2

Themes of Anti-Semitism

THE PERVASIVENESS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

> Let us go and make a covenant with the nations that are round about us; for since we separated ourselves from them many evils have come upon us. (Program of the failed assimilationist movement in pre-Hasmonean times: I Macc. 1:11)

> Whenever the quantity of Jews in any country reaches the saturation point, that country reacts against them. . . . [This] reaction . . . cannot be looked upon as anti-Semitism in the ordinary or vulgar sense of that word; it is a universal social and economic concomitant of Jewish immigration and we cannot shake it off. (Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, 1949, 90)

> [Anti-Semitism] has demonstrated a remarkable ability to persist, to revive time and again through the ages. . . . (Albert S. Lindemann, *The Jew Accused*, 1991, 280)

> The roots of antisemitism are universal in character and as incomprehensible as they are deeply ingrained. (Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 1965, 15)

> Ultimately . . . the suffering of no other nation can compare with the uniqueness of the Jewish experience, and not just in the Nazi period. This is true not simply because of the amount of suffering entailed, but also because of its frightening recurrence over time, which lends it the character of utter inescapability. (Jacob Katz, "Misreadings of Anti-Semitism," 1983, 44)

In 1936 Chaim Weizmann observed that "the world seems to be divided into two parts—those places where the Jew cannot live, and those where they cannot

enter" (in Abella & Troper 1981, 51). Weizmann's comment illustrates a re-markable aspect of the Holocaust and the years leading up to it: the pervasive-ness of anti-Semitism throughout Europe, North America, North Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America (e.g., the role of Cuba in the *Saint Louis* inci-dent) was an important contributing factor in condemning Jews to Nazi geno-cide (Breitman & Kraut 1987). Public condemnations of Nazi atrocities were perceived by many experts as carrying serious political and military liabilities not only in Germany but also in the occupied areas (where collaboration with the Nazis in their efforts to eradicate Jews was common), as well as among neutral nations and the Western allies. Anti-Semitism in America was "virulent and pervasive" (Breitman & Kraut 1987, 80) during this period and was an important factor in severely limiting Jewish immigration prior to and during the war. The same can be said for Canada, as recounted by Abella and Troper (1982) in their book *None Is Too Many*—the title coming from a statement of a senior Canadian immigration official that aptly summed up Canadian policy. The Nazis exploited this very widespread anti-Semitism in their propaganda, e.g., by informing the Muslims in North Africa of plans to settle Jewish refugees there, and by insisting that any deal for allowing Jewish children to leave the German sphere of influence require them to go to England, not Palestine, and that the deal be approved publicly by a resolution of the House of Commons. Jewish pressure groups acknowledged the role of anti-Semitism in motivating the rejection of Jews by, for example, couching pro-refugee advertising in universalist terms and not mentioning that the refugees would be Jews.

These incidents are rather remarkable examples of the pervasiveness of anti-Semitism. The social identity theory of anti-Semitism is highly compatible with supposing that anti-Semitism will be a very common characteristic of human societies, for the following reasons: (1) Jewish cultural separatism results in both Jews and gentiles developing stereotypically negative attitudes toward outgroup members and the culture of the outgroup; (2) resource and reproduc-tive competition between groups has been a common component of Jew-ish/gentile relationships; (3) because of Jewish within-group cooperation and altruism, as well as eugenic and cultural practices tending to result in high levels of intelligence and resource acquisition abilities among Jews, Jews are highly adept in resource competition with gentiles (*PTSDA*, Ch. 5). Also, they are adept at other activities, such as influencing culture, developing political and intellectual movements, and advocating specific policies, such as immigration policy, that result in conflicts of interest with segments of the gentile population.

This view of anti-Semitism runs contrary to an important strand of Jewish historiography and apologetics that attempts to show that anti-Semitism is a peculiarly Western phenomenon; or that it results from certain unique and unfortunate aspects of Christian religious ideology; or that it results from the peculiar social class profile of Jews in capitalist societies; or even that it results from pathological parent-child relations and sexual repressions. On the contrary, there is evidence for anti-Semitism in a very wide range of both Western and

non-Western societies, in Christian and non-Christian societies, and in pre-capitalist, capitalist, and socialist societies. It has occurred even in the most cohesive and well-functioning families.

The priestly redactors of the Pentateuch were well aware that anti-Semitism would be a pervasive feature of the Jewish diaspora:

And the Lord shall scatter thee among all peoples, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth. . . . And among these nations shalt thou have no repose, and there shall be no rest for the sole of thy foot; but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and languishing of soul. And thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear night and day, and shalt have no assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say: "Would it were even!" and at even thou shalt say: "Would it were morning!" (Deut. 28:64–67)

The servant passages from Deutero-Isaiah have always been interpreted by Jews as the suffering expected to be the fate of Jews in exile (Neusner 1965, 27): "He was despised and rejected by men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hide their faces he was despised, and we esteemed him not" (Isa. 53:3). Indeed, Peli (1991, 110), in discussing Midrashic perceptions of anti-Semitism throughout the ages, notes that "they treat Judeo-phobia as an inevitable reality that Jews have to learn to live with without giving up in despair on the one hand, or trying in vain to 'correct' its causes on the other."

Independent of their historicity, the events of the Book of Exodus show a strong consciousness by the priestly redactors of the Pentateuch that a numerous and powerful sojourning group provokes hostility and concerns about loyalty. The Israelites "were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them" (Exod. 1:7). The Pharaoh then states, "Behold, the people of the children of Israel are too mighty for us; come, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there befalleth us any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them up out of the land" (Exod. 1:9–10). The result is a series of measures designed to reduce the population of Israelites in Egypt, including servitude and infanticide for all male children. Cultural separatism results in anti-Jewish behavior in the books of Esther and Daniel, but eventually God rewards steadfast Jews by taking his vengeance on their enemies or providing the Jews with great material success.

Beginning in the 5th century B.C. at the Elephantine colony in Egypt, there are many instances where popular anti-Semitism occurred when Jews were intermediaries between alien ruling elites and subject populations in the Seleudic, Ptolemaic, and Persian empires (Bickerman 1988). Changes in the political fortunes of the alien overlords often resulted, as at Cyrene in 87 B.C., in anti-Jewish violence.

Official persecutions of diaspora Jews were rare during the pre-Christian Roman Empire, but there is considerable evidence for anti-Semitism both in the

writings of intellectuals and in the deeds of the citizenry. Popular animosity was particularly evident in Egypt, and most especially in Alexandria, where Josephus (*The Wars of the Jews*, 2:487) noted "constant conflict" between Jews and gentiles from the time of Alexander the Great (4th century B.C.). Tensions intensified in the second half of the 2nd century B.C., presumably reflecting a larger Jewish population, and finally reached a plateau in the first century B.C (Gabba 1989, 636). Sevenster (1975, 169) notes that "one gets the impression that often only the slightest provocation was needed to discharge an ever-present, latent tension."

Generally the Roman government protected the Jews from repeated upsurges of popular hostility throughout the empire (Schürer 1986, 132). However, during the Jewish rebellion of A.D. 66–70, government controls on anti-Jewish behavior lapsed temporarily; there were spontaneous slaughters of Jews in several parts of Syria and Palestine, including twenty thousand Jews killed by non-Jewish citizens in Caesarea. In Alexandria a riot provoked by anti-Semites resulted in fifty thousand Jewish dead (Feldman 1993, 118). After the rebellion, the citizens of Antioch were denied repeated requests to expel the Jews, and the citizens of Alexandria were denied their request to deprive Jews of their citizenship rights. Finally, there is evidence that popular, intellectual, institutional, and government-sponsored anti-Semitism increased dramatically beginning in the 4th century (see Chapter 3).

Anti-Semitism has also occurred in non-Western societies. Regarding ancient Persia, Baron (1952 II, 176; see also Johnson 1988, 163) notes that "on the whole, Jews were more favorable to Persia than to Rome [during the Roman-Persian wars]. . . . There were not lacking, however, moments in which, suffering desperately from Persian outrages, they sought the victory of Rome." (The comment also reflects an aspect of the disloyalty theme to be discussed below.) Grant (1973, 288) notes that after a period of tolerance in the early 5th century A.D., the succeeding Persian kings were "very hostile" to the Jews, resulting in large-scale emigration and temporary closing of the Jewish academies.

There were repeated instances of anti-Jewish attitudes and actions in Muslim societies from the time of Mohammed up to the modern era. Jews were an officially sanctioned *dhimmi*, which could live among Muslims but in a humiliated and subservient status—"never anything but second-class citizens in the Islamic social system" (Bosworth 1982, 49). "The Qur'anic words *dhull* and *dhilla*, meaning lowliness, abasement, abjectness, are often used by Muslim writers to denote the humility that was felt to be appropriate for the non-Muslim and more especially the Jewish subjects of the state" (Lewis 1984, 32). Jews were subjected to pogroms and riots, unpunished violence at the hands of individuals, sumptuary laws, corvee labor, wearing of distinguishing garments, compulsory ghettoization, walking barefoot in imperial cities, confiscatory taxes, laws restricting the size of Jewish houses and synagogues, curfews, signs of submission when near mosques, and attitudes of "an omnipresent air of hostility toward the 'infidels' " (Stillman 1979, 73). There were also several

examples of "highly ritualized degradation of the Jews" (Stillman 1979, 84).[1] In general, the low point was reached in the period from the mid-18th century to the end of the 19th century, when there was the "unmistakable picture of grinding poverty, ignorance, and insecurity" (Lewis 1984, 164).[2] During this period, there were a number of expulsions and massacres of Jews throughout the Arab world.

Significantly, Lewis (1984, 33) characterizes the Muslim attitude toward Jews as one of contempt, rather than hatred, fear, or envy, presumably because the Muslim anti-Jewish customs generally prevented Jews from attaining a position that would result in envy, fear, or hatred. Violence against Jews occurred when Jews were "acting above themselves" (p. 53), indicating that contempt turned rather quickly to hatred if Jews attempted to change their second-class status. Anti-Jewish violence regularly followed the relatively brief periods when Jews formed an intermediate layer between alien ruling elites and oppressed native populations (see *PTSDA*, Ch. 5). For example, apart from their period of ascendancy as intermediaries between the Mongols and the Iranian subject peoples, Jews were forced into a completely degraded existence. When the Mongols converted to Islam, the fortunes of the Jews declined as a result of native hostility. Attitudes of ritual uncleanness of the outgroup were reciprocated: "Jews were not merely infidels, to be despised and humiliated as such; they were ritually unclean—people whose very touch brought pollution" (Lewis 1984, 151).[3] Similarly, the fortunes of Jews as intermediaries between an alien ruling elite and an oppressed subject population in the Ottoman Empire declined as the ruling elites became more assimilated to the native population (Shaw 1991).

Moreover, the lifting of sanctions against Jews in modern times sometimes resulted in Jewish ascendancy paralleling the Jewish rise in post-emancipation Europe, and there was a corresponding anti-Semitic reaction. Jews no longer hid their wealth, and "the old servants and slaves have become the masters of the Arabs, at least as far as business and finances go. They, once scorned, occupy now honored positions in the Government" (Stillman 1979, 418). The result was an increase in anti-Semitism (Lewis 1984, 171, 184–185).

Thus, although Muslim anti-Semitism tended not to be characterized by fear and hatred of Jews (except during periods when Jews were allowed to compete economically), the long-term effect of Muslim anti-Semitism was far more devastating than Western anti-Semitism. Indeed, there may well be qualitative differences between Western anti-Semitism and Muslim anti-Semitism (see also Cohen 1994) stemming from the fact that Middle Eastern societies tend to be organized into impermeable groups (e.g., Coon 1958, 153; Eickelman 1981, 157–174). Individuals in these societies have a strong sense of group identity and group boundaries, often accompanied by external markers such as hair style or clothing, and different groups settle in different areas were they retain their homogeneity alongside likewise homogeneous groups.[4] As argued in *PTSDA* (Ch. 8), these "segmentary" societies organized around discrete groups appear

to be much more efficient than Western individualistic societies at keeping Jews in a powerless position where they do not pose a competitive threat. Interestingly, Dumont (1982, 223) describes the increase in anti-Semitism in Turkey in the late 19th century consequent to increased resource competition. In many towns, Jews, Christians, and Muslims lived in a sort of superficial harmony, and even lived in the same areas, "but the slightest spark sufficed to ignite the fuse" (p. 222). Segmentary societies based on impermeable groups have certainly not been idyllic places for Jews.

The individualism typical of Western societies is an ideal environment for Judaism as a cohesive group strategy, but as Jews become increasingly successful politically, economically and demographically, Western societies have tended to develop collectivist group structures directed at Jews as a hated outgroup (*PTSDA*, Ch. 8). In chapters 3–5 I discuss three important episodes of Western anti-Semitism from this perspective: the institutionalization of anti-Semitism in the Roman Empire in the 4th century, the Iberian inquisitions beginning in the 15th century, and the National Socialist movement in Germany from 1933 to 1945.

THEMES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

As indicated in Chapter 1, the fact that anti-Jewish writings have often been characterized by exaggerations and falsehoods is quite compatible with an evolutionary perspective. A particularly interesting example is the charge of ritual murder of gentiles (the "blood libel") which has reappeared in several independent reincarnations throughout Jewish history. The blood libel is a very ancient charge against the Jews, occurring first in the 2nd century B.C. and becoming quite common beginning in the first century B.C. (Gabba 1989, 644). Gabba reasonably suggests that the charge may have functioned as a concrete expression of Gentile perceptions of Jewish misanthropy. This linkage is apparent, for example, in the writings of the influential 15th-century anti-Converso polemicist Alonso de Espina, who explained what he asserted was the commonplace practice of Jews killing Christians as motivated by Jewish hatred of Christians (Netanyahu 1995, 831). In addition, people who are anti-Jewish for other reasons may be predisposed to believe this accusation. Lindemann (1991, 52) suggests that during the 19th century such charges often really reflected concerns about Jewish economic domination.

More interesting here is the fact that there is a very long history of anti-Jewish writings, the themes of which are entirely comprehensible given the theoretical perspective on anti-Semitism developed above. The remarkable thing about anti-Semitism is that there is an overwhelming similarity in the complaints made about Jews in different places and over very long stretches of historical time. These complaints may be seen as independent replications that together give credence to the proposal that, while exaggerations and falsehoods may well

color these attitudes, several prominent themes of anti-Semitic writings have had a firm basis in the reality of Judaism as a group evolutionary strategy.

The history of anti-Semitism is thus a sort of expanded version of Harris's (1994, 214) findings that although German anti-Semitism underwent vast changes between 1850 and the 1920s in terms of political organization and external factors that exacerbated or mitigated anti-Semitism at particular times, the complaints about Jews were remarkably the same. These themes, including the "alienness" of Jews, Jewish economic, political, or cultural domination, the idea that Jews possess negative personality traits making them willing to engage in unscrupulous economic exploitation of gentiles, and Jewish disloyalty, continue to figure prominently in anti-Semitism around the world (see, e.g., *Anti-Semitism Worldwide, 1994*). Despite the fact that these themes will be considered separately here, they often co-occur, as in interwar Poland, where Jews were widely perceived as "a 'foreign' economically burdensome, superfluous and also morally destructive element" (in Hagen 1996, 374).

The Theme of Separatism and Clannishness

Jews have often appeared as a separate and foreign group within diaspora societies. Perceptions of separateness and outgroup cohesiveness tend to be associated with anti-Semitism, a phenomenon that is entirely to be expected on the basis of social identity theory. A consistent finding in research on intergroup contact is that making the social categories which define groups more salient facilitates intergroup differentiation and promotes negative social interactions between members from different groups (see Brewer & Miller 1984; Doise & Sinclair 1973; Miller, Brewer & Edwards 1985).

Beginning in the ancient world, gentiles have consistently had a negative perception of Jewish separateness and clannishness. "With their special way of life they were a strange element, even in the cosmopolitan capital. The literature of the age reflects the partly contemptuous and partly inimical attitude prevailing among the educated classes in the imperial city" (Baron 1952, II, 103).

Jewish separatism conflicted with the assimilative, universalist trends in Greco-Roman society:

As Greek ideas about the one-ness of humanity spread, the Jewish tendency to treat non-Jews as ritually unclean, and to forbid marriage to them, was resented as being anti-humanitarian; the word "misanthropic" was frequently used. . . . The Greeks saw their *oecumene*, that is, the civilized universe . . . where their ideas prevailed, as a multi-racial, multi-national society, and those who refused to accept it were enemies of man. (Johnson 1988, 133–134)

Beginning with the Egyptian historian Hecataeus of Abdera (early third century B.C.) (who remarked that the Jews were "misanthropic and hostile to foreigners" [in Gabba 1989, 629]), there was a long list of Greco-Roman writers whose basic criticisms centered around Jewish separatism, xenophobia, and

misanthropy, combined with a strong sense of internal solidarity, although some writers (including Hecateus) admired the Jews in other ways.

Perhaps the most famous anti-Jewish writings from the ancient world are those of Tacitus, who viewed Judaism as "opposed to all that is practised by other men" (*The History, 5.4*, 659).

Among themselves they are inflexibly honest and ever ready to show compassion, though they regard the rest of mankind with all the hatred of enemies. They sit apart at meals, they sleep apart, and though, as a nation, they are singularly prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women; among themselves nothing is unlawful.[5] Circumcision was adopted by them as a mark of difference from other men. Those who come over to their religion adopt the practice, and have this lesson first instilled into them, to despise all gods, to disown their country, and set at naught parents, children, and brethren. (*The History, 5.5,* 659–660)[6]

The theme of clannishness also appears in Cicero's complaint dating from 59 B.C. during the trial of Flaccus: "See how unanimously they stick together, how influential they are in politics" (*Pro Flacco,* 66). Juvenal complained that Jews would not show a wayfarer his road or guide the thirsty to a spring if he were not of their own faith.[7] And to the 5th-century poet Rutilius Manatianus, Jews were "the filthy race" (*gens obscaena*). "[T]heir heart is chillier than their creed" (in Wilken 1968, 64), another comment on Jewish treatment of outgroup members.

Jewish writers of antiquity commented on the fact that the Jews were often criticized for their "non-mingling" with gentiles (e.g., 2 Macc. 14:38). Philo and Josephus provided apologetic works directed at convincing gentiles to perceive Jewish separatism in a positive light. For example, in *The Antiquities of the Jews* Josephus (1989, XVI, 174) states that he would inform others "that they ought not to esteem difference of positive institutions a sufficient cause of alienation, but [join with us] in the pursuit of virtue and probity."

Cultural separatism, often combined with themes of economic exploitation, has been a recurrent theme in criticisms of Judaism throughout history. In the 15th century, the Spanish Conversos were described by Fray Alonso, an important instigator of the Inquisition, as crypto-Jews who "had no conscience in usury, saying that they were spoiling the Egyptians" (Lea 1906–1907, I, 152), a comment referring to the behavior of the Israelites during the Exodus (Exod. 12:36) and clearly indicating the perception of Jews as self-consciously treating the Spaniards as foreigners. Kamen (1985) quotes the historian Palencia, writing in the 15th century, as saying that the Conversos acted "as 'a nation apart' and nowhere would they agree to act together with the Old Christians" (p. 20). The 15th-century historian Andrés Bernáldez added that not only did the Jews treat the Christians as an exploitable outgroup, they were very generous with their own kind: "They were a very cunning people, and people who commonly lived on gains and usuries at the expense of Christians, and many of the poor among them became rich in a short time. They were very charitable among themselves,

one to another. If in need, their councils, which they called *aljamas*, provided for them. They were good masters to their own people" (in Walsh 1930, 368).

In Karl Marx's *Zur Judenfrage* Jews were portrayed as a clannish, asocial, and alien group engaged in economic exploitation of gentiles. All of these elements were typical of anti-Semitic writings throughout the 19th century (Rose 1990) and could be found in public opinion in Germany in the period from 1870 to 1933. For example, the philosopher Johann Gottleib Fichte viewed Jewish separatism as indicating "lovelessness"—a refusal to join history and love humanity. Jews "are a people excluded by the strongest human bond of all—by religion—from our meals, from our pleasures, from the sweet exchange of good cheer from heart to heart" (in Rose 1992, 8). To the philosopher Schopenhauer, Jews "are and remain a foreign, oriental race" (in Rose 1992, 92), who because of their tribal consanguinity and solidarity could not be integrated with other nations (see Katz 1986, 11). Although often not overtly anti-Semitic, a major theme of 19th-century German writing beginning with Kant and extending to the Protestant biblical scholarship of the early 20th century (see Chapter 7) was the contrast between the Jewish God, characterized as tribal and nationalistic, versus the Christian God of universalism and love.[8] Anti-Semitic racial theorists, such as Curt Michaelis, also focused on Jewish clannishness, attributing it to Jewish racial pride (*Rassenstolz*) and exhibited at the psychological level by the concept of Jewish chosenness. *Rassenstolz* had become an inherited trait of Jews and was responsible for anti-Semitism: "The *Rassenstolz* promoted race hatred in its sharpest form—the consequence of which is lasting race war. . . . The Jewish people stands principally in battle against the whole world; naturally, therefore, the whole world [is] against the Jews" (in Efron 1994, 170). Similarly, in his classic *Jews and Modern Capitalism*, the German economist Werner Sombart (1913, 240) summarized Judaism as "a group by themselves and therefore separate and apart—this from the earliest antiquity. All nations were struck by their hatred of others."

