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FRANCE:
A CASE STUDY IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF ANTI-SEMITISM

By

Shireen Oberman

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A CASE STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTI-SEMITISM

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Introduction

In the last decade, American Jews have watched, heard about and commented upon the growing number of anti-semitic acts taking place in France. They have read with increasing fear the newspaper articles commenting on President Jacques Chirac's lack of responsiveness to religious attacks reminiscent of 1930s Europe. This fear is exacerbated by the large number of e-mails and petitions French and American Jews receive on a daily basis. France's Chief Rabbi Joseph Sitruk is one of many individuals who have reached out to both French and world Jewry asking for alliance and giving warnings about the current condition of French Jews. What creates the greatest sense of alarm is not only the increased number of reported anti-semitic incidents or the minimal governmental response but that Jews are remaining in France. The thought of Jews remaining in a country seemingly reminiscent of what preceded the horrors of World War II seems to alarm American Jews greater than understanding what life is actually like for French Jewry.

A historian once wrote of French Jews after World War II that the problems they were facing were not only monetary or social but that "the basic problem was one of memory . . .they would deal, and fail to deal, with it for decades (Mandel 2002)." Although it is impossible for a community to forget an event such as the Holocaust, by ignoring its cultural implications a community can remain immobilized and unable to ever fully escape its shadow. The anti-Semitic events that have taken place over the past three years have raised concern among French Jewry; however, it is American Jewry who makes the allusions to the rise of anti-Semitism before World War II.

The development of anti-Semitism in France is distinctly different from the development of anti-Semitism in Central and Eastern Europe. Unlike the shifting political and economic tides of Central and Eastern Europe, France has always been at the forefront of modernization.

France's history of human rights and enlightened thought juxtaposed with its history of anti-Semitism makes it an important case study for American Jews. This paper will attempt to explore France's history of anti-Semitism and how it has changed since the Holocaust. It will also explore how anti-Semitism has changed since the beginning of the second Intifada in 2000. Paris, the "nerve center" of Jewish life in France will be highlighted as it provides the best representation of how Jewish communal life has developed over the past two millennia (Benbassa 1999). By presenting France as a case study, American Jews can understand that assimilation may not be the key to ending anti-Semitism even in the most liberally minded of countries.

PART I: THE ROOTS OF FRENCH ANTI-SEMITISM

The history of French Jewry plays a distinct role in the history of the Jewish people. Prior to the French Revolution of 1789, French Jews represented the typical experience of Jews living in the Diaspora. Since the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., Gaul became identified as one of the new chosen lands for Jews fleeing into the Diaspora. Jewish history in France throughout the first millennium was turbulent to say the least. Characterized as "a society within a society, a pearl forever irritating the oyster," Jews were not particularly distinctive in appearance or language but they were ultimately viewed as alien because of religion (Glick 1999). This persistent identification as alien would force Jews throughout history to find protection under the wing of first, the Church, then the aristocracy and the monarchy. The perpetual need for governmental protection contributed to the one difficulty French Jews continually had difficulty acquiring: French nationality. By the time of the French Revolution in 1789, Jews were irrevocably set apart as "a society within a society" and would spend much of the next two centuries attempting to prove they were French, not just Jewish (Benbassa 1999, Gartner 2001, and Glick 1999)

The History of Jews in Paris

Amongst the history of expulsion and persecution, Jews were formally prohibited from living in Paris which was under royal authority until 1789. Despite the prohibition, in the beginning of the 18th century, a small tiny community of Portuguese Jews had immigrated to Paris from Bordeaux, Saint-Esprit-lès-Bayonne, Avignon, and from as far east as Germany, Poland and Hungary. By the Revolution of 1789, five to six hundred Jews were living inauspiciously among the total population of 8,000. Small Jewish communities developed in the present day neighborhoods of Odéon, the Sorbonne, Saint Meri and Arts-et-Métiers. The Jews, primarily of Portuguese descent, appeared to be prosperous although they were excluded from

guilds, the arts, and mechanical professions until 1787. Unable to participate in these professions, most Jews were merchants, vendors, and there is record of some Jewish bankers and a few manufacturers. Paris Jewry was also not devoid of intellectuals including Israël-Bernard de Valabrègue (d. 1779), a Hebrew specialist in the royal library and author of several works; Daniel de Fonesca (1672-1740), a noted physician; and Jacob Rodrigues-Pereira, creator of a method of communication for deaf-mutes (Benbassa 1999).

Parisian Jews, who were living in the city illegally, were dependent upon the police to issue them passports or residence permits. Jews could be found living primarily in hotels or boarding houses. A few Portuguese Jews had received letters of naturalization from Louis XV and overall had an easier time establishing themselves within the city. In 1770, the Portuguese Jews opened their synagogue on the rue Saint-André-des-Arts and within a decade German Jewish immigrants followed suit by opening two more synagogues. The first was located on the rue Brisemiche and the second on rue du Renard. The separate synagogues not only denoted the different between each foreign Jewish community's progress within the city but also their dissension. In addition to the separate synagogues, each community had a separate cemetery and was centered in a different area of Paris. Clearly there was no unified Jewish nation in Paris (Benbassa 1999).

The Age of Enlightenment

Despite the 1394 edict of expulsion which was renewed in 1615 by Louis XIII, by the late 18th century, over 40,000 Jews living in the French kingdom. French Jews were united only by a sense of tradition; despite that, they were separated geographically, economically and culturally. Two chief nations of Jews existed within France: the "German nation" found mostly in Alsace-Lorraine or Paris; and the "Spanish, Portuguese, or Avignonese" concentrated primarily in the South but with a fairly strong community in Paris as well. Within France, Jewish

communities of both Sephardic and Ashkenazi background attempted to assert their individual identities in their respective local communities. Among the Jewish communities, those of the Spanish-Portuguese-Avignonese nation considered themselves the most acculturated as opposed to the Jews of German descent that were viewed as backwards. Like the Jews, non-Jews also held differing opinions of the respective Jewish communities (Benbassa 1999 and Encyclopedia Judaica 1971).

