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Fear of persecution vs. danger of persecution, 1936.

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FEAR OF PERSECUTION vs. DANGER OF PERSECUTION

With special reference to the nation-wide survey in "Fortune" magazine of the economic activities of the Jews of America and of the extent of anti-Semitism in the United States.

By
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

On
Sunday morning, February 9, 1936

At
The Temple, East 105th St. and Ansel Rd.

Recently there appeared in the "Fortune" magazine an article called "Jews in America". It is a friendly, intelligent and well-informed article. It is in the nature of a survey, an economic survey of the condition of the Jews in American life as well as a survey of the extent of anti-Jewish sentiment in this country. It frequently justifies itself on the ground of the dominance of the Jews in American national economy. The article is a calm, objective analysis of the situation, of the problem. It musters facts and statistics to dispel fiction and uses the best available scientific data to explain these facts. The article resorts to history and sociology rather than to nonsensical race metaphysical romance to explain facts in the situation.

To a student of Jewish life in the United States, there is very little that is new in this article, but the very marshalling of these facts, their arrangement and their interpretation in an important non-Jewish periodical which is read by members of the middle class, business class and upper class of America is ⁱⁿ itself important in that it helps to dispel some fears and some prejudices among the classes. The article will not, of course, convince any confirmed anti-Semites but it might serve as a salutary antidote against the possible poisoning of the minds of the American people by Nazi agents and anti-Semitic racketeers who exploit anti-Semitism for purposes of gain or for political purposes.

It begins with an observation which is tremendously important which we Jews ought to take to heart, namely: that since the rise of Hitlerism in Germany, American Jews - many of them - have become shocked into fear, have become apprehensive, have lost their confidence

in themselves and in their position in American life, and this apprehensiveness, the author maintains, is a serious thing not only for Jews but for the whole of America because any fearful minority is a liability to a country; a fearful minority creates ultimately the very condition which it seeks to avert and that the thought which creates this apprehension is not anti-Semitism but the fear of anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism in America, according to the author, is insignificant and Jewish apprehension of it is not justified by facts. "Organized anti-Semitism in the United States", he says, "is a poor thing indeed." Anti-Semitism in America, charges the author, anti-Jewish sentiment is a very "sick donkey". I quote the author. A survey of all these organizations reveals that all of them with the possible exception of one, "The Friends of New Germany in America" are insignificant, that all their propaganda has been completely unsuccessful in the United States. There is, of course, the author states, a latent prejudice against the Jewish people here and everywhere. That latent prejudice began with the history of the Jewish people. For that matter, the minority always is viewed with a certain distrust by the majority. This latent prejudice has impressed itself now for many years in American life, in clubs, hotels, colleges, residential districts, etc.

But for a deliberately incited race phobia, such as you have in Germany, there are no convincing records of anti-Semitism in the United States. In fact, whatever intolerance there was among the American people, it was until recently directed against other groups

in American life. In the seventeenth century, it was directed against the Quakers and the Baptists. In the nineteenth century, it was directed against the Irish-Catholics and the Negroes. During the years immediately following the World War, the Ku Klux Klan, in the wake of general reaction and the intensification of nationalistic chauvenism, attacked the Catholics, the Jews and the Negroes in a crusade of intolerance and hate. The Klan, as the author points out, quickly petered out, collapsed, and anti-Semitism since that time has been languishing. And even the depression which in other lands was responsible for its intensification, even the depression could not enkindle anti-Semitism to a real issue in American life.

The author maintains that there are probably less than fifteen thousand organized anti-Semites in the United States. Most of these are foreigners, Germans. Anti-Semitism is not a product of America but of Nazidom. American people, according to the survey made by this magazine from time to time, is either hostile to anti-Semitism nor what is more important, completely indifferent. I am quoting: "The conclusion (survey) is inescapable that current American anti-Semitism is feeble. It is German in manufacture and was to be expected in the light of Hitler's career. But Germany is 4,000 miles away. It is not pleasant to have individuals like the Rev. Winrod of the Defenders of the Christian Faith or like Mr. Robert Edward Edmundson who manufactures hate in New York City inviting the country to attack your people. But neither is it important."

Hence this fear, this apprehension, this nervousness of the Jew, the author maintains, is due to two things. First, the Jew fears

his increase in population which has been quite remarkable in America. In the last century, the Jewish population in the United States has increased from 3,000 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ million. This increase plus success achieved in economic enterprises, the Jews fear, will arouse competitive hostility. It creates the impression that the Jew is monopolizing the economic opportunities in many fields and may in the course of time create a situation such as exists in the Old World. The writer seeks to dispose of them both in an objective and scientific way.

In the first place this problem is not only a Jewish problem. The population throughout the world has increased amazingly. In 1800 the Jewish population was $2\frac{1}{2}$ million throughout the world. Today it is 16 million. Also, the population of the rest of the world has also increased amazingly. But that increase is definitely stopped today. In fact, today, particularly in the Western World, in the United States the birth rate has declined. Furthermore, the possibility of another large immigration to America such as the last three waves of immigration - the early Spanish-Portuguese in the 18th century, the German migration in the forties, and the Eastern-European wave of immigration in the eighties, is quite out of the question. From now on the possibility of a fourth wave immigration is out of the question because the doors of immigration for all people into the United States is definitely closed.

As regards Jews monopolizing the economic opportunities in the United States, the author asks this question. Suppose it is true? What of it? What difference does it make? They are citizens of the country. A man's job is not to be determined by his parentage or his ancestry. Suppose one group is more successful than the other. What is wrong

about it? The author answers these questions wisely. Nothing is wrong. Morally or logically there is no answer to it. But in history there is. In history the answer is quite simply that a disproportionate participation of Jews in economic life arouses anti-Semitism. It is neither a question of morality or logic but of fact and the Jewish group while, of course, it is not a pure racial group is nevertheless regarded as a distinctive group. That our identity is a matter of history is of no particular importance. The fact is that the Jewish group in the United States is looked upon as a distinctive group. Our people have developed centripetal tendencies to agglomerate. They crowd into a few square as the checkerboard. This still further accentuates the strangeness and foreignness of this group in the eyes of the people. As a result, many people come to regard the success of the Jewish group in these fields as, in a sense, an invasion of their world and the fiction is created that the Jew gets more than his share of the goods available.

