

RESEARCH PROJECT ON ANTI-SEMITISM.

Idea of the Project.

A. Specific Character of the Project.

Propaganda to combat anti-Semitism has often been crude and ineffective because of a lack of knowledge of its psychological roots, individual as well as social. In spite of the many excellent works written on the subject, anti-Semitism is still regarded too casually and viewed too superficially, even by those whom it immediately affects. For too many people anti-Semitism is nothing more than a pitiable aberration, a relapse into the Dark Ages; and while its presence is understandable in those nations of middle and Eastern Europe whose post-war status made the permanent achievement of democracy impossible, it is on the whole viewed as an element foreign to the spirit of modern society. From this point of view, it would follow logically that anti-Semitism is an anachronism, incapable of securing a world-wide hold. This is not true. Hatred of the Jews, despite the proclamation of human rights during the most progressive periods and in the most progressive countries, has never really been vanquished and is capable of flaring up anew at any moment.

The purpose of this project is to show that anti-Semitism is one of the dangers inherent in all more recent culture. The project will combine historical, psychological, and economic research with experimental studies. Several new hypotheses will be presented which are the result of former studies of the Institute, such as that progressive modern thought has an ambivalent attitude toward the concept of human rights, that the persecution of the aristocrats in the French Revolution bears a resemblance to anti-Semitism in modern Germany, that the foreign rather than the German masses are the spectators for whom German pogroms are arranged, and so forth.

More concretely, the project will analyze the representative thought of more recent European literature and of specific historical events in order to reveal the deep roots of anti-Semitism, and a series of experiments will reveal the characteristic features of anti-Semitism in order to make it more easily recognizable in countries where it is now largely latent.

A weighty objection might be raised against a thorough scientific treatment of anti-Semitism. In dealing with the deeper mechanisms of anti-Semitism one cannot avoid mentioning things which will not be entirely agreeable to Jews. We are thinking especially of our subsection on the so-called character traits of the Jews and the genesis of these traits. One might raise the issue that anti-Semitic propagandists could misuse this and other results of our research.

We do not share this point of view. The fear that truth can also be put to bad use should never paralyze the energy needed to uncover it in its entirety, especially in such vital problems. The growing custom of suppressing important elements of the truth for so-called tactical reasons is taking on

more and more dangerous traits. It easily leads to an optimism which is satisfied to bask in general concepts such as the rights of man, progress, enlightenment, etc., without realizing that in the present phase of society these concepts tend to become mere phrases, just as the fascist advocates of persecution cynically charge.

Furthermore, it is exceedingly important for the struggle against anti-Semitism that those Jewish and non-Jewish progressive circles, which even today close their eyes to the gravity of the problem, become stirred by a scientific demonstration of its underlying causes. They must be freed from the erroneous belief that anti-Semitism exists only where it is openly expressed, for it finds nooks even in the hearts of the noblest of humans. To activate the Jews who feel reassured by the sincere protests against the German pogroms uttered by many important personalities in this and other countries, it is less important to analyze the statements of Julius Streicher than the correspondence of Voltaire and other philosophers of the Enlightenment. As long as anti-Semitism exists as a constant undercurrent in social life, its influence reaches all groups of the population and it can always be rekindled by suitable propaganda.

B. Division of the Project.

Section I: — CURRENT THEORIES ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM

The traditional theories about anti-Semitism, of which but a few will be mentioned here, fall roughly into two groups: the rationalistic and the anti-Semitic.

A. Among the rationalistic theses, the following deserve special mention:

(1) "There is in fact no anti-Semitism at all." That is, there are no real psychological reactions which could be regarded as primarily anti-Semitic. All anti-Semitism is artificially made up and propagated as a manœuvre for mass betrayal, or for the sake of distraction or robbery. The anti-Semitic reactions of the masses have merely been invented. In essence, this theory is most closely related to the idea held by many enlighteners who denounce religion as a mere "hoax of the clergy." In our view, it is much too superficial. It overlooks the fact that the actual anti-Semitic reactions themselves fulfill a decided social and psychological function. In the struggle against anti-Semitism we cannot content ourselves solely with unmasking it as a mere ideology, but must get at the roots of those of its elements which are genuine. Among these, the apparently irrational ones, the idiosyncrasies, are preeminent.

(2) The apologetic thesis that all the objections to the Jew raised by anti-Semites are frame-ups and lies—a thesis closely related to the one above. The discrediting of cheap apologetics is of central importance in the project. It is necessary to analyze the alleged qualities of the Jew which elicit anti-Semitism in order to discover which of them have a basis in reality and which are invented. The "inferiority" which is most frequently mentioned in this connection today (cf. Lee J. Levinger, *The Causes of Anti-Semitism in the United States*. Philadelphia, 1925, p. 102 ff.) is an illustration of the former category, although not the most important. The qualities to which anti-Semites constantly refer with apparent justification

cannot be understood as natural constants, as eternal biological laws; they must be regarded as character traits that may disappear along with the conditions which gave rise to them, as their disappearance in some countries already indicates.

(3) The formal sociological thesis reduces hatred for the Jews and for their specific qualities to the general category of strangeness (for example, Simmel's discourse on the stranger in his *Sociology*, Leipzig, 1908). It assumes the national cohesion of the Jews and a tenacious adherence on their part to their religion. This thesis, like the preceding ones, is just one side of the truth, particularly applicable to older features of anti-Semitism.

(4) The theory of envy holds that anti-Semitism is rooted in the superior intelligence and efficiency of the Jews. Because of their outstanding qualities the Jews achieve high positions in every field, thus provoking the resentment of the materially and psychologically handicapped. This thesis is too rationalistic, psychologically speaking. It assumes that anti-Semitism is caused by entirely conscious experiences and considerations, whereas such considerations actually play a relatively small part. The element of envy is of some importance, in a shifted or perverted form (e. g. the supposition of the physical, psychological, and social inferiority of the Jews) rather than in a direct form. More details concerning the conscious and subconscious envy of the Jews will be developed in the typological section.

(5) Anti-Semitism is the "socialism of fools." This theory was brought forward by social democrats (Bebel). It implies that the lower middle class in rural and metropolitan areas regards the destruction of its Jewish creditor and competitor as the easiest way out of its economic distress. This economic interpretation contains some truth, too, but it must be supplemented by an analysis of the psychological mechanisms which make even those sections of the masses which are not at all dependent on Jewish business particularly susceptible to anti-Semitic propaganda.