Jews have often been characterized as "a state within a state" (e.g., Beauvois 1986, 88, writing specifically of traditional Poland). The German Paul de LaGarde (1827–1891) stated that "we simply cannot tolerate a nation within a nation" (in Krausnick 1968, 9). The view that Jews constituted an alien, foreign nation residing in Germany was not restricted to intellectuals: over 20 percent of the 1,723 petitions from Bavarian communities opposing Jewish emancipation in 1849–1850 emphasized the *Volk im Volk* theme, sometimes referring to Jews as "oriental" or Asiatic and often using such phrases as "foreign in morals, customs, and religion" or foreign in "blood, speech, and religion" (Harris 1994, 137). (During this period Richard Wagner described Jewish speech as a "creaking, squeaking, buzzing snuffle" [in Rose 1992, 81]). Harris (1994, 123) describes the Bavarian petitions as "spontaneous, extremely broad-based, and genuine"—in effect independent replications of widespread negative attitudes toward Jewish foreignness. Many petitions "stated flatly that Jews could never assimilate" (p. 137). In Germany, the perception of foreignness was particularly

directed at Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who retained their separatist practices of wearing distinctive clothing, hair styles, and speaking Hebrew.

After emancipation in Germany, Jews continued to remain separate, retaining their cohesiveness despite "an unwritten contract of assimilation-in-return-for-emancipation" (Katz 1986b, 148). "The extraordinary degree of social cohesiveness and mutual solidarity of Jews . . . was often observed and commented upon, for the preservation of Jewish separateness ran counter to the expectation that with access to at least some social avenues the Jews would disperse and lose the character of a sub-society, a state within a state (as the slogan had it)" (p. 148).[9] Thus Paul de LaGarde "with horror and envy . . . identified the Jews as a proud, invincible nation. . . . Jews possessed that very unity that the Germans lacked, and it enabled them to be 'at least in Europe the masters of the non-Jews'" (Stern 1961, 60; inner quote from de LaGarde). Jewish separatism and endogamous marriage were often criticized not only by anti-Semites but also by respected gentile intellectuals, including Theodor Mommsen, Heinrich von Treitschke, and Willy Helpach, as well as such prominent Jews as Walter Rathenau (Ragins 1980, 16–17, 77; Niewyk 1980, 97). Similarly, in Austria assimilated Jewish observers commented on the "stubborn [Jewish] emphasis on racial solidarity" (Rosenblit 1984, 8).

Reflecting the group solidarity of Jews, anti-Semites often perceive Jews as working together for a common goal. In 1875 a commentator wrote that "bank, share and stock exchange privileges are, as things stand, Jews' privileges. They are therefore protected and pushed with all their might by the Jewish press, by Jewish scholars and Jewish deputies" (in Pulzer 1964, 88). The German anti-Semite Theodor Fritsch related the experiences of a manufacturer negotiating military contracts during World War I: "To his amazement, he met . . . Hebrews—and more Hebrews. . . . [S]urrounded by others of his tribe, sat Mr. Walther Rathenau arranging things. . . . [I]t was no surprise that Jewish firms almost always received preference" (in Lindemann 1997, 404).

It was common among anti-Semites to note the close relationships between wealthy Jewish capitalists and Jewish radicals (Mosse 1970, 48). In fact, American Jewish capitalists like Jacob Schiff did finance Russian radical movements directed at overthrowing the Czar and may well have had considerable impact (Goldstein 1990, 26–27; Szajkowski 1967).[10] Their activities were presumably meant more as an attempt to end czarist anti-Semitism than as an endorsement of radical political ideology, but perceptions of collusion between Jews with such differing political views depended for their believability on Jewish over-representation among both groups: "From emancipation onwards, the Jews were blamed both for seeking to ingratiate themselves with established society, enter in and dominate it; and, at the same time, for trying to destroy it utterly. Both charges had an element of truth" (Johnson 1988, 345).

Similar perceptions of Jews were common in the United States and England during this period. The following remarkable description of the Jewish ghetto in New York City by Henry James gives the impression of the intense energy of a

people crammed into a small space, the burgeoning number of children, and their cohesive "racial group-consciousness," combined with a vague apprehension of their future influence:

There is no swarming like that of Israel when once Israel has got a start, and the scene here bristled at every step, with the sights and sounds, immitigable, unmistakable, of a Jewry that had burst all bounds. . . . The children swarmed above all—here was multiplication with a vengeance; . . . the scene hummed with the human presence beyond any I had ever faced in quest even of refreshment; producing part of the impression, moreover, no doubt, as a direct consequence of the intensity of the Jewish aspect. This, I think, makes the individual Jew more of a concentrated person, savingly possessed of everything that is in him, than any other human, noted at random—or is it simply, rather, that the unsurpassed strength of the race permits of the chopping into myriads of fine fragments without loss of race-quality? There are small strange animals known to natural history, snakes or worms, I believe, who, when cut into pieces, wriggle away contentedly and live in the snippet as completely as in the whole. So the denizens of the New York Ghetto, heaped as thick as the splinters on the table of a glass-blower, had each like the fine glass particle, his or her individual share of the whole hard glitter of Israel. . . . they were all there for race, and not, as it were, for reason: that excess of lurid meaning, in some of the old men's and old women's faces in particular . . . could only be the gathered past of Israel mechanically pushing through. The way, at the same time, this chapter of history did . . . seem to push, was a matter that made the "ethnic" apparition again sit like a skeleton at the feast. It was fairly as if I could see the spectre grin while the talk of the hour gave me, across the board, facts and figures, chapter and verse, for the extent of the Hebrew conquest of New York. . . . Who can ever tell . . . what the genius of Israel may, or may not, really be "up to"? . . . [W]hatever we shall know [of language in the United States], certainly we shall not know it for English—in any sense for which there is an existing literary measure. (James 1907, 131–132, 135, 139)

Vague forebodings that the arrival of large numbers of Jews would have a profound transformative effect on American society also appear to be behind the fairly submerged anti-Semitism of other American 19th-century patricians, including Henry and Brooks Adams and Henry Cabot Lodge (Cunliffe 1965; Higham 1984, 109; Podhoretz 1986). The prominent American sociologist Edward A. Ross (1914, 143) was perhaps most explicit in his fears, noting that the Jews "were united by a strong race consciousness" and that "already [they are] ably represented at every level of wealth, power, and influence in the United States." On the opposite page from this quote, Ross juxtaposed a picture of Hindus from India with a picture of immigrant Russian Jews in order to emphasize the outlandish appearance of the Jewish immigrants.[11]

In England in 1888 a Jewish newspaper editorialized as follows:

If poor Jews will persist in appropriating to themselves whole streets . . . drawing to their peculiarities of dress, of language and of manner, the attention which they might otherwise escape, can there be any wonder that the vulgar prejudices of which they are the objects should be kept alive and strengthened? (In Alderman 1992, 138)

In 1905, A. J. Balfour, the Conservative prime minister summed up widely held views during the period as follows:

A state of things could easily be imagined in which it would not be to the advantage of the civilisation of the country that there should be an immense body of persons who, however patriotic, able and industrious, however much they threw themselves into the national life, remained a people apart, and not merely held a religion differing from the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen, but only intermarried among themselves. (In Alderman 1992, 133)[12]

The Themes of Jewish Economic, Cultural and Political Domination

Resource Competition and the Theme of Economic Domination. As a result of Jewish within-group cooperation and altruism, as well as eugenic and cultural practices tending to result in high levels of intelligence and resource acquisition abilities among Jews, Jews are highly adept in resource competition with gentiles. It is not surprising, therefore, that anti-Semitic writing has often focused on issues of resource and reproductive competition. However, issues related to economic resource competition appear relatively infrequently in ancient writings, and indeed it has been suggested that Jews were generally seen as poor during the classical period at least until the 4th century (Kraabel 1983, 453; Sevenster 1975, 88; but see Feldman 1993, 172).

However, several scholars have suggested that ancient anti-Semitism resulted from Jewish separatism combined with demands for political rights (see especially Gager 1983). As Schürer (1986, 131) notes, the concept of "a division between the spheres of religion and political life was utterly alien to classical antiquity." The Greeks would have respected the Jews' attachment to their own cult but would have been intolerant toward the Jews not recognizing the official cults of the city (Hengel 1989, 185–186; see also Collins 1985, 175; Sevenster 1975, 171; Tcherikover 1959, 371–377). Political rights also had at least some economic implications. Thus Hegermann (1989, 161) notes that given a previously existing context of hostility, the attempt by the Jewish community to have all of its members declared citizens and thus avoid a tax on non-citizens resulted in an "acute problem."

Moreover, some anti-Semitic comments of the period can be interpreted as involving economic conflict (Baron 1952, I, 383; Feldman 1993, 107ff; Kraabel 1983, 457). Although by no means overwhelming, Feldman's most convincing evidence is the following: a fragment suggesting general hostility toward Jews related to their role as moneylenders and to a specific instance of a riot started by people attempting to rid themselves of debts to Jews; the description of Jews in the writings of Claudius Ptolemy as successful in trade, unscrupulous, and treacherous; references to the wealth of the Jews in Judea and especially the Temple; Tacitus's comment (*Hist.* 5.5) that the wealth of Jews was augmented by their honesty and compassion toward other Jews; the comment of Celsus

(2nd century) that the Jewish God promises that Jews will be rich, powerful, reproductively successful, and will massacre their enemies.[13]

Reproductive competition may also have had a role in ancient anti-Semitism: "Above all . . . throughout the empire there was widespread resentment of the 'alien' character of Jews, raised to a high pitch by the growth of Jewish population" (Baron 1952, I, 191). "The larger the masses of Jews were in any one region and the more pronounced their confidence and assertiveness became, the deeper was the resentment of the Gentile peoples" (Baron 1952, I, 209). Tacitus also commented on the Jewish "passion for propagating their race" (*Hist. 5.5*, 660).

There also appears to have been some concern about Jewish political influence in the Roman Empire, beginning with Cicero in 59 B.C. and extending to the popularity in the third century of the *Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs*, a book described by Feldman (1993, 175) as "viciously anti-Jewish" in its depiction of Jewish domination and political influence. As discussed in Chapter 3, there was an upsurge in anti-Jewish writings related to resource and reproductive competition in the 4th century.

Themes of resource and reproductive competition were common in anti-Jewish writing in the period prior to and during the Spanish Inquisition. The 14th-century Spanish historian Ayala bitterly criticized the king and even the bishops for colluding to allow tax farming by the Jews "who are ready to drink the blood of the poor Christians" (Baer 1961, I, 368). Later, Andrés Bernáldez noted that the Conversos had risen "to the rank of scholars, doctors, bishops, canons, priests and priors of monasteries, auditors and secretaries, farmers of Crown revenues and grandees. They had one aim: to increase and multiply" (in Beinart 1981, 21–22).

A common situation resulting in accusations of economic domination was the tendency for Jews to be involved in moneylending to gentiles. Although moneylending is now viewed as having an important economic function, a very potent source of anti-Semitic writing in traditional societies (where a large percentage of borrowers lived at subsistence level) has been the association of Jews with a profession perceived as exploitative.[14] Jordan (1989, 28, 44) finds that in general there was resentment at borrowing at interest in premodern societies even if the parties were of the same ethnic group or religion. As expected on the basis of social identity theory, Jordan notes that these resentments would be even more pronounced if, as in the case of Jews lending to Christians, the lenders were from an ethnic group whose separation from the borrowing class was obvious and many members of which were engaged in this profession.

During the Middle Ages, the word "Judaize" meant to "act like an outsider, to regard others not as brothers but under a different set of rules that permitted forms of exploitation that were forbidden to the circle of brothers and friends" (Jordan 1989, 45). Regarding the Jews of 13th-century Brittany, Jordan notes that "they never successfully integrated themselves into the local society. They were always conceived as strangers involved in a business that was both extor-

tionate and perverse." In the opinion of many medieval Christian thinkers, the Bible should be interpreted as allowing taking interest only from peoples one is at war with (e.g., Ammonites, Canaanites), quoting Ambrose—"From him demand usury from whom it would not be a crime to kill. Where there is a right of war, there is a right of usury" (Stein 1959, 59). The view that taking interest was fundamentally a hostile act—forbidden within the ingroup but allowed with outgroup members—was also embedded in authoritative Jewish writings beginning with Deuteronomy 23. Although various subterfuges were sometimes found to get around this requirement, loans to Jews in medieval Spain were typically made without interest (Neuman 1969, I, 194). Maimonides (12th century) stated that "*nesek* ('biting,' usury) and *marbit* ('increase,' interest) are one and the same thing. . . . Why is it called nesek? because he who takes it bites his fellow, causes pain to him, and eats his flesh" (*The Code of Maimonides,* Book 13*, The Book of Civil Laws*, ch. IV, 1, 88–89). Some medieval Jewish authorities suggested that charging interest to gentiles is a religious obligation for Jews (Johnson 1988, 174; Stein 1955).[15]

Interest rates typical in the Middle Ages were high by modern standards. Roth (1978, 106) finds a typical rate of between 22 and 43 percent per annum in medieval England. In northern France the rate was capped at 43 percent in 1206, and compound interest was regulated in an attempt to lower the prevalent rates of 65 percent plus compounding (Baldwin 1986, 282; Chazan 1973, 84; Rabinowitz 1938, 44).[16] Subsequent regulation of Jewish moneylending attempted to protect certain classes of borrowers, particularly "the weaker classes"—those without property and ecclesiastical personnel not having the permission of superiors, but there were also laws aimed at preventing the depletion of the property of landed property owners (Baldwin 1986, 232).

These rates included a portion taken by the king or other aristocrats in taxes.[17] Nevertheless, moneylending by Jews resulted in a major flow of resources from the gentile to the Jewish community in the premodern period. Statements of contemporaries indicate that moneylenders themselves viewed their occupation as very lucrative compared to artisanry or agriculture (Rabinowitz 1938, 113). On the other hand, Christians perceived Jewish moneylending as resulting in a Jewish "grip" on the Christian economy, including ecclesiastical institutions, and indeed many ecclesiastical institutions went bankrupt and were closed down as a result of debts owed to Jews (Jordan 1989, 65; Luchaire 1912, 229ff).[18]

Another consistent theme of anti-Semitism in traditional societies derives from the Jewish role of farming taxes for the nobility. Tax farmers paid a fixed sum to the nobility for the right to obtain as much in taxes as they could from the Christian population.[19] The petition of 1449 by the rebels of Toledo accused the New Christian tax farmers of having "caused the [economic] ruin . . . of many noble proprietresses (dueñas, caballeros, and hijos-dalgo)" and of having "oppressed, destroyed, robbed and depraved . . . most of the houses and estates of the Old Christians" (in Netanyahu 1995, 959).

As in many other traditional societies, outgroup status vis-à-vis the rest of society made Jews ideal tax farmers: placing gentiles in charge of tax farming would essentially place payment of taxes under control of those in charge of collecting them, while Jews (or in Spain, the New Christians after the forced conversions of 1391) could be trusted to treat the gentiles as an outgroup and maximize the king's revenues:

It was primarily because of the functions of the Jews as the king's revenue gatherers in the urban areas that the cities saw the Jews as the monarch's agents, who treated them as objects of massive exploitation. By serving as they did the interests of the kings, the Jews seemed to be working against the interests of the cities; and thus we touch again on the phenomenon we have referred to: the fundamental conflict between the kings and their people—a conflict not limited to financial matters, but one that embraced all spheres of government that had a bearing on the people's life. It was in part thanks to this conflict of interests that the Jews could survive the harsh climate of the Middle Ages, and it is hard to believe that they did not discern it when they came to resettle in Christian Europe. Indeed, their requests, since the days of the Carolingians, for assurances of protection before they settled in a place show (a) that they realized that the kings' positions on many issues differed from those of the common people and (b) that the kings were prepared, for the sake of their interests, to make common cause with the "alien" Jews against the clear wishes of their Christian subjects. In a sense, therefore, the Jews' agreements with the kings in the Middle Ages resembled the understandings they had reached with foreign conquerors in the ancient world. (Netanyahu 1995, 71–72)

Since the role of Jews as tax farmers (as well as all of their other roles in traditional societies) was dependent on the gentile elite, anti-Jewish writers have often condemned the gentile aristocracy for allowing Jews to exploit the lower orders of society. A petition to King Enrique of the Cortes of Toro (Castile) in 1371 complained that because of the power given to Jews by the King and the nobles, Jews controlled the cities and even the persons of the Spaniards (Netanyahu 1995, 118). In the following century, Fray Alonso de Espina, the Fransican friar who was instrumental in establishing the Inquisition, condemned the "detested avarice of the Christian princes" and "the temporal gains which they get from the Jews" (in Netanyahu 1995, 731). On the other hand, Espina praised King Philip Augustus, who "burned with the zeal of God" when he despoiled the Jews and expelled them from France in opposition to the pleas of the nobility and prelates and offers of bribes from the Jews (in Netanyahu 1995, 831).

Emancipation often accentuated the importance of resource competition as a source of anti-Semitism. Lindemann (1991, 17) notes that Jews in pre-emancipation Russia "were viewed by the authorities and by much of the rest of population as a foreign, separate, exploitative, and distressingly prolific nation."[20] The official Russian view was that emancipation had resulted in Jews economically dominating and exploiting the Slavic peasants (Judge 1992, 9, 11). The following passage, from an article published in 1893 by M. Pierre Botkine, the Secretary of the Russian Legation in Washington, was also empha-

sized by Goldwin Smith (1894, 248) in his anti-Jewish writing. It combines the issue of economic domination with the loyalty issue discussed more fully in a following section:

The Hebrew, as we know him in Russia, is "the eternal Jew." Without a country of his own, and as a rule, without any desire to become identified with the country he for the time inherits, he remains, as for hundreds of years he has been, morally unchangeable and without a faculty for adapting himself to sympathy with the people of the race which surrounds him. He is not homogeneous with us in Russia; he does not feel or desire solidarity with us. In Russia he remains a guest only,—a guest from long ago, and not an integral part of the community. When these guests without affinity became too many in Russia, when in several localities their numbers were found injurious to the welfare and the prosperity of our own people as a whole, when they had grown into many wide-spreading ramifications of influence and power, and abused their opportunities as traders with or lenders of money to the poor,—when, in a word, they became dangerous and prejudicial to our people,—is there anything revolting or surprising in the fact that our government found it necessary to restrict their activity? . . . Is it just that those who have never had to confront such a situation should blame us for those measures?

Our peasantry has only recently been organized in their existing social relations, and is not yet well educated, or well trained in the exercise of social rights or obligations under their present system. . . . If we take into consideration the character of the Sla-vonian folk, it is easy to understand why our meek, ignorant, and easy-going peasantry fell under the control of the Jews, who, as a class, are far better educated and more thrifty, and have the aptitude for commerce and for money making which distinguishes their race everywhere—and who readily perceived and soon abused their superiority in those particulars, after the emancipation of the serfs had deprived them individually of the safeguards the old system of things had afforded them. This Jewish influence was everywhere oppressive, and now and then became an unbearable yoke. The peasants in some localities, having lost all patience, were guilty of violent excesses, mobbed the Jews, and destroyed their property. (Botkine 1893, 613–614)

In 1881 a government document decried the failure of its twenty-year-long campaign to fuse the Russian and Jewish populations and perceived the problem to be "the exploitation [by the Jews] of the indigenous population and mostly of the poorer classes" (in Frankel 1981, 64). This was the view of official Ameri-can government observers as well (see Goldstein 1990, 36, 290), and it was also apparent in the Jewish revolutionary socialist Hayim Zhitlowski (1972, 129): "Whenever I turned my eyes to ordinary, day-to-day Jewish life, I saw only one thing, that which the antisemites were agitating about: the injurious effect of Jewish merchantry on Russian peasantry. No matter how I felt, from a socialist point of view, I had to pass a death sentence not only on individual Jews but on the entire *Jewish* existence of individual Jews" (italics in text).[21]

Gentile revolutionaries were also prone to anti-Semitic pronouncements.[22] In 1869 the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin stated of the Jews that "their history, since well before the Christian era, has imprinted on them a trait essen-tially mercantile and bourgeois, which means, taken as a nation, they are *par excellence* the exploiters of the work of others, and they have a horror and a

natural fear of the masses of the people, whom, moreover, they hate, openly or secretly" (in Rather 1990, 178). The revolutionary party Narodnaia Volia took a tolerant view toward the 1881 pogroms and issued the following statement to the Ukrainian people:

The people in the Ukraine suffer worst of all from the Jews. Who takes the land, the woods, the taverns from out of your hands? The Jews. From whom does the muzhik [peasant], often with tears in his eyes, have to beg permission to get to his own field, his own plot of land?—the Jews. Wherever you look, wherever you go—the Jews are everywhere. The Jew curses you, cheats you, drinks your blood. . . . But as soon as the muzhiki rise up to free themselves from their enemies as they did in Elizavetgrad, Kiev, Smela, the tsar at once comes to the rescue of the Jews: the soldiers from Russia are called in and the blood of the muzhik, Christian blood, flows. . . . You have begun to rebel against the Jews. You have done well. Soon the revolt will be taken up across all of Russia against the tsar, the *pany* [landowners], the Jews. (In Frankel 1981, 98)[23]

The theme of economic and cultural domination in Russia did not end with the Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet Union. Beginning during World War II, there was concern within high governmental circles over the underrepresentation of ethnic Russians and the overrepresentation of Jews in key areas of the economic and cultural elite of the Soviet Union. These concerns were initially concentrated in the cultural sphere (q.v. below), but they rapidly spread to all areas of the scientific and economic establishment. Purges of disproportionately Jewish elites were made in the areas of journalism, the arts, academic departments of history, pedagogy, philosophy, economics, medicine and psychiatry, and scientific research institutes in all areas of the natural sciences. There were also widespread purges of Jews at the top levels of management and engineering throughout the economy. At times Jews were accused of obtaining predominance partly via ingroup favoritism, as in the following report of 1950 by the Central Committee on Jewish activities at an aircraft production facility:

In a number of extremely important departments of the Central Aero-Hydrodynamic Institute there are workers due to be substituted for political reasons. They gather around themselves people of the same nationality, impose the habit of praising one another (while making others erroneously believe that they are indispensable), and force their protégés through to high posts. (In Kostyrchenko 1995, 237)

Similar themes are apparent following emancipation in Europe, where there was a decline in legislation restricting the economic activities of Jews, but there was also a phenomenal increase in Jewish wealth, political influence, and representation in the professions and other positions of high social status (Lindemann 1991; Krausnick 1968; Massing 1949; Pulzer 1964). A common theme of the anti-Semitic writings of the 19th and early 20th century concerned Jewish economic domination of gentiles as well as the ancient charge of misanthropy. These modern anti-Semites "charge Jews with exploiting and cheating non-

Jews, taking their jobs from them, gaining control over the stock market, the press, and even the state itself " (Lindemann 1991, 16). The "Anti-Semites Petition" of 1880 to Reich Chancellor Bismarck complained about economic domination but also emphasized Jewish foreignness to the German cultural heritage:

Wherever Christian and Jew enter into social relations, we see the Jew as master, the indigenous Christian population in a subservient position. The Jew takes part only to a negligible extent in the heavy labor of the great mass of our nation. . . . But the fruits of his [the German's] labor are reaped mainly by the Jew. By far the largest part of the capital which national labor produces is concentrated in Jewish hands; . . . Not only do the proudest palaces of our large cities belong to Jewish masters whose fathers and grandfathers, huckstering and peddling, crossed the frontiers into our fatherland, but rural holdings too, that most significant preservative basis of our political structure, fall more and more into the hands of the Jews. . . .