Now the author then proceeds to point out that the Jew does not get more than his share. He states facts. In the first place, a simple fact frequently overlooked is that there are $4\frac{1}{2}$ million Jews in the United States, by far the greatest number of which is composed of working people, employed and unemployed, who certainly do not control American life. The Jew seems to play a disproportionate part in American life, according to the author because he and his people are largely concentrated in big cities and big cities are dominant in present-day civilization. 84% of the Jews in the United States live in cities of 100,000 population and over. One-third of the Jews of the United States live in one city - New York. Because of the supreme importance the city has come

to occupy in present-day civilization it gives the impression of the ubiquity and the importance of the Jews which is far greater than their numerical strength and thus gives the impression that Jews are running everything.

Are they? The author looks into the financial set up of the United States. Jews always have been charged as being international financiers, the people who control international banks of the world, the empires of the world and much of the old world. Based on a survey of facts, concludes the author, the Jews simply do not run banking in the United States. Of 420 directors of nineteen of the largest banks in New York, only 30 are Jews and half that number are concentrated in two Jewish banks. And as far as International Jewish bankers are concerned, on the basis of amounts of foreign loans made by the United States, there are seven in the investment field beginning with J.P. Morgan which rank above the highest Jewish house of Kuhn Loeb & Co.

On the New York Stock Exchange, 84% of the members are non-Jews.

The author calls attention to the almost total absence of Jews in the Insurance field - not insurance agents - there are all too many of them. I have one come to my study every day. But as far as the the controlling heads of insurance companies in the United States are concerned, the Jew is practically non-existent.

The author then turns from finance to heavy industry and points out that which to many people are surprising facts. He points out the insignificant position which Jews occupy in heavy industries in the United States. In the automobile industry, in the coal industry, in rubber, the Jew is almost non-existent. In petroleum except in the marketing end, he is almost non-existent. In the chemical

field, in shipping and transportation, in aviation, with very few exceptions, are free from Jews.

In the light industries, the Jew is represented more than in the heavy industries. But even in the light industries, he is represented largely in the marketing and distribution end with one important exception - in the needle trades. In the production of wool, silk, cotton and rayon, Jewish interest is small. It is largely in the distribution end that he is represented.

In the tobacco and liquor business, the Jewish interest is not nearly as dominant as many people are lead to believe. Strangely, even in retail business which we used to assume was almost entirely a Jewish business - even in retail business, the Jew occupies an inferior position. The author points to chain stores, to the five and ten cent stores - 95 to 99 percent controlled by non-Jews. Food and grocery stores: 90 to 95 per cent controlled by non-Jews. Drug store chain stores - 90 percent are controlled by non-Jews.

He then turns to the field of enterprises which may be said to control public opinion - newspapers, magazines, publicity houses - and again he points out on the basis of facts and statistics that alongside of chains of newspapers controlled by such interests as the Hearst, Patterson-McCormick, Scripps-Howard, the combined circulation of newspapers owned by Jews is very small and the Jewish control of magazines is smaller and that of book publishers, still smaller.

Jewish representation, however, is very large in the radio field, in the theatre and in the movies. But striking at values, the author concludes: "The whole picture of industry, business and amusements

may be summed up by repeating that while there are certain industries which Jews dominate and certain industries in which Jewish participation is considerable, there are also vast industrial fields, generally as the most typical of our civilization in which they play a part so inconsiderable as not to count in the total picture."

In agriculture, the Jew, of course, is nil.

In Law and medicine, a subject of which I spoke a few weeks ago, a subject which is the favorite theme of anti-Semites - the author has some pertinent statements to make. One-third of the lawyers in New York are Jews. But they forget to point out that 1/3 of the population of New York is Jewish. Then he calls attention to the fact that while Jews may be represented numerically up to one-third or one-half of the profession in New York, that the legal power - the important legal business not only in New York, but throughout the country, is not in Jewish hands. The same thing is true of medicine. The important posts, the controlling posts in the American medical world throughout the world, even in cities where the Jewish population is so large as in New York, it is not in Jewish hands.

And as far as the Jewish influence in politics is concerned - that, too, the author concludes, is minor. Frequently it is intimated that the Jews influence politics excessively. The anti-Semite has often termed the present administration the "Jew Deal" instead of the "New Deal." The fact of the matter is that the number of Jews in the present administration is very small.

The article also quotes a few paragraphs on the Jews and Communism. He first gives the facts. Out of 27,000 registered

communist members, less than 4,000 are Jews. The confusion in the minds of people between communism and Jews is due, argues the author, largely to the fact that Jews who are members of the Communist Party are its most articulate members. Every Jew is an orator. Every Jew is a writer. Many Jews are very able and energetic. Quite naturally, they become the spokesmen, the speakers, the organizers, the pamphleteers. They give the impression to the outside world that the whole communist movement in the United States is Jewish and that all Jews are communists. Then, too, our young people - here again the author points out their attraction to communism or to any other ism - because they feel that the system is against them as Jews, that the economic system is denying them legitimate opportunities because they are Jews. They join movements which promise to overthrow the system which is against them. But, says the author, for every Jewish communist there are one thousand traders, shopkeepers, merchants, workers who are not communists. And if there is any revolution in the United States, it is more likely to come from the native stock farmers of the Midwest and Northwest than from the Jews in New York. So the article concludes: "Examination of Jewish participation in American life might be carried further but the findings would remain the same. Jews do not dominate the American scene. They do not even dominate major sectors of the American scene. They do, however, monopolize certain minor provinces. What is remarkable about the Jews in America, in other words, is not their industrial power but their curious industrial distribution, their tendency to crowd together in

particular square of the checkerboard. The reason for their crowding must be found in their most pronounced psychological trait - their clannishness, their tribal inclination. The reason for their choice of particular squares into which to crowd must be found in historical accident. Jews are in scrap iron because they were once in the junk business and they were once in the junk business because a penniless immigrant could make a start there on a shoestring. Jews are in movies because they were in movie theatres and because a few successful cloak-and-suit manufacturers invested their cloak-and-suit profits usefully in the amusement business. (The connection between the movies and the cloak-and-suit business is still esthetically betrayed from time to time.) Were the four and a half millions of American Jews scattered more or less evenly over the whole industrial acreage, and were they as fond of rural communities and small towns as they are of great cities, their presence as Jews would hardly be noticed by other Americans. The whole point of the whole inquiry is that wherever the Jews may be, industrially or culturally or professionally or merely geographically, they are always present in numbers and they are almost always present as Jews.