B. Finally, there are the actually anti-Semitic theories, particularly the thesis that Jews are by nature extreme revolutionists and have provided a large number of the leaders of the labor movement. The degree of truth in this view can be checked only by a careful comparison of the histories and social conditions of different countries. A similar analysis is to be made of the parallel thesis that the Jews are extremely capitalistic. Sombart's work, which took on a slight pro-Semitic veneer, has furthered this view considerably. He even hinted at the National Socialist equation, democratic-liberalistic-capitalistic, as well as at the myth of the power of Jewish money.

Section II. — ANTI-SEMITISM AND MASS MOVEMENTS.

This section is not intended as a history of anti-Semitism. Its aim is to reveal, by selected historical events, a set of socio-psychological trends which are characteristic of anti-Semitism as a whole. These trends are not manifested exclusively in anti-Semitic outbreaks; their basic structure can be seen in activities which have been conducted against other social groups as well. The recurrence of punishment and destruction throughout more recent history throws some light upon destructive character traits which remained latent in broad sections of the population even during "quiet" periods. It is

generally overlooked that present day National Socialism contains potentialities which have been dormant not only in Germany but also in many other parts of the world. Many phenomena familiar in totalitarian countries (for instance, the role of the leader, mass meetings, fraternizing, drunken enthusiasm, the myth of sacrifice, the contempt of the individual, etc.,) can be understood only historically—that is, from the foundations of the whole of modern history. In this section, relatively well known facts will be treated by contrasting them anew with descriptions of current problems of anti-Semitism, and socio-psychological mechanisms that are still effective will be analyzed.

A. The First Crusade.

The popular leaders under whom massacres were committed generally display ascetic features. One has only to think of Peter of Amiens, the priests Gottschalk and Volkmer, and of other preachers. The role of short slogans is also characteristic. At that time the cry, "God wills it," seized literally all Europe (cf. the cry of the National Socialists, "Germany awake!") The masses followed that slogan, feeling themselves part of a mystic community and filled with the certainty of forgiveness for their sins. Staking one's individual life and happiness mattered little (cf. the National Socialist doctrine of the unimportance of the individual and the pillorizing of egoism). Everyone subordinated himself to a "great idea." The annihilation of the inhabitants of whole provinces by enthusiastic Crusaders was fortified by the assertion that the action was directed against the foes of the highest leader, quite similar to the purges of the National Socialists. The unbelievers included not only the Turks and the Saracens but also the Jews and others whom the masses could overwhelm and pillage. Something which allegedly has languished for a long period must always be freed in order to serve as rationalization for the fury which explodes in such actions—either the holy sepulchre under the thumb of the heathen, or Germany under the Versailles treaty. The mass psychological significance of such ideologies will be explained.

B. The Albigensian Crusade.

In the Crusade against the Albigenses, a clergyman leader, Arnold of Citeaux, again held first rank. No distinction was made between Christian heretics and Jews. Both were struck by the same fury. The war was an attempt by the old bureaucracy of the church, which was being reorganized, to suppress the rising bourgeoisie. (Similarly, from the inception of National Socialism to the first years of its rule, 1927-1934, the old powers, Junkers, sections of the officer corps, Protestant clergymen, civil servants, and bankrupt munitions industrialists had reorganized themselves against the young democratic republic.) The political character of the war against the Albigenses also manifests itself in the fact that belief did not matter much to the Knights of the Crusade. Many Catholics were killed along with Protestants and Jews. They too belonged to the South, progressive in commerce and crafts. Unconcern about differences in ideology is characteristic of such uprisings. It reveals the fact that the fight against heresies or criminal elements is only a pretext for more underlying economic and socio-psychological tendencies.

C. Jew-baiting in twelfth and thirteenth century England.

During the Crusades and the first war against the Albigenses, pogroms spread over Germany, France and the East. In England, Richard the Lion-Hearted originally showed no anti-Semitic tendencies; he actually protected the Jews. But popular clergymen, especially the Archbishops of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket and Baldwin, made their appearance as anti-Semitic mass leaders. The people knelt before Thomas à Becket and were gripped by collective infatuation (cf. intoxicated enthusiasm in modern mass meetings). The connection between a special type of leader cult, mass fraternizing, and pogroms is one of the most important socio-psychological subjects for investigation. In England, which was touched by the anti-Semitic wave a hundred years later than the Continent, the cool-headedness and resistance shown at first by the British Islanders did not impair the mechanisms which impel anti-Semitism. The Channel was no barrier against social contagion.

D. The Reformation.

During the time of the Reformation the Jews were not persecuted along with the heretics, as they were during the war against the Albigenses, but with the Catholics. Just as monks and nuns were accused of hoarding secret treasures in their cloisters and indulging in unnatural practices, the Jews were blamed for lurid secret crimes in addition to their superstitious rites (cf. the present accusations in Germany against Jewish Lodges and charges of vice against Catholic clergymen). The repressed drives of the population, diverted by reformers into internal discipline and fear of conscience, come forth in the inventions about Catholics and Jews.

There were young people who, leading their elders, forced their way into churches and monasteries, destroyed works of art and made fun of priests during their sermons. Again it was chiefly young people who delighted in caricatures of Jews (cf. the role of youth in the so-called years of struggle for National Socialism).

In Martin Luther the anti-Semitic arsenal is fully equipped. The anti-rationalist Luther compares reason with a wild beast and with a whore, and lumps Jews together with prostitutes (cf. *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen*,¹ p. 94-95). Hitler forbids discussions between National Socialists and members of the other race; Luther said, "Don't dispute much with Jews about the articles of our faith" (p. 63). Luther wanted the Jews out of Germany. "Country and streets are open to them so they might move to the country if they like. We'll give them gifts, with pleasure, in order to get rid of them because they are a heavy burden, like a plague, pestilence and misfortune in our country" (p. 187). His concrete suggestions, however, do not advocate presenting them with gifts and letting them go. This is how they go: "and take away from them all their cash and jewels of silver and gold, and set it apart, to be guarded" (p. 191). "That into the hands of the young strong Jews and Jewesses are placed flails, axes, mattocks, trowels, distaffs and spindles, and they are made to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brows (Luther says literally 'of their noses') as it is put upon the shoulders of the children of Adam" (p. 193). "That their synagogues or schools be set on fire" (p. 189). "That their houses be broken up and

¹Ausgewählte Werke, Ergänzungsreihe dritter Band, München 1936.

destroyed . . . they be put under a roof or stable, like the Gypsies, in order to let them know that they are no longer masters in our country as they flatter themselves, but in misery and captivity as they incessantly lament and complain to God about us" (p. 190). "That their right of escort on the streets be altogether abolished. For they have nothing to do in the country because they are neither knights nor officials nor merchants, nor anything of that sort, and they ought to stay at home" (p. 191).