What we strive for is solely the emancipation of the German Volk from a form of alien domination which it cannot endure for any length of time. (In Dawidowicz 1976, 28–29)

The petition, signed by approximately a quarter of a million people, demanded that Jews be excluded from government jobs and from positions as teachers in primary schools, as well as restrictions on Jewish employment in the judiciary and in higher education.

As in Russia later in the century, a theme of the widespread popular Bavarian opposition to Jewish emancipation in 1849–1850 was fear of Jewish economic domination if Jews were emancipated (Harris 1994, 132ff).[24] While references to Judaism as a religion were rare, Jews were viewed as a foreign people who were explicitly characterized as more intelligent than gentiles, better than gentiles in business and trade, and able to take advantage of gentiles. Several petitions noted that "if Jews were emancipated, Bavaria would serve Jews; if emancipated, Jews will 'have us by the throats'; if they are emancipated, we will become slaves; if emancipated they will dominate" (p. 142). Petitioners often feared Jewish wealth and dominance in financial affairs. Jews were perceived as hating Christians, and proof of this could be found in the "shady," "tricky," "dirty," "unfair," economic practices of Jews vis-à-vis the Germans (p. 176).[25]

Many of the petitions had detailed examples, such as the following from Hirschau:

If only a few Jewish families settle here, all small shops, tanneries, hardware stores, and so on, which, as things stand, provide their proprietors with nothing but the scantiest of livelihoods, will in no time at all be superseded and completely crushed by these [Jews] such that at least twelve local families will be reduced to beggary, and our poor relief fund, already in utter extremity, will be fully exhausted within one year.

The Jews come into possession in the shortest possible time of all cash money by getting involved in every business; they rapidly become the only possessors of money, and their Christian neighbors become their debtors. (In Harris 1994, 254)

Anti-Semitism increased during the economic depression of the 1870s because Jews were perceived as a powerful competitive threat to the German lower and middle classes (Massing 1949, 47). Although anti-Semitism was also common among the peasantry in the 19th century (Harris 1994; Levy 1975), the most virulent anti-Semitism occurred among "teachers, students, white collar workers, petty officials, and the free professions most threatened by Jewish advancement" (Massing 1949, xiii; see also Pulzer 1964, 279ff). As Hagen (1996, 365) notes, "pre-1939 German anti-Semitism arose to a considerable degree from motives of economic competition and accompanying real-life animosities felt toward the German Jews." "Taken as corporate groups, lawyers and medical doctors in particular, but teachers, engineers, and other highly trained technicians as well, seized with more or less vehemence upon anti-Semitism—especially in the Weimar years—to improve their prospects of employment and upward mobility, just as they also accepted Nazi policies of 'Aryanization' with equanimity or enthusiasm" (Hagen 1996, 379; see also Gordon 1984, 44). As an example of this "very practical sort of *mittelstandspolitik*," there was a dramatic increase in public sector employment by Jews during the Weimar period compared to the imperial period, but Jews were expelled from these positions when the National Socialists came to power. Jews were also expelled from professional life and one-half of Jewish-owned businesses were liquidated. By 1939 the Jewish population was 60 percent lower than in 1933, and only 16 percent of the remaining German Jews were gainfully employed, about half in low-paying jobs.

Indeed, a clear recognition of structural factors as involved in anti-Semitism was characteristic of Zionist writings of the period. Theodor Herzl argued that a prime source of modern anti-Semitism was that emancipation had brought Jews into direct economic competition with the gentile middle classes. Anti-Semitism based on resource competition was rational: Herzl "insisted that one could not expect a majority to 'let themselves be subjugated' by formerly scorned outsiders whom they had just released from the ghetto" (Kornberg 1993, 183; inner quote from Herzl's diary). "I find the anti-Semites are fully within their rights" (in Kornberg 1993, 183). Herzl's remarks were particularly true of Austria-Hungary which had experienced what may have been the most sudden and spectacular rise of the Jews in modern times. Jews dominated business, professions, and the arts, while gentiles were disproportionately proletarianized (Lindemann 1997, 189). In Germany, Zionists analyzed anti-Semitism during the Weimar period as "the inevitable and justifiable response of one people to attempts by another to make it share in the formation of its destiny. It was an instinctive response independent of reason and will, and hence common to all peoples, the Jews included" (Niewyk 1980, 94).

Further highlighting the salience of economic issues is the fact that what Mosse (1987, 403) terms the "Jewish sector" of the German economy was a "clearly perceptible entity." Knowledge of the "ethnicity" of economic enterprises was widespread in Germany during this period (Mosse 1987, 321).[26] The

ethnic composition of economic enterprises and Jewish group solidarity were often commented on by anti-Semites: for example, a writer noted in 1912 "not without at least some measure of justification" (Mosse 1987, 398) that Jewish capitalists, unlike gentile capitalists, seemed to constitute a cohesive inner core surrounded by groups of coreligionists dependent on them.

Finally, despite enormous economic and religious differences between Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Romania, during the 1930s all of these countries developed policies in which Jews were excluded from public-sector employment, quotas were placed on Jewish representation in universities and the professions, and government-organized boycotts of Jewish businesses and artisans were staged.

[Anti-Semitism was] a broad regional phenomenon rather than . . . [a] set of nationally bounded histories. In this view, modern anti-Semitic ideology and politics in both Germany and Poland figure as pathologies of middle-class formation or, in an alternative formulation, as accompaniments of embourgeoisement in a setting, unlike western and southern Europe, where a relatively large (or very large) and economically very significant urban Jewish population appeared to constitute an impediment to Christian advancement. In both countries, anti-Semitism served to justify assaults on Jewish-owned or Jewish-occupied business enterprises and medical, legal, and other professional practices, as well as bureaucratic positions, which were widely seen to block the path of upward mobility to non-Jewish aspirants to bourgeois respectability and security. In both countries, more or less sporadic anti-Semitic violence fomented by political organizations of the radical right, particularly in the 1930s, elicited considerable popular support or acceptance, reflecting widespread though normally mostly latent hostility to the Jews. . . . Similar policies were also being implemented in Hungary and Romania, the other major homelands of the central European Jews. (Hagen 1996, 360, 361)

Jews as Having Negative Personality Traits. The theme of economic domination has often been combined with the view that Jews have certain negative personality characteristics. We have already reviewed the common charge among the ancients that Jews were misanthropes. In medieval France prior to the expulsion, popular anti-Semitism was directed both at Jews as "pitiless creditors" and at the rulers who protected them (Luchaire 1912, 195). In Spain, the language of the Cortes of Gerona in 1241 "breathes hatred and mistrust of the Jews and repeatedly charges them with avarice" (Baer 1961, I, 148). Andrés Bernáldez, the 15th-century defender of the Inquisition, stated that "many of them acquired great wealth through usurious and deceitful practices" (in Beinart 1981, 21–22). A 15th-century Spanish satirist depicts an Old Christian as asking the king for permission to act like a New Christian and use "whatever subtleties, evil deeds, deceits and falsehoods, of which all those of that race make use . . . without suffering any punishment in this world" (in Netanyahu 1995, 513, 515–516). Marcos García, a leader of the Toledo anti-New Christian rebellion of 1449, used a long list of negative traits in describing his adversaries, including economic and sexual exploitation of Christians, the latter characterized by adultery and sexual lust for Christian virgins and nuns (Netanyahu 1995, 490,

491, 495). Vincent de Costa Mattos, a 17th-century Portuguese, characterized Jews as "enemies of mankind, wandering like gypsies through the world and living on the sweat of others. They had possessed themselves of all trade, farming the land of individuals and the royal patrimony, with no capital but industry and lack of conscience" (in Lea 1906–1907, III, 272–273).

Similar charges have been a staple of anti-Semitic writing since the Enlightenment. The philosopher Immanual Kant stated that Jews were "a *nation* of usurers . . . outwitting the people amongst whom they find shelter. . . . They make the slogan 'let the buyer beware' their highest principle in dealing with us" (in Rose 1992, 7; italics in text). The Bavarian petitions of 1849–1850 opposing Jewish emancipation often emphasized that Jews were ordained by their religion to deceive and cheat Christians, or that Jews encouraged theft because they purchased stolen goods (Harris 1994, 133ff, 254). In rural Poland before World War I, anti-Semitic writers claimed that "the manner by which the Jews come into the possession of their wealth is, more often than not, supposed to be criminal" (Golczewski 1986, 101).

Beginning with the debates between Jews and Christians during the Middle Ages (see Chapter 7) and reviving in the early 19th century, the Talmud and other Jewish religious writings have been condemned as advocating a double standard of morality, in addition to being anti-Christian, nationalistic, and ethnocentric, a view for which there is considerable support (see Hartung 1995; Shahak 1994; *PTSDA*, Ch. 6). For example, the historian Goldwin Smith (1894, 268) provides a number of Talmudic passages illustrating the "tribal morality" and "tribal pride and contempt of common humanity" (p. 270) he believed to be characteristic of Jewish religious writing. Smith provides the following passage suggesting that subterfuges may be used against gentiles in lawsuits unless such behavior would cause harm to the reputation of the entire Jewish ingroup (i.e., the "sanctification of the Name"):

When a suit arises between an Israelite and a heathen, if you can justify the former according to the laws of Israel, justify him and say: 'This is *our* law'; so also if you can justify him by the laws of the heathens justify him and say [to the other party:] 'This is *your* law'; but if this can not be done, we use subterfuges to circumvent him. This is the view of R. Ishmael, but R. Akiba said that we should not attempt to circumvent him on account of the sanctification of the Name. Now according to R. Akiba the whole reason [appears to be,] because of the sanctification of the Name, but were there no infringement of the sanctification of the Name, we could circumvent him! (*Baba Kamma* fol. 113a)[27]

Smith comments that "critics of Judaism are accused of bigotry of race, as well as bigotry of religion. The accusation comes strangely from those who style themselves the Chosen People, make race a religion, and treat all races except their own as Gentiles and unclean" (p. 270).[28]

Werner Sombart (1913, 244–245) summarized the ingroup/outgroup character of Jewish law by noting that "duties toward [the stranger] were never as binding as towards your 'neighbor,' your fellow-Jew. Only ignorance or a desire

to distort facts will assert the contrary. . . . [T]here was no change in the fundamental idea that you owed less consideration to the stranger than to one of your own people. . . . With Jews [a Jew] will scrupulously see to it that he has just weights and a just measure; but as for his dealings with non-Jews, his conscience will be at ease even though he may obtain an unfair advantage." To support his point, Sombart provides the following quote from Heinrich Graetz, a prominent 19th-century Jewish historian:

To twist a phrase out of its meaning, to use all the tricks of the clever advocate, to play upon words, and to condemn what they did not know . . . such were the characteristics of the Polish Jew. . . . Honesty and right-thinking he lost as completely as simplicity and truthfulness. He made himself master of all the gymnastics of the Schools and applied them to obtain advantage over any one less cunning than himself. He took a delight in cheating and overreaching, which gave him a sort of joy of victory. But his own people he could not treat in this way: they were as knowing as he. It was the non-Jew who, to his loss, felt the consequences of the Talmudically trained mind of the Polish Jew. (In Sombart 1913, 246)

Although not writing as an anti-Semite, pioneering German sociologist Max Weber (1922, 250) also verified this perception, noting that "As a pariah people, [Jews] retained the double standard of morals which is characteristic of primordial economic practice in all communities: What is prohibited in relation to one's brothers is permitted in relation to strangers."

A common theme of late-18th- and 19th-century German anti-Semitic writings emphasized the need for moral rehabilitation of the Jews—their corruption, deceitfulness, and their tendency to exploit others (Rose 1990). Such views also occurred in the writings of Ludwig Börne and Heinrich Heine (both of Jewish background) and among gentile intellectuals such as Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (1751–1820) and Karl Ferdinand Glutzkow (1811–1878), who argued that Jewish immorality was partly the result of gentile oppression. Theodor Herzl viewed anti-Semitism as "an understandable reaction to Jewish defects" brought about ultimately by gentile persecution: Jews had been educated to be "leeches" who possessed "frightful financial power"; they were "a money-worshipping people incapable of understanding that a man can act out of other motives than money" (in Kornberg 1993, 161, 162). Their power drive and resentment at their persecutors could only find expression by outsmarting Gentiles in commercial dealings" (Kornberg 1993, 126). Theodor Gomperz, a contemporary of Herzl and professor of philology at the University of Vienna, stated "Greed for gain became . . . a national defect [among Jews], just as, it seems, vanity (the natural consequence of an atomistic existence shunted away from a concern with national and public interests)" (in Kornberg 1993, 161).[29]

Negative perceptions of Jewish personality traits were also common in anti-Semitic writings in America during the 19th and 20th centuries. Apart from the Japanese (another high-IQ group [Lynn 1987]), the Jews were the only immigrant group that was disliked because of its strength: "Unfavorable stereotypes

have pictured an overbearing Jewish ability to gain advantage in American life," and the contrast with other immigrant groups was in fact based on reality (Higham 1984, 146). Jews were seen by both Jews and gentiles as "the quintessential parvenu—glittering with conspicuous and vulgar jewelry, . . . attracting attention by clamorous behavior, and always forcing his way into society that was above him. To treat this stereotype entirely as a scapegoat for somebody else's psychological frustrations is to overemphasize the irrational sources of 'prejudice' and to clothe the Jews in defensive innocence" (Higham 1984, 125).

Sociologist Edward A. Ross (1914) perceived Jews as having some morally laudatory traits (e.g., intelligence and a lack of physical brutality), but he also commented on a greater tendency among Jewish immigrants to maximize their advantage in all transactions, ranging from Jewish students badgering teachers for higher grades to Jewish poor attempting to get more than the usual charitable allotment. In addition, "no other immigrants are so noisy, pushing and disdainful of the rights of others as the Hebrews" (Ross 1914, 150).

The authorities complain that the East European Hebrews feel no reverence for law as such and are willing to break any ordinance they find in their way. . . . The insurance companies scan a Jewish fire risk more closely than any other. Credit men say the Jewish merchant is often "slippery" and will "fail" in order to get rid of his debts. For lying the immigrant has a very bad reputation. In the North End of Boston "the readiness of the Jews to commit perjury has passed into a proverb." (Ross 1914, 150)

During the same period there were also complaints about Jewish perjury in Hungary, and in Russia a "liberal nobleman widely recognized as friendly to the Jews" noted that judges "unanimously declared that not a single lawsuit, criminal or civil, can be properly conducted if the interests of the Jews are involved" (in Lindemann 1997, 288–289). Jews were accused of committing perjury to help other Jews commit fraud, concealment of property, and usury.

Ross (1914, 150) also stated that "the fact that pleasure-loving Jewish businessmen spare Jewesses but pursue Gentile girls excites bitter comment." There were similar complaints of "Yiddish gorillas" exploiting gentile females in England. A writer claimed "no Jew is more of a hero to his fellow tribesmen than one who can boast of having accomplished the ruin of some friendless, unprotected Christian girl" (in Lindemann 1997, 380). Lindemann notes that "even among Jewish observers the sexuality of Jewish males and their special attraction to non-Jewish females have been perennial topics" (p. 381). Accusations of sexual exploitation of gentile females also occurred in Russia (see note 21) and in Spain during the period of the Inquisition (see above); such concerns also figure in the major anti-Semitic movements discussed in Chapters 3–5.

Negative stereotypes continued well into the 20th century. A 1938 survey found that "greed," "dishonesty," and "aggressiveness" were the qualities Americans disliked most about Jews. Forty-one percent believed that Jews had "too much power in the United States" (in 1945, the figure rose to 58 percent [Dinnerstein 1994, 146]), and 20 percent wanted "to drive Jews out of the

United States as a means of reducing their power" (Breitman & Kraut 1987, 88). A survey conducted by the Jewish Labor Committee in 1945 indicated that the great majority of an American working class sample perceive

the Jew as a cheating storekeeper, a merciless landlord or rental agent, an unscrupulous pawn-broker, or an installment salesman and insurance collector who will take away the collateral or let the insurance lapse at the first delinquency. To this is added the idea that the Jews own all business and that at least most Jews are in business. All this is so because the Jews are money-crazy, selfish, grabby, take advantage of others, cheat, chisel, lie, are ruthless, unscrupulous, and so on. (In Wiggershaus 1994, 368)[30]

The Theme of Cultural Domination. Closely related to economic domination has been the idea that Jews have dominated the culture of a society. A fundamental feature of human adaptation is the manipulation of culture to achieve evolutionary goals (*PTSDA*, Ch. 1), but, for a variety of reasons, different groups have different interests in the construction of culture. Social identity theory predicts that Jews as an outgroup would have negative attitudes about gentile culture, especially if, as in the case of Christianity, that culture is perceived as anti-Semitic or as leading to cohesive gentile groups. Also, eugenic processes among Jews have resulted in genetic tendencies for intelligence and high-investment parenting, and Jews have their own highly developed cultural supports for high-investment parenting. As a result, the behavior of Jews is less dependent on traditional religious and cultural supports than is the behavior of gentiles. A theme of *The Culture of Critique* is that Jewish criticism of gentile culture has contributed to the decline of cultural supports for high-investment parenting among gentiles but has had little effect on Jewish behavior.

The theme of cultural domination appeared in the post-Enlightenment period as emancipated Jews entered the world of secular intellectual activity, and it became a major theme of anti-Semitism in Germany, France, and Austria. The following is a description of the role of Jews as culture producers in Weimar Germany, a time when Jews constituted 1 percent of the German population:

Jews were responsible for a great part of German culture. The owners of three of Germany's greatest newspaper publishing houses; the editors of the *Vossische Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt*; most book publishers; the owners and editors of the *Neue Rundschau* and other distinguished literary magazines; the owners of Germany's greatest art galleries were all Jews. Jews played a major part in theater and in the film industry as producers, directors, and actors. Many of Germany's best composers, musicians, artists, sculptors, and architects were Jews. Their participation in literary criticism and in literature was enormous: practically all the great critics and many novelists, poets, dramatists, essayists of Weimar Germany were Jews. A recent American study has shown that thirty-one of the sixty-five leading German "expressionists" and "neo-objectivists" were Jews.[31] (Deak 1968, 28)

Richard Wagner is perhaps the best known intellectual whose anti-Semitism focused on Jewish domination of culture.[32] In *Judaism in Music* Wagner argued

that the Jews had a very strong influence on culture. Since Jews had not assimilated to gentile culture, they did not identify with and merge themselves into the deeper layers of that culture, including religious and ethnic influences—the *Volksgeist*. In Wagner's view, higher culture springs ultimately from folk culture. In the absence of Jewish influence, German music would reflect the deeper layers of German folk culture.

