The Jewish Presence In Argentina

An Honors Thesis (ID 499)

by

Kelly Matlock

Thesis Director

Ball State University

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For centuries now, people have left their homelands for places that are supposed to be the "promise land." Each person had his own reason for leaving, and this reason was carried with him to his new destination. The Jews of Russia and Germany fled from their countries because of religious persecution, pogroms, and general discrimination inflicted upon them by the government and their fellow countrymen.

From a historical viewpoint, it appears that the Jews have always been on the move for one reason or another. Granted most of the moves were provoked by some action of a higher authority. For instance, the greatest "diaspora" (meaning dispersal) of all time was provoked by none other than God himself. In Genesis 11, fearing the feats that a united people could accomplish, God "scattered them over the face of the whole earth."^1 This began a history of migration for the Jewish people.

Another great "diaspora" occurred in Spain after the Inquisition (Catholic Church) came into power. The leaders of the Inquisition thought it their divine task to rid Spain of its Jewish "heathens." Professed and suspected Jews alike were tortured and executed if they did not recant their Jewish beliefs. To these terrified people, the Americas seemed a distant haven for them and their families. "Settlement of Argentina in the Rio de la Plata region by Jews began as early as 1507."^2

These Jews from Spain and Portugal were known as New
Christians. They went through the process of baptism for appearances sake. They found life easier in the Americas than in Spain and Portugal ruled by the Inquisition. Although there were Inquisitional Tribunals set up in some of the bigger areas (like Lima, Mexico City, and Cartagena), the vastness and backwardness of the region (Rio de la Plata) settled by the New Christians seemed unlikely for the establishment of an Inquisitional Tribunal. The location of the New Christians settlement was their greatest asset. Author Robert Weisbrot states that "the difficulty of patrolling the vast and sparsely populated region of the Rio de la Plata worked to shield the New Christian inhabitants." Not all the immigrants from Spain and Portugal headed straight for Argentina. Some took a detour through the Middle East. They wanted to settle in the land of their forefathers. For a time they were content, but during the nineteenth century worsening conditions for Jews in Arabic lands encouraged further migrations. Once again, the Americas looked like a promising prospect. The first immigration occurred in 1875, more than a dozen years before the Russian Jews came.

The Russian immigration was sparked by massive political unrest. Most of this unrest centered around the Jews. The late 1700's find a large percentage of the Jewish population settled in an area of Poland known as the Pale. The Pale was under Polish control, and its boundaries were the northwestern, southwestern, and southern provinces from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. The Partition of Poland in 1795 brought the Pale under the rule of the Czar.
Life in the Pale was not easy. It was just a massive ghetto where the Jews were impounded. Only those very wealthy Jews could live outside the Pale, but even they were limited as to how far from the Pale they could move. Generally they had a radius of a couple of miles, and that was as far as they could infiltrate into non-Jewish society.

Those left inside the Pale rarely saw the outside world. They lived, worked, and played within the walls of the Pale. Generally they had a radius of a couple of miles, and that was as far as they could move from the Pale. Only the highly skilled received work visas that let them outside of the walls during the day. Like work visas, dwelling places were also restricted by the Czarist government. Dwelling rights were subject to change from time to time according to the various whims of the Czar.

For a time the Jews experienced some better times under the leniency of Czar Alexander II. Under Alexander II, more work visas were released, and housing restrictions were eased. Russian schools were opened to Jews, and those who succeeded in gaining a higher education were sometimes permitted to enter government employment. Little by little Jews from within the Pale began to creep out and live outside the walls. Things seemed to be getting better for the Jews, until one day late in 1881 an unknown group of radicals assassinated Czar Alexander II.