"And therein too lies the point of the so-called Jewish problem. Granted as any open-minded man who has read the facts here collected must grant, that the Jews do not come within gunshot of running America and that their numbers are no longer rapidly increasing and that there is no color of reason for expecting successful anti-Semitism here. Granted ~~that~~ that the Fortune Survey, above quoted, demonstrates the ability of the American people to suffer Klan propaganda and Silver Shirt propaganda and the propaganda of the Nazis and still maintain common sense and basic decency. Granted that there is strong reason therefore believing that Fascism can be defeated in this country. Granted all this, it still ~~remains~~ remains true that the future of the Jew in America is puzzling. Can this universal stranger be absorbed in the country which has absorbed every other European stock?

Does he wish to be absorbed? Can he live happily and in peace if he is not absorbed? The answers must be guesses. Upper-class Spanish and German Jews have been pretty well absorbed. There are, however, numerous Jews who look upon the loss of Jewish identity as a kind of social suicide. If those groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, who wish the identity and distinction of the Jews preserved are able to carry their point then the only hope for the Jews in America is mutual toleration and respect. Since, however, toleration and mutual respect are also the only hope of all who wish to preserve or re-establish democratic institutions in this country the Jews in America will have numerous allies. The first condition of their success will be the quieting of Jewish apprehensiveness and the consequent elimination of the aggressive and occasionally provocative Jewish defensive measures which the country has recently and anxiously observed."

In other words, the solution, according to this writer, is the alternative of assimilation or of mutual toleration and respect. To a student of Jewish history, there is no alternative because assimilation is not a solution. It has been tried and it has failed. The Jews in Germany tried this process of being absorbed completely, of washing out their identity completely, of intermarrying with the non-Jewish population and that process of assimilation which has been going on for decades, for almost a century, has resulted in the Nuremberg Laws, where Jews whose ties of kinship with the Jewish group had been severed three and four generations back were ploughed under and thrown back on their Jewish identity. It doesn't work. Apart from public reason, many Jews don't want to be absorbed. The Jewish groups, whether they are conscientious Jews or assimilated Jews, have a tendency toward urban life, towards great centers of concentrated population, towards certain few callings, which fact helps to preserve the identity of the Jew. The kind of Jew he is makes no difference, whatever. Two thousand years of urban dwelling cannot be undone in a few

short generations.

In the second place, the Jew doesn't want to be absorbed. Why should he? History has not demonstrated that it can offer him immunity from persecution and discrimination which this article seems to suggest.

In the third place, he senses that remarkable loyalty to his people. He is not an American, but more and better, an American Jew. That doesn't mean that the Jew is intellectually and spiritually clannish. There isn't a single instance on record in American life where the Jew has been invited to join a civic, educational, philanthropic, political organization that he has refused. The Jew has not been clannish. Given the slightest opportunity and encouragement to assimilate, he has done so. Whenever and wherever a welcome was extended to him for cooperation on the basis of good will and equality, he was always eager to accept. We have not built parochial schools as others have done. We have participated politically to the same degree as the non-Jew. We have joined in all cultural activities, in literature, the arts, the sciences and the professions, the same as other groups. Our people have never refused to join various fraternal organizations, business organizations, lodges, whenever invited. Our working people never refused to join labor movements. Jewish people never isolated themselves. Jewish communities join community chests along with Catholics and Protestants. There hasn't been a national movement in this country for the betterment of the people, for the social and cultural uplifting of our people in which the Jew has not joined. What is this talk then about Jewish clannishness? Because a Jew in a desire to preserve his historic faith teaches his children its great ideals - does that make him clannish? Because they wish to take care of their own dependents because they understand them better - is that clannishness? Because the Jews build their own homes for the aged and hospitals for their sick - does that make

them clannish? Because we rise to the defense of our persecuted brothers across the seas - is that clannishness? No! The first answer is "No!" There is ^{no} answer to the problem of assimilation.

May I say in this connection that the Jewish group in the United States is not the only group which has built up this kind of communal organization. The German group has done it. The Italian group has done it.

Mutal toleration and respect - not "Gleichschaltung" - is the answer, the American answer. We are living today in an age when a new wave of intolerance and bigotry is sweeping over the world. From time to time ghosts of history return and hover over the people. Old battle cries are sounding again. The old enemies, the inquisitors, the fanatic, the Hun, the vandal are on the rampage again.

It is up to us Jews not to be dominated and not to be deterred from the highway of our historic destiny. There has always been an element of distrust against Jewish life. There is always a strain in any minority group and in any minority group there is tension. It is this very tension and strain which has kept Jewish life vigorous, which has enabled the Jew to occupy that position of importance in the cultural, spiritual sense, in the industrial and commercial life of the world. "The bush is continuing to burn but the bush does not become consumed." That is the philosophy of the Jew. There is always tension and strain but we are never destroyed. The battle for human rights, human decencies, is marching again and as always it is marching primarily around the Jewish group. The Jew has been the battleground for the reactions of mankind. When reaction begins to attack, it attacks the Jewish group first. It frequently attempts to save itself by destroying the Jews. When the Czarists of Russia were in the last agony of their dying, they fought to save themselves by turning the reaction, the anger of their people

away from them to the Jewish group. Back in the Forties, the infamous May Laws were enacted against our people which degraded and humiliated them and drove hundreds and thousands into exile. These Czars finally drenched Jewish life in blood, in pogroms, but in that blood they perished, the Czars, not the Jewish people. Nazi Germany is doing the self-same thing today. Naziism is the death of economic and political reaction in Germany and that reaction is also resorting to Jewish persecution as a means of saving itself. It, too, has passed the Nuremberg Laws to destroy the Jewish group in Germany. It has not yet resorted to bloody pogroms but to cold pogroms intended to annihilate the Jewish group. It may yet resort to the bloody pogroms and in that blood, too, Naziism will perish and the day will come when it will perish in revolution, in chaos. But the Jewish community will not perish because the Jewish community has linked up its life and its destiny with the life and destiny of progressiveness, with the ideals of tolerance, of equality, of human brotherhood, which ideals may love every battle but one - they never lose the last battle of civilization.

