

In the Community

Jews in Argentina

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I am an Argentine Jew in whose veins flows Spanish, Italian and Ukrainian blood. I was born into a Catholic-Jewish family that is completely integrated into the economic, social, political and intellectual life of the country, an integration in which I have participated. My purpose here is not to present new information, but rather to contribute a new insight into various problems that are already well known.

For Jews in other Diasporas, Argentina was somewhat of a "promised land." This nation, formed by waves of immigrants from all corners of the earth, has a liberal constitution along the American pattern. This constitution established the equality of all residents before the law as a basic principle, made citizenship available without regard to race, religion or origin, and granted all citizens full political rights. It also specifically guaranteed freedom of religious worship. Its single prejudicial paragraph establishes limited preference in a specific area connected with the Catholic

Church; this paragraph states that the President of the Republic inherits the right of the Kings of Spain to participate in the appointment of bishops and in the application of papal decisions of a religious-administrative nature (as opposed to those dealing with religious faith). The practical implication of this paragraph is that every candidate for the presidency must belong to the Catholic faith.

This single exception from liberal rules did not halt the Jewish immigration which began in the 1870s and was spurred on by the persecutions occurring in various parts of the world. Once arrived, the Jewish immigrants did well during the years of legislative reform: Between 1860-1890 a number of laws were passed in Argentina, guaranteeing free secular education, civil marriage, civil registration of births and deaths, and the provision of civil cemeteries, on the one hand, and, on the other, the freedom of religion and the right to enjoy religious education and religious marriage ceremonies.

Under these conditions, the Jewish immigrants prospered, just as they had elsewhere after they were granted formal equality by the bourgeois revolutions. The first waves of immigration included many poor craftsmen and traders. They found employment in the weaving, leather and textile industries, or tried their luck at

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agricultural work in the areas of new settlement. What followed is well-known; few Jews remained on the land. Most of the settlement efforts failed, and it is only with the greatest difficulty that one can find a number of Jewish *chacareros* today — the Jewish *estancieros* have already completely disappeared. Most of the farmers moved to the cities, particularly to Buenos Aires. The rapid economic growth and social mobility characteristic of Argentina permitted these Jews to climb the social ladder, achieve a lower-middle class status, and even move into the middle class itself.

Jewish immigrants in subsequent waves were employed as laborers and passed through a similar process. The pogroms at the beginning of the century, the Russian Revolution, and the rise of Nazism brought many immigrants to the shores of Argentina. Those who had no capital were employed, for the most part, in the shops or factories of their "old-timer" relatives. Many of them succeeded in climbing to the top of the social ladder. Others, particularly those immigrants who came from Eastern Europe in the 1930s, brought some capital with them. Immediately upon their arrival, they established private enterprises of various kinds.

Today, most of Argentinian Jewry is concentrated in the property-owning classes. It is widely represented in the various strata of the middle classes, and even among the upper-middle class and the wealthy one finds a handful of Jews. The not inconsiderable success of the Jews has brought them into the wealthiest strata of the population, where they form a kind of "pressure group" through private banks or partial control of other banks, industry, commerce and real estate — all of which are run along capitalistic lines.¹ Most of the Jews are in business, but a considerable number are in industry, ranging from small

enterprises to gigantic factories which are owned by Jews.

In addition, a rather high percentage of the Jewish population has regularly entered the free professions, politics, literature and the arts. The presence of Jews in these areas is far out of proportion to their numbers in the population. One can find well-known Jews in such traditional professions as law, medicine or engineering, as well as in the more modern specialities that have spun off from the traditional fields, such as psychology, psychoanalysis, sociology, economics, political science, mathematics, astronomy, physics, surgery and architecture.

At this point I must emphasize that the waves of immigrants which began to arrive in Argentina in 1870 contributed decisively to the formation of a modern nation. The immigrants caused a revolutionary change in the ethnic composition of the country as well as in its methods and means of production.

Both economically and socially, one can identify three turning points in Argentine history. The first occurred between 1880-1890, at the height of the mass immigration. With the expansion of the railroad lines and the construction of large ports, Argentina fashioned itself into an agricultural and cattle-raising nation and became one of the largest exporters of grain, beef, wool and leather in the world. This period was marked by the striking growth of the cities, particularly of Buenos Aires, which in the course of time has become one of the largest cities in the world and is exceeded in size only by New York, London, Tokyo and Paris. Immigrants numbered over half the population of Argentina during that period.

The second turning point occurred between 1930-1945, with the development of light industry. Within a few years the en-

tire economic and social structure of Argentina was changed. The emphasis on agriculture now shifted to industry; production, both industrial and agricultural, was aimed at the domestic market. During this period, a network of roads was constructed which made an important contribution toward greater homogeneity in the local market. The last vestiges of a primitive economy disappeared as distant and isolated settlements were connected by a network of roads. Buenos Aires expanded from a commercial center to become the industrial heart of the nation; industry grew in other cities as well, particularly in the large port city of Rosario.

The third period of change extended over the years 1958-1973. These years witnessed the development of basic and heavy industries and of such semi-heavy enterprises as the petro-chemical, metal and automobile industries. Cities that had depended until then solely on commerce underwent rapid industrialization. For example, the provincial town of Cordoba became the center for domestic auto manufacture. Important changes occurred in agriculture as well. Extensive farming and cattle-raising gradually became more intensive, and at the same time, areas devoted to sub-tropical agriculture were switched to manufacturing.