After the assassination of Alexander II, conditions in Russia worsened considerably for the Jews. Through propaganda, the Jewish people were blamed for the murder of the Czar, and the Russian masses turned against them. Pogroms (massacres) became common occurrences. These pogroms and other manifesta-
ions of anti-Semitism throughout Russia reached such dimensions that the Czar (Alexander III) was finally compelled to issue the "Temporary Rules of May 3rd, 1882."5

At first it seemed that the edict was a sincere attempt to lessen Jewish suffering. Author Morton Ginsberg quoted the Rules as saying,

"These laws are called into being by the efforts of the government to improve the relations between the Jews and the native population in the Pale of Settlement, and to protect the former from the hostility of the latter, which has manifested itself in outbursts against the persons and property of the Jews; also to lessen the economic dependency of the native population upon the Jews."10

The Jews held some hope that the laws would truly do what they were supposed to do. Instead the literal translation of each clause of the edict led to a massive, forced Jewish movement back into the Pale between the years of 1882-1917 (the end of the Czarist regime). After the Rules were released, the restrictions on dwelling rights and work permits were once again in operation, except that they were harsher than before.

It was at this time that the Jewish plight in Russia was brought to the attention of one Baron Maurice de Hirsch. Moritz von Hirsch was born December 9, 1831 in Munich, with the proverbial silver spoon in his mouth. His great-grandfather, Moses Hirsch von Gau-Königshofen, was the founder of the family fortune and the first Jew to own real estate in Bavaria.11 His grandfather, Jacob, became the Court Banker for the Bavarian Crown. In 1818, Jacob was knighted Baron von Hirsch auf Gereuth. After he was knighted, he became the Court Jew and in this position was in charge of the Bavarian
Jewish population. This was a highly prestigious position among the Jews, but it was also extremely politically dependent. One's position depended on the good will of the monarch he served. Moritz's father was Jacob's second son, Joseph, who entered Jacob's banking firm at the age of eighteen and at the age of 23, married Caroline Wertheimer, the daughter of a wealthy banker.

So it was that their son Moritz von Hirsch was born into a family with a long and successful banking background. Little is known about his childhood, except that "his early years were spent in the seclusion of the great castle on the rural estate at Planegg or in the baronial summer home at Baiersdorff." There was no mingling with the other children in the Jewish ghetto, in fact he rarely even saw the ghetto itself. His friends were limited to the children of the wealthier families of the community.

In 1844, at the age of 13, young von Hirsch was sent to Brussels to finish his education. It was here that he adopted the French form of his name--Maurice de Hirsch. Belgium is also where Maurice became a "modern Jew." Jews experienced greater freedom in Belgium because of the influence of the French occupation in 1794.

Other Jews also came to Brussels for the freedom found there. Some of them were not as sensitive to the Jewish position as others. One such case was that of Karl Marx, who settled in Brussels in 1845. Taking advantage of the liberal policies of Belgium, he began to set up a branch of the Communist Party in Brussels, called "Kommunisten-
bund." The Belgian government did not feel that this could be allowed, so Marx was promptly expelled from the country. It was because of his actions and those of the communist party, that the reputation of the Jews was colored in the eyes of the Belgian people. Remembering Marx, anti-Semites would label Jews as radicals.14

After the Marx incident, de Hirsch adopted a new attitude toward Judaism. He took on what he thought was a more realistic point of view. This new attitude took into consideration his Judaism, his everyday life in the business world, and Christianity. The end result was his conclusion that he should "Unto Caesar render that which is Caesar's and unto God render that which is God's." De Hirsch separated his everyday life from his religion, and thus saw no need for conversion. Why accept a new religion when religion had no place in the business world, or in the everyday life of a nation? He decided he could be a good Jew and a good citizen of his country at the same time.15

While in Belgium, de Hirsch started another phase of his life—marriage. He had known Clara Bischoffsheim since his school days in Brussels. They were reintroduced after de Hirsch had returned from some unsuccessful business ventures in Munich in 1848. Clara was the daughter of one of the richest Jewish families in Belgium, and Maurice was working as a minor clerk in one of her father's banks. Clara felt sorry for the loss of the devil-may-care man she once knew. She was the only one who would listen and believe in Maurice's ideas. Clara was a business expert in her own right; she had shown a keen interest in banking at an early age.
Thus her father had let her come to work at his office instead of going to some fancy finishing school. It was not long before she became his very efficient private secretary. Men soon learned to consider her advice carefully.

In their spare time, she and Maurice spent much of their time together. They attended parties together, and often went for long walks. After awhile they began discussing marriage. It had not been a romantic courtship, rather it was just a matter-of-fact relationship. They had gotten into the habit of being a couple. So on June 23, 1855, they were married at the Bischoffshein home in one of the largest Jewish weddings that Belgium had ever seen.