Jewish cultural influence is viewed by anti-Semites as entirely negative and as shattering the social bonds within the gentile society. Heinrich Heine was viewed by the influential intellectual Heinrich von Treitschke as "mocking German humiliation and disgrace following the Napoleonic wars" and as having "no sense of shame, loyalty, truthfulness, or reverence" (Mosse 1970, 52–53).[33] Treitschke decried Ludwig Börne's "brazen manner of speaking about the Fatherland irreverently, like an outsider who does not belong to the Fatherland" (in Rose 1992, 85), and he condemned Heinrich Graetz's "deadly hatred of the purest and most powerful exponents of the German character, from Luther to Goethe and Fichte" (in Lindemann 1997, 141). (Graetz had also written that Börne and Heine had "renounced Judaism, but only like combatants who, putting on the uniform of the enemy, can all the more easily strike and annihilate him" [in Lindemann 1997, 141]). Moreover, "what Jewish journalists write in mockery and satirical remarks against Christianity is downright revolting." On the other hand, "about the shortcomings of the Germans [or] French, everybody could freely say the worst things; but if somebody dared to speak in just and moderate terms about some undeniable weakness of the Jewish character, he was immediately branded as a barbarian and religious persecutor by nearly all of the newspapers" (in Lindemann 1997, 138–139). Similar complaints were common in Austria (Lindemann 1997, 193).

Similar themes emerged in the conflict over Jewish cultural domination in the Soviet Union. Beginning at least by 1942, there was concern within high governmental circles with the underrepresentation of ethnic Russians and the overrepresentation of Jews in key areas of the cultural and economic elite. The report noted that elite cultural institutions "turned out to be filled by non-Russian people (mainly by Jews)" (in Kostyrchenko 1995, 15). For example, of the ten top executives of the Bolshoi Theater—the most prestigious Soviet cultural institution—there were eight Jews and one Russian. Similar disproportions were reported in prestigious musical conservatories and among art and music reviewers in elite publications. Higher Jewish IQ seems inadequate to account for these disproportions, suggesting within-group collusion as a factor.

Reports describing disproportionate representation of Jews among the cultural elite continued to appear up to Stalin's death in 1953. In a campaign whose rationale is reminiscent of the charges of Wagner and Treitschke, Jews were now purged from the cultural elite as "antipatriotic stateless cosmopolitans." They were viewed as having no appreciation for Russian national culture and as encouraging a "national nihilism" toward the Russian people (Kostyrchenko 1995, 168). Jewish predominance in the cultural establishment was often viewed

as facilitated by group ties. A group dominating the Leningrad Institute of Literature (Pushkin House) of the Academy of Sciences was accused by its opponents of being welded together "by long-lasting relationships of families and friends, mutual protection, homogeneous (Jewish) national composition, and anti-patriotic (anti-Russian) tendencies" (in Kostyrchenko 1995, 171).

As in the case of economic sources of anti-Semitism, Zionists at times pointed to Jewish participation in the creation of culture as an understandable source of anti-Semitism. Thus the novelist Arnold Zweig wrote in 1927 that "the more intensively the Jew assimilates himself, the more deeply and rapidly he interferes with the nations' spiritual life; his role in poetry, politics, and the arts is widely acknowledged" (in Niewyk 1980, 127). The result, Zweig claimed, is that even though Jews fulfill their formal obligations to the state, a mistrust is built up, and in times of stress it boils over into violent anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semites have also complained that Jews use their influence on the media to misrepresent and exaggerate anti-Semitism. Goldwin Smith (1894) charged that anti-Semites in Russia were portrayed in the Jewish-controlled media as religious fanatics rather than motivated by economic and social reasons: "The anti-Semites are supposed to be a party of fanatics renewing the persecutions to which the Jews were exposed on account of their faith in the dark ages, and every one who, handling the question critically, fails to show undivided sympathy with the Israelites is set down as a religious persecutor. The Jews naturally foster this impression. . . . [T]he press of Europe is in their hands" (p. 241).

An important aspect of the cultural domination theme is that Jews participate in the wider gentile culture while continuing to identify strongly as Jews, and that their contributions in fact reflect specific Jewish group interests. This theme will emerge as a major aspect of the discussions of Jewish involvement in radical political activities, Boasian anthropology, psychoanalysis, and the Frankfurt School of sociology in *The Culture of Critique*, but it is worth noting here the generality of the phenomenon. Sorkin (1985, 102) describes Jewish intellectuals in post-emancipation Germany as constituting an "invisible community of acculturating German Jews who perpetuated distinct cultural forms within the majority culture." The Jewish cultural contribution to the wider gentile culture was therefore accomplished from a highly particularistic perspective in which Jewish group identity continued to be of paramount importance despite its "invisibility." Even Berthold Auerbach (b. 1812), the exemplar of the assimilated Jewish intellectual, "manipulate[d] elements of the majority culture in a way peculiar to the German-Jewish minority" (Sorkin 1985, 107).[34] This cultural manipulation in the service of group interests was a common theme of anti-Semitic writings. Thus, Heinrich Heine's critique of German culture was viewed as directed at the pursuit of power for his group at the expense of the cohesiveness of gentile society (see Mosse 1970, 52).[35]

In America there is also a long history of overt or thinly veiled anti-Semitism directed at alleged Jewish domination of the media and entertainment industry. *The International Jew*, published by Henry Ford's newspaper *The Dearborn*

Independent, charged that Jews in the media and entertainment industries subverted gentile morals and viewed Jewish media involvement as part of a highly orchestrated Jewish plot described in the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Not only the "legitimate" stage, so-called, but the motion picture industry—the fifth greatest of all industries—is also entirely Jew-controlled; with the natural consequence that the civilized world is increasingly antagonistic to the trivializing and demoralizing influence of that form of entertainment as presently managed. . . . As soon as the Jews gained control of the "movies," we had a movie problem, the consequences of which are visible. It is the peculiar genius of that race to create problems of a moral character in whatever business they achieve a majority. (Ford 1920, 48)

During the late 1930s isolationists blamed the Jewish-controlled movie industry for attempting to push America into the war against Germany. Charles Lindbergh stated that the Jews' "greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our government" (in Gabler 1988, 345). During the McCarthy era, there was concern that the entertainment industry would influence American culture by, in the words of an overt anti-Semite, Congressman John R. Rankin of Mississippi, "insidiously trying to spread subversive propaganda, poison the minds of your children, distort the history of our country and discredit Christianity" (in Sachar 1992, 624).[36]

The great majority of those stigmatized by the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives (HUAC) were Jews, many of them in the entertainment industry (e.g., Sachar 1992, 623ff; Navasky 1980, 109ff). A belief that "Jewish Hollywood" was promoting subversive ideas, including leftist political beliefs, was a common component of anti-Semitism in the post-World War II period, and indeed the push for the HUAC investigation was led by such well-known anti-Semites as Gerald L. K. Smith and Congressman Rankin (Platt 1978).[37] For example, Smith stated that "there is a general belief that Russian Jews control too much of Hollywood propaganda and they are trying to popularize Russian Communism in America through that instrumentality. Personally I believe that is the case" (in Gabler 1988, 360).

The substantive basis of the opinion of Rankin and others was that beginning in the 1930s Hollywood screenwriters were predominantly Jewish and politically liberal or radical (Gabler 1988, 322ff)—a general association that has been typical of Jewish intellectual history in the 20th century (see *The Culture of Critique*). The American Communist Party (CPUSA), which was under Soviet control during the period, sent V. J. Jerome and Stanley Lawrence, both Jews, to Hollywood to organize the writers and take advantage of their political sentiments. Jerome argued that "agitprop propaganda was actually better drama because Marxists better understood the forces that shaped human beings, and could therefore write better characters" (in Gabler 1988, 329). Writers responded by self-consciously viewing themselves as contributing to "the Cause" (p. 329) by their script writing. "But as much as the Hollywood Communist

party was a writers' party, it was also . . . a Jewish party. (Indeed, to be the former meant to be the latter as well)" (p. 330).

Nevertheless, during this period the radical writers were able to have little influence on the ultimate product, although there is good evidence that they did their best to influence movie content in the direction of their political views (see, e.g., Ceplair & Englund 1980; Jones 1972). Their failure was at least partly because of pressures brought to bear on Hollywood by conservative, predominantly gentile political forces, resulting in a great deal of self-censorship by the movie industry.[38] The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, headed by Will H. Hays, was created in 1922 in response to movements in over thirty state legislatures to enact strict censorship laws, and the Production Code Administration, headed by Joseph I. Breen, was launched in response to a campaign by the Catholic Legion of Decency. The result was that producers were forced to develop projects "along the lines of a standard Hollywood genre while steering clear of both the Hays and Breen offices and the radical writer who may have been assigned to the project" (Ceplair & Englund 1980, 303–304).[39]

In addition, the HUAC investigations of the late 1940s and early 1950s and the active campaigning of religious (Legion of Decency, Knights of Columbus), patriotic (Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR]), and educational (Parents and Teachers Association) groups influenced movie content well into the 1950s, including a great many anticommunist films made as a rather direct response to the HUAC investigations. The result was, in the words of one studio executive, that "I now read scripts through the eyes of the DAR, whereas formerly I read them through the eyes of my boss" (in Ceplair & Englund 1980, 340). Particular mention should be made of the American Legion, described by Cogley (1972, 118) as "the prime mover" in attempting to eradicate "Communist influence" in the movie industry during the 1950s. The list of sixty-six movie personalities said to be associated with communism published in the *American Legion Magazine* caused panic in Hollywood and a prolonged series of investigations, firings, and blacklistings.

By all accounts, Jews continue to be disproportionately involved in the American media, especially the movie industry. For example, as of this writing Jews head every major studio—a situation that has not changed in over sixty years (see Ginsberg 1993, 1; Kotkin 1993, 61; Silberman 1985, 147). In a survey performed in the 1980s, 60 percent of a representative sample of the movie elite were of Jewish background (Powers et al. 1996, 79n13). Medved (1996, 37) notes that "it makes no sense at all to try to deny the reality of Jewish power and prominence in popular culture. Any list of the most influential production executives at each of the major movie studios will produce a heavy majority of recognizably Jewish names. This prominent Jewish role is obvious to anyone who follows news reports from Tinsel Town or even bothers to read the credits on major movies or television shows."

Anti-Semitic charges no longer focus on complaints by isolationists and anti-communists, but reflect a continuing concern with broad cultural issues. Recently media critic William Cash (1994) describes the Jewish media elite as "culturally nihilist," suggesting that he believes Jewish media influence reflects Jewish lack of concern for traditional cultural values.[40] Pat Robertson (1994, 257), whose Christian Coalition has emerged as a significant force in the Republican Party, has stated that "the part that Jewish intellectuals and media activists have played in the assault on Christianity may very possibly prove to be a grave mistake. . . . For centuries, Christians have supported Jews in their dream of a national homeland. But American Jews invested great energy in attacking these very allies. That investment may pay a terrible dividend."[41] Podhoretz (1995, 30) defended Robertson against charges of anti-Semitism resulting from these comments, noting that it is in fact the case that Jewish intellectuals, Jewish organizations like the American Jewish Congress, and Jewish-dominated organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union[42] have ridiculed Christian religious beliefs, attempted to undermine the public strength of Christianity, or have led the fight for unrestricted pornography.[43]

In comments reminiscent of those of Heinrich von Treitschke, columnist Joseph Sobran has also raised the issue of Jewish media control and how it shapes discussion of Jewish interests versus those of the Christian Right:

The full story of [Pat Buchanan's 1996 presidential] campaign is impossible to tell as long as it's taboo to discuss Jewish interests as freely as we discuss those of the Christian Right. Talking about American politics without mentioning the Jews is a little like talking about the NBA without mentioning the Chicago Bulls. Not that the Jews are all-powerful, let alone all bad. But they are successful, and therefore powerful enough: and their power is unique in being off-limits to normal criticism even when it's highly visible. They themselves behave as if their success were a guilty secret, and they panic, and resort to accusations, as soon as the subject is raised. Jewish control of the major media in the media age makes the enforced silence both paradoxical and paralyzing. Survival in public life requires that you know all about it, but never refer to it. A hypocritical etiquette forces us to pretend that the Jews are powerless victims; and if you don't respect their victimhood, they'll destroy you. It's a phenomenal display not of wickedness, really, but of fierce ethnocentrism, a sort of furtive racial superpatriotism. (Sobran 1996a, 3)[44]

Similarly, Kevin Myers, a columnist for the British *Sunday Telegraph* (January 5, 1997) wrote that "we should really be able to discuss Jews and their Jewishness, their virtues or their vices, as one can any other identifiable group, without being called anti-Semitic. Frankness does not feed anti-Semitism; secrecy, however, does. The silence of sympathetic discretion can easily be misunderstood as a conspiracy. It is time to be frank about Jews." Myers goes on to note that *The Spectator* was accused of anti-Semitism when it published the article by William Cash (1994) referred to above. Myers emphasized the point that Cash's offense was that he had written that the cultural leaders of the United States were Jews whose Jewishness remained beyond public discussion.

A particularly striking example of anti-Semitic writing related to the media control issue appeared recently in the *National Vanguard Book Service Catalog* (no. 16, November 1995), a publication of William Pierce's National Alliance. The article combined anti-Semitic themes with a detailed cataloguing of Jewish ownership or managerial control over television, popular music, the print media, major newspapers and chains of smaller newspapers, newsmagazines, and book publishing in the United States.[45] The article emphasized the ability of the media to create boundaries of appropriate discussion, as in the case of attitudes regarding Israel, and accused the media of promoting the equality of races and the benefits of immigration and multi-culturalism. The article concludes that

By permitting the Jews to control our news and entertainment media we are doing more than merely giving them a decisive influence on our political system and virtual control of our government; we also are giving them control of the minds and souls of our children, whose attitudes and ideas are shaped more by Jewish television and Jewish films than by parents, schools, or any other influence. . . .

To permit the Jews, with their 3,000-year history of nation-wrecking, from ancient Egypt to Russia, to hold such power over us is tantamount to race suicide. Indeed, the fact that so many White Americans today are so filled with a sense of racial guilt and self-hatred that they actively seek the death of their own race is a *deliberate* consequence of Jewish media control. (page 22; italics in text)

Without emphasizing Jewish involvement in the media, criticism of the role of the media elite in the production of culture has been a common theme in national politics in recent years. During the 1992 presidential campaign Vice President Dan Quayle criticized the positive portrayals of single parenting in the television show Murphy Brown.[46] The issue also emerged in the 1996 presidential campaign as a result of Bob Dole's indictment of the entertainment industry for turning out "nightmares of depravity" that threaten "to undermine our character as a nation." Newt Gingrich (1995) complained that "since 1965 . . . there has been a calculated effort by cultural elites to discredit [traditional American] civilization and replace it with a culture of irresponsibility that is incompatible with American freedoms as we have known them."

There is, then, evidence of a continuing concern with the cultural messages emanating from the media elite. This concern often has anti-Semitic overtones, because individuals of Jewish background are disproportionately involved in the creation of culture. While there remain doubts about the extent to which the media influence behavior, Lichter et al. (1994, 433) note that "the uneasiness many people feel about television stems from the sense that the medium is changing our lives in ways we cannot measure and may not even notice."

Theorists of elites have often argued that that the creation and dissemination of cultural symbols have assumed ever greater power and influence in recent times (Powers et al. 1996, 2). There are conflicts among elites, and the result of this conflict has been an increase in the relative dominance of the information elites (national media journalists, television writers, producers, and directors)

and the relative eclipse of traditional elites centered around religion, business, and the military. "Hollywood films are the product of a highly educated, affluent, and powerful leadership group that is vying for influence in America with other more traditional groups. The Hollywood elites do not seek power (for the most part) as an end in itself. Rather they seek to persuade Americans to create the kind of society that they regard as just and/or good. In short, they seek to propagate an ideology that they believe should be held by all decent people" (Powers et al. 1996, 2–3).

Historically, the forces of cultural conservatism centered around religious and patriotic societies lost power after their peak influence in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Since the 1960s the Hollywood creative community has disseminated views on issues such as sex, marriage, and family very different from those held by the majority of Americans and traditional American elites (Lichter et al. 1994; Powers et al. 1996; Stein 1979). As will be discussed at several points in *The Culture of Critique*, the decade of the 1960s represents a watershed in American cultural and political history. A central theme is that the changes inaugurated at this time are intimately linked to the rise of Jewish power and influence. The character of the American media is simply one example of this shift.

A substantial percentage of the Hollywood creative community (which now includes the higher levels of control over movie content rather than only the process of screen writing) have self-consciously aimed at a complete restructuring of America's basic institutions in a left/liberal direction (Lichter et al. 1994; Powers et al. 1996). "The elite was [since the 1960s] and remains disproportionately anti-Establishment in its social and political views and . . . remains so even as a large segment of the American public continues to be ambivalent, or opposed to the new social paradigms" (Powers et al. 1996, 48). Moreover, the social and political messages emanating from Hollywood have been impervious to election returns, and "if anything, the ascendance of conservative politics in Washington may have accelerated television's leftward tendencies by alarming and mobilizing the predominantly liberal Hollywood community" (Lichter et al. 1994, 418).

The difference between the Hollywood elite and both the traditional elites and the general public is clearest on what Powers et al. term "expressive individualism"—a dimension tapping ideas of sexual liberation (including approval of homosexuality), moral relativism, and a disdain for religious institutions.[47] The movie elite was also much higher on "system alienation," including beliefs that "the very structure of our society causes alienation" (Powers et al. 1996, 64). The movie elite is also more tolerant of unusual or deviant lifestyles and of minority religions and ethnic groups (Prindle & Endersby 1993). Broadly similar findings on the television and print journalism elite were obtained by Lichter et al. (1986).[48]

These findings are compatible with the general tenor of Jewish intellectual movements in several historical eras: *The Culture of Critique* reviews data

indicating that predominantly Jewish intellectual movements have subjected Western culture to radical criticism, motivated at least partly by social identity processes involving antipathy toward the culture of an outgroup. These Jewish intellectual and political movements, like the media elites, have generally been associated with the political and cultural left. As Powers et al. (1996, 211) note, the sensibility of the media elite derives from the 1960s countercultural revolution. Its values include "a loss of faith in the efficacy and legitimacy of the political system as well as a loss of faith in the values of Western culture. At best, Western culture is seen as but one of many expressions of the human condition, albeit a failing one. At worst it is seen as sick and morally inferior to alternate perspectives." Moreover, although the dissemination of this world view in the popular culture coincided with the countercultural revolution of the 1960s, these values were in fact characteristic of the Hollywood media elite long before this period. Like the Old Left, the media elite was successfully restrained by the forces of cultural conservatism until the 1960s (Powers et al. 1996, 213).

Regarding specific Jewish interests, a major theme of *The Culture of Critique* is that cultural pluralism has been a major focus of 20th-century Jewish intellectual and political effort in Western societies.[49] Powers et al. (1996, 207) characterize television as promoting liberal, cosmopolitan values, and Lichter et al. (1994, 251) find that television portrays cultural pluralism in positive terms and as easily achieved apart from the activities of a few ignorant or bigoted miscreants. On the other hand, Powers et al. (1996) find that themes of racial conflict resulting from white racism are more typical of the movies: "Today, moviemakers seem preoccupied with exposing and rectifying the evils of racism and are thus inclined to convey a quite pessimistic view of race relations" (p. 173).

It was noted above that the dimension of expressive individualism clearly distinguishes the movie elite from the traditional elites and the general public. A theme of *The Culture of Critique* is that Jews and gentiles have conflicts of interest in the construction of culture. Jews, because of their genetically influenced tendencies toward intelligence and high-investment parenting, are relatively buffered from the impact of the erosion of traditional Western cultural supports for high-investment parenting (including religious institutions and beliefs and controls on sexual behavior and expressions of sexuality). The result is that the very substantial competitive difference between Jews and gentiles is expected to be dramatically increased by the erosion of cultural supports for high-investment parenting among gentiles.[50]

The Theme of Political Domination. A theme closely related to Jewish cultural influence is that Jews exercise disproportionate political influence. Recently Ginsberg (1993) has brought together data from a wide range of historical and contemporary societies illustrating Jewish influence in establishing or maintaining governments that promote Jewish interests, ranging from absolutist governments in traditional societies to liberal, radical, and even fascist governments (in the case of Italy) in more recent times. This Jewish influence is often

obtained by financial contributions, manipulation of public opinion via control of the media, and political activism (see Chapter 6), but these activities then become the focus of anti-Semitic movements among gentiles who oppose the government for a wide variety of reasons. Quite often the anti-Semitic movements emphasize aspects of Judaism, such as separatism and alienness, questionable loyalty, and disproportionate economic, cultural, and political influence, that are viewed as compromising the interests of gentiles.