Within the context of the French Enlightenment movement which preceded the Revolution, the inconsistency of thought towards Jews was exemplified by the philosophers of the time. The "Jewish Situation" as it was commonly referred to, was a paradox of urging tolerance and promoting indiscriminate Judeophobia. Part of the dislike towards Jews stemmed from the Enlighteners' rejection of religion and the Bible; most of it was derived from anti-Jewish sentiment which they had been raised with. Voltaire, the most identifiable figure of the French Enlightenment demonstrated the contradictory feelings of the Enlighteners in his *Philosophical Dictionary*. He refers to Jews as:

> The most abominable people on earth . . . [an] ignorant and barbarous people, which has long combined the most sordid greed with the most detestable superstition with the most invincible hatred for all the peoples who tolerate and enrich them. Still, it is not necessary to burn them (Gartner 2001).

Voltaire was convinced that "Jewish Character" was intrinsic and unalterable. His comments, which qualify as anti-Semitic over a century before the phrase was coined, demonstrated how Jews were still considered alien after a millennium of residing in France. While other philosophers such as Diderot and Montesquieu provided similarly hostile views towards Jews, some philosophers like Rousseau were able to demonstrate a mild sympathy towards the plight of Jews living in the Diaspora. The incongruous views of Enlightenment philosophers would be

reflected throughout the Revolution to come as Jews fought for citizenship but were faced with the same challenges as before (Gartner 2001).

Jewish Emancipation and the French Revolution of 1789

Although religion was repudiated constantly during the Age of Enlightenment, this did not diminish the role of religion during the French Revolution. Jewish emancipation had already become a topic of both Jewish and French Enlightenment circles for many years. In the early 1780s, Moses Mendelssohn, founder of the Haskalah, petitioned the article "Ueber die buergerlich Verbesserung der Juden (On the Civil Improvement of the Jews)" by Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, a Protestant historian, which was translated into French a year later under the title, "De la réforme politique des Juifs (On the Political Reform of the Jews)." Many of the ideas proposed in the work were incorporated by the Count de Mirabeau, a member of French Aristocracy who was fighting for a Constitutional Monarchy and in 1783 Louis XVI abolished the "body tax" used for centuries to humiliate Jews by treating them like cattle (Benbassa 1999 and Encyclopedia Judaica 1971).

The rise of attention surrounding Jewish emancipation came to a climax with the essay contest sponsored by the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences in Metz in 1787, which asked "Do means exist to make Jews more useful and happier in France?" Nine replies came from both Jewish and non-Jewish scholars. What came across was a vague indication of wanting to help Jews emerge into the modern age and to reform their current legal status as foreigners. The replies were deemed unfit to be judged and the contest was conducted once more the following year. The replies this time around emphasized moral degradation, prejudice and lacked any real practical change. However enough attention had been drawn to the "Jewish Question" that in 1788 Chrétien de Malesherbes, the minister who had been previously commissioned by Louis

XVI to arrange civic rights for Protestants, was commissioned to do the same for Jews (Benbassa 1999, Encyclopedia Judaica 1971 and Gartner 2001).

It was not until January 28th, 1790 that the Sephardic Jews and then September 27th, 1791 that the Ashkenazi Jews were granted French citizenship, two years after the Declaration of the Rights of Man was adopted on August 26th, 1789. With the privilege of citizenship came sacrifice. Jews were granted civic rights as individuals however their group privileges, i.e. their religious-legal autonomy, was abolished; This left them susceptible to the anti-Jewish sentiment that still ran rampant in all socio-economic levels of French society. In the years that followed the Revolution, the Jewish population of France became subject to the same laws and regulations as the Catholic majority. The "Jewish Oath" which French Jewry had been required to give in court was abolished and Jews were given larger representation in local government. As their civil liberties increased, a large wave of conversions took place and Jews began to assimilate into the dominant French culture (Encyclopedia Judaica 1971).

The Dreyfus Affair

France in the late 19th century was not quite anti-Semitic but was clearly influenced by Judeophobic clichés from the past. Despite the integration and acculturation that took place in the earlier part of the century, Jews were relatively unknown by their non-Jewish neighbors. Anti-Semitism grew in great part as a result of secular reforms that began to take place during the Third Republic (c. 1879). During this time, France's government was being decentralized and state power was being delegated local municipalities, departments and regions. Suspicions of a Jewish conspiracy began to circulate as the cause for societal and political problems. With the fall of the Catholic Union General Bank, Jews were viewed as the destroyers of the Christian religion and civilization; they were considered "the architect of revolution and anti-clericalism [and] the persecutor of the clergy (Benbassa 1999)." The Bank director blamed "Jewish capital"

for the bankruptcy and Jews were caught between the struggles of the republican-radical camp and the monarchal-clerical one. In response to books such as *Jewish France* by Edouard Drumont, written in 1886 which described the historical battle between Aryans and Semites, other anti-Semitic works began to emerge as well. Even in parliament, members began to propose that Jews be expelled from France. Jewish activity in the economy was closely monitored by people such as Drumont who exploited their failures and attempted to prove the presence of a Jewish conspiracy (Ben-Sasson 1969 and Gartner 2001).

France however was by no means the most anti-Semitic country in Europe at the time. It was however the first nation to gain world notoriety for anti-Semitism due to the Dreyfus affair, beginning in 1894. Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer who had served on the French General Staff was arrested on a charge of espionage on October 15th, 1894. He was accused of having written a letter to the military attaché of Germany in Paris in September of that year. On December 22nd, 1894, after being publicly humiliated and demoted, Captain Dreyfus was sentenced to deportation and life imprisonment on Devil's Island. After the first years following Dreyfus' sentencing, information revealed by Dreyfus' brother and the Jewish journalist, Bernard Lazare, helped to divide the population into two camps: Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. On January 13th, 1898, Emile Zola's article "J'Accuse" (I Accuse) was published, accusing the General Staff of a miscarriage of justice and protecting the true spy. Anti-Semitic riots broke out throughout France and Algeria and in August 1899 a new trial was held. Dreyfus was convicted once again but for a lesser sentence; he was totally exonerated in 1906 (Benbassa 1999, Ben-Sasson 1969, Encyclopedia Judaica 1971 and Gartner 2001).

The implications of the Dreyfus affair not only rocked French Jewry, but created waves throughout the entire French political system. It became a turning point in the history of the Third Republic and resulted in the enacting of several anti-clerical measures including the 1905

law officially separating church and state. The Dreyfus affair also resulted in a decline in the influence of military and clerical circles and the strengthening of radical influences from the left wing. While the anti-Semitic camps diminished in overall force, there were two places where the anti-Semitic beliefs of the anti-Dreyfusards remained strong: in the formation of a new right wing group, Action Française, and in the French colony of Algeria. For the Jews of France and of the world, the Dreyfus affair was a shock and a great disillusionment. How could such an event take place in France, the "homeland of liberty and the Great Revolution"? One thing that became clear was that no amount of assimilation could protect Jews from anti-Semitism (Ben-Sasson 1969 and Encyclopedia Judaica 1971).

The Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism: Between the Two World Wars

Just as it would be impossible to understand anti-Semitism in the 20th century without discussing the Holocaust, it would be equally impossible to discuss the Holocaust without discussing World War I. The Holocaust is considered by some scholars to not to be the direct result of anti-Semitism, but the "fallout" of anti-Semitism (Weber 1978). The mindset of Europeans in the 1930s and 1940s was the product of hundreds of years of stereotypes and socio-economic difficulty. Similarly, World War I was not encapsulated in a six year period of time but seemed to be the climax of a prolonged period of political upheaval. Following the radical changes that took place for Jews between the French Revolution and the Dreyfus affair, the period between World Wars I and II helped set the stage both for the Holocaust and the future of French Jewry (Frankel 1988).

By the beginning of World War I, the position of Jews in France, economically, culturally and socially had changed drastically. Some of the most famous artists and philosophers of the time were Jewish including, Camille Pissaro, Marc Chagall, Sarah Bernhardt, Salomon Munk and Marcel Proust. A variety of Jewish organizations emerged that dealt with the

problems of international Jewry and encouraged Jewish studies. Perhaps the most famous of these organizations was the Alliance Isréalite Universelle which was established in 1860 and aided Jewish communities outside of France. Several classical works were translated into French such as the writings of Flavius Josephus and the French Rabbinate published a French translation of the bible. Perhaps the ultimate sign of social assimilation was when in 1936 Léon Blum became the first Jewish premier of France (Encyclopedia Judaica 1971).

The final exoneration of Alfred Dreyfus in 1906 helped restore French Jewry's confidence in the values of the Republic. French Jews were conscious of their unique experience as citizens and World War I provided them a brief respite from the nation's anti-Semitism. Immigration to France was already on the rise but in the 1920s an unprecedented number of European Jews and non-Jews arrived. By 1939 200,000 Jewish immigrants lived in France and Paris became one of the largest Jewish centers in the world. Many of the immigrants helped to create new Jewish settlement in the Belleville, Montmartre and Clignancourt neighborhoods. At the same time French Jews were beginning to settle in the more chic, western part of Paris, furthering their efforts to assimilate (Benbassa 1999).

The large influx of Jews arriving from Eastern Europe in the 1920s highlighted the intensity of French Jewry's efforts to assimilate. It is important to understand that what divided French Jews from the recent immigrants was the perception that patriotism and enlightenment equaled emancipation from Judaism (Frankel 1988). Bernard Lazare, a Jew and one of the heroes of the Dreyfus Affair, spoke of the contrasts between *isréalites de France* (Israelites of France) and *juifs* (Jews), describing Jews as "dominated by the single preoccupation of rapidly making a fortune . . . by fraud, lying and trickery." He went on to state that if anti-Semites would become *anti-Juifs* (anti-Jews), many Israelites could join them (Weber 1978). Lazare's comments exemplify French Jewry's identification as assimilated French citizens. His comments

also demonstrate how anti-Semitic propaganda was passively accepted into the consciousness of Jews.

The French Jewish community was not dissimilar to other Jewish communities and was reluctant to take in the large number of Eastern European Jews. Eastern European Jewry was viewed as a threat to the painfully gained benefits of assimilation. The Alliance Isréalite Universelle, an acknowledged enlightened organization, stated very clearly their attitude towards the refugees:

> To welcome these contemptible people to our country, to help them in a soil which is not their own and which does not nourish them, in order to facilitate their conquest? For whose benefit is this? For the benefit of the cosmopolitan *juif* who has no ties with any nation, who is [like a] Bedouin moving his tent about with complete indifference (Bauman 1988)

While may of the immigrants who came to France belonged to the upper socioeconomic levels of Jewish society in central Europe, were intellectuals and professionals, and were acculturation to their native lands similar to French Jewry, they were a perceived threat to the safety of native French Jews. Despite French Jewry's misapprehensions and anti-immigrant feelings, a sense of solidarity brought them together with the immigrants French Jewry worked to help assimilate them so as to prevent the wrath of anti-Semites upon the entire Jewish population. An attempt was also made to channel immigration away from France as French Jews feared the inconvenience placed on their fellow French citizens and authorities (Benbassa 1999 and Green 2000).

Despite the apparent reprieve provided by the Great War, anti-Semitism from abroad was feeding the fires of anti-Jewish sentiment in France. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, written by Tsarist police in the early 20th century, began to circulate in France around 1919 and helped revive old Jewish conspiracy theories. Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, translated into French in 1934,

followed by the 1936 victory of the Popular Front and Léon Blum's nomination 1936 were identified by anti-Semites as attempts to "Jewify" France. Combined with the increasing visibility of Jewish communities and the stagnant economy, the anti-Semitic press grew rapidly, vocalizing Jewish hatred (Benbassa 1999).

French Jews were aware of the growing anti-Semitic undercurrents. Many native Jewish leaders pleaded with Blum not to head government but he turned them down on principle. Despite the fear growing among Jewish leaders, there was a lack of Jewish communal activity participating in the changing government. The Consistoire Central, the core organization of the French Jewish community, concerned itself with religious affairs and was under strong lay leadership. Other organizations pursued broader and varied interests such as Yiddish secular culture, Communism, Zionism and Youth organizations. Following the official separation of Church and State, different religious and immigrant groups were able to organize their own associations. In 1923 the Fédération des Juives de France was created but was unable to rival the more established communal bodies. Ultimately as Jews assimilated more into French life, the organized Jewish community began to falter. With the anti-alien law of 1938, unopposed by official French Jewry, Jews, both immigrant and assimilated, were lumped together as a common threat. This law helped to further isolate Jews as foreigners, paving the way for the impending Holocaust (Encyclopedia Judaica 1971 and Gartner 2001).