E. The French Revolution.

Sociological trends can be found in the French Revolution which are similar to those in popular uprisings that have an anti-Semitic flavor. Anti-Semitism is pushed into the background by the specifically equalitarian ideology. The objects of the terror are the aristocrats who, significantly enough, are branded as a race. Legislative measures, agitation, and popular uprisings against the aristocracy bear comparison to the racial upheavals of our time. There are a number of accusations against the aristocrats which correspond to the usual charges against the Jews—shirking work, parasitic character, luxury, viciousness, international connections, their claim to be chosen, etc. Similar technique can be found in mass meetings of the French Revolution and of the present time—speeches of the leaders, the power of the sub-leaders in the provinces, fear of spies and traitors, corruption scandals, the practice of denunciation, allegedly spontaneous mass action, hatred of bank capital, hatred of foreigners, and new heathen cults. Despite their diametrically opposite aims, National Socialism has more in common with the French Revolution than is generally assumed.

F. Wars of German Independence and other German uprisings.

In the wars of German Independence in 1813-1915 and in the ensuing uprisings, several features of National Socialism are heralded. The eagerness of the free cities and of the German principalities to revoke the emancipation achieved during Napoleonic rule corresponds to the National Socialist passion to avenge the "fourteen years of disgrace," that is, the Weimar Republic in which the Jews actually possessed full civil rights. In the emancipation movements of the German bourgeoisie the universities combined anti-Semitism with the German ideology of freedom. The close relation between German Protestantism, Germanic paganism, community socialism, and German ideals of unitarian government becomes obvious. Burning of books appeared in this period. Books designated by the so-called democratic papers as unpatriotic (e. g. The Code Napoleon), and writings of Jewish authors were cast into the flames with the cry, "Woe to the Jews." In Würzburg, Karlsruhe, Heidelberg, Darmstadt, and Frankfurt, Jewish houses were branded and the inhabitants mistreated. All this occurred under liberal and patriotic slogans.

The movement of the "awakening" people is also found in Holland and Scandinavia. Metternich and the conservative governments had to take strong measures against the allegedly democratic masses. The farthest seeing German thinkers, for instance Goethe, Schelling and Hegel, stood against the "liberals" and on the side of the "reactionaries."

Section III. — ANTI-SEMITISM IN MODERN HUMANISM.

During the so-called enlightened era of the last 200 years, no stratum of the population has been free from anti-Semitism.

Some statements of an anti-Semitic nature can be found even in the works championing tolerance and humanism. It is important to investigate whether the passages dealing with the Jews disclose an ambivalence toward the concept of universal love for man, despite the fact that the authors present that concept quite sincerely. It is also important to investigate the relevance of the less exposed portions of the works of most writers who "stuck up for" the Jews. We must finally find out whether in an unguarded moment they betrayed the fact that their pro-Semitism did not overcome a deep feeling of alienation.

Proof that such contradictions exist within the individual in modern society would be particularly important for the evaluation of the many indignant declarations against anti-Semitism. Such declarations are dangerous in that they might easily lead to the erroneous belief that anti-Semitism has disappeared, at least among educated people.

The contradictions which may be found even with the most sincere proponents of the humanitarian ideal could throw light on the status of the reactionary and uneducated sections of the population. If ambivalence is present in the most progressive personalities, it will be all the sharper in the less cultured and enlightened individuals. Some scattered examples follow, in the hope that they make clear what is meant by these contradictions in the works of great thinkers.

A. French Enlightenment.

Voltaire: His name is a symbol of philosophical enlightenment and bourgeois freedom. He, more than any of his contemporaries, recognized the sufferings of the Jews and the injustices inflicted upon them. His attacks upon the Biblical history of the Jewish people are actually directed against the Christian Church belief. The Old Testament was a somewhat vulnerable point in the Church dogma because, unlike the wonders of the New Testament, it was not well protected by the authority of the Church and removed from profane thinking, but was left largely to the mercy of profane thinking; at the same time it plays its role in the canon of the Holy Writ, and the disenchantment of the Old Testament's wonders throws its light indirectly on those of the New. One can say that Voltaire's attacks against the Old Testament, insofar as they are not really directed at the Jews but indirectly against the Christian dogma which hindered the emancipation of the Jews, benefitted the latter indirectly. Nevertheless, perhaps not even Voltaire was free from anti-Semitic prejudice. In the *Essai sur les mœurs* (Chapter 103) he says that one is "amazed at the hatred and contempt which all nations have continually shown toward the Jews; this attitude is the necessary outcome of the Jewish law. Either they must subdue everything, or they must be thrown into the dust themselves. . . Later, when their eyes were opened a little more by victor nations, who taught them that the world was larger than they believed, their law itself made them natural fools of these nations, and finally of the whole human race." "I know," he says in a letter, "that some Jews live in the English colonies. These crooks go wherever money can be made, like the Parsees, the Banians, and the Armenians. . . But if these circumcised Israelites who sell old trousers to the savages, trace themselves back to the tribes of Naphtalimuch or Issachar, it does not make any difference. Anyhow, they are the greatest scoundrels who have ever besmirched the face of the earth." (Dec. 15, 1773, letter to Chevalier de Lisle.)

B. German Philosophy.

Herder: He is the author of *The Letters for the Promulgation of Humanism*. Consciously he always advocated humanitarianism and justice. His glorification of Hebrew poetry seems to protect him from any suspicion of anti-Semitism. But there are passages which might lead us to believe that there also exists a totally different Herder. He says in *Adrastea*, V, 7 (Conversion of the Jews) that Luther's utterances about the Jews were often too callous, in accordance with his time. "They have since been reaffirmed to such a degree that around the end of the last century, when some Jewish fathers of the family tried conditionally to associate and affiliate themselves to a newly built and enlightened Christendom, no one paid much attention to them." He does not consider it reasonable to talk too much about human rights when faced with the concrete issues of the Jewish problem: "As the business of the Jews has been known for more than three thousand years, the influence which it has had and immutably still has upon the character of that people shows itself throughout their history. Why then those more distant, far-fetched discussions, for instance, about the rights of humanity, if the question is only this: How many of this foreign people shall be allowed to conduct *this, their business*, in this European state, without detriment to the natives? Under what conditions? With what limitations? Under whose supervision? For, unfortunately, history provides sad proof that an unlimited number of them corrupt a European state, particularly one which is badly organized. Not general *humanitarian principles*, but the constitution of the nation in which the Jews carry on their profession, answers these questions." Herder expressly polemicizes against other countries patterning their attitude on the treatment of the Jews in Holland, at that time a progressive country.