After the wedding, they took an extended honeymoon through Europe on their way to Munich. They were constantly in the public eye as one of Europe's golden couples. Clara found it difficult to fit into Munich's society. She was not like the average aristocrat, Clara would rather discuss banking that fashion. She was welcomed into society, but she was uncomfortable there.

One year after their wedding, their son Lucien was born. Fifteen months later Clara gave birth to a premature baby girl who lived only a short time. The loss of her daughter depressed Clara greatly, and she decided she missed the Low Countries. Maurice too, had had some set backs at this time, so they decided to return to Brussels. Clara's father had already agreed to take Maurice back into the company should they return. So in 1859, Brussels became their new home.  

The return to Brussels sparked many changes in de Hirsch's
life. It was the first of several changes in citizenship that he would make, later in 1880 he would change his citizenship to Austria. The return to Brussels also saw de Hirsch open a bank with Clara's brother Ferdinand as his partner. The business did quite well, and through it de Hirsch found his true calling—railroads. He saved his business from bankruptcy by wheeling and dealing with the French and Prussian governments. From that time on, he was interested in railroads and the large profits they offered over time.

Finally in the 1870's, de Hirsch made his own personal fortune by building the Turkish Railroads. Through a deal in which he was supposed to make arrangements between Austria and Turkey, de Hirsch turned the tables and made a deal for himself. All deals have problems, and this one in particular had its fair share. First, the Ottoman Empire, also known as the "sick man of Europe," was not in the best of economic conditions. Second, the representative from Turkey that de Hirsch had made arrangements with was recalled to Turkey. Baron de Hirsch met each of the problems as they came. Clara was quoted as saying, "All Maurice needed to drive him forward was opposition." Finally after almost 20 years of financial dilemmas and labor disputes the railroad was completed.

In 1882, the Deutsche Bank bought controlling interest in the Orient Railway, as it was called, and Baron de Hirsch began a new chapter in his life.

It took a terrible tragedy for Baron de Hirsch to decide where his true vocation lay. In 1883, the Baron's son Lucien died after only a few days illness. Maurice and Clara were
shattered by the loss of their only child. It was Lucien's death that led de Hirsch to invest his immense wealth in the aid of others. Neither Maurice nor Clara ever recovered from Lucien's death, Clara wore black for the rest of her life. Since de Hirsch had no one to inherit his fortune, he decided to help improve the position of Jews around the world. He began by planning the massive emigration of the Jews from Russia.

To assist the Jews he established the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) in 1892 with an initial investment of 2 million pounds sterling, later increasing it to 8 million pounds. At the same time, he founded the Baron de Hirsch Fund in New York to help educate the immigrants that would be sent to the United States and Canada. The Baron hoped that by using his wealth, he could encourage the Jews to migrate. Author Samuel Lee stated that, "Baron de Hirsch was, perhaps, one of the first of the practical sociologists, for he believed that true charity was not the giving of alms, but giving in such a way as to make almsgiving unnecessary."

The Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) began to seek out suitable land sites worldwide. The ICA began buying land sites in the western hemisphere (i.e., Canada, the U.S., Brazil, and Argentina). They (the members of the ICA) took particular interest in Argentina since de Hirsch "felt that because of Argentina's sparse population and freedom from racial and religious prejudices it would make a suitable haven for the Jews." The ICA purchased land in the Santa Fe area, and settled it with immigrants who were left homeless from a previous land arrangement with a landowner named Pedro.
Palacios. Palacios had agreed to sell land to a group of immigrants who came to Argentina on their own without the help of the ICA. After they arrived in 1889, Palacios backed out of the agreement leaving them helpless in a foreign country. The ICA heard of those poor people, and used them to found the first Jewish colony in Argentina called Beechville.

The first wave of Russian immigrants began as farmers, although some were sidetracked to the city, where they became factory workers or did service jobs. The first few years were difficult for the farmers because of their lack of experience in farming, especially in the Argentine climate. The technicians hired by the ICA did not help much because they knew nothing about the Argentinian soil and climate.

Land was another problem for the new farmers. Argentinian landowners refused to break up their huge tracts of land to sell small plots to the immigrants. Thus good farm land was scarce for the Russian Jews.