Surviving the Holocaust

On May 10th, 1940 France was invaded by the Germans and on June 14th, Paris fell. France has been identified as providing the most complex case when studying the Holocaust due to the armistice which resulted in the division of an unoccupied and occupied zone. According to the terms of the 1940 surrender, France was divided into two zones: the occupied zone which was controlled by the Germans, including Paris and the Atlantic coastline; and the Vichy

government, headed by Marshal Pétain, which included the southern regions and the French colonies, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The Vichy Regime, also known as the "Free Zone," provided little relief to French Jews who fled there. The Jews living in the Vichy government were mostly well assimilated French Jews who had social connections or family members to protect them. Most of the Jews left in the occupied zone were immigrants (Gartner 2001).

A cross between Fascism and anti-Semitism, the Vichy government enacted the anti-Semitic Law concerning Jews (Statut des Juifs) in October 1940 before it was requested by the Germans. A program was also enacted to reduce perceived Jewish influence in France. A second Statut further defined Jews in racial terms and classifications. Unlike Jews in the occupied zone and other parts of the Nazi Regime, French Jews were not prevented from appearing in public and were not subject to anti-Semitic riots or violations. What anti-Semitic propaganda made its way into the unoccupied zone, was credited to the Germans. The Germans appreciated the enactment of their policies in the unoccupied zone and when deportation began in both zones in 1942, France was the only country allowed to have local police control the deportation of Jews. In 1942 over 42,000 Jews in the Vichy government were deported to the Drancy camp, near Paris. Initially Vichy leaders agreed to only allow the deportation of foreign Jews but they turned their heads when native Jews were deported as well. In 1944 deportations increased with the help of the *milice*, French-Jew hunters. Altogether of the 150,000 Jews living in the Vichy government, 75,000 to 78,000 Jews were deported to concentration camps and an uncounted number died from hardship (Encyclopedia Judaica 1971 and Gartner 2001).

The French possessions in North Africa were a distinct category from the occupied and unoccupied zones of France. French citizenship, which had been given to North African Jews in the 1870s, was revoked under the anti-Semitic Vichy government. When North Africa was invaded by the Allies in 1942-3, liberation was postponed by the American Ambassador, Robert

Murphy. Murphy felt that it was a military necessity to allow the Vichy government to continue in office with all laws in effect. It would take a full year and a vigorous campaign by American Jewry to restore French citizenship to North African Jewry. Unlike North Africa, when France was liberated in August 1944 and General Charles de Gaulle assumed power, the Vichy regime and all its laws were immediately abolished. Despite the liberation of Algeria and Morocco, Germans retained power over Tunisia for an additional seven months. During this brief period, 5,000 of the 60,000 Tunisian Jews were conscripted for hard labor and worked under brutal conditions until they too were liberated. Since time was too short for the "final solution" to be carried out, those Tunisian Jews were worked to death (Gartner 2001).

The Resistance

French and immigrant Jews, who were not unified before the War, were brought together not only by anti-Semitic policy but through the *Résistance*. French and foreigners, both Jews and non-Jews, participated in a variety of underground and overlapping networks. Jewish resistance was not limited to one nationality or political affiliation. It not only fought to protect Jews but to take its place within the larger Resistance so that the rights of Jews would ultimately be restored. In 1941, a Jewish Army was created by a group of young Zionists living in the unoccupied South. It is one example of many different groups that was created during World War II. It helped to create underground networks from France to Spain and Switzerland, gave financial and military support to other underground organizations and collaborated locally with different resistance groups. The tensions that existed between French and foreign Jews before the Holocaust were put aside as large numbers of men and women came together to support the Resistance. The creation of the Jewish Resistance allowed the Jews of France in large part to escape many of the horrors experienced elsewhere. In the end 90,000 Jews, one quarter of

France's Jewish population was lost during the Holocaust (Benbassa 1999 and Encyclopedia Judaica 1971).

PART II: CONTEMPORARY STRUGGLES OF FRENCH JEWRY

As the history of France during World War II is read, it is difficult to identify how exactly the Jews of France were protected by the French government. On July 16th, 1995, the 53rd anniversary of the Vel' d'hiv roundup, President Jacques Chirac refused to endorse the difference between the unoccupied and occupied zones of France during World War II. He stated, " France, birthplace of the Enlightenment and of the Rights of Man, land of welcome and of refuge . . one that day [July 16th 1942] did something that cannot be undone. Breaking its word, it delivered those under its protection to their executioners (Benbassa 1999)." He went on to describe the necessity of "recognizing the wrongs of the past and the wrongs committed by the state. Unquestionably, mistakes were made; wrongs were done; the blame falls on all (Benbassa 1999).

In light of the changes France has seen since its liberation in 1944, Chirac's words resonate today more than ever. Amidst the great attention paid by American media on the upsurge of anti-Semitic acts taking place, Chirac has not been described as taking the same sort of governmental responsibility. Although many things are different, certain fundamental aspects of daily life are reminiscent of those pre-World War II years. Once again French Jewry is well assimilated and a new Jewish immigrant group has come in large numbers. Unlike the Eastern European immigrants of the early 20th century, the immigrants who arrived from North Africa were already French citizens when they arrived. The face of anti-Semitism has also changed and as the current life of French Jewry is explored, the lesson learned during the Dreyfus affair is raised again: can any amount of assimilation truly protect France's Jews from anti-Semitism.

The Development of Organized Jewish Life in France after World War II

Upon returning to Paris a few months after its liberation, a well known Jewish communal leader wrote "We do not know yet on whom we can rely to take [French Jewry's] destiny in hand

and to extract it from the abyss into which Hitler has plunged it (Mandel 2002)." French Jews returned to their homes to find that most of their community had survived. Despite the collaboration of the Vichy Government which deported 76,000 Jews and other Jews lost in deportation, internment camps, combat or execution, two thirds of the population, approximately 250,000 Jews, survived as did much of the pre-war institutional framework (Benbassa 1999 and Mandel 2002).

Very few Jews showed interest in making Aliyah to Palestine or leaving for the Americas. French Jews believed that the end of German occupation would lead to a return to pre-1940 France, including restitution of their homes. They had urgent need of institutional, economic and demographic recovery. Work, housings, and funds needed to be arranged; Jewish children who had been sent to non-Jewish households had to be reunited with their families; and, survivors needed to be reunited and reintegrated in French society and the economy. The surviving leadership took it upon themselves to rebuild Jewish communal life but was hindered by the fact that they too were scattered after the war. It would be the underground that provided the impetus for reunification. Within a year, Jewish institutional life was operational and nearly 200 organizations in Paris alone had emerged (Mandel 2002).