Kant: According to Kant, it is an unconditional task to regard every man not as a means but as an end. By "end" Kant refers to man's position of esteem because he is a free, autonomous, rational being. His remarks about the Jews, however, do not seem at all in accord with his postulate of practical reason. The contradiction to his universal principle of morals is evident; it is hopeless to improve the Jews. "The Palestinians living among us, even the bulk of them, have earned the not unfounded reputation of cheats because of their usurious minds. It seems strange to think of a nation of cheats. But it is just as strange to think of a nation of merchants . . . acknowledged by the state, who not receiving any civic honor, desire to compensate for their loss, by outwitting the people under whose protection they live, and even each other. . . . Instead of the futile plan to "moralize" this people with regard to fraud and honesty, I'd rather like to profess my hypothesis . . . about that odd status." (*Anthropology*, Part k, B § 46, footnote.)

Fichte: Fichte's theories of freedom, and later, of socialism, have, rightly or wrongly, been enthusiastically accepted by many European liberals and Socialists. His moral rigorism, which, like Kant's, urges that man be judged not according to natural (i.e., racial) criteria but according to his fulfillment of duty, nevertheless condemned the Jews: "Throughout almost all European countries, a mighty, hostile state is expanding. It is constantly at war with them, and in some countries it weighs horribly upon the inhabitants. I don't believe that Jewry has become so terrible because it constitutes a separate and tightly chained state of its own . . . but because this state is based upon the hatred of the entire human race . . . Does not the reasonable thought

occur to you here that the Jews, who have a state of their own without you, will grind you other inhabitants under their heels as soon as you give them civic rights?" He comments upon these remarks in the footnote: "Let the poisoned breath of intolerance be far from these pages, as it is from my heart." And yet, "To give civic rights to the Jews, I see no measure but cutting off all their heads, and replacing them by other heads in which there is not a single Jewish idea left. To protect us from them, again, I see no other means but to conquer their Promised Land for them in order to send them there altogether." (*ABOUT THE FRENCH REVOLUTION*, Book I, Chapter III, pp. 114 and 115.)

Hegel: Hegel is distinguished from most philosophers of his time by his insight into the world historical situation. He showed only contempt for the Teutonic and anti-Semitic currents in the German universities. He staunchly advocated the granting of civic rights to the Jews. Some statements can be found which might contain hints of hatred for Jews: "The great tragedy of the Jewish people . . . can only create disgust. . . The fate of the Jewish people is the fate of Macbeth who overstepped the boundaries of Nature itself, clung to heterogeneous, weird beings, trod upon and murdered in their service everything that is sacred to human nature, was abandoned by his gods (for they were objects and he was a slave), and finally was smitten as a consequence of his own belief." (*FRAGMENTS OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES*, published by Karl Rosenkranz, in *G. W. F. Hegel's Life*, Berlin 1844, p. 492). "The Jewish people have been driven to Hell in the infamy of their hatred. Whoever of them has been left stalking the earth has remained as a memento" (*Ibid.*, p. 522). According to Hegel's philosophy one can say about the Jewish people "that just because they were at the threshold of salvation, they are and have been the most object of all." (*PHENOMENOLOGY OF MIND*, II, p. 257.)

Goethe: Goethe was no anti-Semite. On the contrary, there are many highly positive remarks in his writings about the qualities of the Jews, about their practical minds, their perseverance and tenacity. Anti-Semitic sentences are not phrased directly, but as opinions of poetic characters, whom, however, he frequently draws with sympathy. Characteristic of the time in which Goethe lived is the way in which he associates Jews and Catholic priests, e. g., *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* (Book II, Chapters VI and XI); "Cows for magicians, Jews and sky-pilots." They "wrangled over whether he was a sky-pilot or a Jew." Mephistopheles says "The Church alone, be it confessed, Daughters, can ill-got wealth digest." And Faust remarks, "It is a general custom, too, Practiced alike by king and Jew." (*FAUST*, verse 2839-1842; transl. Anna Swanwick, London, 1886). In *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre* the principles of a Utopian community are described. One passage reads: We do not tolerate "any Jews among us, for how could we grant them participation in the highest culture, whose origin and descent they deny?" (Book III, Chapter XI). Goethe writes in the *Swiss Journey*: "The people there are thoroughly polite, and in their behavior show a good, natural, quiet burgher way of thinking. Jews are not tolerated there."

Such an analysis lies at the bottom of Treitschke's judgment of anti-Semitism throughout the history of the German mind. "From Luther on down to Goethe, Herder, Kant and Fichte, almost all great Germanic thinkers agreed

in this feeling. Lessing, with his predilection for the Jews, was quite singular." The only one among the later writers who resembled Lessing in this respect was Nietzsche. (We do not give any examples of pro-Semitic statements here. In the study itself we shall deal extensively with Nietzsche's positive attitude toward the Jews.)

Such inconsistency as may exist between the concrete utterances about the Jews and the humanitarian ideal within individuals would be only part of the universal contradiction between the dire reality of modern society and the dream of harmony among all humanity. The latter was consciously proclaimed by all the above thinkers. They devoted all the spiritual powers at their disposal to it. They were rooted, however, in the reality of their environment; their impulses, their intimate sympathies, and aversions derived therefrom.

D. French Novel.

No matter how energetically Zola, the defender of Captain Dreyfuss, fought against hatred of the Jews, elements can be found in his own works which could be classed as identical with official anti-Semitism. In his novel, *L'Argent*, Zola pictures a Jew of whom he says, "The public wealth was devoured by the ever increasing fortune of a single individual. Gundermann (the Jew in question) was, in fact, the master, the almighty king. Paris and the whole world lay trembling and obedient at his feet." Fantastic conceptions about Jewish riches and power, about the coldness and calculation of the Jews, keep recurring in French literature since Balzac.