These problems and general homesickness caused over 40% of the Russian Jews to leave their Argentinian homes between 1889-1914. Some even went all the way back to Russia.20

After a decade of settlement, the Jewish farmers came into their own in the agricultural world. Their production increased rapidly thanks to assistance from friendly Argentine farmers. By the late 1940's, the Jewish colonies were making substantial contributions to the annual production rate of Argentina. They were producing some 12 million pesos (2.8 million dollars) worth of goods, 5 million of which were in
It was also at this time of high production that the Jewish colonies branched into a new and exciting area—cattle ranching. Argentina is one of the largest beef producing countries in the world today. To the Jews, who had always dealt in grain, livestock was a speculative venture. One that proved very successful for those who invested. Robert Weisbrot estimates that Jewish landowners now earn over half of their annual income from their livestock herds.

Moisesville was not the only Jewish agricultural colony established in Argentina. On the contrary, at least 7 others were founded. Most of these were established in the Entre Rios area. The first three established totaled some 125,000 acres. The colony of Clara (1892) had 253,701 acres, while the colonies of Lucien (1894) and Santa Isabel (1903) had 100,399 and 118,124 respectively. Another colony, called Colonia Baron Hirsch, was located between the provinces of Buenos Aires and La Pampa. It was established in 1905 with 246,210 acres. The remaining three colonies: Gumre, Cohen, and Avigdor were established on land purchased after 1925, and were not major land purchases like the others mentioned above.

On the average, each colony had a steady increase in population until around 1930. During this time, increasing hostilities in Europe made many decide to return to Palestine. Even after WWII, when Argentina once again experienced a tide of immigrants, the colonies did not see a growth rate similar to that of their beginning years.

For some it was not the wish to go to Palestine that made
them move, but a desire to move to the city. Author Morton Ginsberg states that "many moved to nearby towns to open up businesses or seek employment,..."25 Those who stayed in the colonies usually managed to buy up surrounding tracts of land, leaving some Jews with the same or even larger amount of land than their Argentinian counterparts.

The Russian Jews were not the only people of their faith to make the long arduous journey to Argentina. The German Jews also fled their homeland for the greener pastures of Argentina. The German and Russian Jews had one important thing in common—the cause of their exodus was persecution. The German immigrants were fleeing the chaos of Europe before, during, and after Hitler.

Unlike the Russian Jews who were mostly farmers, the German Jews were highly skilled professionals. The diversification of their skills proved to be very valuable to the Argentine economy. The Germans were trained in finance, engineering, medicine, math, and science. Some used their business skills to become importers/exporters utilizing Argentina's natural wealth. The main problem that faced the new arrivals was that Argentina's economy could not absorb all of their skills at once. The Jews used their skill and willingness to work to impress their Argentinian counterparts.26

It was not only their Russian and German nationalities that separated the new immigrants from one another although language and the differences in social environment were important issues. There were also differences in religion:
Sefardic and Ashkenazic. The Sephardim were originally Jews of Spanish descent. After their expulsion from Spain in 1492, they dispersed into several directions (i.e. England, Holland, different Mediterranean countries, and the Americas). Now, the term "Sephardim" also refers to Oriental Jews or those from the Balkan countries and island nations, wherever there has been medieval Spanish or Arabic influence in the culture.27

The perception of social differences between the Sephardic and Ashkenazic groups was almost immediate, as early as 1981 the Sephardic Jews in Argentina formed an organization called the Congregación Israelita Latina. This organization was used to help incoming immigrants become financially independent more quickly and to do so without the assistance of already established Ashkenazic organizations.

The Sephardim also founded their own schools, temples/synagogues, cemeteries, restaurants, and social clubs. Though small at first, most have increased in size along with the population. The restaurants and social clubs have achieved particular success. The restaurants serve kosher fare, and are patronized by Sephardic and Ashkenazic groups alike. The social clubs are a big success too, but they are mostly for Sephardim only. Many of them are similar to our country club system. They have facilities for all types of different sports, and usually have kosher dining facilities as well.