In 1944, the Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France (CRIF) unified Jews living in France, despite ideological differences and whether or not they were French citizens. It considered itself "solely qualified to be the spokesman of Judaism in France before the authorities and public opinion as well as before the Jewish organizations of other countries and before international authorities (Benbassa 1999)." Its mission was bringing about the "creation of constitutional guarantees against any attack on the principles of equality of race and religion; recognition of the equality of Jews with their fellow citizens; [and] restitution of the civil, political and economic rights and nationality of the Jews through repeal of all emergency laws

(Benbassa 1999)." Additionally, they called for reparation of moral and material damages, supported the annulment of the White Paper of 1939 and for freedom of Jewish immigration and colonization in Palestine. They were not oblivious to the animosity between Jews and Arabs of the region and worked on behalf of understanding between these two groups. National identity changed in the aftermath of World War II and the community transitions from being Jewish Frenchmen (*Français Israélite*) to French Jews (*Juif Français*) (Benbassa 1999).

Despite the commitment exemplified by the leaders of French Jewry, the Jewish community lacked the necessary funds and resources to help returning Jews. They were forced to turn to Diaspora organizations, particularly those in the United States and Britain which had not been touched by the war. After the war the Comité Juif d'Action Social et de Reconstruction (COJASOR), the social arm of the CRI, collaborated with the American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC) to provide financial assistance to displaced persons. The AJDC assisted in studying the needs of French Jewry and worked with French Jewish agencies on community planning and job coordination. In their efforts, the AJDC attempted to restructure Jewish communal life around new institutions that reflected their own belief: Political, religious and economic differences among Jews should be included in an integrated social, cultural and educational framework. New agencies began to emerge to meet the needs of the Jewish community in France. Agencies such as the Œvre de Secours à l'Enfance which aimed to locate missing children and reunite them with their families were established to deal with the pressing issue of recreating a unified Jewish community. Agencies that existed prior to 1939 like the Fédération des Sociétés Juives de France also resumed their work and added to their mission the support of a creation of a Jewish state in Palestine (Benbassa 1999 and Mandel 2002).

The Changing Face of French Jewry

In the decades preceding World War II, a large number of Eastern European Jews had already begun to immigrate to France and Paris in particular. The image of liberty, equality and fraternity that was espoused during the French Revolution of 1789 enticed them to come (Green 2000). Survivors of the Holocaust had returned home traumatized by their experiences. The demoralization of the Holocaust was exacerbated by the fact that it had occurred in the land where Jewish emancipation had first begun. Jews hoped to conceal their past in an effort to reintegrate in French society. Between 1947 and 1950 2,150 assimilated French Jews changed their names to more Gallicized names and the number of secular and interfaith marriages multiplied. At the same time as assimilated French Jews were leaving the Jewish community, traditional Judaism had a renaissance particularly among the younger generations. Jewish schools and universities began to emerge including the Colloque des Intellectuels Juifs de Langue Français which was under the auspices of the World Jewish Congress. Radio broadcasts and publications became more visible and French Jews were becoming increasingly assertive particularly due to the new face of French Jewry that began to emerge (Benbassa 1999 and Gartner 2001).

During the late 1950s and 1960s thousands of Jews immigrated to France. Egyptian Jews who had been expelled with thousands of other French citizens from former North African dependencies came to France and by 1980 there were 700,000 Jews, the large majority Sephardic and oriental. Despite a policy aimed to prohibit immigration to Paris, thousands moved there. These Jews immigrating from Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco were comprised of many professionals but were mostly proletariat. The new French Jewry created new synagogues and community centers as well as repopulating older communities in the traditional Jewish neighborhoods of Paris: Belleville, the Marais and Sentier. The influx of Jews from the Maghreb

took their place within the existing Jewish community and redefined it to include: greater religiosity, a new visualization of Judaism that was all encompassing and whose practice was not confined to the private sphere alone, it affected every aspect of social life. They stood in contrast to their native counterparts who viewed a more assimilated perception of French Jewry. The integration of North African Jewry revolutionized the French Jewish community. Official Judaism broke its previous policy of reserve and began a display of collective political and religious visibility in urban neighborhoods with new restaurants, snack bars, kosher butcher shops and kosher sections in supermarkets (Benbassa 1999 and Gartner 2001).

By the late 1980s Jewish life in France resembled greatly the life of American Jews. Judaism was "à la carte" and the majority of French Jews became more assimilated into French culture and less affiliated with the Jewish community. Despite the presence of over 3,000 synagogues, community centers, study groups, political and cultural movements, French Jews had moved away from organized communal life. These communal institutions did not have great influence on the values or norms of how Jews defined themselves. French Jewry gave varied reasons as to why they did not participate in organized Jewish life: 51% of those interviewed stated it was because of the community's insularity; 54% felt it was too concerned with religion; 19% felt it was too oriented toward Israel; 35% because it was not sufficiently democratic; 52% felt that Jews were interested in other more important things; and 49% said it was due to assimilation. Despite these statistics, 63% of the Jewish population considered it important to have their children enrolled in some form of Jewish Education. It is estimated that by the late 1980s, over 16,000 children were going to Jewish schools and 10,000 to *Talmud torahs* for religious instruction; another 6,000 belonged to Jewish youth groups; and 13,000 attended Jewish summer camps. By 1986 Paris was estimated to have the majority of the over 88 Jewish schools in the country. Jewish scholarship increased in the university and informal education

system; additional publications, radio stations and programs began to emerge and Judaism itself began to diversify as three Reform synagogues emerged in Paris between 1975 and 1995 (Benbassa 1999).

Problems Facing French Jewry in the 21st Century

Since 2001 a shift has taken place in the way World Jewry is viewing anti-semitism. A poll showed that since 9/11, 26% of French Jews are considering leaving the country due to the increasing religious attacks (Zaslow 2003). There has been an upsurge in media attention towards this rise of anti-semitism and any potentially anti-semitic acts. This upsurge leads Jews around the world to question, in the words of the Wall Street Journal: Are they assimilated . . . or just kidding themselves (Zaslow 2003)?

In interviews conducted with several French Jews currently living in Paris, the root of any anti-semitic acts lay at the footsteps of one issue: Israel. Whether it is out of true or misconstrued allegiance to Israel, those interviewed were united in their view that the rise of anti-semitism in France was more reminiscent of the ongoing fighting between Jews and Arabs in Israel than 1930s France:

> The timing and nature of the attacks on European Jews, whether physical or verbal, have all revolved around Israel, and the anti-Semitic wave itself, which began soon after the Palestinians launched their terrorist campaign against the Jewish state in September 2000, reached a peak (so far) when Israel initiated Operation Defensive Shield at the end of March 2002, a month in which 125 Israelis had been killed by terrorists (Sharansky 2003).

