Reverend Arthur W. Terminiello of Mobile, Alabama, was suspended by his bishop and was no longer considered a priest. Among some of the things Terminiello had demanded was an amendment to the United States Constitution to declare Zionism treason. After he was relieved of his duties as a priest, he began to publish The Crusader magazine in February 1946.

Another "nationalist" was Eugene Flitcraft who was responsible for the publication of the Gentile News. He serialized the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and tried to organize a boycott against Jewish business and professional men. Flitcraft published a Gentile Business Dictionary which was sold as a "handy shopping guide for Gentiles" who preferred to patronize other Gentiles when doing business.

The Ku Klux Klan was revived during the year that the war ended. The efforts of the Klan were directed to organize the people of the South against Blacks, Jews, Catholics and Communists or anyone dissatisfied with the status quo. Both federal and state agencies fought against the Klan. Even religious groups and newspapers took steps to curb

their forms of intimidation.

A Fortune poll in 1946 found in a cross-section study of American adults that about 9 per cent were anti-Semitic in the sense that they responded "the Jews" to one or both of the following questions: "Are there any organizations or groups of people in this country who you feel might be harmful to the future of the country unless they are curbed?" "Are there any groups of people you think are trying to get ahead at the expense of people like you?"<sup>10</sup>

Coupled with these feelings one finds that organized anti-semitic activity declined during 1946. There was less public interest and support to the point that the anti-semitic press experienced a drop in circulation and groups such as the German-American Bund began to fade away. A new propaganda line was now turned to by antisemites: to identify the Jews with Communism. The Jew-Communist line was now peddled by antisemites as their principal commodity. It is ironic to note that during this period of identification of "Jew with Communism" in America, Josef Stalin, premier of the Soviet Union, initiated his own antisemitic campaign in his country identifying the Jew as non-Communist. Antisemitism emanated from the highest governmental levels chastizing Jews under the guise of chauvinism and nationalism. The statehood of Israel which had been sup-

ported by the Soviet Union in the United Nations in 1947 was now attacked as part of an anti-Zionist campaign. Stalin decried "Zionism," much as do the Arab states today but really was condemning "Jews." This was in keeping with the totalitarian method, to begin on an ideological level and then follow up with liquidations. American right-wing antisemites hurled the accusation of Communism at a Jewish community which held strong feelings against totalitarianism also.

During this period in time there was world-wide discussion about Palestine and the possibility of creating a Jewish homeland. The American public saw an intensification of Zionist activity to help bring about the realization of a 2000 year old dream. Antisemites tried to exploit this situation under the guise of explaining the Arab side of the Palestinian question. The fact that the Soviet Union recognized the State of Israel in the United Nations was offered as proof that Zionism is synonymous with Communism. The radical right used the United States' recognition of Israel as evidence that President Harry Truman was the puppet of Jewish "pressure groups."

Judaism and Communism were synonymous to Gerald L.K. Smith in his September 1948 issue of The Cross and the Flag



when he stated:

We assert, and eventually all intelligent American citizens must admit, that behind Communism stands the organized Jew. It now becomes increasingly obvious that the power and support of the International Jewish Cabal has been given to the various forms of Communism growing out of the teachings of the Jew, Karl Marx.

Not only did Smith publish, but he held speaking tours and conventions until "evidence was submitted that Smiths' meetings for several years were poorly attended when they were unpicketed and unpublicized and that attendance was greater when the meetings were accompanied by mass picketing and demonstration. Based on this evidence, a consensus among the Jewish community relations agencies in the latter part of 1946 favored the application of what has come to be known as the 'silent treatment'..."<sup>11</sup>

There were some isolated incidents of destruction of Synagogue property or desecration of Jewish cemeteries. In most cases though the vandals were youngsters who were delinquents rather than antisemites. Patterns of discrimination in the years immediately following the war are worthier of study than isolated incidents. As was stated earlier organized manifestations of overt antisemitism were on a downward trend. All other forms of discrimination, in employment, education, housing and social discrimination,

for the most part showed no such positive signs.

There was a President's committee report issued in 1947 on Fair Employment Practices which showed that there was a marked increase in employment discrimination against Jewish people following the war. This is an interesting point to note due to the fact that there were many open jobs at that time and generally discrimination was held to a minimum. This overt discrimination against Jewish people, one can surmise, was a contributing factor to the number and magnitude of legislative efforts to cut down on restrictive employment practices.

Educational discrimination was felt by the American Jewish population in the area of higher learning. Some colleges had restricted Jewish applicants for admission, the worst offenders being medical schools and certain other types of professional schools. Due to this feeling momentum began on the part of some to create a university under Jewish auspices, open to all, to help contribute to the concept of educational freedom for all. Today Brandeis University stands as a bastion of intellectual freedom for all peoples regardless of their personal persuasion.

Another cause for which Jewish people showed concern was real estate discrimination. Jewish community relations

organizations took their complaints to court. In May 1948 the U.S. Supreme Court decided that racial restrictive covenants limiting ownership of real estate were legally unenforceable. Though the decision of the Supreme Court had the necessary legal sanction, practice and theory differed.

There is a basic difference between antisemitism in the United States in the 1940's and antisemitism in Europe. Inherent in the Constitution of America is a system of checks and balances which ultimately restrain the government from totalitarian rule. It is true that there have been and there are some bigots, racists, and antisemites in the Congress, in the Executive or Legislative branches of government, but channels of communication are kept open among all, and although all rights are not guaranteed to all men, the cause of all men can be heard. Though antisemitic agitators lost influence in the late 1940's, antisemitic sentiment did not diminish in general. A Fortune poll in 1947 listed the major religious groups and asked, "Do you think any of these groups are getting more economic power anywhere in the United States than is good for the country?" Over a third answered "the Jews." Nearly a quarter gave the same answer to a similar question regarding

political power.<sup>12</sup>

It is true in the United States that the principle of separation of church and state is still without universal acceptance, for after all we still do have Christmas trees in public schools and our students learn Christmas hymns; that white supremacy is still advocated by millions of people; that Father Charles Coughlin, the Ku Klux Klan, and Gerald Smith swayed a frighteningly large number of people; that there have been bitter conflicts between native Americans and new immigrants.

It is also true that American Jews following the war years felt a decrease in antisemitism maybe as a reaction to the Holocaust, as the beginning of a period of repentance on the part of the majority population of the world; that American Jews felt more secure than in any other country in the Diaspora during their history; that they stand together with all peoples when they take up the cause of the minority in the name of Jewry; that they like other people can own business; live where they please, go to schools without governmental intervention, participate in religious and cultural activities with the conviction that they can be secure and safe in a society willing to accept them. This became the picture of the Jew in America

as a decade of war ended and a so-called "golden decade" began.

## CHAPTER II

THE 1950'S AND 1960'S: A PERIOD  
OF GROWING ACCEPTANCE?

The American "melting pot" ideal gave birth to the "marginal man," the person who was torn between two cultures. This person was not secure in either the American or the Jewish environment. This man changed his name because it was too "Jewish." He was ashamed of his immigrant parents' accent and he felt that his actions propagated antisemitism rather than feeling that antisemitism is an evil in the society which cannot claim his responsibility.

Antisemitism in America is an anomaly in that it has at the same time led to the preservation and the disintegration of the Jewish people. Unless the negative factor of antisemitism would be replaced by something positive during the 1950's and 1960's Jewish life would be subject to the same assimilatory processes in American life which dissolve other groups. The sense of pessimism in American Jewish life was offset by the fact that there have been preserv-

ative forces of a history that is embedded in the habits and institutions of a people.

In order to determine the position of the Jew in American vis a vis antisemitism it might do well to observe some resemblances and differences of the Jew to other minority groups. There is a constant struggle to perpetuate minority differences on the one hand and on the other hand there is the dominant American culture which operates to dissolve differences.

The status of the Jew in America is a diffuse one. The Jewish people think of themselves as a religious, cultural and national minority; a sort of civilization within the society. They are not a racial group. The common denominator of the Jew in America as in the world is his religion. He has succumbed to economic or occupational assimilation and educational assimilation. To a lesser extent the Jew has engaged in intermarriage. There is a generally high rate of in-marriage due probably to the fact that the Jewish people have concentrated in large urban areas.

In the United States minority status is significant for individual survival and group structure. Persons of certain ethnic origins have, for the most part, retained

language as a cohesive factor binding them together. They have settled in certain areas of the country and more specifically in certain either rural or urban centers. They have retained their personal ways of worship and have built synagogues or churches to their specifications. They are free to publish newspapers or books in their language. Though there is no pressure by the country to convert from one religion to another many people in certain ethnic groups have decided to intermarry.

The ideology of the ethnic group often determines whether these above patterns have remained the same in generation after generation or whether they haven been absorbed into the culture at large. Assimilation takes place when the inter-ethnic marriage rate increases or when one's parents are looked down upon as the blocking factors to success. When one no longer cares about his national identity and is totally immersed in the culture of the surrounding society, then he is a product of assimilation.

Of course the assimilatory process is slowed down by racial differences such as skin color. In the case of the American Jew there is no fear of slowing down the assimilation process because of inherent racial differences. Jews



have been in America for two or three generations and have become acculturated but not totally assimilated. For the Jews what retards the assimilatory process? It seems that the collective Jewish conscience of America remembered the Holocaust of the Six Million at the hands of the Nazis and it also totally empathized with the Israeli cause during her wars of 1948, 1956 and 1967--the point here is that crisis abroad reawakens the dormant spirit of this rapidly acculturating people of America to a national and ethnic identity. Also the fact that a passive or latent anti-semitism pervades the society in which we live and work in America contributes to a Jewish self identity. "There is enough antisemitism in the United States, particularly barrier to some jobs, residential areas and educational opportunities, to lend weight to the arguments of those Jews who hold that identity with the ethnic group is the only sure support."<sup>1</sup>

The trend during the 1950's and 1960's among Jews was to move to suburbs which are mixed religiously. Some of the barriers in job discrimination began to break down and quotas on admission to universities and professional schools started to disintegrate. There was even a slight increase in the intermarriage rate and a shift from the more tra-

ditional to the more liberal modes of worship.

The most telling blow against discrimination in education on all levels, was struck by the historic United States Supreme Court decision of May 1, 1954, in the School Segregation Cases relating to public elementary and secondary school education. Although the Black in the deep South was the beneficiary of this decision its effects have been felt on all levels of education everywhere in the country.