A common pattern in the modern world is for gentiles to view Jews as controlling liberal and radical political movements—a perception not without ample historical evidence. In the 1912 election in Germany, the prominent Jewish involvement in the Hansa-Bund "contributed to the unprecedented victory of the Left, to the fury of the right-wing press. There the election was seen as 'an attack by Jewry and, more broadly, the Jewish spirit, on the fundaments of our national and folk life,' the result as entitling 'the Jews to regard themselves as our new leaders' " (Pulzer 1979, 95). The perceptions that Jews are disproportionately involved in controlling liberal and radical political movements thus merges with the idea that Jews in effect become the rulers of the gentiles, who vastly outnumber them. As the anti-Semite Julius Langbehn wrote in a very popular work in the 1880s, "Only German blood should rule over Germans; that is the first and fundamental right of our people" (in Stern 1961, 142).[51]

Beginning in the 19th century, "Whatever their situation . . . in almost every country about which we have information, a segment of the Jewish community played a very vital role in movements designed to undermine the existing order" (Rothman & Lichter 1982, 110). The idea that Jews were a dominant force in the Bolshevik Revolution was a widespread source of anti-Semitism especially during the interwar years, and continues to the present. Prominent examples include Hitler and National Socialist theorist Alfred Rosenberg, Woodrow Wilson, the French novelist Louis Ferdinand Céline, and the English novelist Hilaire Belloc. Winston Churchill (1920) wrote that Jews were behind a "worldwide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization." The role of Jews in the revolution "is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others." Churchill noted the predominance of Jews not only among Bolshevik leaders (Trotsky, Zinoviev, Litvinoff, Krassin, Radek, and among those responsible for "the system of [state] terrorism"), but also in revolutionary movements in Hungary (Bela Kun), Germany (Rosa Luxemburg), and the United States (Emma Goldman). Within Russia, the perception that Jews dominated the revolution resulted in pogroms, and after the revolution anti-Semitism resulted at least partly from the view that only the Jews had benefited (Pipes 1993, 101). Pipes (1993, 258) links the Holocaust ultimately to the perception that the Bolshevik revolution was dominated by Jews and was part of a plan for Jewish world supremacy: "The Jewish Holocaust thus turned out to be one of the many unanticipated and unintended consequences of the Russian Revolution."[52]

Recently, Jewish involvement in the Revolution has reemerged as a theme of anti-Semitism in Russia. For example, Igor Shafarevich (1989), a mathematician

and member of the prestigious U. S. National Academy of Sciences (NAS), argues that Jews occupied many top leadership positions during the Bolshevik Revolution and that their activities during this period and later were motivated by hostility to Russians and their culture.[53] Shafarevich claims that Jews were critically involved in actions that destroyed traditional Russian institutions, particularly in their role in dominating the secret police and the OGPU (Unified State Political Directorate). He stresses the Jewish role in liquidating Russian nationalists and undermining Russian patriotism, murdering the Czar and his family, dispossessing the kulaks, and destroying the Orthodox Church. He views Jewish "Russophobia" not as a unique phenomenon, but as resulting from traditional Jewish hostility toward the gentile world considered as *tref* (unclean) and toward gentiles themselves considered as sub-human and as worthy of destruction—another example of the separatism and misanthropy themes of anti-Semitism discussed above. Shafarevich reviews Jewish literary works during the Soviet and post-Soviet period indicating hatred toward Russia and its culture mixed with a powerful desire for revenge. Reflecting the cultural domination theme of anti-Semitism, Shafarevich claims that Jews have had more influence on Russia than perhaps any other country, but that discussion of the role of Jews either in contemporary Russia or even in the theoretically more open United States is prohibited in principle. Indeed, Shafarevich states that any possibility that Jewish interests conflict with the interests of others cannot even be proposed as an hypothesis.

The Theme of Disloyalty

A third theme of anti-Semitic writing is the question of disloyalty. As Katz (1986b, 151) notes, the loyalty issue is related to the idea of international Jewish cohesion. The psychological and practical importance of the worldwide dispersion of Jews can be seen in the close business and familial ties maintained among widely dispersed Jewish families and other networks of coreligionists in all periods (see *PTSDA*, Ch. 6). Particularly revealing here is that familial marriage strategies often took no cognizance of national boundaries in the search for an appropriate Jewish mate (e.g., Mosse 1989, 170). To a considerable extent, the Jewish social world has always been an international one comprising Jews wherever they may happen to live at the time.

Given the importance of genetic and cultural separatism among the Jews and the fact that they have tended to be more closely related to other, widely dispersed, Jewish groups than to the gentiles among whom they live, it is not surprising from an evolutionary perspective that the question of loyalty has been raised.

Moreover, social identity processes within the Jewish and gentile community tend to result in the perception that Jews have more similar interests with distant groups of Jews than with their gentile fellow citizens, and this would be the case even in the absence of a great deal of genetic commonality among widely

dispersed groups of Jews. Within the Jewish community these perceptions are intensified by the traditional ideology of the unity of the Jewish people in dispersion. Genetic commonality is thus not a necessary condition for supposing that loyalty issues would be an important aspect of Jewish-gentile relationships.

In addition, a change of government may have very concrete benefits for Jews, especially if Jews view their current situation as oppressive. Given the widespread occurrence of anti-Semitism, Jews have often viewed their situation as oppressive, and Jewish disloyalty would be increased if Jews believed that after the change of government they would be able to dominate their former oppressors. For example, in the 8th century, the Jews of Spain greeted the Muslims as "saviors from intolerable oppression" (Netanyahu 1995, 56), aided them in their military campaign, and after the invasion acted as intermediaries between the Muslims and the conquered Spaniards. And, as indicated below, Jews actively aided Muslim invaders in both the Byzantine Empire and Spain, where they had been subjected to anti-Semitism during the eras of Christian domination and subsequently acted as an intermediary class between the new, alien ruling elites and the conquered gentile population.

Similar examples have occurred in modern times. During World War I, Russian suspicions that Jewish subjects favored Germany in the war effort resulted in eviction of Jews from the zone of combat (Pipes 1990, 231). Jewish sympathies with Germany stemmed at least partly from official anti-Semitic policies of the czarist regime. Polish Jews also welcomed the 1939 Soviet invasion of Poland, because of perceptions of Polish anti-Semitism combined with favorable opinions about the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union and the presence of Jews in prestigious occupations in the USSR. After the war Jews supported the Soviet occupation and the suppression of Polish nationalist forces, because of the anti-Semitism of many Polish nationalists (Checinski 1982; Schatz 1991).

On the other hand, beginning in the ancient world Jews have often served as middlemen between oppressive ruling elites, especially alien ruling elites, and native populations. In such cases Jews were typically recruited for this status because of their unquestioned loyalty to the regime—a loyalty deriving from the fact that their status was entirely dependent on the gentile elite. A 19th-century account of the entry of Jews into England presents a very negative portrayal of William II that is based partly on the way he and his father, William the Conqueror, exploited the status of Jews as an intermediary between the elite and the rest of the population:

In the wake of [William I] the Conqueror the Jews of Rouen found their way to London, and before long we find settlements in the chief cities and boroughs of England: at York, Winchester, Lincoln, Bristol, Oxford, and even at the gate of the Abbot of St. Edmonds and St. Albans. They came as the king's special men, or more truly as his special chattels, strangers alike to the Church and the commonwealth, but strong in the protection of a master who commonly found it his interest to protect them against all others. Hated, feared, and loathed, but far too deeply feared to be scorned or oppressed, they stalked defiantly among the people of the land, on whose wants they throve, safe from harm or

insult, save now and then, when popular wrath burst all bounds, when their proud mansions and fortified quarters could shelter them no longer from raging crowds who were eager to wash out their debts in the blood of their creditors. The romantic picture of the despised, trembling Jew, cringing before every Christian that he meets, is, in any age of English history, simply a romantic picture. (Freeman 1882, I, 160–161)

Finally, the disloyalty issue is tied up with the role of Jews vis-à-vis possible gentile group strategies. At times gentiles have attempted to wield together highly cohesive groups centered around nation or religion.[54] Thus the persecution of the Jews under the Visigothic kings in 6th- and 7th-century Spain was motivated by the kings' desire for an ethnically and religiously united kingdom at a time of continuing conflicts between the Visigoths and the previously dominant Hispano-Roman peoples (Netanyahu 1995, 37ff). In the period between 1870 and 1914 in Germany, gentile intellectuals such as Heinrich von Treitschke developed the idea of a monolithic German culture based on Christianity (Ragins 1980, 16; see also Carlebach 1978, 77). Jews should either join this culture unreservedly or leave and attempt to establish their own state, but they should not be allowed to persist as an unassimilated national group within Germany. Even the liberal intellectual Theodor Mommsen, while a critic of von Treitschke and generally opposed to anti-Semitism, remained concerned that continued Jewish separatism would prevent national unification. This general attitude typified German liberal Protestant circles, and a major response of liberal Jews to the anti-Semitism of the period was to assert their patriotism. Jews also attempted to dissociate themselves from Zionists and their more traditional coreligionists, whose lack of patriotism was viewed as a major source of anti-Semitism (Ragins 1980, 48).

Questions of disloyalty are by no means unique to Jews. Zenner (1991, 24) notes that minority groups living in diaspora conditions, including Chinese and Indian groups living as minorities abroad, have often been charged with disloyalty by the demographically dominant group. During World War I, many German-Americans were reluctant to support the Allied cause against Germany because of their ties with their homeland.

In this regard, it is revealing that the immigrant German-American-Jewish leaders of the American Jewish Committee (AJCommittee) also favored Germany in World War I, but only until the success of the Russian Revolution. They adopted this position not because of their ties with Germany but rather because of their ties with Russian Jews who they believed were being oppressed by the czar, and because Germany was at war with Russia (see below). Their primary concern was with other Jews rather than the nation of their birth.

In the case of groups lacking a well-developed diaspora ideology or a powerful sense of group identity or ethnocentrism, ties to the native country gradually dwindle, and there is a tendency toward cultural and genetic assimilation, at least in Western assimilationist countries. Thus German-Americans gradually became more assimilated into American culture and intermarried with individuals of other European ethnic backgrounds, so that by World War II dual loyalty

was no longer an issue for the great majority. However, given the permanence of the diaspora condition, Jews have repeatedly been in situations where their relationships to Jews in other lands have conflicted with, or at least been independent of, the interests of the great majority of the other members of the societies they lived in.

The accounts in the books of Exodus and Esther show an awareness that a powerful sojourning group will provoke charges of disloyalty—the fear that "when there befalleth us any war, they . . . join themselves unto our enemies, and fight against us" (Exod. 1:10). Bickerman (1988, 243) also points out that in the Book of Jubilees the Pharaoh is said to persecute the Jews because their loyalty is to the land of Canaan; and the author of the Book of Tobit "finds it natural for Sennecherib [the Assyrian king] to take vengeance on the Jews of Nineveh [the capitol of Assyria] for his defeat at Jerusalem."

Josephus perceived the hostility of the people of Alexandria toward the Jews as originating when the Jews of the region assisted Alexander the Great against the Egyptians (Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews,* 2:487–488). Feldman (1993, 89–90) describes four other instances during the Greek and Roman periods in which the loyalty of diaspora Jews to Jews in Judea conflicted with the interests of the government, including one in which the Egyptian ruler was dissuaded from attempting to capture Judea because it would make enemies of the Egyptian Jews.

"The Romans long distrusted Jewish loyalties" (Baron 1952, II, 179). Jewish attitudes toward the Romans were far more negative than those of any other subject group, ranging from outright hostility (the great majority of the time) to a resigned acceptance which emerged gradually following the defeat of Bar Kochba (A.D. 140) (Alon 1989, 698). At the end, "[the Jews] alone rejoiced at the calamities of the empire and welcomed its fall" (Jones 1964, 950).

One source of lack of trust was that Jewish sympathies in the diaspora remained centered on the welfare of the homeland. For example, during the rebellion of A.D. 66–70 there were Jewish uprisings in several cities of the diaspora, and during the Bar Kochba War the sympathies of Jews in the diaspora remained with the fate of their coreligionists in Palestine, even though they did not actively join in revolt (Alon 1989, 617–618). When Emperor Caligula threatened to place a statue of himself in the Temple in Jerusalem, Philo threatened the revolt of Jews throughout the Empire, noting that "everyone everywhere, even if he was not naturally well disposed to the Jews, was afraid to engage in destroying any of our institutions" (in Sanders 1992, 144).

Later the Byzantines adopted such anti-Jewish policies as forced conversion at times when they sought unity during periods of national crisis. The Byzantine authorities correctly feared that the Jews would actively assist the Persian and later the Muslim invaders (Alon 1989, 16; Avi-Yonah 1976, 261ff). Parkes (1934, 263) describes a "long list of betrayals and treason, of hostility and massacre" by the Jews during this period, connected ultimately to Jewish partisanship toward Persia in the context of Byzantine anti-Semitism. In the

early 5th century Jews were slaughtered after a Jewish attempt to betray a city to the Persians was discovered (Parkes 1934, 257–258). In the 7th century, the Jews came to the aid of Persian invaders, and with the aid of the Samaritans were said to have massacred a hundred thousand Christians (Grant 1973, 288). After the area was retaken by the Byzantines, the Arabs conquered the area with the "warm support" of the Jews (Grant 1973, 289; see also Jones 1964, 950). At the beginning of the 12th century, the Byzantine Jews "sprang rapidly to [the] assistance" of the invading armies of Seljuk Turks (Shaw 1991, 25). Beginning in the 14th century the Jews supported the invasions of the Ottoman Turks—the final entry into Constantinople in 1453 occurring through a Jewish quarter with the assistance of the Jews (Shaw 1991, 26). In gratitude for their support, the sultan imposed Jewish economic domination over his Christian subjects, and Jews immigrated into the area from throughout the diaspora (Shaw 1991, 77).

In the 16th century, the elevated position of Jews as intermediaries between the Turkish regime and native subject populations gave rise to fears in Christian countries that Jews would betray them to the Turks (Pullan 1983, 19; see also Davidson 1987). The Turks were expanding during this period into formerly Christian areas, and it was feared that their efforts were being aided by Jews and crypto-Jews in the Iberian peninsula and elsewhere. In Venice these fears focused on the prominent role in the Turkish attacks on Cyprus of the influential ex-Christian Duke J. Miquez Mendes, who was a high-ranking advisor to the sultan and had strong family and personal connections in the Marrano community of Venice. There was also fear that Jewish fortunes made in Christian countries would be transferred to the Ottoman Empire by emigrating Jews.

A theme of anti-Semitic writers in Spain during the Inquisition was that the Jews had schemed to have the Moslems invade Spain, opened the gates of the cities to the conquering armies, and served the new Muslim ruling elite in dominating the Christians after the invasion (Amador de los Rios 1875–1876, I; Castro 1954; Stillman 1979; Netanyahu [1995, 56–57], who must be viewed as an apologist [see pp. 227–240], rejects the stories of Jewish scheming as mythical, but notes that Jews rejoiced over the Muslim invasion and aided the Muslims in administering the conquered country.) Moreover, they did so not only because of previously existing Christian anti-Semitism but also because at this period the Muslims were still expanding and the Jews had an opportunity to make an alliance with forces that appeared to be on the verge of conquering Christian Europe. One can sense the animosity that this behavior provoked even in the 19th-century historian José Amador de los Rios, who wrote that "without any love for the soil where they lived, without any of those affections that ennoble a people, and finally without sentiments of generosity, they aspired only to feed their avarice and to accomplish the ruin of the Goths; taking the opportunity to manifest their rancor, and boasting of the hatreds that they had hoarded up so many centuries" (in Walsh 1930, 196).

Loyalty issues also emerged during the period of the Inquisition. "As a 'nation apart,' despite their conversion, as a nation united by common origin or

race, the Marranos were thus exposed to the evaluation of their group as an *alien national entity*, whose fellowships with the *people of the country* must be questioned, and whose preparedness to betray it could be taken as likely even by moderate adversaries" (Netanyahu 1995, 996; italics in text). One criticism of the New Christian merchants in the 1620s was that the former were crypto-Jews who were "proven agents of Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam and enemies of Spain and the Catholic religion" (Boyajian 1983, 20). In the 1640s the Portuguese New Christian financiers of the Spanish monarchy were accused of intentionally obstructing payments and were thus responsible for military defeats and mutinies. These accusations were strengthened by several instances in which crypto-Jewish financiers absconded and then lived openly in Jewish communities. Lea (1906–1907, III, 280) states that notwithstanding some exaggeration, there was "an undoubted substratum of fact" for charges that Judaizing Portuguese actively helped the enemies of Spain and Portugal during the 17th century, especially the Dutch (see also Castro 1971, 244; Contraras 1991, 133). Indeed, a principal objection to allowing the Conversos to emigrate was that they would work against Spanish and Portuguese interests abroad.

After the European Enlightenment, "states embarking on emancipation were prepared to absorb those Jews living within their own borders; they were not prepared to acknowledge the existence of a trans-national Jewry with a commonality of interests other than religion" (Katz 1986b, 81). Goldwin Smith in his essay "The Jewish Question" (1894) presents the issue as follows:

[A Jew] may be a conforming and dutiful citizen of the community among which he dwells as long as there is no conflict of national interest. But when there is a conflict of national interests his attachment to his own nationality will prevail. . . . We see the governments of Europe bidding against each other for the favour and support of an anti-national money power, which would itself be morally unfettered by any allegiance, would be ever ready to betray and secretly paralyse for its own objects the governments under the protection of which its members were living, and of course would be always gaining strength and predominance at the expense of a divided and subservient world. (Smith 1894, 279–280)

In 1807, at the very beginning of the post-Enlightenment political world, Jewish loyalty was one of several concerns presented by Napoleon at his conference of Jewish notables. Napoleon was assured that French Jews were loyal only to France, but Katz (1986b, 81) notes that Jews "continued to retain a strong sense of group consciousness and coherence transcending the national borders of their respective European states." Expressing a common fear among gentiles, the German philosopher Johann Fichte wrote that "extending over almost all the countries of Europe there is an enormous state . . . engaged in an eternal war with all the others. . . . [I]t is of course, Jewry" (in Katz 1986b, 120).

The Damascus affair of 1840 marked a milestone in post-Enlightenment concerns about Jewish loyalty. French Jews successfully prevailed upon their government to abandon its support of a charge of ritual murder leveled against

the Jewish community in Syria, with the result that territory reverted from France to the Ottoman empire. Wealthy Jews cooperated with Jewish communities in other countries, as well as with gentile politicians in countries viewed as enemies of France, and "many in France felt that their side had lost this particular contest to Jewish interests, to an internationally linked group of powerful Jews" (Lindemann 1991, 38), while Jewish observers viewed it as a victory for Jewish solidarity. "What was hailed as a new solidarity of Jews . . . appeared as the reaffirmation or reemergence of a very old and ominous one to other observers. For them Jews remained, as they had been for centuries, a peculiar nation spread throughout the nations of Europe. But now, in sharp and troubling contrast to the past, that peculiar nation was able to exercise great power within those nations" (Lindemann 1991, 38–39).

During the 19th century the establishment of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in France, the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association in England, and the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the AJCommittee (in 1906) in America as societies that advanced the interests of Jews throughout the world was also perceived as evidence that Jewish interests were not necessarily the same as national interests. Thus regarding the Alliance, "scarcely another Jewish activity or phenomenon played such a conspicuous role in the thinking and imagination of anti-Semites all over Europe. . . . The Alliance served to conjure up the phantom of the Jewish world conspiracy conducted from a secret center—later to become the focal theme of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*" (Katz 1979, 50). Russian Jews were strongly suspected of maintaining ties with the Alliance, and anti-Semitic publications in the 1880s shifted from accusations of economic exploitation to charges of an international conspiracy centered around the Alliance (Frankel 1981).[55]

From the late 19th century until the Russian Revolution, the Jewish desire to improve the poor treatment of Russian Jews conflicted with the national interests of several countries, particularly France, which was eager to develop an anti-German alliance in the wake of its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Aware of these deep suspicions, the Jewish community made public efforts to display affection for Czar Alexander III, despite his persecution of the Jews, but the suspicions of the anti-Semites remained (Johnson 1988, 384; Lindemann 1991). This issue also resulted in a successful attempt by American Jews to have their government abrogate the Russian-American Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, despite being told by the Secretary of State and the president that such action would "harm vital American trade interests" (Goldstein 1990, 135ff; see also Sachar 1992, 229ff).

In England during World War I, Jews who had immigrated from Russia often refused military service because England was allied with Russia. In Leeds a report to the Home Office indicated that 26 of 1,400 Jewish aliens had joined the armed forces and many more had fled to Ireland to avoid military service (Alderman 1992, 236):

However just Britain's quarrel with Germany might have seemed, it was not perceived in immigrant circles as a Jewish quarrel; for Jew to kill Jew appeared particularly profane. . . . Jews liable for conscription who pleaded before military tribunals they should be exempted because they did not wish to fight for the Tsar, or because they feared that they would not be able to practise their religion in the armed forces, obviously created a bad impression. A press campaign was whipped up against them and—by extension—against "foreign" Jews in general. (Alderman 1992, 237)

As a result of the concern over loyalty, some Jewish immigrants of Russian origin who refused to be conscripted into the armed forces were repatriated to Russia. However, Alderman (1992, 239) notes that by this time the Russian Revolution was in full swing, and many returned to Russia, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to fight against the remnants of the old regime.

Jewish attitudes toward Russia also figured in the Jewish response to Balkan independence in the 1870s. Turkey had committed atrocities on Bulgarian Christians, resulting in an anti-Turkish political movement in Britain among the opposition Liberal party. In addition to concern about Jewish financial investments in Turkey, British Jews in common with their co-religionists in Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, and America, looked at the situation from the perspective of Balkan Jewry. Turkish rule had allowed these Jews a greater degree of tolerance compared to the situation under Orthodox Christianity.