With 600,000 Jews living in France it is the world's largest Jewish population other than Israel or the United States. However it is outnumbered over 10 times by France's Arab-Muslim population. France's Arab population is the largest in Europe and is fairly homogeneous: Arab immigrants are mostly characterized as being young, poor, and unemployed (Sciolino 2003).

According to the American media, the frequency of swastikas, slogans and physical assaults again French Jewry is reminiscent of the 1930s and the rise of Fascism. However unlike the right wing influences of the 1930s, the resurgence of anti-Semitism has been identified as coming from these Arab and North-African immigrants, encouraged by the left wing. The intensification of Israeli-Palestinian fighting over the past three years has translated itself to France and other countries more sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. As a local Parisian woman commented, "since the intifada began in 2000, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been imported here (Smith 2003)."

France in the 21st century has become synonymous with blatant anti-Semitism and anti-Israel sentiment. However the attitude of many French intellectuals is that today's anti-Semitism is not as simple as it is made out to be in both the American and Israeli media. Alain Finkelstein, a philosopher and one of the best known modern intellectuals in France, stated in a 2003 interview:

> It is the self-righteousness of the hostility they express toward Israel that worries me. Indeed, there is an increasing number of people who now say explicitly, or in an uncertain, searching fashion, that Israel is 'a pain in the ass' and the world would be safer and more just place for mankind if it did not exist (Simon 2003).

Even with his left wing political background, Finkielkraut's views represent a more moderate picture of French anti-Semitism. Although he criticizes those demonstrators who equate Bush and Sharon to Hussein, and even Hitler, he also identifies that French Jewry helped to contribute towards continued anti-Semitism. He identifies two sources of concern regarding the current struggles between France's Jews and Muslims: 1) the alienation of French Muslims from French society and values; and 2) French Jews who identify themselves more with Israel than with France. The current inclination of many young French Jews to turn away from non-Jewish

friends and act as "surrogate" Israelis is a sensitive topic among Jewish intellectuals. Although it is appreciated that these well integrated French Jews are "rediscovering" their Jewish roots, it is viewed as a response to Arab militancy. Consequently they are seen as having decreased identification as French citizens and have isolated themselves from French society (Simon 2003).

What appears to be the greatest threat to French Jewry is the poverty of France's Muslim population. Francophobia, or hatred of the French, is said to be the result of poor integration of the nation's Muslim immigrants. Many of the predominantly Muslim neighborhoods are run down and dark and on the impoverished outskirts of major cities. French authorities seldom regulate the soaring delinquency and their infrequent presence usually results in street confrontations. Unemployment is significant and the neighborhoods are at the mercy of teenage street gangs. The resentment towards France stems from the fact that these immigrants were invited by the French industry back in the 1960s. Many of the younger, French-born children of these immigrants feel their parents were exploited and racism prevents them from upward social mobility. Jews and France are described as being "in the same boat – hated by the [Arab immigrants] who hate the Jews because of Israel and hate France because of its colonial past (Simon 2003)."

Government Attempts to Regulate Anti-Semitism

The perception of France as being anti-Israel has been shown to be false by polls of the French public. These polls have shown a continued support for Israel and no mass movement of sympathy for Palestinians mostly due to the increasing disturbances by French Muslims (Simon 2003). Responding to growing criticism, French government under the leadership of President Chirac has begun to respond more to the threat of anti-Semitism. Initial responses from French government tended to consist of "a Gallic shrug, as if to ask, What can you expect from poor Arabs when they watch brutal scenes of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on television (NY Times

1/16/03)?" Following a fire in an Orthodox elementary school in November of 2003, Chirac stated that "an attack on a Jew is an attack against France (Scioliono 2003)." Taking action locally and nationally, measures have been taken to decrease the number of reported anti-Semitic events and to prevent them through education. Since 2002, the Interior Ministry reports that physical and verbal attacks against Jews have plummeted significantly (NY Times 1/16/03 and Sciolino 2003).

Perhaps the area where the greatest amount of initiative has been taken to battle anti-Semitism is in the French school system. It is within the school system that anti-Semitism has been seen the most. Teachers have been challenged by their students who rebel at any mention of the Holocaust, the Dreyfus affair, and even stories of the ancient Hebrews which are included in state curriculum (Simon 2003). With words such as *Juif* and *Mazel Tov* being used as derogatory terms and increasing physical acts of aggression, schools have begun to identify their inability to appropriately protect their Jewish students (NY Times 3/22/03). Under the guidance of Education Minister Luc Ferry, a $7 billion program has been established to improve ghetto schools which primarily consist of Arab students and teach tolerance. The program consists of ten separate measures which include the creation of a monitoring committee in Paris, the creation of a mediation team for extreme cases of anti-Semitism, and the publication of a booklet to be distributed around schools (CNN 11/18/03 and NY Times 3/22/03).

Other measures that have been taken by French government include the adoption of a "scarf ban." French government took its first step in January of 2004 to legally ban the Muslim head scarf from public schools. This measure has been met with great protest both in France and abroad, being called discriminatory. The bill, which contains three articles, would ban any conspicuous religious symbol from public schools including, Islamic head scarves, *keepahs*, and large Christian crosses. Chirac has clearly stated though that the ban is intended primarily at

Muslim head coverings and would not apply to students in private schools or in French schools abroad. A number of protests have already taken place in Paris and throughout the Muslim world objecting to the scarf ban and there is great fear of reprisal from Europe's large Islamic community. There is also concern that the scarf ban may also result in further acts of anti-Semitism (CNN 1/29/04).

Although many of France's 600,000 Jews continue to be nervous and skeptical about the governmental measures taken over the past year alone, many Jews place great trust in the government's intentions. Theo Klein, former head and representative of the Council of the Jewish Institutions of France (CRIF), has urged France's Jews not to be overwhelmed by fear and emotion. "The Jews are fully integrated in French society . . . They should reaffirm their rights as French citizens and not set themselves up as separate (NY Times 12/3/03). He has also criticized government's decision to define acts as anti-Semitic without conclusive evidence. Klein and Finkielkraut are joined by other active communal members who fear Jewish reaction may give way to more problems. Olivier Nora, publisher of the Editions Grasset et Fasquelle, noted, "The tradition in the French Jewish community is to feel French first and Jewish second, but there is more and more pressure to define yourself and to take a position on Israel's policies. You're either in or you're out (NY Times 12/3/03)."