Discrimination in education has far-reaching effects. It limits the potential of people and creates artificial barriers. Why discrimination? To begin with there was a disproportionate amount of students from Jewish families that wanted to attend college. "Sixty-eight per cent of all Jewish students applied, as compared with 35 per cent of all Protestants and 25 per cent of all Catholics."<sup>2</sup>

The Quota System was used by colleges and professional schools even though none admits to using it. When in use the quota system arbitrarily renders educational opportunity the privilege of the majority and denies it to the minority on the basis of the faith of his fathers. The argument that quotas reduce anti-minority prejudice is fallacious in that, if the prejudice is there it will not

be any greater where minority group representatives make up a large amount of the student population.

The charge that discrimination pervaded American schools was met for many years with silence on the part of educational institutions, a silence that actually proved that discrimination was condoned. In the 1950's "about seven hundred colleges in 21 states have removed one or more questions pertaining to race, creed, color or national origin from admission application forms."<sup>3</sup>

During the 1950's and 1960's discrimination in higher education decreased because of

anti discrimination legislation in several states, a heightened awareness among educators, registrars, and others, that discrimination contradicts some of the basic principles of education...But it still exists and can, depending on population and other factors, increase again... "A twenty-five year study of Admissions practices in fourteen professional schools in the Philadelphia area showed that with few exceptions the schools admitted an average of less than one per cent of Negroes in any of their classes."<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after the United States Supreme Court issued its historic decision on segregated schooling there were repercussions which stirred antisemitic agitators and fringe groups, especially in the South. Representative of the reaction was the following from The American Nationalist

published by Frank L. Britton. The headline read: SOUTH INDIGNANT AS JEW-LED NAACP WINS SCHOOL SEGREGATION CASE.

The article referred to an alleged awareness of Black editors that "Zionists or Jew Nationalists are at the bottom of all the friction and threats of intrusion among the races."<sup>5</sup>

There are various factors--the socio-economic, geographic, academic, and antisemitic discrimination which affect Jewish students wishing to attend college.

As the socio-economic factor affects the American Jewish students

who apply for admission to institutions of higher learning, we have a plus and a minus that cancel each other. American Jewish students benefit from the educational background and economic status of their families, but no more so than with the sons and daughters of other groups in the population with similar or better background qualifications. The Jewish students must, of course, compete with such applicants for admission to the schools of their choice.<sup>6</sup>

Choice of college is related to the geographic factor. Most American Jews happen to live in the Northeast, the area of the country where more than half of the students that apply to universities come from. According to the pamphlet On Getting Into College there is evidence to show

that when there is discrimination against Jewish students it is directed against "certain Jewish students living in the Northeast and in large cities."<sup>7</sup> Those students victimized most often are high scholastic ranking Jewish students who are material for the "finer" schools.

In 1959, the American Council on Education found that since "college admission practices will become more selective and possibly more discriminatory "colleges must be encouraged to formulate policies which will lead, during the coming time of high enrollment pressure, to college admission procedures based primarily on the ability of the applicants."

Any group of people in America be they ethnic, of minority status or racial, should be able to realize their full potentialities. In the long run refusal to educate people to be doctors, lawyers, accountants or engineers because of their race or religious beliefs will show a long-term loss to the economy of the nation. Second class education and citizenship in America is not what this country stands for, it undermines the values of the United States.

In reality, if one would think about it, the quota system perpetuates itself and antisemitism. The numerus

clausus for Jewish students actually eliminates the average Jewish student from the discriminatory school thus admitting a high rate of very superior Jewish students mixed with more average Gentile students. What do the Gentiles think of their intellectually superior Jewish counterparts? They think that whatever prejudicial attitudes they held before are now reinforced and after graduation the Gentile resentment is extended to further discriminatory practices.

Upon the completion of one's education the norm in our society is to seek employment in the field in which one has been trained. Discrimination in employment has hurt the nation as well as thwarting a man from achieving his full potential as a human being. This matter has become so grave that during the 1940's there were national and state efforts to issue fair employment practices laws to curtail discrimination.

From the files of Chicago employment agencies, job orders contained such statements as:

Protestants only, no Jews or Orientals...  
We have no religious preferences as long  
as they are of the Nordic race...This is  
a Gentile firm, a Jewish girl wouldn't be  
comfortable here...We're desperate, but  
not desperate enough to hire Jews...  
We only employ high type Anglo-Saxons.

In a previous survey conducted jointly with the Anti-

Defamation League, the Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems of Chicago disclosed that, from 1952 to 1955...22 percent of 40,000 job orders placed with Chicago employment agencies were restrictive against Jews.<sup>8</sup>

Employers and not employment agencies are responsible for discriminatory policies. It is a fact though that the employment agencies are used as an effective cover up for employers who discriminate against the hiring of certain ethnic, racial or religious groups.

American Jews are concentrated in certain occupations and economic areas. Foreign born Jews of the 1920's were mostly urban. Since Jewish immigrants tended toward urban areas and aspired to the middle class, the inevitable result was that they would soon assume jobs in commerce and professions in favor of manual labor.

The factors that contribute to an occupational pattern among Jews in America are, their history, education and place of residence. American Jews inhabit small and medium sized towns as well as large cities. "...In New York City, where Jews add up to just over a quarter of the cities population, they constitute more than 45 per cent of the proprietor and managerial category and 33 percent of the professional and semiprofessional categories."<sup>9</sup> Across

the United States, the Jews are more heavily represented in the professional and proprietorial categories.

Due to occupational discrimination, at least in part, there is a tendency to self employment. There is a noticeable lack of employment among Jews in various industries. Due to the fact that both sales and the professions offer a greater chance at self employment there is a high concentration of Jewish people in these areas.

Active prejudice or persecution in employment is difficult to document with any certainty or accuracy. Sometimes discrimination in employment will be

both subtle and selective...In some engineering firms, a Jew may rise to the dignity of department head, but the likelihood of his advancing to a front office job is remote. A real estate or insurance firm may employ Jews as salesmen but less freely in the home office.<sup>10</sup>

A survey by Anti Defamation League's Los Angeles Regional Office in 1954 found that 125 out of 126 Los Angeles employment agencies had agreed to screen out Jews when referring applicants to prospective employers. The one agency which had refused to be a party to discriminatory requests was Jewish owned...

In 1956, the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California surveyed employment discrimination against Jews in the San Francisco Bay area and reported that of 340 private employers in major industries interviewed, 75, or



22 percent, acknowledged that they followed a policy of discriminating against Jews. They either barred Jews completely or limited their employment on a quota basis...<sup>11</sup>

The Anti Defamation League did two studies in 1959 to try to determine the employment problem on an executive level of American Jews. The first study concerned itself with the American life insurance industry. The study purported to furnish the ADL with

over-all data that could serve as a basis for examining the extent of the employment of Jews in this industry. Though it had also been long believed that life insurance companies avoided Jews in executive and administrative positions--particularly in the home offices--it seemed indisputable that over the years Jews have been well represented in the selling ranks...<sup>12</sup>

Until this time there was no way to know how much discrimination existed in insurance agencies but now the ADL used a sample of the rosters from official public records of the major companies which comprised over 50 percent of the life insurance sales in America in 1958. All salaried employees were listed on the rosters. The ADL determined who were Jews and who were Gentiles.

The ADL study encompassed 6066 executives throughout the nation...of them 327, or 5.4 per cent were Jewish... ADL found...that 3.6 per cent of ex-

ecutives in the home offices (non-executive positions but sales) were Jewish.

The concentration of Jewish executives, mostly in sales functions, in four states with extremely large Jewish populations is not...the result of happenstance... it flows from a design on the part of the insurance companies to hire and place Jewish personnel in those areas where the absence of Jewish personnel might have adverse public-relations connotations and where...Jewish personnel can enhance the amount of insurance sold to Jews. The point borne out when one examines the numbers of Jewish executives in companies with small Jewish populations.<sup>13</sup>

In St. Louis with only 55,000 Jews only one out of thirty-four executives was Jewish; in Denver with 18,000 Jews there were no Jews among thirty-one executives.

There was a higher proportion of Jews in sales positions in relation to Gentiles, 73.9 percent of the Gentiles held the jobs where they supervised the selling of insurance.

The second ADL study done concerned the Jewish personnel employed in commercial banks in New York. There was a sample of eight banks involved which had 844 officers of rank of vice president or above. Only thirty were Jewish. Of that number twenty-two were clustered in two banks and seven in a third. There were four banks without

even one Jewish person and the last bank had only one Jew.

Only three members of the 197 member boards of directors were Jewish.

"These findings suggest an exclusionary pattern enforced over the years notwithstanding all of the other social and economic factors in the city of New York that would seem to militate against such a practice."<sup>14</sup>

Jews the world over, before there was an America, had always experienced occupational difficulties. They were dealers in second hand clothing and were money lenders because of prejudices on the part of the population of the societies in which they lived. They felt the stigma of second class citizenship because of these occupational infringements. Not only did they have to find "different" jobs but they were forced to attend certain schools and to reside in certain parts of the city or country where they were located. Free choice of employment, education, and housing was the dream that the immigrants longed for.

In the United States residential discrimination against non-white minorities is a problem of greater acuteness than are housing segregation practices against Jews. But American Jews have only limited access to homes in some of the neighborhoods that conform to their social aspira-

tions. Segregated neighborhoods help bar the educational and economic progress of the non-white. This is not the case with the Jew, discrimination in housing merely withholds his group advancement, status and becomes psychologically distressing.

The Jew of history became sensitized to the implications of segregation from the time of the 16th century when the "ghetto nuevo" was established outside the city of Venice, Italy to the European ghettos and Russian Pales of Settlement where their ancestors were confined. These situations alienated the Jew from the rest of society.

In America, economics and not racial, political, or religious motives are supposed to give one access to where he wants to live. Segregation in housing is not an American expression of a way of life for all but discrimination is enforced in many subtle ways such as restrictive covenants. These restrictive covenants operate between home owners and real estate agencies to protect the neighborhood against the intrusion of "undesirables," blacks or Jews. These covenants deny one the equal opportunity of living in the community of his choice. But since the United States Supreme Court in 1948 ruled that such covenants could not be enforced in the courts because of the

'equal protection' guarantee to all persons by the Fourteenth Amendment, other devices had to be sought by real estate interests to keep neighborhoods restricted."<sup>15</sup>

Some ways of discrimination are when real estate agents set up clubs where the owner will deed his land. He can use it but cannot sell it without the consent of the other members of the club. Or the owner could sell his piece of land to the rest of the owners in the area thus insuring the sale of the land to somebody who meets the approval of the committee of owners.