Jewish influence eventually delayed the independence of the Balkans from Turkey until guarantees of Jewish rights were provided and the influence of Russia minimized. The campaign illustrated the ability of Jews to exert influence in other countries as a result of the international structure of Judaism—always a factor in the loyalty issue. Not only was Jewish political influence brought to bear in England in support of Prime Minister Disraeli's policy, but the Viennese press was pressured to support Turkey, and the Viennese branch of the Rothschild family pressured the Austro-Hungarian government. Lionel de Rothschild, a British subject, also got his German banking associate Gerson von Bleichröder to influence Bismarck. Accordingly, guarantees for Jewish rights were incorporated into the treaty (Alderman 1983, 38). The result was a considerable anti-Jewish backlash among many in the Liberal Party, which up until that time had had the support of a large majority of Britain's Jews. Opponents capitalized on the ethnic origins of Conservative Party leader Benjamin Disraeli, and W. E. Gladstone, the Liberal leader, decried "the manner in which, what I may call Judaic sympathies, beyond as well as within the circle of professed Judaism, are now acting on the question of the East" (in Alderman 1983, 39).

The issue of disloyalty also came up as Jews were confronted with an increasingly influential Zionist movement. Ironically perhaps, Zionists and anti-Zionists charged each other with engendering anti-Semitism because of loyalty-related issues. Zionists often held the view that German Jews did in fact have divided loyalties that justified the charges of anti-Semites (e.g., Mosse 1989, 60), while non-Zionists worried that the aggressive Jewish nationalism of Zionists in the diaspora would result in the perception that Jews in general had

no allegiance to Germany. These issues continued to raise concern as the more established German-American Jews confronted the rise of the Eastern European immigrant Jews in America (Frommer 1978). The Eastern European Jews who founded the American Jewish Congress were far more likely than their more established coreligionists to be Zionists and to have a well-developed view of Jewry as a nation and as a race with strong ties to foreign Jews.[56]

Zionism did in fact lead to feelings among gentiles that Jews were disloyal. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler (1943, 56) used Zionism and the fact that other Jews did not reject Zionists as (possibly misguided) fellow Jews to argue that Jews were in fact a unified nation and not merely a religion. In the Soviet Union, Stalin regarded Jews as politically unreliable after they expressed "overwhelming enthusiasm" for Israel and attempted to emigrate to Israel, especially since Israel was leaning toward the West in the Cold War (Schatz 1991, 375n.13). During the fighting in 1948, Soviet Jews attempted to organize an army to fight in Israel, and there were a great many other manifestations of Soviet-Jewish solidarity with Israel, particularly in the wake Jewish enthusiasm during Golda Meir's visit to the Soviet Union. Stalin perceived a "psychological readiness on the part of the volunteers to be under the jurisdiction of two states—the homeland of all the workers and the homeland of all the Jews—something that was categorically impossible in his mind" (Vaksberg 1994, 197). There is also some indication that Stalin at the height of the Cold War suspected that Soviet Jews would not be loyal to the Soviet Union in a war with America because many of them had relatives in America (Rubenstein 1996, 260).

Concerns about Jewish loyalty were acute during this period. Kostyrchenko (1995, 144, 149) notes that one reason Stalin began repressions against Jewish culture was that he was concerned about the loyalty of Jews in the Jewish Autonomous Region (Birobidzhan) on the Soviet Union's Far Eastern borders, particularly about possible contacts with American Jewish organizations. The result was a Soviet campaign against Jewish national and cultural institutions that spread throughout Eastern Europe and ended only with Stalin's death. Similarly, in 1967–1968 there was an anti-Jewish campaign in Poland consequent to outpourings of Jewish joy over Israel's victory in the Six-Day War. The Soviet bloc had supported the Arabs in this conflict; President Wladyslaw Gomulka condemned the Jewish "fifth column" in the country, emphasizing among other things Israel's close ties with Poland's main enemy, West Germany (Rozenbaum 1978; Schatz 1991, 304).

The Zionist idea also conflicted with perceived American foreign policy interests when the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was being negotiated and thereafter. The U. S. State Department feared that a British protectorate in Palestine would damage commercial interests in the region and that in any case it was not in the interests of America to offend Turkey or other Middle Eastern states (Sachar 1992, 256ff). While President Woodrow Wilson sympathized with the State Department position, he was eventually persuaded by American Zionists to endorse the declaration; it was then quickly approved by the British.[57]

Similarly, in England in the 1920s the Conservative press campaigned against the Balfour Declaration on the grounds that England was being taxed on behalf of Jewish interests that were detrimental to England because they would result in the alienation of the Muslim world (Alderman 1983, 103). In 1936 Nathan Laski, president of the Board of Deputies, deplored the campaign style of a Jewish Zionist candidate who urged voters to vote for him because he was a Jew. This "had done a great deal of harm. It was still remembered and talked about, and it was said that Jews were Jews first and Englishmen a long way after" (in Alderman 1983, 114).

Perhaps the clearest conflict between Jewish interests and British interests emerged after World War II, when the Labour government failed to support the creation of a Jewish state. Many British Jews gave generously to finance illegal activities in the British protectorate, including arms and refugee smuggling and financing Jewish military action against British forces (Alderman 1983, 129). These activities led to widespread anti-Jewish riots throughout England, and the Labour government pointedly refused to outlaw anti-Semitism during this period. During the late 1960s and 1970s charges of dual loyalty appeared in the House of Commons among Labour MPs, one of whom commented that "it is undeniable that many MPs have what I can only term a dual loyalty, which is to another nation and another nation's interests" (in Alderman 1983, 151). Alderman (1983, 151) comments that the charge of dual loyalty "becomes harder to rebut when organizations or individuals . . . try to persuade Jewish voters to cast their votes in terms of their loyalty to Israel. Should such appeals meet with even partial success, as they have done from time to time, the accusation of 'dual loyalty' would seem to have been justified."

Attitudes ranging from unenthusiastic ambivalence to outright hostility to the idea of a Zionist homeland on the part of presidents, the State Department, Congress, or the American public continued right up until the establishment of Israel in 1948 and beyond. For example, in the post-World War II period there continued to be a perception in the State Department that American interests in the area would not be served by a Jewish homeland but should be directed at securing oil and military bases to oppose the Soviets. There was also concern that such a homeland would be a destabilizing influence for years to come because of Arab hostility (Goldmann 1978, 31; Lilienthal 1978, 50, 61; Sachar 1992, 580). Truman's defense secretary, James Forrestal, "was all but obsessed by the threat to [American interests] he discerned in Zionist ambitions. His concern was shared by the State Department and specifically by the Near East Desk" (Sachar 1992, 597). In 1960 Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, declared in response to attempts to coerce Egypt into agreeing to Israel's use of the Suez canal, "in recent years we have seen the rise of organizations dedicated apparently not to America, but to foreign states and groups. The conduct of a foreign policy for America has been seriously compromised by this development" (in Cohen 1972, 325).

Israel has actively sought to make its interests paramount for American Jews, with possible implications for accusations of disloyalty. Elazar (1980, 81), writing in the late 1970s, noted that "to date organized American Jewry has acquiesced in these demands without really examining their implications, some of which could drastically change the relationship between Jews and their fellow Americans." Individuals who fail to support Israel's claims are "more or less written off by the Jewish community and certainly are excluded from any significant decision-making role" (Elazar 1980, 91). The potential for perceptions of Jewish disloyalty are apparent in such a situation, and indeed the loyalty issue over support for Israel has cropped up in recent charges of anti-Semitism leveled against writers and political figures of both the Left and the Right in the United States (see Buckley 1992; Lind 1995a, 1995b; Podhoretz 1986; Vidal 1966).[58]

Finally, loyalty issues are sometimes related to gentile beliefs that Jews are actively working to undermine the institutions of society. A major component of the Bavarian petitions of 1849–1850 opposing Jewish emancipation was the view that Jews had been major participants in the revolutionary activities of 1848 while the Christian peasants, for example, had remained loyal (Harris 1994, 131). The overrepresentation of Jews among the leftist revolutionaries in prerevolutionary Russia (Goldstein 1990, 36) and in the 1920s in Germany was a potent source of anti-Semitism, even though in the latter case at least most Jews did not support revolutionary activities (Gordon 1984, 22–23, 52). Gordon (1984, 14) links this left-wing intellectual activity to anti-Semitism, noting that "a more general cause of increased anti-Semitism was the very strong and unfortunate propensity of dissident Jews to attack national institutions and customs in both socialist and non-socialist publications" (Gordon 1984, 51). These writers "violently attacked everything about German society. They despised the military, the judiciary, and the middle class in general" (Rothman & Lichter 1982, 85). The leftist press was a specifically Jewish phenomenon:

Apart from orthodox Communist literature where there were a majority of non-Jews, Jews were responsible for a great part of leftist literature in Germany. *Die Weltbühne* was in this respect not unique; Jews published, edited, and to a great part wrote the other left-wing intellectual magazines. Jews played a decisive role in the pacifist and feminist movements, and in the campaigns for sexual enlightenment.

The left-wing intellectuals did not simply "happen to be mostly Jews" as some pious historiography would have us believe, but Jews created the left-wing intellectual movement in Germany. (Deak 1968, 28–29)

Gordon also reviews evidence indicating that the ideology of Social Conservatism was of some importance in the development of anti-Semitism in Germany during the period from 1870 to 1933, since this movement viewed Jewish influences as alien to German culture and Jews themselves as "undesirable harbingers of change" (Gordon 1984, 26). Jewish-owned newspapers were intensely criticized for their lack of loyalty to German causes. Thus the German

nationalist press and the highly influential anti-Semite Houston Stewart Chamberlain bitterly accused Jewish-owned newspapers, and especially the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, of representing Anglo-American financial and political interests to the detriment of German national interests (Field 1981, 392). Chamberlain was successfully sued for libel by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, but the issue remained a potent cause among anti-Semites (Field 1981, 392).

FACTORS MITIGATING ANTI-SEMITISM

It is also of interest to discuss cases where anti-Semitism has been relatively mild. Lindemann (1991, 273; see also Lipset & Raab 1995; Sachar 1992, passim) finds that anti-Semitism in the United States has been relatively muted and non-ideological, although there have been "sharp ups and downs." Lindemann also notes the following features of the United States that have militated against anti-Semitism: the low number of Jews; the fact that the great majority of American Jews were not members of the Orthodox or Hasidic sects, which emphasize external signs of separatism; the fact that America already had successful, educated middle classes, professionals, intellectuals, and entrepreneurs who were not personally threatened by the rise of the Jews, so that between-group resource competition was of lessened importance; and a tradition of political and religious tolerance deriving from the European Enlightenment, and particularly Britain.

All of these reasons are highly compatible with the present theoretical perspective based on an evolutionary interpretation of social identity theory. Mainstream American Jewish groups have generally eschewed external signs of group identity, thus decreasing the likelihood that the presence of Jews would trigger social identity processes among gentiles that would result in hostility toward Jews. I would also suggest that the anti-Semitism expected on the basis of social identity theory as a result of the separatist practices of some Jewish groups in America (such as the Hasidim) is mitigated by the fact that these Jews tend not to be economically successful (see Sachar 1992, 697).

Meyer (1988, 226) makes the related point that Reform Judaism was much more successful in America than in Europe, partly because in Europe there was an enormous inertia against change, deriving from the highly organized community structure of Judaism that had persisted for centuries in Europe. Even in Germany, the *font et origo* of the Reform movement, the radical reform characteristic of America was limited to one synagogue in Berlin, with the rest being described as "moderate." In Europe, the entire Reform project of conceptualizing Judaism as having a special universal ethical mission to the gentiles (see Ch. 7) seemed unrealistic in light of the actual history of Jewish-gentile social and economic relationships and the essentially medieval communal structure of Judaism. Moreover, this highly cohesive separatist structure was quite obviously still in existence for a significant proportion of Jews, and not only among recent immigrants from Eastern Europe (Lowenstein 1992). In Germany this ethical,

humanist conceptualization of Judaism was forced to compete with powerful, previously existing attitudes that Jews were a hated and feared outgroup that exploited gentiles economically (Harris 1994). Liberal Judaism in the United States, on the other hand, was much less burdened by its own past.

Regarding resource competition, historians have often noted that economic downturns tend to be associated with increases in anti-Semitism, while economic prosperity is associated with declines in anti-Semitism (see, e.g., Mosse [1989, 223] regarding fluctuations in anti-Semitism in Germany from 1800 to 1933). A major theme of Chapters 3–5 is the tendency for gentiles to form cohesive group strategies in opposition to Judaism, especially during periods of perceived resource competition with Jews. On the basis of social identity theory, economic or social adversity among the gentile population is expected to result in increasing willingness among gentiles to submerge themselves in group strategies. Judaism, as a highly salient and oftentimes economically, politically, and culturally successful outgroup, may then be perceived as an important cause of gentile problems.

There are also historical examples where anti-Semitism was significantly ameliorated because of powerful social controls regulating Jewish economic activity (e.g., in early modern Venice [Pullan 1983]). In addition, there has been a relative lack of Jewish economic domination of America. For example, data from the 1930s indicated that despite rather large overrepresentation in retailing, the garment industry, cosmetics, entertainment, mass media and publishing, investment banking, and the professions, Jews had very little representation in a very wide range of American industries and were underrepresented even in banking (apart from investment banking) (Editors of *Fortune* 1936; Sachar 1992, 341). In 1952, average Jewish family income was still less than that of Presbyterians and Episcopalians.[59] Moreover, although Jews did achieve the highest average family income of any religious group by 1972, and despite an increasing presence in a wide range of business (Sachar 1992, 647, 652ff), the degree of Jewish economic power in America did not approach the situation characteristic of the most virulent examples of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, Germany, and the Iberian peninsula.

Nevertheless, America has been by no means devoid of anti-Semitism based on concerns about Jewish upward mobility—"the urgent pressure which the Jews, as an exceptionally ambitious immigrant people, put upon some of the more crowded rungs of the social ladder" (Higham 1984, 141). Beginning in the 19th century there were fairly high levels of covert and overt anti-Semitism among patricians resulting from the very rapid upward mobility of Jews and their competitive drive. In the period prior to World War I, the reaction of the gentile power structure was to construct social registers and emphasize genealogy as mechanisms of exclusion—"criteria that could not be met by money alone" (Higham 1984, 104ff, 127). Ross (1914, 164) writes of the gentile resentment for "being obliged to engage in a humiliating and undignified scramble in order to keep his trade or his clients against the Jewish invader"—

suggesting a rather broad-based concern with Jewish economic competition. This same period also saw the beginning of quotas on Jewish representation in elite universities and professional schools. Attempts at exclusion in a wide range of areas were increased in the 1920s and reached their peak during the difficult economic situation of the Great Depression (Higham 1984, 131ff). In general, American anti-Semitism has occurred precisely when Jewish competition disturbed the existing social order (Higham 1984, 127, 144).

Ginsberg (1993) notes that Jewish economic status and cultural influence have increased dramatically in America since 1960, with the result that increases in anti-Semitism based on these issues is a distinct possibility. By 1988 Jewish income was at least double that of gentiles. Shapiro (1992, 116) shows that Jews are overrepresented by at least a factor of nine on indexes of wealth, but that this is a conservative estimate, because much Jewish wealth is in real estate, which is difficult to determine and easy to hide. While constituting approximately 2.4 percent of the population of the United States, Jews represented half of the top one hundred Wall Street executives and about 40 percent of admissions to Ivy League colleges. Lipset and Raab (1995) note that Jews contribute between one-quarter and one-third of all political contributions in the United States, including one-half of Democratic Party contributions and one-fourth of Republican contributions.

As an example of recent anti-Semitic writing that emphasizes these issues, Wilmot Robertson (1973) focuses on themes of the overrepresentation of Jews on indexes of wealth and of their political and cultural influence in the United States as of the early 1970s, and he suggests that Jewish overrepresentation on these indexes had still not plateaued. As does Shapiro (who is not an anti-Semite), Robertson emphasizes the Jewish effort to prevent issues of Jewish overrepresentation in these areas from being publicly discussed and to use the charge of anti-Semitism to prevent examination of these issues: "Instead of submitting anti-Semitism to the free play of ideas, instead of making it a topic for debate in which all can join, Jews and their liberal supporters have managed to organize an inquisition in which all acts, writings and even thoughts critical of Jewry are treated as a threat to the moral order of mankind." (Robertson 1973, 180). More recently Joseph Sobran (1995, 4; italics in text) has stated that

It's permissible to discuss the power of every other group, from the Black Muslims to the Christian Right, but the much greater power of the Jewish establishment is off-limits. That, in fact, is the chief *measure* of its power: its ability to impose its own taboos while tearing down the taboos of others—you might almost say its prerogative of offending. You can read articles in Jewish-controlled publications from the *Times* to *Commentary* blaming Christianity for the Holocaust or accusing Pope Pius XII of indifference, but don't look for articles in any major publication that wants to stay in business examining the Jewish role in Communism and liberalism, however temperately.

Social identity theory is also compatible with the idea that anti-Semitism in America has been muted because Judaism has been perceived by many as

simply another of the many religions tolerated in America. "Jews did not stand out as a solitary group of non-conformists (Higham 1984, 156). As Elazar (1980, 9) notes, contemporary American religious Judaism is a "protective coloring" which de-emphasizes the ethnic/national character of Judaism. The result is a categorization process in which Judaism becomes viewed as a benign, highly permeable religious (non-ethnic) group whose differences with other groups are merely ones of personal belief rather than ethnicity. As a result of this categorization process, conflicts of interest between the Jewish community as a strategizing ethnic group and the interests of other groups are minimized. Within a social identity perspective, these attributes are expected to lower group conflict, negative stereotyping of outgroups, etc.

It follows also that ethnically and religiously pluralistic societies are more likely to satisfy Jewish interests than societies characterized by ethnic and religious homogeneity among the gentile outgroup. In *The Culture of Critique* I review data indicating that Jewish organizations have vigorously promoted the ideology that America ought to be an ethnically and culturally pluralistic society and that they have pursued an open immigration policy with the aim of preventing religious and ethnic homogeneity in the United States. A multicultural society in which Jews are simply one of many tolerated groups is likely to meet Jewish interests, because there is a diffusion of power among a variety of groups and it becomes impossible to develop homogeneous gentile ingroups arrayed against Jews as a highly conspicuous outgroup.

While the foregoing indicates that Jews may benefit from pluralistic, multi-ethnic societies, Judaism also thrives in individualistic, atomized societies. The American tradition of political liberalism is of great importance in understanding the relative lack of anti-Semitism in America. A major theme of *The Culture of Critique* (see also *PTSDA*, Ch. 8) is that social identity theory and research on individualism/collectivism support the idea that individualist societies are likely to be low on anti-Semitism, because people in individualist cultures are less aware of ingroup/outgroup boundaries and are less likely to develop negative stereotypes of entire groups on the basis of the behavior of some group members. The implication is that Western individualist societies, including contemporary liberal democracies as well as the Greco-Roman world of antiquity, are less likely to develop negative beliefs about Jews as a group than collectivist societies such as medieval Christendom or societies such as 19th-century Germany and Russia in which individualism and political liberalism were relatively weak: "The Jew could flourish only in the sort of classical Liberal society that existed in Western Europe and that the late nineteenth century had introduced to Central Europe" (Pulzer 1964, 327). As Higham (1984, 156) notes "The American tradition of treating people as individuals . . . posed a substantial obstacle to the creation of a new group ostracism" against Jews.

Individualistic societies also fail to develop anti-Semitic movements because of the difficulty of developing coalitions among different, often opposing interest groups. Opposition to anti-Semitic political parties among German

conservatives in the period 1870–1914 stemmed from the conservatives' perception that anti-Semites were revolutionaries who threatened existing property arrangements and were thus akin to the liberals and Social Democrats (Levy 1975, 130ff). The conservatives often held anti-Semitic attitudes and engaged in other types of anti-Semitic political activity, such as excluding Jews from public administrative positions. Levy suggests that a primary reason for the failure of the anti-Semitic parties to forge a government of national unity during the period was due to conflicts of interest among the various anti-Semitic constituencies; these conflicts included particularly, in my terms, the individualistic tendencies of an important segment of German conservatives. Similarly, the main support of immigration restrictions in the United States Congress in the period after 1910 came from the relatively rural West and South and these efforts were often accompanied by more or less overt anti-Semitism. However, at least in the period prior to 1924 these efforts were not supported by industrial interests wanting cheap labor, despite the fact that many among the gentile elite discriminated socially against Jews.

NOTES

1. See especially Stillman (1979, 368–69; 416–17) for examples of ritualized anti-Jewish customs in Arab lands. Ritualized degradation was most common in Yemen and Morocco; in the former it continued without significant interruption for thirteen centuries until the Yemenese Jews left for Israel. See Patai (1986), Ahroni (1986), and Nini (1991) for discussions of the oppression of Yemenese Jews, apparently the most extreme oppression in the Moslem world.