PART III: THE JEWISH QUESTION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

When looking throughout France's history, the Jewish question has taken many forms. Today the question seems more complex because in the post-Holocaust era, the threat of anti-Semitism is not supposed to exist. George Orwell observed in 1944, "However true the scapegoat theory may be in general terms, it does not explain why the Jews rather than some other minority group are picked on, nor does it make clear what they are the scapegoat for (Sharansky 2003)." The fear of anti-Semitism has not dissipated despite the increase in tolerance and assimilation experienced by Jews in many parts of the world since the Holocaust.

Where as in the past anti-Semitism prevented the assimilation and emancipation of Jews, today many community members feel Jews are responsible for their continued isolation. Since 2000 increasing numbers of French Jews have immigrated to Israel but most French Jews have remained. It seems paradoxical that in conditions that are "reminiscent" of 1930s French Jews would choose to remain in such seemingly hostile environment. However many French Jews who were already uprooted once after leaving North Africa do not want to make the move again; others also realized that the social advancement achieved in France, with its population of 60 million, would be more difficult in Israel (Simon 2003).

Implications for American Jewry

American Jewry has taken great interest in France's struggles with anti-Semitism. American Jews are at times critiqued for their over exaggeration of the French government's responses, or lack there of. In an interview with David Grausz, an American ex-patriot living in Paris, when asked about the strong opinions being voiced by American Jewry, he stated, "concerns are warranted, opinions not as much (2/16/04)." His comments were echoed in the comments of other French Jews interviewed who felt that while the acts of anti-Semitism are

alarming, American Jewry's stance against France is extreme. Karen Ben-Simon, another Parisian Jew, put into perspective the issue of French Jewry's ability to protect itself, she stated:

> Americans are right to feel worried about French Jews. Even we fear for our safety, especially in light of the increasing Muslim population of this country, who are arrogant and want to take over even the most basic rights of our Republic. But the government is taking steps. At the same time our generation is very well informed of what goes on . . . Because we are here daily, we know what is being done or not done by the authorities to counteract the violence against Jews. And we act when needed (2/20/04).

According to many French Jews living in Paris and other intellectuals interviewed in national periodicals, the plight of French Jewry is not as helpless as American Jewry believes. The old adage learned during the Dreyfus affair that no amount of assimilation can protect Jews from anti-Semitism seems to be on most people's lips; however it seems equally clear that unlike the Jews and the government of earlier times, both groups are taking action to assure the continued safety of France's Jews.

This calls further into question why American Jews have reacted so fervently to the troubles of French Jewry. In the 2002 Pew Research Center polls taken in the United States, 74% of Americans have stated they have a "favorable" opinion of Jews. This is down from 82% in 1997 (Zaslow 2003). It is suggested that this drop is intensified by increasing anti-Americanism in both the Islamic and European worlds. In his commentary, "On Hating Jews," Natan Sharansky, an Israeli Government official, minister for Jerusalem and Diaspora Affairs, writes about the parallels between anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism. According to Sharansky, like Israel, but more powerfully demonstrated by the United States, American democracy embodies a different, non-conforming idea of good. The upholding of morality and liberty is identified as being threatening as is the United States' commitment to ensuring that same right throughout the world. Sharansky continues to identify Jews as sharing something with

the United States, specifically, their role as being "the Chosen People" and "a light unto the nations" (Sharansky 2003). In light of Sharansky's views, it seems that American Jewry's reaction to acts of anti-Semitism is as much about the fear of anti-Americanism as it is the perceived threat on world Jewry.

For American Jewry, it appears that the implications of anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism are as threatening as the actual anti-Semitic acts. While American Jews have become accustomed to acts of terror in Israel and anti-Semitism in Germany of the 1930s and 1940s, seeing them in France has an added meaning. Perhaps it is because France is historically America's ally and was also the home for movements of enlightenment and emancipation that makes it so threatening. It would seem that American Jewry's concerns and opinions reflect their own fear that even in the United States Jewish assimilation is more a perception than a reality.

Re-Discovering Paris

Given the current political situation and negative media attention, the importance of understanding the role France plays in the history of the Jewish people is overlooked. What makes France so powerful specifically for American Jewry is how intertwined their histories have become. It is now more than ever that American Jewry should understand the history of French Jews and modern daily life. If not to enable understanding of modern anti-Semitism, then to understand how despite assimilation and a government that encourages freedom of religion and culture, Jews are still at the mercy of Judeophobia that has been created over the centuries.

Paris provides the perfect visual case study of the history of French Jews. Through the historic Jewish neighborhoods and the established Jewish community, the development of Jews as a powerless and impoverished minority to a vibrant, successful community can be seen. The story of the nation's Jews can also be seen through the tensions in the streets particularly in the

"Arab" neighborhoods. Paris details not only the story of France's Jews but the struggle and conflict facing Jews in Israel as well. As Americans it is important to see how unified world Jewry truly is. It is not only in Europe and the Middle East that Jews are in conflict but throughout the world.

Paris

Paris has been inhabited for over 2,000 years. The first initial settlement took place in the center of modern day Paris where the cathedral, Notre Dame, currently stands. In the 4th century it was conquered by the Romans who named it Lutetia Parisiorum, after the Parisi, the Gallic tribe who had lived in the swampland surrounding the Ile de la Cité. Jews are estimated to have lived in this region from this time, possibly earlier. Although Jews made enormous contribution to the city, very little physical evidence of it remains. While many architectural and structural sights were destroyed during the Holocaust, many buildings were lost during the mid 19th century. Under the direction of Baron Haussman, many of the medieval remnants of Paris were destroyed and rebuilt at the request of Napoleon III. Baron Haussman was responsible for the architecture that has made Paris famous today (Kamins 2001 and Tillier 1993).