In May 1959, the attitudes of residents of Spring Valley, Maryland, a restricted community near Washington, D.C. were surveyed by the Anti-Defamation League. A restrictive covenant was the product of W.C. and A.M. Miller Development Company. It reads:

No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used, or occupied by or sold, demised, transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased, or rented, or given, to Negroes, or any person or persons of Negro blood or extraction, or to any person of the Semitic race, blood, or origin, which racial description shall be deemed to include Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Persians, and Syrians...<sup>16</sup>

The 1950's saw a decline in social and economic antisemitism, yet political fringe group antisemitism managed

to manifest itself openly and concretely. Time was when Jews had almost no access to careers with the government, when they were caught in a quota system which restricted their admission to medical, dental and other professional schools; when Jewish people were not able to patronize certain hotels or selective clubs or when they were ignored by industry for higher positions.

As contrasted with the antisemitism of the 1940's, the trend in the 1950's seemed to equate being antisemitic with being un-American or being a Fascist or a neo-Nazi. The fact is that it was "chic" or "in" to guard against offensive Jewish remarks--in some circles antisemitism became equated with "bad manners." Although in the 1950's social and economic discrimination reached its lowest level it still manifested itself in numerous forms. Some of the features of this and other types of antisemitic discrimination will be examined here in order to distinguish some general patterns of American antisemitism.

The organized antisemitic movements in the early 1950's were not dormant. Antisemitism began to appear in more subtle and sophisticated ways. Agitators tried to tie their propaganda line to an exploitation of hardships or discontents felt as a result of the war. The most per-

sistent theme employed was the identification of the Jewish people of the United States with Communism and the Soviet Union.

The exploitation of this theme kept pace with world events. Thus the United Nations was depicted as a form of government controlled by Jews, who, in turn were charged with being the tools of Stalin; all Jews prominent in public life in the United States and abroad were similarly classified by antisemitic agitators as collaborators...or dupes.... Zionism and the State of Israel were painted as products of the plan for world domination by the Communists. Civil rights legislative campaigns and laws, notably those associated with Fair Employment Practices were also interpreted in this way; nor was the issue of socialized medicine overlooked.<sup>17</sup>

Most antisemitic groups were organized along special interest lines trying to appeal to a certain segment of the population. During the early 1950's one sees an increasing tendency for these groups to collaborate in order to appeal to larger portions of the people. German groups were set up in America to press for a "soft peace" for the Fatherland. Because certain antisemitic groups were also anti-Communist they were able to appeal to some respectable elements in the United States. As example of this propaganda inundating "respectable circles," Anna Rosenberg, after being appointed assistant Secretary of Defense in

November 1950, was accused of being a Communist in anti-semitic publications. The Senate actually held up the confirmation of her appointment until hearings would exonerate her.

Antisemites tried to identify the presidential policy of President Eisenhower with Jews when Gerald L.K. Smith published pieces such as this:

The election of Eisenhower means that Baruch and his gang of powerful international Jews have captured the White House again...This vicious international Jew machine...is as powerful among Republicans as it is among Democrats...<sup>18</sup>

These right wing antisemites said what they had to say many different ways but basically it came out sounding the same: that Jews are an alien race in America, that Jews are at the base of an international conspiracy to control the world, that Jews are in control of the financial and economic life of the country and they want to start a revolution here because they are born revolutionists, that Jews created and propagate Communism, that Jews control all news media and publishing houses, that Jews are not able to be citizens of the country in which they live because they are first and foremost Jews, and that the Jewish peril is at the root of all troubles and conflicts



of the world. These people felt that all of Jewishness was the incarnation of human evil, that Jews are to blame for everything, even the election of the President.

In 1952 the Presidential campaign proved fertile ground for agitators to work. They played on the theme that presidential candidates were dominated by Jews and that they were a product of a "Jewish world conspiracy." The word "Jew" became a derogatory term. These professional purveyors of hate were in the habit of complimenting one another, and distributing one another's handiwork in order to keep the material in the mail. The quality of their literature was low. These merchants of minority prejudice constantly opposed the party in power. They transferred hatred from the Democratic to the Republican parties with every change of power because it is normally the case that the ruling party has its power limited to the wishes of the majority population and hate purveyors are of the opposite persuasion--they leveled attacks at minorities, the groups with whom the ruling party must concern itself. For example, a widely circulated item was a reprint of a page of the 1915 West Point Yearbook, The Howitzer, with a picture of Eisenhower. Beneath the photo was: "This is Se~nor Dwight D. Eisenhower...the

terrible Swedish Jew..." There were others who took a similar tack, James A. Mandoles National Renaissance Party held street meetings praising Hitler and denouncing Eisenhower. Coupled with the hate they showed for Eisenhower, professional antisemites attached themselves to General Douglas MacArthur so as to preserve their Christian heritage. MacArthur took no cognizance of their actions.

Antisemitic material was also produced by "more reputable" authors.

Iron Curtain Over America, a book which purported to be an attack upon the Truman administration and the New Deal was published at the end of 1951. Its author, John O. Beaty, was a professor at Southern Methodist University...he had previously achieved local notice because of his intensely pro-Arab views expressed from the lecture platform. The ills of the United States and of the world were traced by the author to the present day descendants of the Khazars, a Tartar tribe of the Ukraine which had become converted to Judaism in the 8th century. Thus, he said, Khazars are Communists, control the Soviet Union, start wars, infiltrate American political parties etc...<sup>19</sup>

By this time the words "Jew" and "Zionist" had already become synonymous. John Beaty helped the word "Khazar" move along the same lines. It appeared that the term was used with similar derogatory overtones as implied in the terms "Jew" or "Zionist" in the hope of avoiding charges

of antisemitism, since Khazars were not of Semitic origin, but from the Ukraine.

Right wing antisemites appealed to Xenophobia by attacking the United Nations as an attempt to subvert American sovereignty. They tried to compare the flags of the U.N., Israel, and the Soviet Union for a hidden meaning. Some of the more sophisticated racists dealt with audiences on the level of trying to avoid out and out racist statements thus they could hope to appeal to a larger segment of the population. Agitators also appealed to ultraconservative elements by combining their doctrines with reactionary socio-economic measures seeking to abolish governmental controls. When on May 17, 1954 the United States Supreme Court handed down its famous Desegregation of Schools Decision there was an immediate reaction in some circles of antisemitic and anti-Black agitation.

When one sees Conde McGinley's paper Common Sense, 1954, with the headline: THE COMING RED DICTATORSHIP and photographs of 36 Americans of the Jewish faith, such as Bernard Baruch, David Dubinsky and Albert Einstein and articles warning readers that "...Marxist Jews control the entire world...there are thousand of plotters placed in key positions..." is time to take cognizance of a piece

written by Norman Cohn in Commentary Magazine, June 1966.

In his article, "The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy,"

Cohn makes the following points:

Exterminatory anti-Semitism appears where Jews are imagined as a collective embodiment of evil, a conspiratorial body dedicated to the task of ruining and then dominating the rest of mankind. This kind of anti-Semitism can exist almost regardless of the real situation of Jews in society...

...since the dispersion there has been no central Jewish authority of any kind. Though individual rabbis have at times attained great moral prestige, there has been nothing in the least like a government...Above all, the Jews of the world have neither possessed, as a collectivity, any considerable power...

The essence of the exterminatory kind of anti-Semitism is that it rejects and contradicts this reality and insists that Jews are united under a central government in the pursuit of total power over the whole world.

The myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy, then, has little to do with real people and real situations and real conflicts in the modern world...this myth is the belief that there exists a secret Jewish government which, using all Jews as the instruments, is aiming at world domination...

...Since the Jewish super-government was also thought to control all governments, all political parties, and all newspapers in Europe, it was held responsible for all international tensions

and wars.

...the myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy...answers deep and enduring unconscious needs...fanatical anti-Semitism is a matter of unconscious negative projections, i.e., of the mental mechanism by which human beings read into the behavior of others the anarchic tendencies which they fear to recognize in themselves. More specifically...fanatical anti-Semites are quite unaware of Jews as individuals and simply project onto Jews as a collectivity the images associated with an unresolved Oedipus complex. In other words..."the Jew: is unconsciously seen both as the "bad" son, i.e., the rebellious son full of murderous wishes toward the father, and the "bad" father, i.e., the potential torturer, castrator and killer of the son...

The deepest fear of all is that Jews are, collectively, poisoners or even themselves a sort of poison...

The historical importance of the myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy lies in the fact that it has served as a warrant for many massacres, culminating in attempted genocide in the middle of the present century...

There is another peculiarity of such groups that reminds one of paranoid schizophrenics: their megalomaniacal sense of mission...All alike see themselves...as a collective Christ overthrowing Anti-Christ...

...the myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy can have its effect on the mass of the population too, and this in turn has a bearing, even if an indirect one, on the fate of the Jews...

The explanation is plain, if depressing: when people know even with half their minds that a great injustice is being done, and lack the generosity or the courage to protest, they automatically throw the blame onto the victims as the simplest way of easing their own consciences.<sup>20</sup>

Antisemites even exploited the brotherhood movement as yet another part of the "world conspiracy of Jews" to get Gentile people to submit to the Jewish plot. Antisemites claimed that the purity of the Christian faith was the last obstacle which stood between Zionist success and failure. Brotherhood Week usually drew severe antisemitic attacks. A man by the name of

Robert A. Milner...allegedly plastered some 50 establishments in Davenport, Iowa and Rock Island, Illinois...with large boldtyped stickers advising that THIS PLACE IS OWNED BY JEWS; superimposed on the stickers was the rubber stamped message, ANTI-JEWISH WEEK FEB. 21-28.<sup>21</sup>

Antisemitic hate groups did not go without notice of either their followers on mailing lists or governmental agencies. In its annual report of February 6, 1954, the House Committee on Un-American Activities stated:

There are presently at work within the United States various and sundry "hate groups," the leaders of which, while masking their activities under the guise of patriotism and devotion to the republican form of government, are in fact

spreading dissention, discord, bigotry and intolerance. In many instances, these organizations select ultra patriotic names and devices to conceal their true and dangerous purposes... It is not sufficient to be anti-Communist if one is anti-American at the same time.