Therefore, in these days when the battle is raging, when reaction, religious and racial tolerance in the world is raging, in these days we should remain strong and confident and not give way to apprehension and fear because fear is demoralizing. Fear will make us do unwise and stupid things and our task is to continue to live in this country as we did seven years, ago, one year ago, and twenty years ago. America has not gone the way of those mad countries of the Western World. We pray to God that it never may. We can help it not by becoming panicky and demoralized and by magnifying every piddling incident. We can help it by quietly, confidently carrying on what we have done, serving America to the best of our ability, everyone in his own walk in life. We have great democratic institutions in American life. Unite with some elements to strengthen, to alleviate every question of

of tension in American life, particularly economic life which so unsettles people. Unite with other elements to fight every inch of the way in America for democracy, American liberalism, American constitutional guarantees.

To answer attacks? Yes! In a dignified calm confident manner. Better still, we should not wait until we are attacked but we should enlighten people of the problems confronting us and try to wrestle with it. And lastly, by retaining our own self-respect and our own spiritual integrity and our aim in these trying days which may be unique to us but is not at all unique or even unusual in the history of our people.

Let us turn our minds away from this morbid, over-accentuation, this morbid self-absorption in this problem of anti-Semitism. Let us think more of the constructive things that we can do as Jews and as Americans to remain faithful to the institutions of this land which have endured for 150 years and which have survived. Let us continue to live in this country as Jews and as Americans.

There is, of course, latent prejudice - as old as J history - we have had it
in the country for long - clubs - colleges - residential districts -
but - 'deliberately wicked, affirmatively racial politics - Germany -
in Amer.' 'Christian world'

Down to 1921 - Am. intolerance & persecution. Protestants 17C
Jews, Catholics, Negroes - 19C.

R. K. K. K. - in north & south & nation - looked for Catholics
& Jews in Canada, hate - but movement collapsed -

A. longished thereafter & still lay on the - Even the Refusers have not
seriously renounced it - Estimates as more 15000 org. A. members
of Am. people in U.S. - and mostly Germans - who A. is not
national - born but imported from Hitler's land.

Am. people is either hostile to A. - or what is worse from a political
point of view - indifferent! (Jude)

4. Fear & Jews of Am. is grounded in belief that the rapid increase
of J. population in U.S. - which in a century & a half - increased from
2000 to 4 1/2 m. - and their success in many fields, ^{business &} ~~science~~
professions - may excite A. - may lead to charges that they
have monopolized the opportunities for Econ. advance - and these
charges will pave way for racism in Am. - even a thin paved way
for Nazism in G. -

5. The writer disposes of both thesis in a thorough manner.

There was a rapid increase in J. pop. in 19C. - ~~all over~~ ⁱⁿ the world. From
1800 to 1930 - J. pop. increased from 2 1/2 m. to 16 m. - almost 80% total.

The rate of increase of Jewish pop. was also very high. This in larger
holds - birth-rate declines. Declining in Am. - (2) Gates &
immigration closed. No 4th wave likely to follow.
No vast increase as was expected

6. Have Jews in U.S. monopolized econ. opportunities in U.S. —
Suppose they have? What difference does it make? — a man's job
should not be determined by his parentage.

✓ No answer in logic or morality! But History!

Disproportionate participation in econ. life arouses A. feeling

Rec. Jews are regarded as a distinct group — not pure race —
identity - history — there is a difference!

This difference, with ignorant & parochial minds is cause for resentment.
Jew — has developed centripetal tendencies — every movement pulls
down. They tend to agglomerate.

They have not monopolized industry — but they have concentrated in
certain lines of industry — They crowd into a few squares
on the econ. checker-board. This has also tended to accentuate
their "strangeness" & "foreignness" — even Jews scattered etc. —

Regarding him as "different" — he is ready to resent their success
as a kind of artificial invasion, his world.
Prone to assume that Jew gets more, his share.

7. Facts — great mass of U.S. - workers - employed/unemployed — "no control"

Jews "seem" to play a disproportionate part (1) Urban — their occupations
bring them into most direct contacts with consuming public, 84%
& Am. Jew live in cities over 100,000 — Cities have become much
more important in our ind. civilization — & Jews who are numerous in
cities — will seem to be more important > their actual numerical strength

✓ N.Y.C. has 1 3/4 J. — N.Y.C. is most important center in Am. ind. life
This throws J. pop. which is actually less > 3% into very
high relief. ~~It seems to~~ Jew seems to be ubiquitous
"The Jews run everything"

Finance

8. They do not run banking. Of 420 directors of banks in N.Y. clearing there only 30 were Jews - & 1/2 of these in 2 banks.

(9) J. P. Morgan - on the basis of amounts of money loans made by U.S. there are 7 in the investment field & by way with J. P. Morgan which ranks above the highest of houses of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

(12) On the N.Y. State Exchange - only 88% set money non-Jews; 16% Jews

(13) Abraham, Jews in Finance Field is not worthy

(14) Their place in heavy industry - in comparisons

in automobile

in coal industry - almost non-existent

in Rubber

in Petroleum - except in marketing end.

in Chemical

in Shipping + Transportation

in Ship-Building

in Aviation

5. Light industry - Now, too, mostly in marketing & distribution

In the production end, wool, silk, cotton, rayon, J. content small
the much larger in distribution, sales agents, jobbers, consumers,

Jews are largely represented in food J. industry & wearing apparel

Even in tobacco & liquor business, are J. interests not dominant

Retail business - not as great as is commonly supposed

— 5-10 chains are 95% not Jewish

— Food-stores, store chains - 95-99% non-Jewish

Imp. store chains are 90% non Jewish -

6. Control, Ownership

Newspapers - Alay side & chain, newspapers controlled by Hearst

Patterson - McCombs, Reefers - Howard - the controlled circulation of newspapers owned by J. interests is very small.