Our analyses of these anti-Semitic tendencies of philosophers and writers are not undertaken in order to blame them for subjective insincerity. Our purpose is rather, through the revelation of these unconscious and hidden germs of anti-Semitism, to expose the problem in all its seriousness.

Section IV. — TYPES OF PRESENT DAY ANTI-SEMITES.

Much of the misunderstanding about anti-Semitism has its roots in the confusion of its very different types. The success of any attempt to fight anti-Semitism depends largely on knowledge of the social and psychological genesis of its various species, often indiscernible in daily life. The types of anti-Semites are here considered from both the historical and psychological points of view.

We believe ourselves safe from the misunderstanding that according to this typology (in which even the pro-Semites are mentioned) all Christians are anti-Semites. The classification does not intend to distribute large groups of individuals among these types, but merely to formulate with theoretical precision a number of extreme possibilities of anti-Semitic attitudes. Neither do we claim that any individual who shows any of the character traits mentioned in the typology is an anti-Semite merely because of those traits, nor do we even assert that actual anti-Semites can be classified entirely according to the principles indicated. In reality the anti-Semites will often appear as combinations and intermediate forms of the "ideal possibilities" mentioned here.

A. The "born" anti-Semite.

The basic quality of this type is the renunciation of rational justification. He reacts with apparent "instinct" against so-called Jewish racial traits—flat feet, smell, hooked nose, Jewish accent, gesticulation, etc. His nausea is a reaction to the scars of mutilation which history has stamped upon the Jews. Even their names (Itzig, Levy, Cohn) are repugnant to him. He simply cannot stand the Jews. It can often be observed that this type appreciates so-called "racy" women akin to the Jewish type if they are presented to him as Gentile (note the success of Pola Negri with the National Socialists). This trend indicates that the allegedly natural anti-Semitism in some of its representatives is actually an over-compensation for suppressed or inhibited desires.

B. The religious-philosophical anti-Semite.

Although this type has largely disappeared, there are still a good many left who regard the Jews as adherents of a hostile religion. The Jews have crucified Christ. They have remained impenitent for thousands of years. They particularly ought to have been summoned to recognize him since they were witnesses of his activity and of his passion, but they have persisted in denying him. Hence the Jewish religion is in effect equivalent to absolute disbelief. The Jew is Judas. He is the stranger who deliberately excludes himself from the Christian community. He can compensate for his guilt by baptism, but even then he deserves distrust until he can prove that he has seriously atoned. Many non-believing Christians resent the Jew's tenacious adherence to outdated superstitious rites. They feel that he should have joined the dominant religion, for social and humanitarian if not for religious reasons. This category includes many humanists, Gøthe, Schopenhauer, and Hegel, insofar as they attach reservations to their favorable comments on Jews.

C. The back-woods or sectarian anti-Semite.

This type has made anti-Semitism a substitute for religion, as other groups have vegetarianism, Krishna Murti, or any other physical or psychical panacea. The imaginary world of the sectarian anti-Semite is dominated by the notion of conspiracy. He believes in Jewish world domination; he swears by the Elders of Zion. On the other hand, he himself tends to favor conspiracies which have much in common, structurally, with the images he fears (Ku Klux Klan, etc.). He considers Freemasonry and other fraternal orders to be the greatest of world perils, but he himself finds lodge-like congregations whenever possible. He has the reverence of the semi-erudite for science and believes that non-intercourse with Jews is a sort of natural cure for rejuvenating man and world.

D. The vanquished competitor.

The place of this type in the processes of production necessarily brings him into conflict with the Jews. He comes from the lower strata who are compelled to buy from Jews and to fall into their debt, from among the owners of specialty shops who are forced out of business by the competition of Jewish owned department stores, etc. His hatred does not stem from specific

characteristics of the Jews but rather from certain economic relationships through which he suffers.

Since this type of anti-Semitism has some basis in reality, it also has a certain rational character. Under certain conditions therefore, it can disappear easily. For example, during the last few years in Germany, National Socialism has, to a great extent, been deserted by these people (innkeepers, provision dealers, peasants, etc.). The promised improvement of conditions by anti-Semitic measures did not materialize. Therefore, these groups have abandoned anti-Semitism as a panacea.

E. The well-bred anti-Semite.

This is the anti-Semitism of the upper bourgeois strata who want to emulate the exclusiveness of the aristocrats which was formerly directed against them. This type of anti-Semitism, prevalent in all nations, is particularly common in the Anglo-Saxon world. Whatever may be the elements of truth in the reason usually adduced by its representatives (for instance the failure of some groups of immigrants to assimilate themselves to their new surroundings) the attitude as a whole is a phenomenon of imitation, similar to fox-hunts, chateau-like country estates, etc. Rationalizations are manifold. In addition to the religious and political arguments, those aimed at Jewish manners are particularly numerous. The Jews are supposed to be loud, unreserved, obtrusive; their inferiority complex necessitates their pushing themselves into the foreground; they are grumbling and querulous; they want the best for the least money. One always has unfortunate experiences with them. Jewish intellectuals are as impossible as Jewish business men. Their intellectual conversations break the rules of the game. They resemble shop talk. Anyone whose emotions are too easily stirred is ignoble. Here the proverbial exception actually has the function of proving the rule.

F. The "Condottiere" anti-Semite.

This type has arisen with the increased insecurity of post-war existence. He is convinced that what matters is not life but chance. He is nihilistic, not out of a "drive for destruction" but because he is indifferent to individual existence. One of the reservoirs out of which this type arises is the modern unemployed. He differs from former unemployed in that his contact with the sphere of production is sporadic, if any. Individuals belonging to his category can no longer expect to be regularly absorbed by the labor process. From their youth they have been ready to act wherever they could grab something. They are inclined to hate the Jew partly because his cautiousness and physical inefficacy, partly because, being themselves unemployed, they are economically uprooted, unusually susceptible to any propaganda, and ready to follow any leader. The other reservoir, at the opposite pole of society, is the group belonging to the dangerous professions, colonial adventures, racing motorists, airplane aces. They are the born leaders of the former group. Their ideal, actually a heroic one, is all the more sensitive to the "destructive," critical intellect of the Jews because they themselves are not quite convinced of their ideal in the depths of their hearts, but have developed it as a rationalization of their dangerous way of living. The anti-Semitic tendencies within certain groups of the German youth movement follow the same direction.