One may ask the question, what should the fundamental strategy be in trying to cope with the overt antisemitism that has been thus far touched upon. An answer might be that minorities should try to ally themselves with those forces in the democratic system which will help correct the hatred exposed above--committees like the House on Un-American Activities or community relations agencies. It is necessary to stay abreast of the issues of the day and assert one's civil rights in trying to combat unfair prejudices and practices in society.

When the United States Supreme Court issued its school desegregation decision, antisemitic and anti-Black agitators used it as a pretext for action. By virtue of this decision which directed the states concerned to plan for desegregation through adjudication by the Federal District Courts, the states were forced to face up to the problems of their segregated schools. Anti-Black propaganda circulated, White Citizens Council groups were set up, and

there was even a National Association for the Advancement of White Poeples, a catchy name because it parodied the name of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These organizations charged that "Communist Jews" were responsible for the integration issue.

1955 was the year that saw another type of prejudice propaganda open its doors in the United States--the Arab Information Center of New York was now in business. Of course, the Arabs were not as interested in destroying the land of Israel and its Zionist inhabitants. They based their propaganda on the strategy that outright anti-Jewish propaganda was to be avoided. Brochures were printed and distributed through their New York base of operations. One of their pamphlets was The Story of Zionist Espionage in Egypt which charged both Zionism and Communism are two distinctive forces with one political objective--world domination.

The Neo-Nazi National Renaissance Bulletin of May 1956, appealed to its readers to purchase The Philosophy of Revolution by Egyptian President Gamel Abdel Nasser. The Arab propaganda agencies now began leveling attacks at American Jews with the hate manual for pro-Arab speakers, Tension, Terror and Blood in the Holy Land. An excerpt



read:

It is time that Americans realize that these teaming masses of Zionists who infest their cities and sit astride the arteries of their commerce are, in every sense of the word aliens. They are alines by choice and by tradition. They are aliens because they render their first allegiance not to the U.S.A., but to their own so-called state of Israel.

Charges of Jewish dual loyalty pervaded Arab speeches and propaganda materials. Tensions in the Middle East also were exploited for their bigotry. Horace Sherman Miller of Waco, Texas, normally totally preoccupied with white supremacy, wrote a letter dated March 16, 1956, which was reproduced on a flyer. An excerpt read:

I call upon the American government to arm the Arabs and help them drive the Jews and Jewish parasistes into the sea.

When the Arabs decided to boycott and blockade Israel, they even went so far as to blacklist any American enterprises that maintained business connections with Israel. Most of the Arab league states even refused visas to Jewish travellers no matter what their nationality.

A typical letter that was sent out by the Arabs to people throughout the world was:

Dear Sir:

As you are aware the Arab countries are in a state of war with Israel and for this reason we are making an economical (sic) siege around Israel. This siege is administered by a special control and investigation office with members of all of the Arab states.

1. Do you have any business relations with Israel?...

2. Do you import any materials whatsoever, raw materials or parts from which your products are made, from Israel?...

3. Is any part of your capital paid by Israelites (sic)?...

4. Do you have any Jewish employees in your company; if yes, how many and what are the positions held by them?...

5. Is any of the persons authorized to sign on behalf of your company a Jew?...

We advise you to give accurate and frank information because of any difference between your answers and the information the government office may obtain by investigation will create legal complications.<sup>22</sup>

The United States Senate passed a resolution in July 1956, unanimously condemning religious discrimination against Americans by foreign countries. The government failed, though, to object vigorously to this type of racial intimidation and as a result American Jews were singled

out and their rights were not equally protected.

Though antisemitic exploitation of Middle East tensions continued to allege a "Jewish-Zionist-Communist" conspiracy to overthrow the world this propaganda ignored the increasing Arab involvement with the Soviet Union.

With the southern desegregation issue a reality, the activity of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan rose sharply in the late 1950's. The Klan gained members and sympathizers, but with the increase in numbers there was less organization. Groups fragmented because different federations placed their emphasis on varied activities. Some groups held nocturnal cross burnings, others would terrorize small towns while dressed in their white hooded sheets, still others held demonstrations and Klan vocations denouncing Blacks and Jews. People were singled out and flogged for teaching integration in schools or for letting Blacks move into all white neighborhoods.

Both the Arabs and other groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan produced hate and hate literature. The import of their thoughts were lucidly captured by Gerald Winrod in an article entitled The Coming Red Dictatorship, 1956. He concluded:

In case you think we are prejudiced, history for more than 1000 years indicates that wherever these (Jewish) people have settled, it was necessary to evict them eventually--Babylon, Spain, France, England and as recent as 1939, Germany. And it will happen in America.<sup>23</sup>

After 1956, there had been a rise in small terrorist organizations patterned after Hitler and his doctrines. The most notorious example was the small, but powerful American Nazi Party of George Lincoln Rockwell. After the Korean war, Rockwell failed in several attempts at organizing antisemitic organizations and newspapers. Finally, in 1959, his labors bore fruit in the form of the American Nazi Party. Rockwell proposed to establish an "International Jewish Control Authority" for the trial and execution of all Jews taking part in Zionist plots of treason. His intention was to aggravate the Jewish people so badly that they would lose their tempers and attack him. He vowed to level his attacks legally and peacefully, but in such an arrogant manner so as to be noticed and given publicity.

Propaganda provided by the American Nazi Party gives further insight into the true dimensions of neo-Nazi thinking. One pamphlet is entitled "The Big Lie--Who Told It?" This is a criticism of the B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation League's exposé on Hitler's Big Lie Technique. Hitler is

well known for his use of the Big Lie for spreading the fires of hate and war. The big lies: the statements of the Aryan (actually Indo-European) people having natural superiority over the Jews, the so-called advantages of tyranny, and perhaps the worst, the sloughing off of Germany's troubles of the Jewish people. Hitler's theory, which proved successful, was that the multitudes of people would believe a big lie, which they would have to go to too much trouble to think about, rather than a small one. The Big Lie Technique and Hitler's talents for persuasion and name calling precipitated the Third Reich.

The American Nazi Party refutes the criticisms of the Anti-Defamation League and retaliates with a statement to the fact that the Jews were and still are the real "Big Liars." Of course, there must be solid logic behind this statement, and this is it: the Jews say that they are a religious community while the Nazis say they are a race. This, of course, makes the Jews LIARS! The Jews say that Six Million of their brethren were murdered at the hands of the Nazis, one of the best documented facts of World War II. This, of course, makes the Jews LIARS!

Through appeals to their readers, the neo-Nazis again make scapegoats for their personal problems, while the

horrible specter of Hitler's "Big Lie" technique found renewed life in the home of the American Nazi Party.

A prime source of information revealing the Nazi mind is found in the pages of Commander George Lincoln Rockwell's "The Rockwell Report." The man who sympathizes with Rockwell is liable to read this statement and subconsciously agree with the author that a natural instinct is to hate Jews. This is the power of suggestion.

And this line inevitably leads them to the point where they (the "liberals") are saying, "It isn't FAIR that America and the White Race should have so much and be so happy while others are not. Therefore, we must tear down America and the White Race in order to build up the other nations and races."

George Lincoln Rockwell proved that neo-Nazism existed and still exists in America. There is another force which is notorious in this Country with respect to antisemitism. It is the unorganized antisemites, delinquent youths who alarmed the public with swastika smearings and threatening telephone calls. In 1960, there was a sort of epidemic of desecration of synagogues, vandalism of homes and bombing of buildings. The incident that probably touched off a worldwide wave of Nazi style vandalism was the Christmas Eve (1959) desecration of a Cologne Synagogue in West Germany

by two neo-Nazis. They painted the outside walls of the synagogue with swastikas. On June 21, 1960, a house in Absecon, New Jersey was smeared with swastikas and the message: "We want no Jews. If you don't move--liquidation." On August 6, 1960, a 15 foot swastika, and some obscenities were carved into the greens of a public golf course in New York.

Most of these incidents were unorganized and prankish events representing a "fad" that was sweeping the country, some merely wanted to do something exciting and novel, others had pent-up hostilities toward Jews.

Twenty-four neo-Nazi clubs were discovered. The neo-Nazi clubs seem to have been created by young people with a median age of 15-16 years old. Their clubs gave them an identity with Nazis by being surrounded with rules and Nazi souvenirs. Many joined the clubs to remove their feeling of weakness, inferiority and resentment. Some were emotionally unstable and rejected, seeking identity by imitative acts of vandalism, Nazism and antisemitism.

In early 1962, there was an upsurge of nationalist and ultraconservative groups such as the John Birch Society under the leadership of Robert H.W. Welch. Welch charged high government officials of "communistic involvement."

He and his group in order to achieve some semblance of respectability, strove to avoid antisemitism and even claimed Jewish membership. They denied any type of religious or racial bigotry. Welch declared in the April 1961 issue of the John Birch Society's Bulletin that:

I am not antisemitic, never could be,  
and could never allow the John Birch  
Society to become an agency or even a  
haven of antisemitic feeling as long  
as I am directing its policies...<sup>24</sup>

Even though Welch made his stand clear, antisemites continued to endorse and promote leaders and groups with an ultraconservative flavor.

These ultraconservatives said that they wanted to preserve the American way of life. They wanted to guard against Communism and make the world a better place to live through "democracy." They were opposed, though, to the American "right" to protest and did not side with people who took part in "freedom rides" or "sit-ins" or public school desegregation. These feelings helped to align other extremists such as adherents of White Citizens Councils and Ku Klux Klansmen up with them. It was the aim of the Birch Society to inundate other extremist organizations with their people so as to popularize their views to all. In 1964, the John Birch Society backed



Barry Goldwater's presidential bid, they supported the House Un-American Activities Committee, they launched an "impeach Chief Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren," and even backed the United States withdrawal from the United Nations. Almost all extremist groups were supporters of Goldwater's candidacy. People tied to these views tried to fight to provide America with local rightist leadership. Birchers launched campaigns to "Support Your Local Police" which became controversial in many areas because members of the police force would jump on the bandwagon of a racist, monolithic, totalitarian organization. A major activity of the Birch Society was to support legislation to repeal the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They believed civil rights to be a fraud under the direction of the communists. Robert Welch, the leader of the John Birch Society frequently disclaimed antisemitism. He publicly stated that the Birch Society is losing members constantly because they will not espouse antisemitism nor denounce Jews. This may have been the case, but the Birch platform tended to attract a more subtle type of antisemite who associated with the guise of "legitimacy" which the Society tried to create.