Even less in Magazines, & Book Publishing

7. Very large in Radio, Theatre, Movies -

(Just)

8. In agriculture - unimportant

9. Law & Medicine - controls them, & A.

$\frac{1}{3}$ of lawyers in U.S. Jews - but Jews are $\frac{1}{3}$ of population

Do not possess $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ of lawyer power

The most important law business in Am. - in hands, non Jews
Equally with Medicine - Control -

Hospital medical boards controlled by non Jews -

10. Politics - J. influence - minor in present administration
"New Deal - Jew Deal" -

11. Communists. Out, 27,000 - 3,500-4,000 Jews.

are its articulate members - put himself in public eye - orator
personality

"Feels that system is against him"

For every J. communist - 1000 J. shopkeepers, merchants, workers etc
on end -

If ever a Rev. cause - from nation - born Am. stock in agencies
regions, independent & without and franchises

12. (Intro)

13. Alternatives (1) Assimilation (2) Mutual Tolerance & Respect.

(1) Assimilation has been tried - Failed - Germany -
Wished to be absorbed - 3-4th generation was plowed up.
and threw back upon them J. identity - Austria etc -

(a) It does not work - for reasons given by writer - urban -
concentrated - products of deurbanization & ruralization
slight - Even in Am. Russia - Jew tends to form
urban occupations - Even in Pol - in thick / progers
in agriculture - go to cities -

(b) 2000 yrs. of city-dwelling, cannot be unmade.

(c) Jew does not wish to lose his identity Why should he?
Such loss will not help him - for history has demonstrated
that he stands as community from disunion - Thereafter
thus it - It will not help America - He has
a faith in culture which can help him to be a
better Am. citizen -

(d) Does not mean J. a intel. claudicans - J. is ready enough
to cooperate - in common civic tasks - philanthropies
educational, political - what org. club, society,
etc open its doors to Jew - Jew wished to enter.

→ We send our children to public schools - high learning
we participate in pol. life - in same manner as other citizens
as represented in all cultural activities / human life in
literature, the arts, the sciences, the professions
Our people are not averse to join the chance. Am. Universities
seminaries, the lodges, fraternal org. - wherever they are admitted

J. workmen have formed labor movement.

→ J. communities stand to lose Chests
National movement for enrichment / human life
What socially desirable activities in human life
can Jews be helped to share in?

How can doers, see to power his historic faith, to lead his children the
great ideas, his past race, their history & its liberation, to care for his own
dependents see he undertakes them best, to defend & keep his persecuted
brother abroad or to build for his people abroad and what writes himself
involved is us, the freedom on the J. structures - how can that
be unfettered or refusal to cooperate whole heartedly in
democ. Am. life - the very beauty which is refect for individuality,
& sp. independence - Other things

14. Mutual Tolerance Respect - but 'Gleichschaltung' - is the
answer - The American answer! The hard but only
just and wise answer!

✓ A war of intolerance - striking us used - Phish, Intolerance
Bigotry haunting - Tattered, ruined unfettered - Old
battle-cries heard again - The Wound the Wound - The injustice
and the poverty - are on the rampan again -
✓ We must not be deserted, a diverted - We must
walk the highway of our destiny and be diverted.

15. Tennison in life, momentary power - Stoked us - Alert -
All is done.

16. Battle for human right for human is raging again in our
day. Frequently this battle has royed around the Jew.
Whenever Reichman moves for an attack - it stir at the
Jew part. This has been our cross our cross -
(a) For its last desperate agony - Russian Ganderson turned
upon the Jew - It degraded him for the infamous may
have, the '90' - It forced himself, therefore not
exile - It finally drenched the J. custom in the blood,
poison - And in that blood it perished -
the Germans - not the J. people!

The German machine is breathing its last in Nuremberg -
 That is its death rattle. And in its ^{last} desperation, it
 has turned against the Jews - It too passes Nuremberg hours
 like the May hour - to degrade, to defame, to shatter J.
 life - It is drowning them, thousands with exile - It may
 not return them in peace, ^{peace that} ~~peace that~~ ^{it may} ~~it may~~
 yet gasp out its life in ^{bloody} ~~propaganda~~ ^{when the crowd} ~~propaganda~~ ^{will speak}
 peak in revolution, in human ruin chaos. - The
~~bloody page of 1934 is the~~

(1) The J. people - will move - Its destiny is linked up with destiny of human freedom - & equality & brotherhood. There will be every battle but the last.

17. We need to-day

need to-day
1) Confidence - banish this energizing apprehensions
of loss of land, time

✓ Am. has not ~~put~~ gone the way ^{now} the ~~med~~ land, Europe.
It never may. We will help it not to.

✓ (2) We cannot help it - if we become family, devoted,
we we become possessed of Fear. Fear is our greatest enemy!
as our way in faith &

We are becoming possessed of fear.
 ✓ (3) we can help it - if we go on our way in faith &
 courage & ^{not making any} ~~relying~~ ^{trusting} our great ^{power} ~~unshakable~~ ⁱⁿ ~~loyalty~~ ^{loyalty}
 & consecration - working with other men & good will for
 the life of our life -

the strengthening of all that is fine & noble in Am. life -
helping each in his way to release services for hardship
 & valor from problems - fighting every evil the way in defense

(4) Amur attacks in dark range - Enlighten +

inform our fellow-citizens as to the real facts

(5) Maintain in our self-respect - as sp. integrity and faith -

"The conclusion (survey) is unescapable that current Am.
A. is feeble. It is German in manufacture and was to be
expected in the light of Hitler's career. But Germany is 4000
miles away. It is not pleasant to have individuals like the
Rev. Winrod of the defenders of the Christian Faith or like Mr.
Robert Edward Edmondson who manufactures hate in N.Y.C.
urging the country to attack your people. But neither is it
important."

Fact 5

"The whole picture of industry, business and movements may
be summed up by repeating that while there are certain
industries which Jews dominate and certain industries
in which J. participation is considerable, there are also vast
industrial fields, generally viewed as the most typical
of our civilization, in which they play a part so unimportant
as not to count in the total picture."

Is. 42.1-9
43.1-9
44.1-5

1. Friendly. Econ. Survey - extend - Calm, objective analysis go
Musters facts to dispell - best available

Turns to History

To a student - marshalling - periodical -

Will not convince A. against poisoning - antidote

2/ Begins with observation - "Shocked with fear" - confidence - apprehension
Fear - This app. serious - not only - "Fearful minority"

3/ Ap. not justified in fact.