G. The "Jew-baiter".

All types are potentially sadistic. Here, however, anti-Semitism is a relatively thin pretext for repressed fury. This type hates the alleged weakness of humanitarianism, which he brands as cowardice, and which he characterizes as *Duselei* (sommolence or reverie). What he hates most of all is the Jew's allegedly higher psychological faculty for "enjoying life."

This type hates the revolutionary Jew because he "wants to have it better." Nevertheless, he is himself pseudo-revolutionary, insofar as his fury is basically the naked drive for destruction, although that drive realizes itself only in excesses allowed from above. Hence he calls his own counter-revolutionary addiction to action, revolution, and the revolution, Capitalism. Many of the more radical people liquidated by Hitler in his purges and a large number of the present SS leaders fall in this category. The relation of this type of anti-Semitism to sexual drives, which incidentally has much in common with the earlier *R a d a u a n t i s e m i t i s m u s* (rowdy anti-Semitism), is comparatively unconcealed. It is often based upon unconscious or conscious homosexuality.

H. The Fascist-political anti-Semite.

This type is characterized by sober intelligence. He is cold, without affections, and is perhaps the most merciless of all. He deals with anti-Semitism as an export article. He has no immediate gratification from the persecution of the Jews, and if he has, it is only incidental. He deliberately plans their annihilation. He fulfills his task by administrative measures without any personal contact with the victims. He does not have to hate the Jews; he is able to negotiate with foreign ones most amiably. To him anti-Semitism is reified. It must function. He organizes the "spontaneous" actions of the people against the Jews. He holds in contempt the henchmen of his own will, perhaps even more than the Jews. He is nihilistic, too, but in a cynical way. "The Jewish question will be solved strictly legally," is the way he talks about the cold pogrom. Whereas Streicher is representative of the Jew-baiter, Goebbels is the incarnation of the fascist-political anti-Semite. The tremendous propaganda value of anti-Semitism throughout the world may be the only reason the fascist leaders keep anti-Semitism alive.

I. The Jew-lover.

Those persons are really free of anti-Semitism to whom the distinction makes no difference, to whom the so-called racial traits appear unessential.

There are people, however, who stress the differences between Jews and Christians in a way friendly to the Jews. This type of thinking contains an anti-Semitic nucleus which has its origin in racial discrimination. The Jews are exceedingly sensitive to this kind of anti-Semitism. The declaration of a man who professes to be particularly fond of the Jews because of their "prophetic" or other qualities discomferts them. They discover here the admission of and even the apology for that secret discrimination. The anti-Semitic types mentioned above can shift by certain mechanisms into different brands of Jew-lovers and overcompensate their hatred by a somewhat exaggerated and therefore fundamentally unreliable adoration. For instance, corresponding to the "born" anti-Semite is the man who always speaks of

his enjoyable experiences with the Jewish people; to the anti-Semitic sectarian, all the Christian religious sects which venerate the Jews as the people of the Bible, keep the Sabbath, etc.; to the socialite anti-Semite, the well-bred gentleman who finds rowdy anti-Semitism repulsive.

Section V. — THE JEWS IN SOCIETY.

It is necessary to seek an explanation of the causes of certain Jewish character traits to which the anti-Semite reacts negatively. These causes find their roots in the economic life of the Jew, in his particular function in society and in the consequences of his economic activity.

A. The "Dirty work."

The economic activity of the Jews is largely restricted to commerce and finance because of their exclusion from the immediately productive occupations. With the increasing significance of the market in capitalist economy, the importance of trade and finance increases too. A market economy accentuates the differences among the various strata of society. The lower strata become aware of their miserable conditions not so much through intercourse with those who are really mighty (the leaders of industry and politics) but through contact with the middleman, the merchant and banker. Their hatred of these middlemen explodes in the direction of the Jews who symbolize this element.

From olden times the practice of extending credit has prevented the antagonism between the possessors of power and the economically oppressed population from leading to recurrent catastrophes. The peasant and burgher, heavily burdened by taxes, could keep their heads above water for a long time by the utilization of credit. Yet the real economic situation about which they are deceived by the institution of credit does not improve, but becomes worse; one day the bill will be presented. And the middleman, largely the Jew, who has fulfilled a function indispensable to the existence of that society, appears as the casual factor of impoverishment. The outdated theories of Sombart about the role of the Jews in modern economy will be criticized in the course of this presentation.

B. Non-productive capital.

The diffusion of slogans about the difference between productive and non-productive capital originates as a manoeuvre of distraction. This thesis, quite old in itself, was propagated during the struggle between the individual industrial groups and banking capital, between export industry and heavy industry, and between general directors and shareholders. During the period of inflation and deflation, the big German concerns deposited the burdens of the World War upon the shoulders of the middle and lower classes and renewed their productive equipment. They used the bankers and the Jews, together with the originators of the Versailles Treaty, as scapegoats for the misery of the post-war period. The figure of the so-called productive man was contrasted with that of the parasite. The experiences of the masses with the middleman serve to facilitate the resurrection and acceptance of the myth of the Jew as a non-productive parasite. It is difficult for the consumer to

understand the economic necessity of the intermediary functions (commerce, advertising, achievements of financial technique) which serve to raise the price of a product; it is easier for him to understand the immediate functions of the production of goods. Hence, so many of the Utopian schemes of the last few centuries proposed a society in which the intermediary functions would be completely eliminated. Such a proposal, for example, appears in Richard Wagner's imaginary world. He contrasts the heroic productive Siegfried, a mixture of the munition manufacturer, the condottiere, and the rowdy, with the dwarf, a symbol of the owners, merchants, and the resentful, eternally complaining proletariat. The anti-Semitic declaration that one part of society consists of parasites feeding upon the other social strata cannot be overcome simply by being labelled a frame-up. Its historical origin must be clarified and understood.

C. Rational law.

Since its Roman origin, civil law has been the law of creditors. Whereas it recognizes no difference between any groups or individuals but aims at the universal protection of property, it is a priori antagonistic to the debtor. Historically, because of the creditor role of the Jews, deriving from their functions as bankers and merchants, we find them usually on the side of rational law. Their foes, on the other hand, favor a vague natural law based on the "sound instinct of the people."