The National Review, a conservative magazine under the editorship of William Buckley, concluded that the leader-

ship of the John Birch Society cannot be defended on conservative grounds of patriotism. It is a paranoid and irresponsible organization.

Despite the fact that groups like the John Birch Society continued to exist, organizational activity of the anti-semitic movement was on the decline in the period prior to the 1967 Six Day War between the Arab Nations and Israel. Producers of antisemitic materials continued to put out pamphlets and news sheets such as The Cross and the Flag of the Christian Nationalist Crusade and the Thunderbolt of the National States Rights Party, but there was a problem of declining circulation.

Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz have expressed the feeling that the attitudes of Americans toward Jews and Blacks differ. The Jew is associated with concerns of the superego while the Black is associated with concerns of the id. Antisemites refer to Jews as ambitious, crafty, clannish, shrewd, intelligent and dishonest, while Blacks are lazy, irresponsible, dirty, stupid and oversexed.<sup>25</sup> Blacks and Jews serve as the alter ego of the professional bigot, according to T.W. Adorno in this book The Authoritarian Personality. The Jew personifies the superego of the antisemite as the bigot associates being Jewish with deceit

and ambition. The Black personifies the id sins of the flesh for the antisemite.

A flyer of unknown origin associates the Black with the Jew:

"NIGGERS! YOU TOO CAN BE A JEW!"

It's Easy! It's fun! Insult the white folks! Make more money! Love the white women!!

Sammy the Kosher-Coon shows you how...in ten easy lessons!! HOW TO BE A JEW.

Why be a poor Christian nigger when with this course you can become a Jew nigger and be rich, famous and arrogant!

The New Sammy-the Kosher-Coon correspondence course shows ordinary coons how to be sassy nigger Jews...in just minutes a day! Be one of us chosen people! Don't wait for the pussy-foot NAACP to run the white folks out! As a nigger Jew you can start insulting the cowardly white men and loving up their white women, NOW!

TEN EASY LESSONS SHOW YOU SAMMY-THE-KOSHER-COON'S PROVEN METHOD OF BECOMING A NIGGER-JEW!...you...get TEN miracle study-aids, working tools, and the necessary equipment to be a Jew...

Here is What You Get!!

1. Special piece of extra nose, handsomely tinted black, from our New York Jewish Beak Bank, for grafting on so you will look more like a real Jew.
2. Purple Beanie for wearing while you are thinking Jew thoughts.

3. Hate Manual, for developing proper Jewish attitude toward Christians and for getting them to be ashamed of themselves, for wanting to have their Christmas, etc...which is an insult to us Jews.
4. Mirror, for practicing special Jewish, "I-smell-Sh-EEP" expression.
5. Communist Party Card, beautifully engraved in color on parchment water-marked with the Star of David.
6. Synagogue bombing kit, for keeping the antisemites under control. Gives explicit directions for finding the best kind of Christians to blame it on, and methods of whipping up mass sympathy.
7. Thumb screws, and manual on Jewish business methods.
8. Packet of filthy post cards, for working up into paperback books for sale to teenagers at newsstands.
9. Talmud, gorgeously decorated with oil painting of the five sadistic deaths wished for Jews Christ inside this Jewish "religious" book.

The activities of the Radical Right have been more status-oriented than concerned with class consciousness. Jews have suffered discrimination more because of their achievements than because of their difference. Its ideology differs from the European brand of antisemitism, the movement is opposed to the federal government, the force behind the trend toward institutional protection of minorities;

and it draws elements to it which were known for their previous antisemitic activity. Jews, the immigrant stock of America, have been attacked for failing to enter into the mainstream of American culture. It seems clear that a reduction in certain areas of prejudice against the Jews does not necessarily mean a reduction in other areas of prejudice. For example, there has been a reduction in the quota system in colleges in the 1950's and 1960's, but no reduction in equating the Jew as Communist and arch liberal. The policies and ideas of the Radical Right that have been discussed in the past chapters and if they continue will present a threat to the improvement of intergroup relations in this country. Many anti-Jewish stereotypes are, as one could see, still current among these fringe groups; but their respectability has been questioned. There have been changes in nationalistic values which bear watching with regard to minority relations. Extreme upsurges of nationalism result in pressures on ethnic minorities. With the 1967 Six Day War in Israel there was extreme upsurge in the Jewish nationalism of the typical American Jew with repercussions in both the Black and Arab communities in the United States. In the next chapter we will try to analyze the ramifications of these new antisemitic voices which have been on the rise since 1967.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE SIX DAY WAR AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS IN THE AMERICAN BLACK AND ARAB COMMUNITIES

Until the Six Day War of 1967 the American Jewish community served as the wealthy, influential and creative center which supported a young, vibrant Israel. American Jewry believed its role to be a donor to a cause. Since 1967, though, American Jewry has been realizing that the role of Israel and the United States are reciprocal and that Israel has given more to molding Jewish identity positively than it has received in American Jewish economic aid.

The Zionism of the American Jew has become a divisive factor in his society. Zionism points out the differences of the Jew from the Black and the Christian instead of the similarities of the groups. People look at the past war situation in the Middle East and express the feeling that the American Jew, for the most part, has pushed for the United States government policy of support of Israel, a policy which militates against world peace with the Soviet

Union. The Jew has once again found that his Jewishness is becoming an obstacle in the way of assimilation. After 1967, the world saw that the State of Israel is attached to the Jewish people and that its existence is expendable to the whole world except the Jews. As the fourth year approaches with peace yet to be achieved and Israel stands lonely in the international scene the American Jew feels a similar fate among his fellow citizens.

The Jewish people of the Diaspora have always thrived best under strong economic and social conditions. Presently in America there is a tension between the Radical Right and the New Left and the danger is again ominous that the Jew will assume his traditional role of scapegoat. Since 1967, there has been a Jewish reaction to some specifically Jewish concerns; the rise in Black antisemitism and the upsurge in anti-Israel sentiment among the New Left. There has also been concern about the threat to the liberties and rights of America's citizens. These types of antisemitism, New Left, Arab, and Black have largely replaced the virulent anti-Jewish bigotry of the lunatic fringe Right during World War II. The potentialities for a wave of catastrophic antisemitism are apparent in America, they are not beyond the realm of possibility. This is due to the fact that

people are, for the most part, indifferent to the position of the Jews. Because of their indifference, according to Earl Raab, "one does not have to be an anti-Semite in order to engage in or support anti-Semitic behavior."<sup>1</sup> Gentiles sometimes feel that the constant preoccupation of American Jews with discrimination and antisemitism often appears either neurotic or obsessive. They see Jews as mainly well off, well-educated with good occupations. Jews themselves feel that if one would put things into a historical perspective the recent memory of annihilation of the Six Million justifies one's rational and cautious concern.

1967 was a year which was marked by political, racial and social confrontations. The fabric of the country was being torn by widespread rioting in the Black sections of many cities. Jews were aware of the attitudes of others toward them, they knew of such Right Wing groups such as the John Birch Society, The Minutemen, and Congress of Freedom. To these could be added the militant Black groups such as Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (whose name would be changed to Student National Coordinating Committee due to the misleading word non-violent).

After the Six Day War in the Middle East, S.N.C.C. attacked Zionism and said at a press conference that "the



Jews were imitating their Nazi oppressors" and committing "some of the same atrocities against the Arabs." S.N.C.C. was not against all Jews, "only Jewish oppressors, those in Israel and those in the little Jew shops in the ghettos." In the New York Times newspaper of Tuesday, August 15, 1967, an article quotes S.N.C.C. bi-monthly newsletter:

Do you know...the newsletter asks, that the Zionists conquered the Arab homes and land through terror, force and massacres; that they wiped out over thirty Arab villages before and after they took control of the area they now call "Israel"?<sup>2</sup>

Ralph Featherstone, the program director of the committee denied that his organization was antisemitic, he said that his committee is:

Drawn to the Arab cause because it considers that the Arabs have been oppressed continually by Israelis...Israel segregates those few Arabs who remained in their homeland...that the United States government has constantly supported Israel and Zionism by sending military and financial aid to this illegal state.<sup>3</sup>

It is a paradox that Blacks should feel this way primarily because the Jewish community of America realizes that it is a minority group and is able to empathize with other minorities. It had been active in arguing the cause of civil rights for Blacks long before it became chic. Why was Black anger directed at Jews?

Among the obvious reasons...in many cities Negroes now live in formerly Jewish neighborhoods...Jews are still the landlords and shopowners, a fact which creates a class conflict between the Black ghetto dweller and the Jew, who has left the ghetto, but still holds a powerful position in it...In (the Black) fight against the regime of equality in opportunity and regard according to merits, they sought out the Jews who had so successfully made use of that regime...They are neither impressed by the history of Jewish martyrdom nor are they interested in Israel's contribution towards the development of black Africa. They hate the State of Israel because it is dear to the Jews of America, their first target in the anti-American struggle. For the same reasons they sympathize with the Arabs, whose ancestors were the slave merchants who had sold them to the whites in America. It does not, in the least, embarrass them that the Jews were in the forefront of the liberals fighting for Negro rights in the United States. On the contrary, it adds to their hatred, and they accuse the Jews of hypocrisy and of misleading them.<sup>4</sup>

Black antisemitism was centered around Black-Jewish relations in the urban ghetto. The Amsterdam News, a Black paper in New York, carried an article by Bayard Rustin, in it he said, "the attitude among Blacks which is becoming more and more acceptable sees the Jew as the chief and only exploiter of the ghetto and it blames the ghetto on him." James Baldwin was quoted in the Chicago Daily News, September 30, 1967, as saying:

The root of antisemitism among Negroes is, ironically...the relationship of colored peoples all over the globe... to the Christian world. This is a fact which may be difficult to grasp... He (the Jew) is singled out by Negroes not because he acts differently from other white men, but because he doesn't...And he is playing in Harlem the role assigned him by the Christians long ago: he is doing their dirty work.<sup>5</sup>

Leroi Jones is a controversial Black poet who had been arrested during the summer Newark riots. In the December 1967 issue of the Evergreen Review, he published a poem, "The Black Man Is Making New Gods":

They give us  
to worship  
a dead Jew  
and not ourselves  
chained to the bounties  
of inhuman  
mad chains  
of dead Jews  
The empty Jew  
betrays us, as he does  
hanging stupidly  
from a cross, in an oven, the pantomime  
of our torture,  
So clearly cinemascope the jews do it,  
big, hail the whiteness of their  
waking up unhip...