Notre Dame De Paris and the Memorial to the Unknown Deportee

Despite the lack of specifically Jewish architecture, one does not have to go far to find evidence of Paris' Jewish history. Notre Dame de Paris is without question France's most famous cathedral. Immortalized both in history and literature, the cathedral has specific interest for Jews. In the front of the cathedral, two distinct figures are visible on either side of the front portal. Ecclesia, a beautiful woman wearing a crown, stands on the left representing Christianity. Synagoga, a woman blindfolded by a serpent around her eyes, stands on the right representing Judaism. The two statues are meant to represent the theological conflict between the two religions.

Also of interest is the current Archbishop of Paris, Jean-Marie Lustiger. Lustiger was born Aaron Lustiger, a Jew. As a small child during World War II, he was sent to a convent for safe keeping by his parents. Sadly his parents were murdered in Auschwitz. Aaron converted to Catholicism and adopted the name Jean-Marie.

Located behind Notre Dame is La Place de l'Ile de France. On the right side of the square is the Memorial to the Unknown Deportee, one of the city's memorials to the victims of the Holocaust. Inside, the names of the German death camps are written and above the door "Forgive, but do not forget" is quoted.

Ile de la Cité and Les Hâlles

The Ile de la Cité adjoins the small island where Notre Dame de Paris is located. Before it became one of the most expensive places to live in the city, it was home to a large Jewish community. Until the 12th century, the rue de la Cité was known as rue de la Juiverie (street of the Jews). In 1182, King Phillippe-Auguste confiscated all Jewish property and possessions to raise money for the construction of the old central market at Les Hâlles. He tore down the synagogue that was located near Place Louis Lepine and quickly replaced it with a church (Kamins 2001).

Place de l'Hôtel de Ville

In 1240, the infamous trial of the Talmud was held in La Place de Grève, now La Place de l'Hôtel de Ville (City Hall). Nicolas Donin, a Jew who converted to Catholicism and became a priest, began a large religious debate between Paris' Jewish and Catholic religious leaders. Members of the Jewish community were forced to defend Judaism and its texts against Donin and other priests. At the end of the trial in 1242, hundreds of Jewish books were burned (Kamins 2001).

The Marais

The Marais (the Marsh) has been home to a large portion of Paris' Jewish community since the 13th century. Originally called La Juiverie (The Jewry), la Rue des Rosiers, is the center of the Jewish neighborhood. The Marais boasts several synagogues, Jewish cemeteries and kosher restaurants. It also has maintained many of the street names from the medieval period (Tillier 1993).

Agudath Hakehilot, an orthodox synagogue is located at 10 rue Pavée. The building was designed by Hector Guimard, and art Nouveau architect and decorator who was famous for the archways he created for the Paris metro. Guimard and his wife, an American Jew, fled France for the United States in the early 1930s. On Yom Kippur 1940 the structure was destroyed by the Germans but it has been restored and is now a national monument (Kamins 2001).

Another sight of interest is the Jewish Boys School located at 6 Rue des Hospitalieres St. Gervais. A plaque on the wall commemorates the 165 students who were sent to the Drancy internment camp and Auschwitz where they were murdered. Throughout the Marais is other evidence of Jewish life. The rue des Ecouffes or the street of kites has maintained its name since the Middle Ages. At that time a kite, the bird of prey, was synonymous with pawn brokers. There also is the 16th century Hôtel des Juifs (Hall of the Jews), located at 20 rue Ferdinand Duval. It is one of the few remnants of Paris' German Jewish community (Kamins 2001).

École Militare

École Militaire, the royal military academy, was built by Louis XV in 1751. In addition to the role it has played in French history, it has also hosted one of the most notorious incidents in French-Jewish history: the Dreyfus Affair. It was in the courtyard on January 5th, 1895, that Captain Alfred Dreyfus was publicly stripped of his rank and uniform as onlookers shouted "mort aux Juifs" (death to the Jews). Dreyfus' grave can be found in the Montparnasse

Cemetary located in the 15th arrondissement. Coincidentally, École Militaire is also the location where Chaim Bar Lev and Moshe Dayan were trained (Kamins 2001 and Tillier 1993).

Place des Martyrs Juifs du Vélodrome d'Hiver

Not far from École Militaire is the Place des Martyrs Juifs du Vélodrome d'Hiver, the Place of Jewish Martyrs of the Winter Velodrome. The Vél d'Hiv, a large indoor stadium used for bicycle races, concerts, boxing matches and other events, was located nearby on the rue Nélaton. On the morning of July 16th, 1942, over 13,000 Jewish men, women and children were arrested by the French police and held in the Velodrome for several days. They were kept under horrendous conditions until they were shipped to the Drancy transit camp and eventually Auschwitz (Kamins 2003).

Modern Day Paris

Today Paris' Jewish community is dispersed throughout the city. Although the Marais and Belleville, located in the 10th arrondissement is considered two of the larger Jewish neighborhoods, Parisian Jews are no longer isolated in particular sections of the city. Like the United States, Jewish families can be found in both the wealthiest and most impoverished neighborhoods. It is in the impoverished areas and the nearby outskirts of the city where Arab-Jewish conflict is felt the most. Paris' Arab community is mostly seen in the outskirts and in the 18th, 19th, and 20th arrondissements located in the north.

It is in the primarily Arab neighborhoods where the greatest tension and anti-Semitism is felt. However it is also in the Arab neighborhoods where their struggle is the most evident. These neighborhoods are older and run-down presenting a very different image of Paris. Poverty and crime are rated more highly in these neighborhoods as well. These factors help to create the environment that has fostered Arab discontent. Whether the neighborhood is the cause or merely exacerbates existing tensions, Paris provides a picture of modern anti-Semitism and civil

discontent. In viewing how the Jewish and Arab communities have developed in Paris, it is easier to understand the communities' ongoing tension.

CONCLUSION

The history and development of anti-Semitism in France presents a challenge to American Jewry. Unlike other nations which are more dissimilar in political ideals, the history of France's Jews presents a picture of how anti-Semitism has developed in the United States as well. The rise of anti-Semitism since the beginning of the intifada in 2000 has further exacerbated fears of anti-Americanism throughout Europe. While many Americans sit back questioning "Why do they hate us?" the answer in part lies in part with the question "Why the Jews?" Whether French Jews truly are assimilated or not is only a part of the Jewish question. No matter how much anti-Semitism is studied and the events of the Holocaust and the Dreyfus affair are recounted, there continues to be an inability to understand the basic reason of why Jews have been so reviled. Although studying the growth of anti-Semitism in France cannot answer all of these questions, it helps clarify one point: Assimilation is not necessarily the anecdote for anti-Semitism.

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