The Sephardim are known for more than their restaurants and social clubs though, they are also known for their religious devotion. Author David de Sola Pool states that, "Sephardi synagogues are characterized by a chaste liturgy (rights of
worship), the classic pronunciation of Hebrew, and a tradition of preaching in the vernacular which goes back long before the Reform Movement." In the services themselves, the Sephardim use "simple chanting" and congregational singing.

There are differences between the Sephardic and Ashkenazic groups. They are not wide rifts, they are probably similar to the differences between Catholics and Lutherans. Most of their differences come from different interpretations of rituals and customs. For example, Sephardim are allowed to eat rice on the Passover, where this would be forbidden for the Ashkenazism.

The Sephardim are faithful observers of the Sabbath. In the first few years it was difficult for any Jew to observe the Sabbath in Argentina, because Catholic Argentinians did not slow down production to allow Jewish workers time off for the observance of the Sabbath. The Sephardim have solved part of the problem by becoming shopkeepers and closing their stores on the Sabbath.

The skills of the Sephardim also distinguish them from the Ashkenazism. The Sephardim, most of whom belong to middle class Argentine society, have one skill in particular that they are known for—the manufacture of textiles. Their speciality is the manufacture of silk clothing.29

On the other side of the coin are the Ashkenazic Jews. They originate mostly from Eastern Europe (Germany and Russia). The Ashkenazism like the Sephardic Jews have clubs and organizations of their own. Their main one is the Asociación
Mutual Israelite Argentina (A.I.A.). The A.I.A. evolved from a burial society (Hevra Kadisha) in 1940, when the increased needs of incoming immigrants caused the Hevra Kadisha to expand the number of services it offered. Today the A.I.A. offers a variety of services to the Jewish community, but its main function is still in the area of burials. The A.I.A. also supports several Jewish care centers for the sick and elderly and also several Jewish orphanages. The orphanages are unique in that they serve kosher food and observe all Jewish holidays. The children are even sent to Jewish schools in the surrounding areas. Although these services are available to all Jews, they are usually used only by Ashkenazic Jews because of language and ideological barriers.30

The Russian Jews owe much to Baron de Mirsch, but there were others who gave assistance in lessening the sad plight of the Jews. To name a few of those men: Justo José de Urquiza, Alexander II of Russia, Julio Roca, Henry Joseph, and Juan Feron. In their own way these men did much to encourage incoming immigrants.

Justo José de Urquiza, President of Argentina from 1854 to 1860, took office after a successful military coup that overthrew Juan Manuel de Rosas after two decades of rule. While de Rosas had been a strict, authoritarian ruler, de Urquiza wanted a more democratic approach. He wrote a constitution that was very favorable towards immigrants, this included Jews. The Constitution was written in such a way, that it established complete religious freedom. de Urquiza went so far as to send clergy back to the Old World to recruit
European immigrants.\textsuperscript{31}

Alexander II of Russia, who ruled Russia until his death in 1881, was one of the more benevolent Czars. It was his wish to have the people of Russia united as one, no matter what their religion. To encourage the assimilation of the Jews, he permitted those Jews with special skills, wealth, and education to move out of the Pale of Settlement. Their assimilation was a gradual process, but one which had the potential to be highly successful. Unfortunately, this Czar was assassinated by terrorists in 1881, thus putting an end to all the good he had accomplished.

Julio Roca, another pro-Jewish Argentine president was in office from 1880-86. Roca was in favor of settling Argentina's sparsely populated land. To do this, he knew that an increase in immigration was necessary. So on August 5, 1881, he issued a decree that encouraged Russian Jews in particular to settle in Argentina. He appointed a Jewish recruiting officer, José María Bustos, to recruit Old World Jews as colonists for new villages and farms.

Henry Joseph landed right in the middle of things by becoming the first Chief Rabbi of Argentina in 1882. Joseph was not the most promising candidate for Chief Rabbi. He had a Christian wife and his daughter had been married in a church. Yet, since he was the only man to volunteer for the position, it became his. Joseph worked hard to be a good Chief Rabbi. He even "persuaded his wife to convert to Judaism and had his sons listed in the Jewish register."\textsuperscript{32} He struggled to unite a congregation that was disillusioned
with their faith. Much of this disillusionment was due to the influence of the "Enlightenment of Europe" that occurred in the mid 1380's. He succeeded in helping the western Jews assimilate into Argentinian society. He even tried to help the incoming Russians, but they refused to accept him. He remained as Chief Rabbi until 1894, when he resigned after much abuse and criticism and was replaced by a Russian, Solomon Liebeschutz.