On the basis of this poem we can go back to James Baldwin for a moment when he explains,

The Negro, facing a Jew, hates, at bottom, not his Jewishness, but the color of his skin...But just as society must have a scapegoat, so hatred must have a symbol.

Georgia has the Negro and Harlem has the Jew. The Jew is really the only dislike the Negro can legitimately feel in common with his white, Christian brethren, and just as anti-Negro feeling was part of an immigrant's Americanization, anti-Jewish feeling can be viewed as a key to in-group participation.<sup>6</sup>

After the summer race riots of 1967, Right Wing fringe groups exploited the situation for their own ends. The newspaper Common Sense from Union, New Jersey, published by Conde McGinley printed special "ghetto" copies of its May 1, 1967 issue. It called for the rise of Black Antisemitism, a setback for Zionist plotters and tried to explain why Jews were disliked by Blacks. On the other hand, Gerald L.K. Smith, publisher of The Cross and The Flag of October 1967, felt there was a "Negro threat" to white America. The headlines read: "THE BLACK REVOLUTION IS ON - ANARCHY IN FORCE! AMERICA ON FIRE."

John Birchers maintained that there was a Communist influence in planning the riots. Right wingers such as those groups just mentioned have oftentimes equated Zionism with Communism. Only after Israel's victory in the Six Day War confirmed Communist involvement with the Arab nations did the Rightists come out for Israel. The John Birch Society was staunch in its support of Israel. The

humiliation that the Arabs suffered in defeat gave the Right Wing an opportunity to gloat over the reverses of the Soviet Union. One must realize, though, that organizations such as the John Birch Society did not love Israel more but loved Russia and the Arab States less.

In the Jewish community the reaction to the Six Day War and the race riots was a significant increase of Jewish self-awareness and a concern over antisemitic prejudice in America. An agonizing dilemma arose: should Jews continue to be involved in helping to come up with a solution to the Urban crisis even though there was more and more antisemitic feeling among segments of the Black people or should they ignore this antisemitic element and stay with it? "The ambivalence is that of a people who identify with the struggle of the Black people for equality and freedom but who are frightened, panicked and partially paralyzed by what they view as increasing separatist and antisemitic stances."<sup>7</sup> Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg of Englewood, New Jersey has this to say about the problem:

There is a kind of ambivalence among Jews. On the one hand, both religious, traditional, and historic memories impel us to side with the Negro. On the other hand, there is this unworthy impulse to become part of the majority as white men. If Negroes can "join" society

through antisemitism, Jews can "join" it as whites...perhaps the saddest element in this entire situation is the fact that Jews are the people best able to grasp the rhetoric of black power even though they are mostly on the firing line of its attack. Many of the black power advocates are really the most radical kind of Negro Zionists.<sup>8</sup>

In 1968 Black antisemitism took on new vistas. New York City was the site of virulent anti Jewish attitudes. There were two unrelated incidents at which our attention should be directed. The first was a controversy over the Metropolitan Museum of Arts' exhibition of "Harlem on My Mind." In the catalogue published by Random House in 1968, an 18 year old girl, Candice Van Ellison, wrote:

...The next intergroup relationship to be examined is that between the Afro-Americans and Jews of Harlem. Anti Jewish feeling is a natural result of the Black Northern migration...Pouring into lower income areas in the city, the Afro-American invariably pushed out the Jew. Behind every hurdle that the Afro-American has yet to jump stands the Jew who has already cleared it. Jewish shopkeepers are the only remaining "survivors" in the expanding Black ghettos...The lack of competition in this area allows the already badly exploited Black to be further exploited by Jews.

Another major area of contact involves the Jewish landlord and the Black tenant. A large portion of

Harlem's Black women serve as domestics in middleclass Jewish homes...One other important factor worth noting is that psychologically Blacks may find that anti-Jewish sentiments place them for once, within a majority. Thus, our contempt for the Jew makes us feel more completely American in sharing a national prejudice.<sup>9</sup>

The second New York incident had greater repercussions than the first. There were a series of school strikes during the first semester of the 1968 school year which exacerbated intergroup tensions. The Union Federation of Teachers and the governing board of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district took sides in the strike. These came to be ethnic alignments; the UFT being largely Jewish and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district was mostly Black. Anti-semitism welled up as an issue and handbills were circulated charging that the "so-called Jewish Liberal Friend...is Responsible For the Serious Educational Retardation of Our Black Children." There were daily picket lines where threats were hurled at teachers opposing the strike. President of the UFT, Albert Shanker was defamed by a leaflet issued in the name of Tenants Rights Party under the auspices of one Jesse Gray, some excerpts included:

...Zionists kill black people in their own land in the Middle East. They run people out of their own communities...

HARLEM WILL NOT STAND BY WHILE THESE  
 RACIST, RUTHLESS BANDITS (Shanker and  
 the UFT) AND HIS PUPPET, THE POLICE  
 RUN US OUT OF OUR OWN COMMUNITIES.

When the strike was finally over, on Thursday evening  
 December 26, 1968 Leslie Campbell, a Black teacher in Ocean  
 Hill-Brownsville, was invited to read a poem on radio  
 station WBAI in New York. The program was conducted by  
 Julius Lester as a forum for black viewpoints. The poem  
 read was supposedly written by a 15 year old girl student,  
 Sia Berhan and entitled "AntiSemitism." Excerpts from the  
 now famous poem are:

Hey, Jew boy, with that yarmulka on your  
 head  
 You pale faced Jew boy - I wish you were  
 dead;  
 I can see you Jew boy - no you can't hide,  
 I got a scoop on you - yeh, you gonna  
 die...  
 I'm sick of seeing in everything I do  
 About the murder of 6 million Jews;  
 Hitler's reign lasted only 15 years...  
 My suffering lasted for over 400 years,  
 Jew boy...  
 When the U.N. made Israel a free in-  
 dependent state...  
 They hated the Black Arabs with all  
 their might...  
 Then you came to America, land of the  
 free,  
 And took over the school system to per-  
 petuate white supremacy  
 Guess you know, Jew boy, there's only  
 one reason you made it--  
 You had a clean white face, colorless  
 and faded.



I hated you Jew boy because your hang-  
up was the Torah,  
And my only hangup was my color.<sup>10</sup>

American Blacks such as Leslie Campbell did not find much response among black people generally. They are not a part of the European tradition of racial antisemitism but are instead just another ethnic group trying to move up from the nightmare of the American "dream." Just as Jews replaced other minorities in their move up the ladder so were they now being pushed aside by blacks who wished to express themselves to their own people. The Blacks could not rightfully expect the Jewish teachers and community workers to be the scapegoat for the failure and discontent of their whole urban social structure. Both Black resentment of Jews and Jewish resentment of Blacks was understandable here. "The extent, the intensity, and the danger of antisemitism in any community is a direct function of whether or not Jewish leaders and powerful political figures choose to minimize or maximize its significance. Some antisemitic incidents occur in every community. The question is how they will be assessed."<sup>11</sup> There was an article in the New York Times, "The Enemy is Silence," by the American Jewish Congress which bluntly stated the roots and basis of the anti-semitic threat. Those who allow

the actions of bigots are equally guilty of bigotry. Those who stand mute share with them the responsibility for threatening to plunge our city into racial and religious war.

The challenge of our time is not only inhumanity but indifference. The target is not only ill-will but ignorance. The enemy is not only slander but silence."<sup>12</sup> Whenever there is a lack of commitment against hatred, whenever people fail to take a principled stand against anti-semitism it will always occur in some form.

One cannot group all blacks into a general community nor would it be fair to put all Jews into a general category of beliefs. If one were to try to group these peoples on the basis of the recent past, it would be feasible to differentiate between the Negro and the Black on the one hand, and the Jewish conservative and the Jewish liberal, on the other.

The Negro is a lower middle class person who does not hate Jews. He is Christian and usually goes to Church. He is not a Muslim. He is aware that Jews have been active in civil rights and for him, integration remains the ideal. He tends to be non-revolutionary.

The Black is usually a step below economically. He

prefers to be referred to as black or Afro-American. Whites, to him, are oppressors. He dislikes the whites and specifically the Jew. His knowledge of Jews extends about as far as the ghetto businessman. He is anti-Christian because Christianity is the white man's religion, it is the opiate of the people. Black Power and separatism are his mottos.

The Jewish conservative is conservative in religion and politics. He says, "If we did it ourselves, why can't they?" He shows a contempt for blacks. He fears violence and the Negro represents violent, physical values. As long as blacks talk anti-white and anti-Jewish we should cut ourselves off and think of Israel first.

The Jewish liberal worried about Black exclusiveness. Blacks are saying it's our struggle and you can't understand it. He needs a cause and a new identity for himself because he rejects his Jewish identity.

One must ask the question of himself; is Black anti-semitism a fiction or a reflection of the Christian teaching of contempt? If there is an opposition to Jews on the part of Blacks which differs in degree or cause and if Black opposition to Jews is based on periodic qualities of Jewishness then there is a quality known as Black antisemitism.

Sociologically speaking the Black is in an unfavored position in the American society. Aside from the prejudices which he still encounters today he is saddled with the effect of previous prejudice where he has experienced difficulty in breaking out of his situation. The emphasis on physical values can be traced back to slavery. Even today those Blacks respected are the athletes, the boxers, the football, baseball and basketball players. In the Black community there is a lack of male models for the young. Economic status is precarious and their standard of living is below average. Through the media, T.V., movies, he is presented with a good life he cannot hope to achieve. So he is frustrated. Antisemitism is spoken of where there are large numbers of Jews, where Jews are shopowners and slumlords and thereby symbolize for the Black the ability to establish himself economically. The Black probably owes money to that Jew in his neighborhood. Jews also appear to him as teachers in school and as the welfare worker so the Jew thereby symbolizes the cultural gap. Thus the relative sociological positions of the two groups make the Jew the logical focus arising from the rage and frustration of the Black. This Jewishness which the Black opposes is not religious, but rather the presumed collected

identity of the Jews he has encountered, to the concrete manifestation. Therefore there is a specific Black anti-semitism rooted in the unique situation of the Black.