Record of arg. A - "a poor thing indeed"

"A in Am., judged by its exponents" is a very sick donkey"

Survey - reveals many points about it - sign - prop.
unnecessary

4. Latent Repression - "deliberately incited, affirmative race phobia"
no clinical records

Down to 1921 - Matthias & Baptists 170 -

K. K. K. - collapsed - language - Depression - 15,000 -
miserable

Am. people - Survey - either hostile - indifferent - (Just)

5. Whence Fear of Jews - (1) Increase & Decrease -

Winter proceeds to dispose of both these

① Increase 1870-1933 - Decline - Increase, does clear

The chief difference between law and medicine is that the feeling between Jews and non-Jews is much stronger in the latter profession than in the former. The reason for that feeling is this: of approximately 14,000 young men and women attempting annually to enter the seventy-six reputable U.S. medical schools 50 per cent are Jews, while of the 6,000 more or less who get in only 17 per cent are Jews. Non-Jewish doctors cite these figures as proof of the danger of Jewish aggressiveness and commercialism in the profession while Jewish doctors cite them as proof of discrimination, arguing that if there are a disproportionate number of Jews in medical schools the reason may be that Jews are brighter than non-Jews. The truth seems to be that medicine is merely the most obvious point of collision between forces set in motion by the peculiar development of Jewish life in America. Given the desire of Jews to see their sons in the learned professions, and given their urbanization and hence their access to free college education, and given the assiduity of Jewish children, a clash was inevitable. There is no occasion to explain it by reference to an alleged Jewish intellectual superiority.

THE Jewish advantage in the professions, then, is rather shadow than substance. And so, but much more so, is the Jewish importance in politics. Anti-Semites usually put that importance in two ways for purposes of effect if not for purposes of logic. First, "the New Deal is the Jew Deal." Second, "all Communists are Jews and all Jews are Communists." As to the New Deal, FORTUNE has already pointed out ("The Case Against Roosevelt," December, 1935) that Jewish influence in Mr. Roosevelt's Washington is minor. Attempts to make it seem important rest on misrepresentations and no amount of political whispering can change that fact. As to Communism the finding of the Congressional Committee of 1931 that 70 per cent of the U.S. Communist Party was alien with Jews predominating has been effectively rebutted. The truth is that of the 27,000 U.S. Communists, few of the higher officers and only 3,500 to 4,000 of the members of the party are Jews.

The reason for the general impression of Jewish and Communist identity is simple. First of all, as we have had occasion to observe, the Jews are urban and largely concentrated in New York. The radical movement is also urban and largely centered in New York. Secondly, the Jewish members of the Communist Party are very commonly the intellectual and hence the articulate members of that party. The second-generation Jewish intellectual with his background of Talmudic dialectic is mentally predisposed to Marxism to a degree which he himself rarely appreciates. And Marxism with its internationalism and anti-nationalism is eminently fitted to the emotional needs of a people without a fatherland. The attachment of men of other blood to the earth on which they were born

Jews in America

[Continued from page 136]

is sometimes incomprehensible to the traditionally earthless Jew. But most important, Jewish intellectuals are attracted to radicalism because the Jewish intellectual very understandably feels that the "system" is against him. Non-Jews wishing to become teachers and scientists and professional men are able to find more or less open opportunities for the exercise of their talents. Such opportunities are frequently closed to the Jew. In consequence the Jewish intellectual is frequently against the existing order. In consequence he is frequently a radical. And since he is able and idealistic and courageous and articulate he becomes the voice of radicalism. He provides, under his own name or under non-Jewish names chosen for tactical reasons, a very great deal of the magazine writing, the propaganda, the general literature, of the movement in New York. In so doing he puts himself very much in the public eye and his 15 per cent membership in the Communist Party looks like 100 per cent. It is not the natural propensity of the Jews for revolution which produces the impression. It is their natural propensity for journalism and excited, persuasive speech.

But because the Jewish intellectual is a formidable member of the Communist Party it does not follow that "the revolution" in America is Jewish. There are two unanswerable reasons why it is not. One reason is that for every revolutionary Jew there are thousands of Jewish capitalists, shopkeepers, traders, and the like who stand to lose everything in a revolution as 90 per cent of the Jews in Russia (who were traders and the like) lost everything—including, in many cases, their lives. The other reason is that the revolution in America is much more likely to come from the native-born Americans of Yankee and Nordic stock in the agricultural regions of the Midwest and Northwest than from the Americans of Jewish stock in New York City.

EXAMINATION of Jewish participation in American life might be carried further but the findings would remain the same. Jews do not dominate the American scene. They do not even dominate major sectors of the American scene. They do, however, monopolize certain minor provinces. What is remarkable about the Jews in America, in other words, is not their industrial power but their curious industrial distribution, their tendency to crowd together in particular squares of the checkerboard. The reason for their crowding must be found in their most pronounced psychological trait—their clannishness, their tribal inclination. The reason for their choice of particular squares into which to crowd must be found in historical

accident. Jews are in scrap iron because they were once in the junk business and they were once in the junk business because a penniless immigrant could make a start there on a shoestring. Jews are in movies because they were in movie theatres and because a few successful cloak-and-suit manufacturers invested their cloak-and-suit profits usefully in the amusement business. (The connection between the movies and the cloak-and-suit business is still esthetically betrayed from time to time.) Were the four and a half millions of American Jews scattered more or less evenly over the whole industrial acreage, and were they as fond of rural communities and small towns as they are of great cities, their presence as Jews would hardly be noticed by other Americans. The whole point of the whole inquiry is that wherever the Jews may be, industrially or culturally or professionally or merely geographically, they are always present in numbers, and they are almost always present as Jews.)