There is real justification for the indignation of the condemned and foreclosed peasant or the widow plunged into poverty by law. They feel that an injustice has been done them because they have fallen into misery without any moral guilt on their part. The law, however, acts only as the executor of economic tendencies within the totality of society, and these condemn certain social strata to annihilation. As an abstract category, the law is not only innocent but to a considerable degree often acts as a check upon those tendencies. The conscientious man, deprived of his property by judicial verdicts, struggling in vain against his Jewish adversary and his Jewish lawyer, is a standing figure (for example in literature, e.g., *The Merchant of Venice* and many modern works).

D. The Jewish mentality.

The psychological faculty of abstraction developed with the commercial and financial function. In the commodity economy, men face each other as equals, not according to distinctions of birth or religion. It does not matter who they are, but only what commodity they want to buy or sell. The abstract notion of the thing as a commodity corresponds to the abstract notion of man. It makes no difference if one sells art objects, cotton or guns. The psychological functions which are developed on the basis of such economic conditions and the mentality which corresponds to them are of course not limited to the Jews. Calculating, so-called rationalistic thinking, has been developed chiefly by non-Jewish philosophers. Anti-Semitism, however, seeks to identify the Jews with this school of thought. As a matter of fact, the Jews historically have always had an affinity for dauntless, abstract thinking which manifests itself in the idea of a god who regards all men as equal. But this is not the whole story. There is also a "night side" to the Jewish spirit, full of ir-

rationality and even mythology (one thinks of Jewish mystical sects such as Chassidism and of the Jewish superstition that still survives). In any event, even if one assumes that "rationalism" is the main trend among Jews, one has no reason whatsoever to bow to the verdict which anti-Semites reach on the basis of that assumption. The levelling that results from abstract thinking is a prerequisite for the development of the world, in a truly human sense, for this type of thinking divests human relationships and things of their taboos and brings them into the realm of reason. Jews have therefore always stood in the front ranks of the struggle for democracy and freedom.

The study of the so-called Jewish mentality explains why the Jews are blamed simultaneously for capitalistic and revolutionary relativistic and dogmatic, tolerant and intolerant "mindedness". Such contradictory accusations do not in fact reflect upon the Jews but rather upon the state of mankind in the present historical period. The Jews are but the bearers of society's inconsistencies.

E. The so-called race factor.

The question of the origin of those qualities which, in distorted form, are attributed to the Jews, must be answered first by refuting the race theory. As shown in the previous subsections, they are not biological but historical phenomena, characterized chiefly by the economic function into which the Jews have been forced. This explanation must not be applied automatically, however, for we see that certain intellectual and character traits are found, in a differentiated form, among Jewish individuals and families who have not themselves engaged in the occupations with which "Jewish" traits were originally connected. It is just this fact which is cited again and again by race theorists as proof of an alleged biological heritage.

The results of modern psychology may be applied to this social problem with good prospects of success. We follow the trend of modern psychology so far as to accept the thesis that just those decisive character traits which prove to be relatively constant in the individual's life may be traced back to the history and experiences of the child in his first years. In his earliest period of life, the child does not come into direct contact with the contemporary social milieu but only with his nearest of kin. Even they communicate with him less in accordance with their rational convictions than with behaviors (drive tendencies and impulses) which had been instilled in them during the earliest stages of their own lives. But it can be shown that the greatest impression on the infant is made not by the meaning of the words but by the expression, the voice, the movements of the parents. The soul of learning is imitation. The child's faculty of imitating the expressions of adults is exceedingly subtle. He observes the most unnoticeable and subtle shades of their gestures. Thus it happens that inclinations, skills, anxieties which have long lost their real meaning leave their mark on the faces and the behavior of later generations.

The development of this theory in detail can contribute not merely to a refutation of the race theory but to a positive replacement of it. It will throw light on the genesis of German, French, and English character traits as well as of Jewish traits. Even anti-Semitism itself will become more comprehensible in that the seemingly natural aversion to certain behaviors, for instance what might be called the home-grown anti-Semitism of some parts

of Germany before National Socialism, may be explained as a psychological transmission from earlier historical conditions.

Section VI.—FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL SOCIALIST ANTI-SEMITISM.

An understanding of anti-Jewish measures under National Socialism presupposes an understanding of the Nazi social and political system.

A. Antecedent History of National Socialism.

The roots of National Socialism in German and in European history in general have already been discussed in sections II and III. A survey of German philosophy and literature from the beginning of the twentieth century will show that most ideological features, such as anti-rationalism, community-madness, and the belief in a leader, have for some time dominated public thinking. We shall analyze the political pre-history of National Socialism, the Jingoism of the pre-war period to which, in spite of its anti-Semitic features, many Jews fell victim; we shall also seek to understand the specific characteristics on the basis of which the German people were aroused in 1914 and in the consequent war policy as features of the same historical roots from which National Socialism has developed. The political reasons for the decay of the Weimar Republic can be grouped into two categories: 1) The impossibility of a working parliament because of the dispossession of the middle classes. (The Communists, Social Democrats, and National Socialists together held 55.9% of all the votes in December 1930). The democratic parties therefore accepted the undemocratic practice of allowing the executive to rule by emergency decrees without the sanction of parliament, or at least of its committees. 2) The policy of toleration and alliance between the German democratic powers and the Prussian Junkers and the politically most backward sections of German heavy industry. The fact that the Junkers and heavy industry finally abandoned collaboration with the democrats and agreed to the seizure of power by the National Socialists cannot be explained primarily by their love for the new system. To face the dilemma of national as well as international danger, the help of the democratic forces was not strong enough. They chose dictatorship with no clear idea of what was to come. In the Weimar Republic the democratic powers were very weak from the beginning. As between the two extremes of the old ruling class and the radical sector of the workers, they decided in favor of the former without first being able to build up a strong policy of their own. (The project will carefully trace the individual stages of this process; alliances between the trade unions and Stinnes, between Ebert and Hindenburg, between the government and the fascist free corps, acceptance of the rearmament policy, and so forth. The terrorism of today's concentration camps was anticipated in the murder of republican leaders (Erzberger, Rathenau, Haase). The surrender of the executive powers to the Junker-loving Hindenburg, with the consent of all the democratic parties, sealed the fate of the Republic.