There is a certain satisfaction a minority group member feels when he can identify with the majority. There is a recognition within the Black community that Jews are more vulnerable. The Black calls the Jew, "Jew boy" a term of degradation that applies to the Black ("boy"). The Black senses a special psychological vulnerability of the Jew. If he attacks the Jew he will get an over reaction. He sees the Jew as the "teacher's pet" of American Society because Jews have been allowed to make it, they are the "apple polishers." Jews have been able to graduate from the ranks of the poor. He is the symbol of success which the Black feels has been denied to him. A Black feels he must develop the "Jewish" traits of diligence and perseverance to break the chains of poverty. At that point of frustration the Jew stands as the symbol of the White who can make it and the Black who never will.<sup>13</sup>

When Israel won the Six Day War of June 1967, those Americans that had an opinion on the Middle East crisis favored Israel over the Arab states. Since the war Arabs have tried to add sophistication to their propaganda tech-

niques by dealing specifically with the New Left, Blacks or other particular audiences in a selective manner.

At a meeting held between the Arab states in 1946, the so-called "Arab boycott" was born. The original boycott was formed to block the establishment of a Jewish state, when it failed, its purpose was broadened to create economic warfare against Israel.<sup>14</sup>

Since the 1967 war Arabs have changed their arguments to moral arguments against Israel as a State. Israel is charged with crimes against Arabs and the Palestine refugee problem is referred to time and again.

...the state of Israel was not created by law but only by politics and arms. In 1947 and 1948, Jewish influence in the Western World world was substantial and the United Nations was, at the time, a Western dominated body. The world felt sorry for the Jews because of Hitler's savage treatment of them during the war...the Arabs were made to pay for Europe's crimes against the Jews...

The creation of Israel resulted in the displacement of 1,500,000 Palestinian Arabs. Since 1948 over 1,800,000 non-Palestinian Jews immigrated to Palestine. This raises a moral question: Do these foreign Jews, who were not born in Palestine...have more right to live in Palestine than (sic) the Palestinian Arabs who were born there?<sup>15</sup>

The material circulated by the Al Fatah in America is more militant than the official Arab propaganda.

Like the people of Palestine, al-Fateh has not and will not bestow undeserved legitimacy upon the Zionist settler-state of Israel. This state remains a usurper addicted to violence... and fundamentally motivated by principles of racial and religious self-segregation, exclusiveness and supremacy... Zionism has sought a "final solution" to the Arab problem in Palestine.

While al-Fateh is fighting the constitutional existence of the Zionist State of Israel, it is also fighting to create the new Palestine of tomorrow--a democratic, non-sectarian Palestine where Jews, Muslims and Christians will work, worship and live peacefully together while enjoying equal rights and obligations.

It is in this spirit that al-Fateh looks forward to the future...which will unite in a common struggle for justice and peace and against such "isms" as Zionism and anti-Semitism.<sup>16</sup>

When the writer of the above advertisement said:

"...unite in a common struggle for justice and peace and against such 'isms' as Zionism and anti-Semitism" he was separating being Jewish from caring for Israel, the Jewish homeland. The reality today is that since Israel, and not Palestine, exists and since Israel is the home of the Jewish people the world over one cannot separate Zionism (a Feeling for the State of Israel) from being Jewish. This is precisely what the writer tried to do. He went further

to try to gain sympathy for his cause by saying that not only must we stamp out Zionism but we must also stamp out that ugly hatred, anti-Semitism. How can one "unite in a common struggle for justice and peace" and be, at the same time, against Zionism and against anti-Semitism? This is a paradox. By the mere fact that they live in Israel are not those people Jews who happen to be Zionists? Just as the word Jew conjures up thoughts of antisemitism on the one hand, so is the word Jew associated with Israel. One cannot speak of Jew without the special hatred antisemitism nor can he speak of Jew without the living reality--Israel.

In 1950 the Arab Information Center was established as the sole official arm of Arab propaganda in North America. Located in New York with branches in about five major cities, the center acts as a representative of all 14 Arab League nations.

The Center publishes a newssheet, Arab News and Views, and a magazine, Arab World. The data that is published by the Arab Information Center is carefully designed to avoid charges of anti-Jewish prejudice. Their statements concentrate on "Israeli aggression" and "Israeli atrocities" using photographs of napalmed victims and the plight of the Arab refugees. They make assertions that Israel, a land



populated with victims of Hitler's madness, is a war machine hardly to be distinguished from the Nazis.

There are many unofficial sources from which Arab propaganda flows. The Palestine National Liberation Movement publishes a bi-weekly newspaper, FATEH. This newspaper is published in English and expresses the views of the Palestinian guerilla movements. To these people, returning to their "homeland" will be the ultimate goal. Zionism is the barrier which separates them from this dream. "Zionism is a threat to Judaism. Zionism...was developing an anti-Arab feeling, creating a climate for renewed and terrible anti-Semitism and beginning to endanger Judaism itself as a religious faith."<sup>17</sup>

On campuses throughout America the New Left is generally anti-Israel, anti-Zionist and anti-America. The student publication, The South End at Wayne State University typifies the alignment which the New Left has shown. The News Editor, Nick Medvecky, wrote:

Al-Fatah, perhaps the most misunderstood organization in the world today, issued its first major world press release to clarify its position, what it is, and what it's opposed to...the Palestinians found themselves confronting a common Zionist enemy entirely within the territorial boundaries of former Palestine... The single most important political fact

is that the Palestinians have taken it upon themselves to liberate their homeland and have thus taken it out of the hands of the Arab governments...The movement that Al-Fatah is coordinating is aimed solely at the "Zionist-military-fascist" regime.<sup>18</sup>

The fact is that Israel does not hold the solution to the refugee problem. This problem was not the cause of Arab-Israeli conflicts, it is the result of war. Israel has expressed desire to help in a peace settlement which would achieve a solution to the Palestinian refugee problem. From the above statement it is clear that the Arabs have their own solution to the refugee problem--the dissolution of Israel.

Since the Six Day War of 1967 a new sense of militancy has been created among Arab students. Left Wing student groups working with Arabs equate Arab refugees with the situation of the Vietnamese in Indochina. Arab students have tried to influence campus newspapers as well as to hold "teach-ins." They have increased their activities and have tried to change the tone of their materials. They have scheduled "El Fatah Weeks" on many campuses. Arab and Black students have been able to control the Wayne State University Newspaper, The South End which, contained in 1969 and 1970 frequent anti-Israeli diatribes such as the

excerpt quoted above.

At Berkeley, the Organization of Arab Students holds an annual "Palestine Week" in May. In 1968, this event was publicized less than formerly, but what publicity was issued reflected a shift from legal and political arguments against Israel to moral reasons why Israel should be destroyed. To appeal to leftists, Israel's existence was equated with the U.S. presence in Vietnam. A display of anti-Semitic literature and verse was set up in the Student Union.<sup>19</sup>

Stokley Carmichael was quoted by the Ann Arbor News on August 27, 1968 as addressing a convention,

A few years ago I was for the Jews in Israel. I thought the Arabs were picking on the Jews. But I found out that it was all the propaganda of the imperialists. Africa is our homeland and the black people will fight for Egypt because it is our homeland. You invite us and we will come.

Was he saying that by virtue of being the underdog the Israelis had gained his support? If so, one can see the fallaciousness of his reasoning.

The reaction of the churches of America to the Six Day War and hence has been one of reluctance. The Arabs and their sympathizers have launched an intensive campaign employing anti-Zionism and antisemitism to try to change the attitudes of American churches toward Israel. Occasionally pro-Arab groups try to influence the attitudes of

American groups, both Jewish and Gentile, to stay away from the "Middle East War Zone,"--Israel. They have boycotted tours to Israel and even gone to the extremes of hijacking passenger airliners flying to Israel. Mostly Protestant ministers have cooperated with the Arabs to set up lobbying organizations before Congress and to push for "information centers" in the United States.

To help sway Catholic opinion, the head of the Egyptian Coptic Church, Patriarch Kyrillos VI, reportedly planned to visit Pope Paul VI in the spring of 1969, in a bid for a "unified stand" on the Arab cause and the "liberation" of Jerusalem (Religious News Service, January 8, 1969). The Patriarch's attitude toward Jews is typified by a statement he made at the time of the Second Vatican Council: "The Coptic Church proclaims the Jews' responsibility throughout the ages for crucifying Christ."<sup>20</sup>

The Red Times newspaper carried an article, "Revolution Until Victory" on September 28, 1970 which typifies the type of sentiment that the Arab refugees and the Soviet Union hold for Israel:

The Middle East 1970 looks more and more like Vietnam 1962. A civil war has developed in Jordan between the revolutionary people of Palestine and the puppet government of King Hussein in Jordan...

There are one million Palestinians

in Jordan...They will fight until Israel returns the land stolen from them when it became a state in 1948...The Palestinians are right in their battle against Jordan's army and right in their battle against Israel...It was the Zionist state of Israel that started the wars.

The Palestinian people are fighting for control over their lands and lives just as the Vietnamese in Vietnam and the Black people in America are.<sup>21</sup>

The anti-Zionism that these people espouse is simply a mask for anti-Israelism and antisemitism. This anti-Zionist feeling touches the motivating factor of Israel's existence. It tries to draw distinctions between Jews and Zionists and raise issues such as those of Jewish historicity, survival, and unity. Arab anti-Zionism, as we have seen, tries to sever links between the people of Israel and Jews in the Diaspora with its ultimate goal being the dissolution of Israel. Arabs are proceeding in a self deluding manner to expect the Israelis to throw out their Zionist ideology or to expect the Jews of the Diaspora to cut off identification with Israel. The Arabs attempt to deny the Jews of Israel the right of territorial independence and nationhood must be viewed in the light of antisemitism and not "just" anti-Zionism. From that point onward it is a very small step to the destruction of the Jewish State

which the Arabs have refused to recognize since its inception in 1948. This is a new version of the ancient hatred of antisemitism.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions which will be made in this chapter are entirely a product of the author's knowledge through research and study. Any mistakes or misunderstandings are the result of his own shortcomings. These conclusions and the blueprint for the future on the American Scene are based upon the total research done, the American brand of antisemitism.