And therein too lies the point of the so-called Jewish problem. Granted, as any open-minded man who has read the facts here collected must grant, that the Jews do not come within gunshot of running America and that their numbers are no longer rapidly increasing and that there is no color of reason for expecting successful anti-Semitism here. Granted that the FORTUNE Survey, above quoted, demonstrates the ability of the American people to suffer Klan propaganda and Silver Shirt propaganda and the propaganda of the Nazis and still maintain common sense and basic decency. Granted that there is strong reason therefore for believing that Fascism can be defeated in this country. Granted all this, it still remains true that the future of the Jew in America is puzzling. Can this universal stranger be absorbed in the country which has absorbed every other European stock? Does he wish to be absorbed? Can he live happily and in peace if he is not absorbed? The answers must be guesses. Upper-class Spanish and German Jews have been pretty well absorbed. There are, however, numerous Jews who look upon the loss of Jewish identity as a kind of social suicide. If those groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, who wish the identity and distinction of the Jews preserved are able to carry their point then the only hope for the Jews in America is mutual toleration and respect. Since, however, toleration and mutual respect are also the only hope of all who wish to preserve or re-establish democratic institutions in this country the Jews in America will have numerous allies. The first condition of their success will be the quieting of Jewish apprehensiveness and the consequent elimination of the aggressive and occasionally provocative Jewish defensive measures which the country has recently and anxiously observed.

[On page 142, Appendix: Anti-Semitic Organizations; on page 144, Appendix: Jews in Movies]

Appendix A: Jews in America

Principal Anti-Semitic Organizations

First in order of present size is the Friends of the New Germany. This organization was ordered disbanded by the German Ambassador after the publication of detailed charges that anti-Semitic propaganda of German origin was entering the United States. It now numbers about 4,000 members—almost all of them Germans or German-Americans—and its most active units are in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles; curiously enough it has made little headway in the old German cities like Milwaukee and St. Louis and has aroused open German hostility in California where the leading California *Staats-Zeitung* has attacked it. Head of the organization is one Fritz Gissibl just returned from Germany. Subdivisions of the Friends are: "Storm Troopers," uniformed auxiliaries who hold secret drills, stand in heroic postures at meetings, and occasionally ask to be escorted home by detachments of New York's finest—many of whom are Jews; "Steel Helmets," an organization of German War veterans; "German Womanhood," a minuscule women's auxiliary in Chicago; and "German-American Economy Alliance" (DAWA), a retaliatory boycott group with a racketeering fringe of persons hoping to profit by the shift in trade. Recently, and as the result of a row between the Friends and other German societies in Los Angeles, the name of the "Storm Troopers" has been changed to "Ordnungs Dienst" or "O D Boys"—known to the disrespectful natives, who are thoroughly fed up with the whole business, as the Boys in Uniform.

The importance of the Friends of the New Germany is not numerical. In the active West Coast area, including Seattle, Portland, Oakland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, there were only 500 members in 1934 and in Los Angeles only 140, of whom seventy-two were aliens. The importance, such as it is, of the Friends derives from the fact that they have been a principal channel for the importation of anti-Semitic propaganda, that they publish their own newspapers, the various *Weckrufe*, and that they are in close touch with other anti-Semitic groups, some of which indeed are merely American fronts for German activity. On the West Coast anti-Semitic propaganda is openly for sale in the Aryan bookstores patronized by the Friends. The San Francisco Aryan Bookshop on Polk Street diagonally across from German House, center of all German groups, was recently destroyed by a mysterious fire and propaganda is now sold at the Aloha Bookshop in the Whitney Building. The Aryan Bookstore of 634 West Fifteenth Street, Los Angeles, headquarters of the Friends, is still open. At the time of the investigation of the McCormack (congressional) Committee in 1934 (known also as the Dickstein Committee) a large shipment of propaganda from Goebbels's office in Berlin was left unclaimed in Los Angeles.

Second in point of notoriety is the organization known as the Silver Shirts. The Silver Shirts are of interest partly because they were once prosperous, partly because they are no longer prosperous, partly because their history sounds like the Hollywood version of the Viennese version of a novel by E. Phillips Oppenheim, and partly because their founder, Mr. William Dudley Pelley, is God's gift to the Americana columns of the nation's magazines. It will be satisfactory to begin with Mr. Pelley. A writer in the *New Republic*, some two years ago, offered Mr. Pelley to his readers as a sinister figure: "Hardboiled, crafty, keenly aware of the mental make-up of the people he is hoodwinking, Pelley is dangerous and needs watching." Unfortunately for the news interest the facts are otherwise. Mr. Pelley was, it is true, a successful magazine hack for some years, turning out the usual line of girl-meets-boy fiction for such periodicals as *Good Housekeeping*, *Redbook*, *Collier's*, the *American Magazine*, and the scenario buyers, but his production was not much above that of his innumerable competitors. And the remainder of his career was written rather for the stage of farce than for the stage of tragedy. Born, as he tells us, in New England of "uncontaminated English stock" conveyed to him by a Methodist divine, he climbed from printer to newspaper publisher to magazine editor to the treasurer's office of a Massachusetts toilet-paper company and on to an advertising agency, "while carrying on eight years of undercover investigation throughout every state in the Union." What he was investigating does not appear, but the first fruit of his efforts was Galahad College, founded in Asheville, North Carolina, to teach something called Christian Economics—a general field defined by the Civil Liberties Union as somehow composed of "mysticism compounded of astrology, Hindu mythology, evolution, radiotherapy, endocrinology, and radio broadcasting." Incidentally to this venture, Mr. Pelley died for seven minutes, recounting his experiences in the other world to the enchanted readers of the *American Magazine* in March, 1929. A

year later he began publishing the *New Liberator* (subsequently *Liberation*), enlivened by such Pelleycules as, "You can remember before you were born." And eventually in 1933, having been "inspirationally instructed" that "when a certain young house painter comes to the head of the German people, then do you take that as your symbol for bringing the work of the Christian Militia into the open," he founded the Silver Shirts. Precisely why astrology should have led to anti-Semitism Dr. Freud can perhaps explain. The association is not unusual. The Aloha Bookshop also specializes in astrological and spiritualistic books as well as in anti-Semitic propaganda.