2. Indeed, there is some indication that the Jews in Muslim lands were physically so intimidated by their Muslim hosts that they were extraordinarily fearful: A 19th-century British observer in the Ottoman lands contrasted the boldness of Jews in England with Ottoman Jews, whose "pusillanimity is so excessive, that they will flee before the uplifted hand of a child" (Lewis 1984, 164). In Morocco and the Ottoman areas even young children could spit on Jews or hit them with rocks without fear of retaliation, and a visitor to Turkey in 1836 noted that "there is a subdued and spiritless expression about the Eastern Jew. . . . It is impossible to express the contemptuous hatred in which the Osmanlis hold the Jewish people" (in Lewis 1984, 165).

3. Stillman (1979) characterizes the treatment of Jews in Morocco as ranging between extremes of tolerance and intolerance, with the best periods occurring at times of foreign domination when Jews were favored by a non-native ruling class: the Merinids (13th–15th century) and the French in the 20th century. When a popular rebellion ended the Merinid dynasty in 1465, the *mellah* (Jewish quarter) of Fez was almost entirely exterminated. In the following period, under the native Muslim Wattasids and the Sharifans, a few privileged Jews were employed by the government, but the rest of the Jewish population was forced to endure the extremely harsh "highly ritualized degradation" briefly described here. The status of Moroccan Jews did not change significantly until the French conquest in 1912.

4. Bosworth (1982, 38) makes the interesting comment that the Jewish *dhimmi* in the early Islamic period was despised because of its "racial exclusiveness," suggesting that even in segmentary societies the exclusiveness of outgroups is negatively evaluated.

5. It is not clear what Tacitus had in mind by saying that "among themselves nothing is unlawful." He may well have been referring to Jewish practices of polygyny, levirate marriage, and consanguineous marriage (uncle-niece marriage and marriage to first cousins) that were illegal for Roman citizens (see MacDonald 1990; *PTSDA*, Ch. 8).

6. Another well-known quote is from Philostratus's (1980, 341) *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*: "The Jews have long been in revolt not only against the Romans, but against humanity; and a race that has made its own a life apart and irreconcilable, that cannot share with the rest of mankind in the pleasures of the table nor join in their libations or prayers or sacrifices, are separated from ourselves by a greater gulf than divides us from Susa or Bactra in the most distant Indies."

7. The 18th-century English historian Edward Gibbon, reflecting these ancient assessments, wrote in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Ch. 16, 78) that the Jews were "an unsocial religion" (p. 80), the "implacable enemies not only of the Roman government, but of human kind." Gibbon was especially struck by what he characterized as Jewish fanaticism in the ancient world and their hostility towards others:

Without repeating what has been already mentioned of the reverence of the Roman princes and governors for the temple of Jerusalem, we shall only observe that the destruction of the temple and city was accompanied and followed by every circumstance that could exasperate the minds of the conquerors, and authorize religious persecution by the most specious arguments of political justice and the public safety. From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, of Cyprus, and of Cyrene, where they dwelt in treacherous friendship with the unsuspecting natives; and we are tempted to applaud the severe retaliation which was exercised by the arms of the legions against a race of fanatics, whose dire and credulous superstition seemed to render them the implacable enemies not only of the Roman government, but of human kind. The enthusiasm of the Jews was supported by the opinion that it was unlawful for them to pay taxes to an idolatrous master; and by the flattering promise which they derived from their ancient oracles, that a conquering Messiah would soon arise, destined to break their fetters and to invest the favourites of heaven with the empire of the earth. It was by announcing himself as their long-expected deliverer, and by calling on all the descendants of Abraham to assert the hope of Israel, that the famous Barchochebas collected a formidable army, with which he resisted, during two years, the power of the emperor Hadrian.

8. Rather (1990, 152) notes that Kierkegaard and Tolstoy also had similar views on the contrast between particularistic Judaism and universalist Christianity. In Tolstoy's words, "In the Gospel we are prohibited not only from killing anyone but even from bearing anyone ill-will; in the Pentateuch: Kill, kill, kill women, children, and cattle. . . . In the Gospel all men are brothers; in the Pentateuch, all are enemies, except the Jews" (in Rather 1990, 152).

9. In some cases these perceptions were based on personal experience. The German anti-Semite Wilhelm Marr (1819–1904) emphasizes the clannishness of his employers in his account of his early experiences as the only non-Jew in the offices of two different Jewish financial offices. He had obtained his first job as a result of the influence of his father, who became famous as an actor portraying Jews in the theater. Marr states that he

was fired from both jobs while less competent Jews were retained. "My Jewish colleagues really were [wonderful people]. But *the racial question* was of decisive importance, even for these Jews. The 'goi' had to be sacrificed as much as they liked and pampered him" (in Zimmerman 1986, 125; italics in text). Marr also recounts an incident in which a young revolutionary acquaintance was reprimanded by his observant father for being baptized and dressing like a Christian. The man disagreed with Marr's suggestion of rejecting his father by saying that "you don't know the rules preserving *the link between us Jews.* None of us can break the *iron ring*." Marr replied that Heinrich Heine had broken away, but the man said (prophetically), "Just wait and see. Heine too will return to being *Jewish*" (in Zimmerman 1986, 132; italics in text). Heine did in fact develop a greater Jewish consciousness toward the end of his life, stating that "I make no secret of my Judaism, to which I have not returned, because I have not left it" (in Rose 1990, 167).

10. The leaders of Western Jewish communities were highly committed to the overthrow of the czar. For example, in 1907 Lucien Wolf wrote to Louis Marshall of the AJCommittee that "the only thing to be done on the whole Russo-Jewish question is to carry on persistent and implacable war against the Russian Government" (in Szajowski 1967, 8). "Western Jewish leaders actively participated in general actions in favor of the liberal and revolutionary movements in Russia both during the revolution and after its downfall" (Szajkowski 1967, 9).

11. Nevertheless, Ross held out the hope that Jews would completely assimilate in the long run, including by intermarriage. His opposition to Jewish immigration stemmed from his belief that anti-Semitism based on resource competition and negatively perceived Jewish traits was increasing, and that if immigration was allowed to continue unchecked it would result in violent anti-Semitic riots and legislation.

Writing much later, Henry Pratt Fairchild (1947) also asserted that Jews had failed to assimilate and that their presence prevented a sense of American nationality, because of such discordant Jewish practices as having different holidays. Fairchild also emphasized the Jewish sense of superiority, their strong preference for Jewish marriage partners, and their very open concern with financial considerations in marriage as giving rise to gentile hostility. Fairchild had a strong sense that between-group competition and within-group affiliation characterized relationships between Jews and gentiles: "Ours is not to ask why we crave superiority and yearn to dominate, why we like those who are like us, why we enjoy being with persons who are congenial to us, why we resent the economic competition of members of another group more than that of our own fellows, why devotion to the dictates of our own religion is esteemed piety while the similar loyalty of a different worshipper is called intolerance" (p. 161).

12. During the same period the conservative political activist Arnold White complained that the Eastern European Jewish immigrants without question "belong to a race and cling to a community that prefers to remain aloof from the mainstream of our national life, by shunning intermarriage with Anglo-Saxons" (in Alderman 1992, 123).

13. Feldman suggests that resource and reproductive competition was largely omitted in the writings of intellectuals because there was little understanding of or concern with the role of economics in social conflict, and because intellectuals during this period came from social classes who would be little threatened by Jewish economic and reproductive success. Feldman notes that it is remarkable that we do not hear of anti-Semitism in

conjunction with the Jewish role as tax collectors under the Ptolemies, since such a role has been a potent source of anti-Semitism in other periods. Similarly, there is no mention of competition between Jewish and gentile artisan guilds, although ethnically segregated guilds existed during this period (Applebaum 1976, 479ff). Competition between Jewish and gentile artisan guilds was often a potent source of anti-Semitism in later periods (e.g., pre-expulsion Spain [Beinart 1981] and Poland [Hundert 1992]; see *PTSDA*: Chapter 5).

14. For Spain, see Baer 1961; Lea (1906–1907, I, 96–98); for Poland, see Weinryb 1972, 58ff; for medieval France, see Jordan 1989, 28. Writing of early modern Poland, Beauvois (1986) notes that Jews were disliked for being creditors and for "enslaving" the nobility (Beauvois 1986, 89); "Everything . . . is in Jewish hands" (Beauvois 1986, 89).

15. Thus Levi ben Gershom (14th century, French) argued that "it was a positive commandment to burden the gentile with interest 'because one should not benefit an idolator . . . and [should] cause him as much damage as possible without deviating from righteousness' " (Johnson 1988, 174). Chazan (1973, 116–117) and Stein (1955, 1959) describe the views of Jewish polemicists in medieval France who argued that the Deuteronomic injunction not to lend at interest to countrymen did not apply to Christians, as some Christian theologians of the period had argued in their efforts to develop an intellectual rationale for ending Jewish moneylending. Based on their interpretation of scripture, the Jewish apologists argued that Christians were indeed foreigners and thus could be charged interest.

16. Jews were often accused of exceeding legal limitations on interest rates. For example, in Castile Jews were allowed 33-1/3 percent interest "and the constant repetition of these limitations and the provisions against all manner of ingenious devices, by fictitious sales and other frauds, to obtain an illegal increase, show how little the laws were respected in the grasping avarice with which the Jews speculated on the necessities of their customers" (Lea 1906–1907, I, 97). During the famine of 1326 at Cuenca when farmers needed money to buy seed, Jews refused to lend money until they were allowed to charge 40 percent interest instead of the previously allowed 33-1/3 percent (Lea 1906–1907, I, 97).

17. As a result, the Church's campaign against Jewish moneylending was also directed against the gentile aristocracy who benefited from the practice. For example: "it has been brought to our notice that certain princes do not have their eyes upon the Lord . . . for, while they themselves are ashamed to exact usury, they receive Jews into their villages and towns and appoint them their agents for the collection of usury; and they are not afraid to afflict the churches of God and oppress the poor of Christ (letter from Pope Innocent III to the Count of Nevers [1208]; in Grayzel 1933, 127).

Similar themes of oppression resulting from Jewish moneylending combined with oppression by gentile elites occur in a 19th-century account on Morocco:

As money-lenders the Jews are as maggots and parasites, aggravating and feeding on the diseases of the land. I do not know, for my part, which exercises the greatest tyranny and oppression, the Sultan or the Jew,—the one the embodiment of the foulest misgovernment, the other the essence of a dozen Shylocks, demanding, ay, and getting, not only his pound of flesh, but also the blood and nerves. By his outrageous exactions the Sultan drives the Moor into the hands of the Jew, who affords him a temporary relief by lending him the necessary money on incredibly exorbitant terms. Once in the money-lender's clutches, he rarely escapes till he is squeezed dry, when he is either thrown aside,

crushed and ruined, or cast into a dungeon, where fettered and starved, he is probably left to die a slow and horrible death.

To the position of the Jews in Morocco it would be difficult to find a parallel. Here we have a people alien, despised, and hated, actually living in the country under immeasurably better conditions than the dominant race, while they suck, and are assisted to suck, the very life-blood of their hosts. The aim of every Jew is to toil not, neither to spin, save the coils which as money-lender he may weave for the entanglement of his necessitous victims. (In Smith 1894, 252–253)

18. The total of debts owed to Jews was often very high during the Middle Ages—amounting to 25 percent more than the ordinary royal revenues in France in 1221. During the confiscations of Jewish property ordered by Philip Augustus, it was said that the Jews owned half of Paris; the confiscation produced "an enormous windfall for the king's finances" (Baldwin 1986, 52).

19. See also Weinryb (1972, 63–64) for similar data on Jews as tax farmers in Poland. The ecologically similar role of Jews as estate managers in Poland also resulted in the perception that "the serf was exploited by this tribe foreign to his own people" (Beauvois 1986, 86).

20. The comment reflects a concern with Jewish reproductive success as an aspect of anti-Semitism. In *PTSDA* (Ch. 5) I note several other examples of anti-Semitic statements expressing this concern regarding Jewish reproductive success during the period of the Iberian inquisitions (15th–17th centuries). In Germany limitations on fertility were a common component of laws regulating Jews from the medieval period to the 19th century (Goldstein 1981; Lowenstein 1981), and the "Hep! Hep!" riots of 1819 were aimed at revenge at Jews, "who are living among us and who are increasing like locusts" (in Dawidowicz 1975, 30).

21. The following report from British Vice-Consul L. Wagstaff sums up the public perception of the social and economic causes of anti-Semitism leading to the pogroms of 1881 in Russia and reflects many of the themes of this section and the previous section:

It is chiefly as brokers or middlemen that the Jews are so prominent. Seldom a business transaction of any kind takes place without their intervention, and from both sides they receive compensation. To enumerate some of their other occupations, constantly denounced by the public: they are the principal dealers in spirits; keepers of "vodka" (drinking) shops and houses of ill-fame; receivers of stolen goods; illegal pawnbrokers and usurers. A branch they also succeed in is as government contractors. With their knowledge of handling money, they collude with unscrupulous officials in defrauding the State to vast amounts annually. In fact, the malpractices of some of the Jewish community have a bad influence on those whom they come in contact with. It must, however, be said that there are many well educated, highly respectable Jews in Russia, but they form a small minority. . . . They thoroughly condemn the occupations of their lower brethren. . . . They themselves acknowledge the abuses practised by some of their own members, and suggest remedial measures to allay the irritation existing among the working classes.

Another thing the Jews are accused of is that there exists among them a system of boycotting; they use their religion for business purposes. . . . For instance, in Bessarabia, the produce of a vineyard is drawn for by lot, and falls, say to Jacob Levy; the other Jews of the district cannot compete with Levy, who buys the wine at his own price. In the leasing by action of government and provincial lands, it is invariably a Jew who outbids the others and afterwards re-lets plots to the peasantry at exorbitant prices. . . .

Their fame as usurers is well known. Given a Jewish recruit with a few roubles' capital, it can be worked out, mathematically, what time it will take him to become the money-lender of his company or regiment, from the drummer to the colonel. Take the case of a peasant: if he once gets into the

hands of this class, he is irretrievably lost. The proprietor, in his turn, from a small loan gradually mortgages and eventually loses his estate. A great deal of landed property in south Russia has of late years passed into the hands of the Israelites but principally into the hands of intelligent and sober peasants.

From first to last, the Jew has his hand in everything. He advances the seed for sowing, which is generally returned in kind—quarters for bushels. As harvest time comes around, money is required to gather in the crops. This is sometimes advanced on hard conditions; but the peasant has no choice; there is no one to lend him money, and it is better to secure something than to lose all. Very often the Jew buys the whole crop as it stands in the field on his own terms. It is thus seen that they themselves do not raise agricultural products, but they reap the benefits of others' labour, and steadily become rich, while proprietors are gradually getting ruined. In their relation to Russia they are compared to parasites that have settled on a plant not vigorous enough to throw them off, and which is being sapped of its vitality.

The vice-consul also noted that peasants often say when they see the property of a Jew, "That is my blood." The complaints of the pogromists also included charges that Russian girls in service at Jewish households were sexually exploited.

22. Similarly, in 19th-century England, the socialist Chartist movement, while opposed to persecution of Jews, tended to regard them as part of the wealthy, parasitic class of oppressors (Alderman 1983, 17).

23. Other pronouncements from revolutionaries during the period stated that "one should not hit the Jew because he is a Jew and prays to his own God . . . but because he plunders the people, sucks the blood of the workingman"; and, "The Jew owns the bars and taverns, rents land from the landowners and then leases it out to the peasant at two or three times the rate, he buys wheat on the field, goes in for money lending and charges percentages so high that people call them simply 'Yiddish' rates" (in Frankel 1981, 100). A Jewish socialist, Pavel Borisovich Akselrod, analyzed the situation by writing that "however great the poverty and deprivation suffered by the Jewish masses . . . the fact remains that, taken overall, some half of them function as a nonproductive element, sitting astride the neck of the lower classes in Russia" (in Frankel 1981, 105). These comments agree with the assessment of the British Vice-Consul quoted in note 21.

In later years, Jews assumed a much larger role in the revolutionary movement in Russia. This resulted in a very different interpretation of the 1881 pogroms. Writing in 1905 during another period of pogroms, the Jewish socialist theorist Shimen Dubnov attributed the 1881 pogroms to "imaginary economic factors," while the recent pogroms had been the result of "revenge for the revolutionary activity of the Jews" (in Frankel 1981, 136). Workers and peasants were active participants in the 1905 pogroms as well.

24. A 19th-century account presents the perception of Jews as predators on German peasants: "There is scarce a village without some Jews in it, who do not cultivate land themselves, but lie in wait like spiders for the failing Bauer [i.e., peasant]" (Baring-Gould, 114). A German informant told Baring-Gould that "he doubted whether there were a happier set of people under the sun so long as they are out of the clutch of the Jew" (in Smith 1894, 252).

25. Further examples of the theme of economic domination: In *Judaism in Music* (1850), Richard Wagner stated that "we can now find the plea of this king for emancipation nothing more than uncommonly naive, since we see ourselves rather in the position of fighting for emancipation from the Jews. The Jew is in fact, in the current state of this world, already more than emancipated. *He rules*" (trans. by Rather 1990, 163). The

Agrarian League stated in 1894 that it was "an opponent of Jewry, which has become altogether too mighty in our country and has acquired a decisive say in the press, in trade and on the exchanges" (in Pulzer 1964, 190). Otto Glagau stated that "actually they dominate us. Once again as in centuries past, an alien tribe, so small in number, rules a truly great nation" (in Levy 1975, 15). Glagau charged that 90 percent of those responsible for the stock market crash of 1873 were Jews, a charge that Lindemann (1997, 120) accepts as possibly exaggerated but as reflecting actual disproportionate Jewish involvement.

26. The Jewish economic elite appears to have chosen gentiles as members of boards of directors in an attempt to lessen the salience of Jewish dominance of these enterprises (Mosse 1987, 284). Mosse estimates that Jews were overrepresented by a factor of twenty in their control of the German economy.

27. Smith also presents the following passage from Baba Kamma 113b as an illustration of Jewish behavior toward gentiles. I provide the translation from the Epstein edition (London: The Soncino Press, 1935).

Samuel said: It is permissible, however to benefit by his mistake as in the case when Samuel once bought of a heathen a golden bowl under the assumption of it being of copper for four *zuz*, and also left him minus one *zuz*. R. Kahana once bought of a heathen a hundred and twenty barrels which were supposed to be a hundred while he similarly left him minus one *zuz* and said to him: 'See that I am relying upon you.' Rabina together with a heathen bought a palm tree to chop up [and divide]. He thereupon said to his attendant: Quick, bring to me the parts near to the roots, for the heathen is interested only in the number [but not in the quality]. R. Ashi was once walking on the road when he noticed branches of vines outside a vineyard upon which ripe clusters of grapes were hanging. He said to his attendant: 'Go and see, if they belong to a heathen bring them to me, but if to an Israelite do not bring them to me.' The heathen happened to be then sitting in the vineyard and thus overheard this conversation, so he said to him: 'If of a heathen would they be permitted?'—He replied: 'A heathen is usually prepared to [dispose of his grapes and] accept payment, whereas an Israelite is generally not prepared to [do so and] accept payment.'

28. Smith (1894, 271) notes the irony of viewing the Israelites of the Old Testament as moral exemplars despite their "belief that the Father of all and the God of justice had a favourite race, . . . [and] pledged himself to promote its interest against those of other races." Smith goes on to note that during the invasion described in the Book of Joshua following the Egyptian sojourn, the Israelite God stopped the sun so that the slaughter could continue and commanded that nothing remain alive that breathed.

29. Given the widespread perception, even among many Jewish observers, that Jews often engaged in deceitful economic transactions with gentiles or "outsmarted" gentiles, accusations that Jews have had negative personality characteristics cannot be dismissed out of hand. Data from the late 19th and early 20th century compiled by Ruppin (1913) show that Jews were disproportionately involved in crimes of fraud and deceit in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Netherlands. Jews were also disproportionately likely to be prosecuted for evasion of military service and "spreading immoral literature."

Katz (1985, 97) notes that one common accusation of Jewish actors in post-emancipation Germany that may well be valid was that they always undercut scenes depicting "tender and sensitive emotions" with irony. He also notes that this has been recognized as a feature of Heine's poetry and concludes that "Jewish qualities may quite naturally appear—for better or for worse—in artistic creations of Jews, even of those

who have joined non-Jewish culture. It would therefore be preposterous to dismiss categorically all observations from the mouths of antisemites as prejudicial misconceptions."

Similarly, Lindemann (1991) emphasizes that the public perception of Jews as ruthless and immoral was not entirely without foundation. Jewish capitalists were prominent beneficiaries and promoters of the Boer War. Jews were also involved in the ruthless suppression of a Romanian peasant revolt, and were involved disproportionately in international prostitution. Lindemann notes that "the involvement of Jews in these matters was not only plausible but real enough" (p. 33).

30. Interestingly, this working-class group did not charge Jews with being radicals and communists—charges that were common at the time in conservative circles and which had a basis in reality. The anti-Semitic images center around the types of contacts working-class individuals would be likely to have had with Jews, subject to the usual distortions predicted by social identity theory. Indeed, even T. W. Adorno (first author of the Berkeley studies of anti-Semitism; Adorno et al. 1950) suggested as much, noting also that working-class individuals were less likely to conceal their attitudes behind a "pseudo-democratic" veneer, and that working-class anti-Semitism was "less irrational" than anti-Semitism of other classes (see Wiggershaus 1994, 369). Referring to a more recent era, Ginsberg (1993, 198) suggests that the negative terms ("greedy," "predatory") used to refer to those involved in insider trading and stock swindles of the 1980s in America had anti-Semitic overtones because of the preponderance of Jews among this group.