Juan Perón, who is mostly remembered for his harmful acts, nonetheless accomplished several good things that uplifted the Jews. During his years in power, he initiated much of the urbanization that occurred during the 1940's and 1950's. He granted protective tariffs to manufacturers, while at the same time lowering the prices of agricultural goods. One can say of Perón that "discounting his often hollow rhetoric, one is still struck by the number of precedents Perón dared to set in the sphere of Jewish rights and privileges." He allowed qualified Jewish applicants to hold important high government positions. For example, in 1949 a Jew, Pablo Manguel, was chosen to be the first Argentine ambassador to Israel. Also, Liberto Rabovitsch, a Jew, was appointed a federal judge, and Abraham Krislavin became subsecretary to the minister of the interior. Perón also tried to end anti-Semitism in the army. In 1952, he ordered that all Jewish soldiers be granted official leave so that they might observe the holy days of Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur.

Although there were those who tried to help the Jews,
there were others who did their best to make things extremely difficult for them. Looking closely, one can see that it is the everyday person in the street who brings the most hardship upon the Jews, those simple individuals who can be stirred to rioting by articles printed in the Argentine daily newspapers by anti-Semitic writers. The end of WWI also helped escalate the fears of the working men and business executives alike, because it brought about the end of the boom in the Argentine economy. The workers fear became evident in a 75% increase in strikes. The Conservatives in Argentina, worried about the Bolshevik takeover in Russia, feared that labor unrest would result in the same situation occurring in Argentina. These same Conservatives somehow "perceived a link between Jews and a diabolical Marxist plot to control Argentina." They felt that their worst fears were realized during the second week of January 1919, when workers in a metallurgical plant in Asena went on strike. It was not a peaceful strike for the striking employees did extensive property damage within the plant. The government sent in the police to "restore order" and the first day of the strike ended with 5 dead and 40 wounded. Workers throughout Argentina were outraged as the violence of the strike breakers retaliated in their own fashion by going out on a country-wide general strike paralyzing the economy.

The newspaper picked up the views of the Conservatives, linking the Jews with the Marxists. In response to the rumors that the Jews and strikers were involved with Marxists, gangs of citizens took to the streets vandalizing Jewish shops, synagogues, and centers on January 10, 1919, a day
that thereafter was known as the day of assaults and the night of murders. The office of the socialist journal Avantgard was sacked along with the Jewish library and some other Jewish offices and businesses as well. Jewish bankers and merchants were harassed in the streets, and some were even attacked and robbed.

The Jews responded to these acts with protests, pamphlets, and representations to the president. Some Argentinians, who did not share the feelings of the conservatives, also protested the treatment of the Jews. One such individual was politician Alfredo Palacios, who encouraged the Jews not to blame all of Argentina for the contemptable acts of a few ignorant individuals. Author Robert Weisbrot believes that the Jews learned an important lesson during "La Semana Trágica," they learned "that important segments of society would turn on them as scapegoats in moments of social, economic, and political crisis." 35

The events of "La Semana Trágica" are prime examples of how attitudes can be shifted from acceptance to suspicion. Such attitude shifts cause massive turmoil in a society and usually tend to alter the history of that society. It is these attitude shifts that will be discussed further in the next section.

The investigation of the above mentioned attitude shifts was based on three studies done in the 1960's. Two of these studies investigate the relationship between anti-Semitism and social class. The third study deals with the question, "In what type of relationship situation would you
be more willing to accept a Jew?” All of these studies are important, because they question the attitude of Argentinians at that time.