One must ask the perplexing question: Will the Jewish people ever be free of potential destruction while living in the Diaspora? The Jew has found himself caught in the middle of the nationalistic feelings of the different countries he has lived in expressly because he is not like the great mass of people around him. The nationalism of the country on the one hand either fights Jewish assimilation into the culture or on the other hand rejects Jewish separatism. Jews often want to enter into the nation without having to surrender the one thing that makes them dif-

ferent, his Jewishness. A common reaction to the Jew's separateness, his difference, his Jewishness is to dislike it precisely because it is unlike the accepted norm. There is a dislike for the unlike, and the Jew being unlike the majority population and wanting to preserve his Jewishness, is therefore disliked. A factor that draws the Jew farther apart from the rest of the people of the society is the dual notion that the Jew, as such, lacks the roots of tradition in the society yet he is able to achieve prominence in the culture. The antisemite sees himself as having been the product of a long tradition, a part of the American scene, and if he does not "make it" in his society, he feels like he is a servant to the Jew who "has it made." The Jew lacks the historical roots that he has, yet the Jew has forged ahead economically. The antisemite identifies the Jew with the taboos of liberalism and internationalism. The Jew is viewed as the incarnation of evil, as the competitor against whom divergent groups of discontented people could band together. This negative image of the Jew united otherwise separate groups in the society.

How does the modern antisemite in America see the Jew? He is a person who turns up everywhere, for the most part he refuses to marry outside of his religion, his religion



is non-Christian though the roots of Christianity are found in Judaism, he experiences a xenophobia on the part of the majority population and finally, the Jew typifies a stable economy in spite of his lack of numbers.

Both Karl Marx and right wing antisemites feel that all human evil and hatred is, in reality, Jewishness. There is a Jewish world conspiracy which will inundate the country if the antisemite will not take the necessary precautions to stop it from spreading. The antisemite actually sees himself playing the role of the Christ, the force for good, whose job is to overthrow the Satan, the force for evil, the Jew, before he ruins society. In this way the antisemite is not hateful in his own eyes. The antisemite says to himself, "it isn't I who dislikes the Jew, it is he who dislikes me," thus the antisemite projects his hatred on the Jew and blames the Jew. The Jew is part of the out group against whom a common negative prejudice is shared by the in group. The antisemite tends to be an authoritarian type personality who espouses moralistic values and lives in a structured, institutionalized world which protects him from the foreign and different.

In the United States, Jews have experienced a certain species of antisemitism. Some have termed it "polite anti-

semitism" or a social discrimination. Overt antisemitism in the United States has been fought by Jewish organizations through the so-called silent treatment. The less exposure given the antisemite, the less effective will be his antisemitic campaign.

When people know that injustices are being perpetrated against some group and they lack the necessary courage to protest those injustices, they through their silence are contributing to prejudice. People have a fantastic tendency to obey. They will throw the blame onto the scapegoats as the easiest way of easing their own consciences. This indifference of a man toward his fellowman proves that one doesn't have to be an overt antisemite in order to support antisemitic behavior. In Germany and Eastern Europe during the Second World War there was a slaughter of Six Million people who happened to be Jewish. This slaughter did not put an end to antisemitism. In 1967 the world looked on while another genocide of Jewish people was planned by Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon with the world looking on. Indifference, apathy, ambivalence, and disregard on the part of the Church and other Gentile communities of the world is antisemitism. These things have not succeeded in oppressing the Jew totally. Even the

cruelest persecutions have not been able to exterminate the Jew. The Jew of the world has discovered that he can rely only on another Jew for help and nobody else.

The Black man in America has empathized with the Jew and vice versa because of the fact of each groups' minority status. Recently though there has been a movement underway among a growing number of blacks to press for a new pride, a new dependence on one another, a new feeling of solidarity, a new power. This new Black rejects the Jew not because he acts differently from all other whites but because he does not act differently. The Jew has been his slum landlord, the Jew has been his neighborhood merchant, the Jew has been his social worker and teacher of his children, but he (the Black) feels that the whiteness of the skin of the Jew discounts him from being able to "feel" for the Black the way another Black man can. The Jew, on the other hand, is really the only dislike that the Black can feel in common with other white Christian brethren.

The Jew occupies a unique niche in American society as has been pointed out here. His future in America will be only as secure as was his past, some will be content with this plight and remain, others will take advantage of the State of Israel and emigrate. The hope for the

future is that one will be able to live where he pleases without discrimination. That hope, I believe, will never become a reality for, as Sigmund Freud wrote in a letter to Arnold Zweig on December 2, 1927:

...with regard to antisemitism I don't really want to search for explanations; I feel a strong inclination to surrender to my affects in this matter and find myself confirmed in my wholly non-scientific belief that mankind on the average and taken by and large are a wretched lot.

## FOOTNOTES

## CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>Maurice R. Davie and Samuel Koenig, "The Refugees Are Now Americans," Public Affairs Pamphlet, No. 111, 1945, P. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., P. 28.

<sup>3</sup>Ruth Weintraub, How Secure These Rights? (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1949), P. 73.

<sup>4</sup>Cincinnati Code of Ordinances, Supp. Sec. 308-19, Ord. No. 196-1946.

<sup>5</sup>Fortune Magazine, "The Fortune Survey," Feb. 1946, 33:258.

<sup>6</sup>Morris Schappes, A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States 1654-1875 (The Citadel Press, 1950), P. 762.

<sup>7</sup>L. Glumplowics, Der Rassenkampf (1883).

<sup>8</sup>Jacob Neusner and Richard L. Rubenstein, "Germany and the Jews: Two Views," Conservative Judaism, XVII, Nos. 1-2 (Fall 1962, Winter, 1963), P. 46.

<sup>9</sup>Edward H. Flannery, The Anquish of the Jews (New York: MacMillan Company, 1965), P. 248.

<sup>10</sup>Milton R. Konvitz, "Intergroup Relations," The American Jew A Reappraisal, ed. Oscar J. Janowsky (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967), P. 79.

<sup>11</sup>Isaiah M. Minkoff, "Inter Group Relations," American

Jewish Yearbook (Jewish Publication Society, 1947-48), XLIX, P. 192.

<sup>12</sup>Konvitz, op. cit., P. 79.

## CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup>J. Milton Yinger, Anti-Semitism: A Case Study In Prejudice and Discrimination, Freedom Press, 1964; P. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Edited by N.C. Belth, Barriers, Patterns of Discrimination Against Jews; Friendly House Publishers, 1958; P. 62.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., P. 71.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., P. 72.

<sup>5</sup>The American Nationalist (Inglewood, California; June 10, 1954).

<sup>6</sup>Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster, Some of My Best Friends..., Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1962. P. 149.

<sup>7</sup>On Getting Into College (American Council on Education, 1949), P. 16.

<sup>8</sup>Belth, op. cit., P. 44.

<sup>9</sup>Marshall Sklare (ed.), The Jews (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1958), P. 309.

<sup>10</sup>Epstein and Forster, op. cit., P. 208.

<sup>11</sup>Belth, op. cit., P. 45.

<sup>12</sup>Epstein and Forster, op. cit., P. 209.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., P. 211.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., P. 214.

<sup>15</sup>Belth, op. cit., P. 96.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., P. 99.

<sup>17</sup>George Kellman, "Anti Jewish Agitation," American Jewish Yearbook (American Jewish Committee and Jewish Publication Society, 1951), LII, P. 65.

<sup>18</sup>Milton Yinger, Antisemitism: A Case Study in Prejudice and Discrimination (New York: Freedom Books, 1964), P. 43.

<sup>19</sup>Kellman, op. cit., LIV, P. 95.

<sup>20</sup>Norman Cohn, "The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy," Commentary Magazine, June 1966, PP. 35-42.

<sup>21</sup>Kellman, op. cit., LV, P. 226.

<sup>22</sup>Anon., Typical Arab Boycott Letter, [1956].

<sup>23</sup>Gerald Winrod. "The Coming Red Dictatorship," The Defender, [March 1956].

<sup>24</sup>Robert Welch, John Birch Society Bulletin, April 1961.

<sup>25</sup>Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Social Change and Prejudice (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

### CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>Earl Raab, "The Black Revolution and the Jewish Question," Black AntiSemitism and Jewish Racism (New York: Shochon Books, 1970), P. 20.

<sup>2</sup>"S.N.C.C. Charges Israel Atrocities," New York Times, August 15, 1967.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Chaim Yahil, "American Jewry on the Threshold of a New Era: New Prospects for Zionism," Dispersion and Unity Journal (Jerusalem, Winter, 1970), X, P. 12.

<sup>5</sup>James Baldwin, "Negro Antisemitism," Chicago Daily

News, September 30, 1967.

<sup>6</sup>B.Z. and May L. Sobel, "Negroes and Jews: Minority Groups in Conflict," Judaism (Winter 1966), XV, No. 1, P. 22.

<sup>7</sup>Murry Zuckoff, "Jewish Priorities in the Urban Crisis," Israel Horizons, XVII, No. 4 (April 1969).

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Harlem on My Mind - Cultural Capital of Black America 1900-1968 (New York: Random House, 1968). Introduction by Candice VanEllison, Harlem, May 1967.

<sup>10</sup>Poem read by Leslie Campbell on radio station WBAI written by Sia Berhan and reproduced in the article by Edward T. Rogowsky, "Intergroup Relations and Tensions in the U.S.," American Jewish Yearbook (American Jewish Committee and Jewish Publication Society, 1969), LXX, P. 38.

<sup>11</sup>Walter Karp and H.R. Shapiro, "How Jews Were Turned Against the Black Man: Exploding the Myth of Black Antisemitism," New York Times, March 16, 1969, P. 7E.

<sup>12</sup>The American Jewish Congress, "The Enemy is Silence," New York Times, January 31, 1969.

<sup>13</sup>Lecture given by Dr. Michael Meyer. History E40 Antisemitism, April 14, 1970.

<sup>14</sup>"The Arab Boycott - Past and Present," The Jewish Press, February 5, 1965.

<sup>15</sup>Amin Shafie, "Letters: Two Views on Middle East Conflict," The University of Cincinnati News Record, P. 5.

<sup>16</sup>"The Position of Al-Fateh - The Palestine National Liberation Movement," The University of Cincinnati News Record, April 24, 1970, P. 7.

<sup>17</sup>"Montaron: Zionism Is a Threat to Judaism," Fateh Newspaper, April 2, 1970, P. 15.

<sup>18</sup>Nick Medvecky, "Al-Fatah," The South End (Wayne State



University), January 8, 1969, P. 1.

<sup>19</sup>"Arab Appeals to American Public Opinion Today,"  
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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., P. 72.

<sup>21</sup>"Revolution Until Victory," Red Times, I, No. 4,  
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