31. Walter Laqueur (1974, 73) links this cultural domination to anti-Semitism as follows:

Without the Jews there would have been no "Weimar culture"—to this extent the claims of the antisemites, who detested that culture, were justified. They were in the forefront of every new, daring, revolutionary movement. They were prominent among Expressionist poets, among the novelists of the 1920's, among the theatrical producers and, for a while, among the leading figures in the cinema. They owned the leading liberal newspapers . . . and many editors were Jews too. Many leading liberal and avant-garde publishing houses were in Jewish hands. . . . Many leading theatre critics were Jews, and they dominated light entertainment.

32. See also the discussion of André Gide in Johnson 1988, 390–391). Katz (1986b) notes that the Zionist Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginsberg) held attitudes which were the mirror image of those of Wagner. See Chapter 5.

33. Metternich insisted that Heine's name be included in a ban on the "Young German" movement of writers, described in the ban as "a literary school . . . whose efforts openly tend to attack the Christian religion in the most insolent way, to denigrate existing social relations, and to destroy all decency and morality" (in Sammons 1979, 210).

34. Sorkin notes that Auerbach became a model, for secular Jewish intellectuals, of the assimilated Jew who did not renounce his Judaism. For the most part these secular Jewish intellectuals socialized exclusively with other secular Jews and viewed their contribution to German culture as a secular form of Judaism—thus the "invisible community" of strongly identified Jewish intellectuals. As discussed in *PTSDA* (Ch. 8), there is an very powerful tendency for Jews to form separatist cultures and subcultures throughout their history; in *The Culture of Critique* this is discussed as a tendency in

Boasian anthropology, radical political ideology, psychoanalysis, and the Frankfurt School of Social Research.

35. Werner Mosse (1985) shows that besides Jewish over-representation in a radical, avant-garde intellectual culture, there was also a much more conservative bourgeois cultural movement, represented by Max Liebermann and the "*Kaiserjuden*," which retained strong ethnic overtones and whose members retained psychological identification as Jews. Both of these predominantly Jewish "counter-cultures" coexisted with the establishment Protestant intellectual culture, among whose heroes were the anti-Semites Richard Wagner and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Cultural movements were thus very closely tied to ethnic identifications on both sides.

36. Rankin's comment on distorting history brings to mind the well-known address of the Carl Bridenbaugh, president of the American Historical Association, entitled "The Great Mutation." In comments that were widely believed to be directed at Jews, Bridenbaugh (1963, 322–323) worried that

today we must face the discouraging prospect that we all, teachers and pupils alike, have lost much of what this earlier generation possessed, the priceless asset of a shared culture. . . . Many of the young practitioners of our craft, and those who are still apprentices, are products of lower middle-class or foreign origins, and their emotions not infrequently get in the way of historical reconstructions. They find themselves in a very real sense outsiders on our past and feel themselves shut out. This is certainly not their fault, but it is true. They have no experience to assist them, and the chasm between them and the Remote Past widens every hour. . . . What I fear is that the changes observant in the background and training of the present generation will make it impossible for them to communicate to and reconstruct the past for future generations.

37. Reflecting the sensitivity of Jewish issues surrounding the committee, the AJCommittee acted swiftly when the Jewish communist Louis Harup (1978) raised the issue of his Jewish identification in his condemnation of HUAC as a witness before the committee. Harup stated that "as a Jew . . . it is my obligation not to cooperate with this committee because, in my view, the activities of this committee are tending to bring this country into the same conditions under which six million Jews were murdered." The reaction of the AJCommittee was to denounce the testimony as not reflecting the attitude of the American Jewish community.

38. A partial exception to this generalization is noted by Gabler (1988, 195) who finds a general tendency for Warner Brothers movies in the 1930s to be "permeated by a vague underdog liberalism, and if their films lacked refinement and glamour, they did have a conscience—deliberately so." Warner Brothers movies "were far more ambivalent toward traditional American values than any other studio, just as the Warners themselves were more ambivalent than the heads of any other studio" (p. 196). This studio made several films depicting the "contributions and victimization of Jews" (p. 195).

39. The writers continued to write for the movies because, in the words of one close observer, "they believed that socially responsible writers belonged in the film industry because feature films were the most significant way in which the people of the world were being educated. The medium reached so far, that any victory was important" (in Ceplair & Englund 1980, 321).

40. As indicated above, another major theme of anti-Semitism has been Jewish exclusionary practices in economic activities. Cash provides anecdotal evidence that Jews exclude gentiles from influence on the media, including individuals who disguised

themselves as Jews (crypto-gentiles?) in their attempt to become accepted in the industry. Seemingly acknowledging Jewish exclusionary practices, Gabler states that Cash's article "is another example of how powerless elitists have always dealt with exclusion. Barred from one form of Establishment, they end up spewing anti-Semitic bile."

Related to this, Medved (1996, 39) suggests that "it's possible that industry leaders instinctively feel more comfortable working with people who share their own outlook, values, and background." As an illustration of this phenomenon, a young screenwriter, Adam Kulakow (1996, 43), notes that "recently I had a meeting with a young executive to discuss a possible script assignment. Our conversation began with a discussion of the Eastern European origins of my surname and segued from there to talk of my grandparents' arrival in America, my parents' decision to settle in the Maryland suburbs, and mine to attend the University of Michigan. It wasn't long before we were playing 'Jewish geography.' By the time we got around to the business of the meeting, we had achieved a comfort level based on our common ground." Nevertheless, while agreeing that being Jewish is an advantage, Kulakow cites anecdotal accounts of individuals who deny that Jewish identity is important.

In a reply appended to the Gabler article, Cash stated that there is a double standard in which Jewish writers like Gabler are able to refer to a "Jewish cabal" while his own use of the phrase is described as anti-Semitic. He also notes that while movies regularly portray negative stereotypes of other ethnic groups, Cash's description of Jews as "fiercely competitive" is regarded as anti-Semitic. Recently Marlon Brando repeated statements originally made in 1979 on a nationally televised interview program to the effect that "Hollywood is run by Jews. It's owned by Jews." The focus of the complaint was that Hollywood regularly portrays negative stereotypes of other ethnic groups but not of Jews. Brando's remarks were viewed as anti-Semitic by the ADL and the Jewish Defense League (*Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1996, F4).

Both Cash and Brando have apologized for their remarks and, as part of their apologies, visited the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles (*Forward*, April 26, 1996). (Cash's apology occurred some two years after publication of his remarks.) The *Forward* article suggests that Cash has had trouble publishing his work in the wake of the incident. Moreover, the same issue of *Forward* reported that the publisher of Cash's comments, Dominic Lawson, editor of the London *Spectator*, was prevented from publishing an article on the birth of his Down Syndrome daughter in *The New Republic* when Martin Peretz, the owner, and Leon Wieseltier, the literary editor, complained about Lawson's publishing Cash's article. Goldberg (1996, 299) describes Peretz's strong Jewish identification and his unabashed policy of slanting his journal toward positions favorable to Israel.

41. Pat Robertson (1991; see also Lind 1995a, 1995b, and Heilbrun 1995) accepts the general premises of a very elaborate conspiracy theory proposed by Nesta Webster (1944) in which Jews have played a prominent role in subversive movements beginning in the 18th century. Webster's anti-Semitism includes several classic themes of 20th-century anti-Semitic writing: that Jews seek world domination (indicated especially by the writings of the Kabbala); Jews are disloyal (indicated by Jewish internationalism and their role as intermediaries who dominated native peoples in traditional societies); Jews are "the declared and implacable enemy of Christianity" (p. 378); Jews have played a predominant role in revolutionary movements in Russia and Hungary aimed at Jewish

domination of these countries in the post-revolutionary period; Jews are responsible for psychoanalysis, "which, particularly by its insistence on sex, tends to subordinate the will to impulses of a harmful kind" (p. 345); Jews have been disproportionately involved in other cultural influences designed to undermine gentile Christian culture, including "Modern Art," the drug trade, and the cinema ("where . . . history is systematically falsified in the interests of class hatred, and everything that can tend, whilst keeping within the present law, to undermine patriotism or morality is pressed upon the public" [p. 394]).

42. Goldberg (1996, 46) notes that "within the world of liberal organizations like the ACLU and People for the American Way, Jewish influence is so profound that non-Jews sometimes blur the distinction between them and the formal Jewish community." The ACLU often has been the target of cultural conservatives writing from non-religious perspectives. See, e.g., Robert Bork's (1996) *Slouching Towards Gomorrah*. Bork states that the ACLU "has had, through litigation and lobbying, a very considerable effect on American law and culture" (1996, 97). Bork is also one of many cultural conservatives to emphasize the products of media conglomerate Time Warner as particularly destructive (pp. 130–132). The result is that while Jews and Judaism are never mentioned in books like that of Bork, many of the books' complaints are directed at Jewish activities and organizations. My personal impression from talking privately to cultural conservatives is that they do not raise the Jewish issue because of fear of being charged with anti-Semitism. (I have never spoken to Robert Bork and have no idea what his attitudes are on Jewish issues.) Their attitudes constitute a sort of underground anti-Semitism and they illustrate the effectiveness of Jewish strategies for combating anti-Semitism (see also Ch. 6).

43. See also Cohen's (1972, 433ff) account of the AJCommittee's attempt to undermine the influence of Christianity in the public schools—efforts that resulted in resentment in both Protestant and Catholic circles as well as among politicians and the public at large. In the early 1960s a writer in a Jesuit publication asked, "What will have been accomplished if our Jewish friends win all the legal immunities they seek, but thereby paint themselves into a corner of social and cultural alienation?" (in Cohen 1972, 444).

44. In another column, Sobran (1996b) quoted an essay, reprinted in the May 27th issue of the *New York Times*, by Ari Shavit, an Israeli columnist describing his feelings on the killings of a hundred civilians in a military skirmish in southern Lebanon. Shavit wrote, "We killed them out of a certain naive hubris. Believing with absolute certitude that now, with the White House, the Senate, and much of the American media in our hands, the lives of others do not count as much as our own." Sobran comments that "in a single phrase—'in our hands'—Shavit has lighted up the American political landscape like a flash of lightning. Notice that Shavit assumes as an obvious fact what we Americans can say publicly only at our own risk." Sobran lost his position with *National Review* because of his views on the influence of American Jews on U. S. policy toward Israel.

45. According to the article a partial listing of the main mainstream media owned and/or managed by Jews includes the following: Walt Disney Co. (including Capital Cities/ABC, Walt Disney Television, Touchstone Television, Buena Vista Television, Walt Disney Picture Group, Touchstone Pictures, Hollywood Pictures, Caravan Pictures, Miramax, Disney-related theme parks, ESPN, Lifetime Television, Arts & Entertainment

Network, ABC Radio, seven daily newspapers, Fairchild Publications [*Women's Wear Daily*], Chilton Publications, and the Diversified Publishing Group); Time Warner, Inc. (Home Box Office cable television network, Warner Music [the world's largest music recording company], Warner Brothers Studio [feature films], a publishing division that includes *Time, Sports Illustrated, People,* and *Fortune*); the article also mentions a proposed deal in which Time Warner would acquire Turner Broadcasting [including Cable News Network], a deal that has since been completed); Viacom, Inc. (television production, Paramount films, twelve TV stations and twelve radio stations, publishing [Simon & Schuster, Prentice Hall, Pocket Books], Nickelodeon cable channel, Music Television [MTV]); the top managers for Rupert Murdoch's film studio, for CBS television, and for Sony Corporation of America; DreamWorks (Steven Spielberg, David Geffen, and Jeffrey Katzenberg); MCA and Universal Pictures [owned by Edgar Bronfman, also president of the World Jewish Congress]; Samuel Newhouse's print media empire, including *New Yorker* and other Condé Nast magazines, and twenty-six daily newspapers, several in large cities; the countries most influential newspapers (*New York Times, Washington Post*, and the *Wall Street Journal*) and newsmagazines (*Time, Newsweek, U. S. News and World Report*), *Atlantic Monthly* (owned by Mortimer B. Zuckerman, also owner of *U. S. News and World Report*); three of the top six book publishers, including Random House, Simon & Schuster, and Time Warner Trade Group (including Warner Books and Little, Brown). The article notes that the top five movie production companies mentioned (Disney, Viacom [Paramount], Warner Brothers, Sony, and Universal) accounted for 74 percent of the total U. S. movie receipts for the first eight months of 1995.

46. See Whitehead (1993) for a discussion of the scientific literature on single parenting indicating that it is a low-investment form of parenting with devastating social consequences.

47. Similarly Michael Medved (1996, 42), who acknowledges that the majority of influential production executives are Jewish, describes the messages emanating from Hollywood as stressing "instant gratification rather than deferred gratification; superficial glamour rather than moral substance; and emotion, instinct, and violence rather than self-discipline and self-control." He also notes that public opinion polls indicate that "the overwhelming majority of Americans believe that movies and television encourage criminal violence, promiscuous sex, and other forms of destructive behavior." Medved also expresses his concern that the silence of Jewish self-defense organizations about the Jewish role in these phenomena only encourages anti-Semitism.

48. In their representative sample of the news media elite, 14 percent were religiously affiliated Jews and 23 percent were raised in a Jewish household, indicating that people of Jewish background are overrepresented approximately by a factor of 10 among elite journalists.

49. Gabler (1994) denies that the media reflect Jewish interests, preferring to ascribe the character of Jewish media influence to Jewish "marginality." Attributions of Jewish marginality and exclusion are also a major theme of Gabler's 1988 book *An Empire of Their Own*, but although Gabler clearly documents the strong Jewish identification of the major studio moguls (e.g., pp. 279–280), there is no documentation that these Jewish entrepreneurs viewed themselves as marginalized or that supposed Jewish marginalization or exclusion from other areas of the American economy was a motive for entering

the movie business in the first place. The marginality explanation simultaneously "blames" any negative Jewish influences on putative gentile exclusionary activities and ignores the extent to which Jews are overrepresented on all of the indices of wealth and of political and cultural influence. As Goldberg (1996, 283) notes, because of high levels of Jewish acceptance, status as outsider is even less of an explanation for Jewish overrepresentation in the media in the contemporary era. In Chapter 8 I consider Jewish perceptions of marginalization as an aspect of self-deception regarding their status in America.

Powers et al. (1996, 79n.13) argue against the theory that Jews have been attracted to the movie industry because of its riskiness. They note that even the most successful of the movie elite are radicals on the cultural and social left but that this group is not particularly radical in their economic beliefs.

50. Moreover, as we shall see in *The Culture of Critique*, Jewish intellectuals have been in the forefront of developing messianic social and intellectual movements (particularly psychoanalysis and its offshoots) which proposed that relaxing social controls on sexuality among gentiles would result in a decline in anti-Semitism. From this perspective, a common view was that anti-Semitism was caused by pathological parent-child relationships and the repression of the child's natural sexuality. Given the pervasive influence of these theories within Jewish culture generally, it is possible that Jews in the media would suppose that creating a hyper-sexualized media environment would liberate gentiles from their neurotic repressions and end anti-Semitism and other types of violence.

51. John Beaty's (1951) *The Iron Curtain Over America* and Revilo P. Oliver's (1981) *America's Decline: The Education of a Conservative* are American counterparts to this German anti-Semitic literature. These authors emphasize Jewish involvement in the Bolshevik Revolution, American communism, and in government positions via their influence on the American Democratic Party. Although their writings do not suppose that all American Jews are involved, as with much anti-Semitic literature, there is in them a tendency to see a vast interlocking Jewish conspiracy, in this case aimed at making America into a communist society administered by Jewish bureaucrats.

52. In a controversial work, the German historian Ernst Nolte (1987) argued that the perceived tendency of the Bolsheviks to commit mass murder against their enemies and the tendency among European rightists after 1917 to view the Bolshevik regime as dominated by Jews were important ingredients in predisposing the Nazis toward genocide. Estimates of the number of deaths caused by the Soviet state range between twenty and forty million, and as early as 1918 a prominent ethnically Jewish Bolshevik, Grigory Zinoviev, spoke publicly about the need to eliminate ten million Russians. Nolte was accused of "relativizing" the Holocaust and of questioning its uniqueness. For a summary of the Nolte affair, see Raico (1989). For a summary of the tendency among European rightists to identify the Soviet regime with Jews, see Mayer (1988).

53. The NAS asked Shafarevich to resign his position in the academy but he refused (See *Science 257*, 1992, 743; *The Scientist 6(19)* 1992, 1).

54. The hostility toward Russia because of its treatment of Jews also figured in another well-known incident, in which Jacob Schiff acknowledged that political considerations were an important factor in his efforts in financing the Japanese war effort against Russia in 1904–1905 (Sachar 1992, 226ff; Sherman 1983, 68). The German-Jewish leaders of the AJCommittee, including Schiff, continued their financial boycott of Russia until the fall of the czar, and their concern about Russian Jews resulted in attempts

throughout the period to shape American policy toward Russia in a manner that was contrary to perceived American interests (Goldstein 1990, 284ff). Schiff attempted to have the British and French promise not to use his loans for aiding Russia; failing to receive such promises, his firm, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., did not participate in the financing of the Allied war effort—resulting in a great deal of negative press coverage (Goldstein 1990, 286; Sachar 1992, 239ff). In 1916 Schiff castigated the partners of a Boston investment firm "for caring more for their profits than for the honor of American citizens" by participating in a Russian loan (Goldstein 1990, 285). In making this argument, Schiff, who was actually interested in the civil rights of the Russian Jewish population, was placing the interests of a minuscule number of American Jews to travel freely in Russia above the official foreign policy interests of the United States, as well as the interests of the other Western allies. David R. Francis, the U. S. Ambassador to Russia during the period, pointedly noted that Jews only represented 3 percent of the Russian population (Goldstein 1990, 288)—implying that American policy was directed at aiding the vast majority of Russians while the AJCommittee was advocating a policy that was in the interests of only a small minority.

55. Mosse (1989, 250) notes that the German-Jewish entrepreneurial elite tended to support free-trade policies long after the gentile middle class had abandoned this ideology, and that they did so not simply out of economic self-interest but because of an ideology of internationalism. During the Wilhelmine era, this class of Jewish capitalists was "less chauvinistic and more internationally minded than Gentiles, a constant source of complaint from Pan Germans and antisemitic hyper-patriots" (Mosse 1989, 256). A particularly visible target of anti-Semites was Theodore Wolff, editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, viewed by anti-Semites as a "cosmopolitan" who actively combated German geopolitical interests: "There was not a nationalist, chauvinist, militarist, *völkisch*, or antisemitic diatribe that did not include a reference to the liberal 'Jewish press' and the 'Jews' Republic' (*Judenrepublik*) and that did not mention the *Berliner Tageblatt* and usually its editor-in-chief" (Mosse 1989, 285–286).

56. During the 1950s, North African governments questioned the Jewish commitment to nationalism (Cohen 1972, 522). A Tunisian government report stated that Jews "had not cooperated sufficiently" in the nationalist cause. Jews were also generally viewed as pro-French, at least partly because they had prospered under French rule. (The French actively encouraged Jews to act as a "middleman minority" ruling over native Muslim populations [Stillman 1979, 1991].) Similarly, most Jews actively supported France in the Algerian nationalist struggle; the Algerian leader stated that Jews would be resented if they retained their French citizenship after the fall of French rule. As is common among nations actively seeking a strong national identity, Tunisia also viewed all elements of Jewish separatism as divisive, including the attempt by international Jewish agencies to funnel financial resources to Jews rather than the whole society: "The government will not permit them [the Jews] to live in a closed circle of their own" (in Cohen 1972, 523).

57. Wilson's approval was "offhanded" (Sachar 1992, 260), and the State Department was not informed, strongly suggesting less than enthusiastic support for the Zionist program. When the State Department became aware of the situation, the Secretary of State pressed the president to declare his nonsupport for the Declaration; Wilson became increasingly cool to the idea until giving final approval in 1920, apparently as a result of

a private plea by United States Supreme Court Justice and Zionist leader Louis D. Brandeis (Sachar 1992, 268).

58. Goldberg (1996, 229ff) notes a pattern in which Jewish identity influences the behavior of American officials toward Israel. For example, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who inaugurated greatly increased levels of financial support for Israel, feared for Israel's safety during the Six-Day War. " 'As Israel began to fall apart, Henry began to fall apart,' Defense Secretary Schlesinger would later say" (Goldberg 1996, 248–249). In a 1992 speech to a Jewish group Kissinger stated that "I have been in the position as a Jew, of conducting the foreign policy of a superpower. I have never obscured the fact that twelve members of my family died in the Holocaust, and that therefore the fate of the Jewish people was always a matter of profound concern to me. At the same time, destiny put me in a position where I also had to look at other perspectives" (in Goldberg 1996, 249).

59. Jewish income may be underreported, at least in some historical eras, in an effort to combat anti-Semitism. Hertzberg (1989, 248) suggests that Jewish community leaders attempted to lower estimates of Jewish income during the 1920s for this reason. See also Shapiro (1992, 116).

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