The first study was done by a Harvard sociologist named Gino Germani in 1962. Germani’s study divides the population into six sections counting the percentage of anti-Semites in each (refer to TABLE 1). According to Germani’s study, the highest percentage of anti-Semites are located in the lower-class sections. These are the people who so fervently supported Juan Perón and his rule. These results appear logical, but the author of The Jews of Argentina, Robert Weisbrot, feels that the results tend to contradict previous theories about anti-Semitism in Argentina. Early theories suggested that anti-Semitism was mainly a belief held by the upper-classes. There is also historical evidence "linking anti-Semitic acts with incitement by upper-class elements."36

Germani defended his results by saying there were two types of anti-Semitism. "Traditional" anti-Semitism is found among the lower-classes who cling to old stereotypic views of Jews. "Ideological" anti-Semitism is found mostly in the upper-classes, where ideas are more sophisticated and precise. They see all Jews as conspirators and exploiters. Thus using the "Traditional" viewpoint, Germani felt that his results were correct.

The second study was done in 1967 by a scholar for the DAIA (Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas) named Joaquin Fischerman (refer to TABLE 2). He used a
different approach in his study. Fischerman only had three class sections, but they were subdivided into two different areas. Respondents were divided into "ethnocentric," (that is displaying strong prejudices against ethnic groups in general) or "non-ethnocentric" (focusing their prejudice on one group in particular) groups. In either case, Fischerman found that it was the upper-class who had the highest percentage of anti-Semites in their midst.37

The third study deals with definite attitudes directed toward the Jews. Enrique Pichon-Rivière conducted this study in 1964 (refer to TABLE 3). In his survey, Pichón-Rivière included a percentage of military personnel, to determine the extent of anti-Semitism in the military. According to his study, most Argentinians would be willing to accept Jews in day to day situations. In contrast, the respondents in the military rarely wished to have any contact with Jews. This coincides with the views of author Robert Weisbrot, who stated "the military, with its legacy of German training and narrowly conceived nationalism, emerges as more intransigently anti-Semitic that the civilian sector,..."33 These results tend to correspond with the historical view of the Argentine military.

Thus from all indications, Argentine Jewry has come a long way from the frightened immigrants of the 1890's. Agricultural and commercial successes have lead to the social acceptance of the Jews. This social acceptance is quite evident in the statistics of the 1964 study by Pichón-Rivière. From his study, we see the Jews accepted over-
whelmingly in almost every role. Now that the Jews no longer have to work to establish and prove themselves Argentines, they can begin a new phase in their history--helping Argentina become an even greater nation.
### Table 1

**Table 15: Anti-Semitism Among Different Social Sectors 1962**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social/Economic Position</th>
<th>Proportion of Anti-Semites. 1962 (in percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle class</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle middle class</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower middle class</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper lower class</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower lower class</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **NOTE**—Sample: 2,078 subjects chosen from the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires.

### Table 2

**Table 2: Anti-Semitism Among Different Social Sectors, 1967**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social/Economic Position</th>
<th>Non-ethnocentric</th>
<th>Ethnocentric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower class</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE**—Sample: 1,000 subjects chosen from the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires. (There were 791 respondents to this question.)

**SOURCE:** Adapted from Joaquin Fischerman, "Etnocentrismo y antisemitismo," *Indice,* no. 1 (December 1967) p. 20.
### Table 3: Argentine Acceptance of Jews in Different Social Roles, 1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Social Acceptance</th>
<th>All Civilians (in percent)</th>
<th>Low Income Only (in percent)</th>
<th>Military (in percent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neighbor</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellow worker</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher for my children</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal friend</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse of a close relative</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE**—Sample: 500 subjects, including 440 civilians, 60 military personnel. Often, the civilian category would be broken down to include a low-income group (of less than 5,000 pesos monthly) or 264 subjects.

NOTES


3. IBID., p. 19

4. IBID., p. 19

5. IBID., p. 156


7. IBID., p. 1

8. IBID., p. 2


10. IBID., pp. 2-3.


12. IBID., p. 54.

13. IBID., p. 60.


15. IBID., p. 82.


17. IBID., p. 122.

18. IBID., p. 302.

19. Winsberg, p. 5.

20. Weisbrot, p. 50.


22. IBID., p. 55.
24 Winsberg, p. 8.
26 Weisbrot, p. 81.
27 IBID., pp. 155-6.
29 Weisbrot, p. 156.
30 IBID., pp. 75-79.
31 IBID., p. 28.
32 IBID., p. 37.
33 IBID., p. 237.
34 IBID., p. 200.
36 IBID., p. 212.
37 IBID., p. 213.
38 IBID., p. 211.