B. The change in the function of money.

In a laissez-faire economy the entrepreneur could tell by the increase or decrease of the money capital which he invested in an undertaking, the extent to which it was useful to society. If a factory or any other business could

not keep pace with general economic developments, this was expressed in its financial statements and finally in the disappearance of the undertaking itself. Its collapse was the judgment of the market as to its social usefulness, and this judgment was proclaimed in money. In the totalitarian state the free market is abolished, and the ability of money to "declare" ceases to exist. Now the government, together with rather small groups of the contemporary German bureaucracy, determines which undertakings are useful for its military and other purposes and which are not. The market, an anonymous and democratic tribunal, is replaced by the command and plan of those in power.

The importance of the initiative of private entrepreneurs, particularly of large and small private banks, disappears. Bankers in non-totalitarian countries sometimes reveal a sympathy for National Socialism but they have an incomplete understanding of its economic character. At this point certain figures may be mentioned: Total deposits in German private banks between 1929 and 1938 have decreased from 2,300,000,000 to 950,000,000 marks, and in all the large banking concerns, from 12,408,000,000 to 6,804,000,000. Restriction of new issues of bonds, shares, and mortgage bonds has reduced operations on the stock market to a minimum. State-directed foreign exchange control and the compulsion to sell foreign exchange, bonds, and shares to the Reichsbank further reduce banking activity. The amount of Reich loans to be subscribed by the banks is determined, to a large extent, by the Reich itself. Credit as a whole is replaced by government protection. What applies to the banks applies in part to commerce as well.

The decline in importance of the spheres of economic activity in which the German Jews were chiefly engaged is the basis of their becoming superfluous. Their economic existence was intimately connected with the liberal system of economy and with its judicial and political conditions. In liberalism, as already mentioned, the unfit are eliminated by the effectiveness of the mechanism of competition, no matter what their names are or what personal qualities they have. In the totalitarian system, however, individuals or entire social groups can be sent to the gallows at any moment for political or other reasons. The replacement of the market by a planned economy of the state bureaucracy and the decline of the power of money capital makes possible the policy against the Jews in the Third Reich.

C. The propaganda value of anti-Semitism.

The above conditions alone, however, are not sufficient to explain the maintenance and intensification of anti-Semitic measures. The weight of the fortunes stolen from the Jews for the totalitarian economy is only one of the factors operative, although quite a strong one. But what is the effect of anti-Semitic propaganda upon certain social strata of other countries? While frank disgust for the anti-Semitism of the government is revealed among the German masses, the promises of anti-Semitism are eagerly swallowed where fascist governments have never been attempted. Even where the anti-Semitic sympathies of the masses are not yet tolerated, or even not yet conscious to them because of a cultural democratic tradition, the social and psychological tendencies which veer in that direction are effective and can become activated from one day to the next. The German government is highly sensitive to these circumstances. Behind the pro-Semitic speeches of the educated it scents an opportunity for psychological guidance of the people

toward anti-Semitic aims. It is a master in linking its policies to existing or potential tensions in foreign countries. As religion formerly won foreign soil for civilization and for home industry, today the missionaries of anti-Semitism conquer the world for barbarism and German exports.

Section VII.—EXPERIMENTAL SECTION.

In this section the project plans to make the novel, and in the opinion of its directors, promising attempt to treat the phenomenon of anti-Semitism experimentally. This investigation will provide a series of experimental situations which approximate as closely as possible the concrete conditions of present day life. Its aim will be to visualize the mechanism of anti-Semitic reactions realistically. In this way it is hoped to develop the typology drafted in Section IV. At the same time, an attempt will be made to direct the experiments in such a way as to provide insights into differences of regional and social groupings in regard to anti-Semitism.

The most satisfactory method of experimentation appears to be the use of certain films to be presented to subjects of different regional and social groups. Reactions of the subjects will be obtained partly by observation of their behavior during the performances, partly by interviews, partly by their written reports of their impressions. Naturally, the element of introspection cannot be entirely eliminated, but by careful and critical interpretation of results it is hoped to reduce the flaws to a minimum.

The following example may give an idea of the plan:

A film will be made, showing boys of 12 to 15 at play. An argument and a fight ensue. The relation of guilt and innocence is difficult to untangle. The scene ends, however, with one boy being thrashed by the others. Two versions of the film will be made. In one, the thrashed boy will be played by a Gentile, in the other by a Jew. Another variation will be introduced by showing each of these versions with two different dramatis personæ. In one version, the thrashed boy will bear a Jewish name, and in the other a Christian name.

Thus the film will be shown in four different combinations:

- 1) The thrashed boy is a Gentile with a Gentile name.
- 2) " " " " " " " " Jewish "
- 3) " " " " " Jew " " Gentile "
- 4) " " " " " " " " Jewish "

In any one case each of these combinations will be shown to only one group of subjects, for instance, to high school boys or unemployed groups, who will not be informed in advance of the aim of the experiment. After the show, they will be told that the problem is the psychology of witness testimony. They will be cross-examined about what occurred, the question of guilt, the brave or cowardly behavior of the thrashed boy, etc. By comparing the testimony of the groups which have seen one version of the film with that of the groups which have seen the other version, it will be possible to reach conclusions about the extent of discrimination between Jews and Gentiles in perception and judgment.

Further variations are of course possible. For instance, all four versions may be presented to the same group in succession after longer intervals. The results of questioning immediately after the performance of the film will be supplemented by shorthand notes of remarks made by the audience during the performance. These notes will be taken by a person who will be present in the room but separated from the audience by a thin wall. If, for instance, it becomes evident that during the performance the thrashed boy with a Jewish name is defended by some of the participants and attacked by others, whereas at the end the witnesses reveal a united anti-Semitic influence, a contribution to the problem of susceptibility to anti-Semitic influence will have been made. The possibilities of variation are much richer than can be indicated here. It is planned to present the film not only in different social milieus in cities of the state of New York but also in other states. We hope to secure the collaboration of local universities and institutes for this purpose. The value of the results will depend to a large degree upon the number of experimental series undertaken in every milieu.

We believe that through this and similar experiments, a way will be found to study the distribution of anti-Semitism in the United States. Even though these methods have their margin of error, we believe that others have larger ones. When asked by questionnaires or interviewers, people will often reply, in accordance with their conscious conviction of the equality of human rights, that they have nothing against the Jews. In the experiment, however, where the question of anti-Semitism is not directly raised, the secret drives will appear clearly in the unconscious influencing of judgment. If extensive experimental series are undertaken in the various social milieus and in different parts of America, a rather objective picture of the anti-Semitic problem in this country may be gained. It will be especially interesting to reach those regions where few Jews live and where German propaganda works unfettered, for instance, in some states of the Northwest.