In any event, after an initial rebuff in Asheville, where the population remained indifferent, Mr. Pelley moved his organization to the Southwest, added the Texas ranger touch, designed a uniform of gray ("silver") shirts, blue corduroy pants, and golf stockings, built up a claim to 2,000,000 members—who probably numbered by actual count 15,000—and collapsed. The collapse came about at the hands of the North Carolina courts on a conviction (sentence suspended) for violating the blue-sky laws of the state. At present Mr. Pelley, at liberty so long as he behaves himself, is offering to run for President on the Christian Party platform. His Galahad Press, sold at auction for \$10, is defunct. His party headquarters are bankrupt. His membership in Los Angeles, San Diego, and New York does not exceed a thousand. His Los Angeles organization has folded up—and probably into the arms of the Friends of the New Germany. In 1934 the telephone number which thirsters after Silver Shirt propaganda were to call (Prospect 0688) was the number of the Aryan Bookstore. Nothing in short remains of the noble cause but its literature and the memory of the March on San Diego.

Of the two the literature is the livelier. The March, uncovered by the McCormack Committee in Los Angeles last year, was as abortive as all the rest of Pelley's plans. Some 200 Shirts, who had been practicing with government ammunition and guns bought from a Marine, proposed to march upon San Diego when it should be seized by the Communists who were supposed to have set May 1, 1934, as the date. When the Communists failed to appear the Silver Shirt coup was abandoned. But one of the two Marines who testified to the purchases of arms and the secret drills was later beaten up and shot at and the affair, though it struck the Coast as laughable, was not the subject of protracted laughter. As for the literature, it follows the usual pattern, drawing upon German handouts, the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the discredited *Dearborn Independent*, and such pure inventions of Mr. Pelley or his imaginative associates as "Benjamin Franklin's Opinion of the Jews." The last-named opus attributes to one of the most liberal and adult of Revolutionary statesmen such opinions as: "In whatever country Jews have settled in any great numbers they have lowered its moral tone . . . they are vampires. They cannot live among themselves—they must subsist upon Christians . . . If you do not exclude them from the U.S. . . in less than 200 years they will have swarmed here in such great numbers that they will dominate and devour the land . . ." Needless to say, these alleged quotations, as Charles A. Beard has had no difficulty in discovering, are without documentary support.

Considering that the Silver Shirts are the most commonly mentioned anti-Semitic group and were, at one time, the most powerful, it would seem to follow that anti-Semitism is not a present force in American life. That impression is strengthened by a roll call of the competing organizations. It is not necessary to name the full fifty—many of them consist of nothing more than a crank and a letterhead.

Potentially the most important is Newton Jenkins's *The Third Party* in Chicago. Jenkins, who is a 100 per cent "American," differs from his competitors in that he has proved his ability to get out votes. As a three-time Progressive Republican candidate for the Republican senatorial nomination he has polled: in 1924, 114,000 votes; in 1930 (against Ruth Hanna McCormick), 161,000 votes; in 1932, 405,000 votes. Whether he can still collect a following with Progressivism replaced by semi-Fascism is another question. Anti-Semitism, in the Jenkins philosophy, dates from 1932 when Jenkins, who is strong downstate in Illinois, took the stump sixteen times for Governor Horner in that locality and helped boost Horner's 80,000 downstate vote in the primaries to 896,000 in the election. Jenkins was somewhat soured in consequence by the fact that (as he charges) Governor Horner, who is a Jew, distributed his plums largely to Jews who, in turn, distributed theirs to still other Jews. Jenkins denies that he wanted a job (he is an average-successful Chicago lawyer) but he complains that Horner has let the Jews overrun Springfield. This complaint however is not a basic Third Party plank but comes out in answer to questions at public meetings. Indeed Jenkins once told an audience that he would rather have a case before the Supreme Court decided by Cardozo and Brandeis than by his fellow Welshmen, Roberts and

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ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE, ANSEL
ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 9, 1936

FEAR OF PERSECUTION vs. DANGER OF PERSECUTION

The article in the "Fortune" magazine on "Jews in America" is friendly, intelligent and well-informed. It musters facts to dispell⁶ fiction and turns to history and to sociology rather than to nonsensical race metaphysics for the key to Jewish experience in the world. The article will not convince the confirmed anti-Semite but it might serve as a salutary antidote against the poisoning of the minds of people by lying propaganda on the part of Nazi agents and those who make a racket of anti-Semitism.

On the basis of a careful survey, the article finds that "while there are certain industries which Jews dominate and certain industries in which Jewish participation is considerable, there are also vast industrial fields, generally reckoned as the most typical of our civilization in which they play a part so inconsiderable as not to count in the total picture."

The legend of Jewish domination is brought about by the fact that Jews concentrate in large urban centers and in a few occupations and professions, thus giving the impression that they are more important and more ubiquitous than they really are. The fact that the Jew is a distinctive group focusses upon him the attention of people.

The solution, according to the author, lies either in the total assimilation of the Jewish group or in mutual toleration and respect. Assimilation has been tried and has failed. Germany is the best proof of that. The Jew has never refused to cooperate in any activity in American life of service to the nation. He has not been clannish. Whenever and wherever a welcome was extended to him for cooperation on the basis of good will and equality, he was always eager to accept. Jews send their children to public schools and do not isolate them in special Jewish parochial schools. They participate in all cultural activities,

in literature, the arts, the sciences and the professions. Business men are members of all the service groups of fraternal organizations and lodges and our workmen have joined the American labor movement. Jewish communities have been glad to pool their philanthropic efforts with other religious communities.

The desire of the Jew to preserve his historic faith and teach his children its great ideals, the ~~xxx~~ wish to take care of his own dependents because he understands them best and to help and defend his persecuted brothers abroad can in no way be interpreted as clannishness or as unwillingness to participate whole-heartedly in the democratic life of America.

Mutual tolerance and respect - not Gleichschaltung - is the answer, the American answer. A wave of intolerance is sweeping over the world today. The Hun, the vandal, the inquisitor and the fanatic are on the rampage again. Reaction is attacking every stronghold of human liberty. The minds of men are being enflamed with all forms of race and class hatreds. The Jewish people, as a minority, has very often been the battleground of Reaction against Progress.

Men of good will can serve America best by remaining loyal to the basic ideals of our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution. The Jews of America can serve America best in these trying times by banishing apprehension and fear and by going on their way as heretofore in faith and confidence, serving and working with other men of good will for the strengthening of all that is fine and noble in American life and by defending every inch of the way American democracy and liberalism. In faith and in spiritual integrity, we can face the problems of our day in the self-same way as our forefathers faced theirs.