As a result of these structural changes, there was rapid movement up the social ladder, particularly among the salaried workers and the lower-middle class. The change can sometimes be seen within a single generation. The Jewish immigrants were most successful in this process; the change was slowest among the Spaniards and Italians who constituted the two largest immigrant groups. Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants and their children took advantage of the rapid changes and played a

central role in the building of the new society in all aspects of life. Immigrants contributed to the integration of new sectors into the national economy and to the development of new professions or of advanced branches of the traditional professions. They influenced thought and political ideas by introducing trends that were then spreading throughout Europe, and they left their mark on poetry, fiction and the theatre — in other words, on the formation of the literary language of Argentina.

Jewish Pioneers in Letters and Politics

I should like to mention a number of Jews and descendants of Jews who, in my estimation, played an important part in the cultural spearhead that built the new Argentinian society. It is not an exhaustive list by any means, but provides some representative examples.

At a relatively early stage, a number of Jews or children of Jews were outstanding in Argentinian literature in the Spanish language; among them were Dickman and Cesar Tiempo. But the practical influence of the Jews was rather secondary until the 1930s. In that decade, Samuel Eichelbaum was one of the third generation of influential Argentinian dramatists. In the 1960s, a period of neo-realism in the theatre, another Jew of immigrant parentage is outstanding: Rosenmacher. In 1945, a successful attempt was made to introduce Argentinian colloquial speech, which is almost an independent Spanish dialect in itself, into the country's Spanish-language literature. A Jew, Bernardo Verbitsky, took part in this experiment in the 1960s. David Vinas, a writer of mixed parentage, is an outstanding name in the list of those turning

Argentinian Spanish into an effective tool of literary expression. The poet Juan Gelman played a similar role in Argentine poetry.²

Jewish immigrants were active in politics and they and their children played a part in the formulation of the left-wing ideologies and the creation of political parties: the Socialist Party (formed in 1896), the Communist Party, and the various anarchist movements. They were equally active in the formation of the labor unions which preceded the establishment of the Socialist Party. These founders were almost all anarchistic and social-democratic immigrants who reached the shores of Argentina during the 1890s. But, in contrast to the generally held opinion, I think it is not accurate to state that most of the Jews were active in left-wing parties; a sizable number of Jews joined the ruling middle-class parties which were populist-nationalist in philosophy, mainly the Radical and the Peronist Parties. The former occupied the center of the political stage, as the party of the masses, from 1891 to 1945. Its dominancy passed in that year to the Peronists, who drew their strength mainly from the working class. One must remember that after the industrial expansion of the 1930s, the working-class became numerically the largest socio-economic group in Argentina.

Many Jews attained top leadership in these two parties. A Jew was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Domestic Affairs in the first Peronist government. At the Constituent Assembly of the Radical Party, held in 1949, Levenson, the ideological leader of the party's centrist-leftist wing, was an important figure. A number of Jews filled key administrative positions in the government of Arturo Frondizi (1958-1962), among them David Blecher as Minister without Portfolio. Dur-

ing the second period of Peronist government, Gelbart headed the Ministry of Economics, a super-ministry equal in political importance to the Army and to the Ministry of Social Welfare, which was headed by Lopez-Rega. Even during the military rule of General Lanusa, a Saxon Jew, who converted to Catholicism was appointed to a ministerial position. We shall not name all the Jews who have served as members of the regional Houses of Representatives, particularly as the Socialist faction, on the one hand, and the Radical and Peronist factions, on the other, grew in strength.

There are insufficient data to attempt a quantitative evaluation of the relative size of the Jewish population and its representation in politics, in the free professions, in science, art and literature. I can, however, state that its qualitative participation is great. Jews have had tremendous influence on Argentine thinking, on the arts, and on the value-system of a society in its formative stage. Analysts such as Portnoy, Mauricio Tuñqui, and this writer have played roles in the economic sphere that are similar to the contributions made by Jews in politics. They introduced a number of concepts which the traditional science of economics in Argentina had neglected until then, including the use of statistics. Several Jews were outstanding among the traditional economists as well, Lebedinsky being the most important of them.

Innovations were introduced in psychiatry by Jose Blecher and Jose Itzigson among others; in philosophy by Leon Rozichner; and in mathematics by Veshershevsky. Jacob Timerman contributed to the modernization of the press, first through the periodical "Primera Plana," and later through the pages of the daily "La Opinion."

One may sum up the importance of these

figures as follows: A number of Jewish writers made an important contribution to literature by helping to create a local literary language to take the place of the linguistic academization that held sway until then; they did this not only through the introduction of words from colloquial speech, but also by using the verb inflections characteristic of Argentine Spanish. Left-wing politicians introduced new ideologies; Jewish politicians in the middle-class parties helped form national populism. The psychiatrists mentioned above tried to overcome reflexology and psychoanalysis. Economists introduced the use of statistics (which had been done previously only by Adolfo Dorfman) and analyzed socio-economic movements objectively.

Until the 1930s, one could find Jews in the highest echelons of the army's officer-corps. Since then, however, officer ranks other than the lowest have been closed to individuals of clearly Jewish origin.

This general and incomplete overview contradicts the claim of those, such as I.L. Horowitz, who believe that "except for a few exceptions, mainly in Brazil . . . the Jews in Latin America were found in positions of economic strength, but have not filled political positions of comparable importance."³ On the other hand, one must admit that no Jewish politician has worked on behalf of the Jewish community. However, as we will see later, the community is not interested in that.

In light of my previous description of Argentinian Jewry, the subject of social anti-Semitism in that South American country is of importance. Here is a "liberal" society on the Western model, whose laws guarantee equality and non-discrimination and in which the Jews would seem to have achieved a high degree of integration, including active participation (again, apparently) in all areas of social life.

Social Anti-Semitism

Many writers have dealt with the subject of social anti-Semitism. Its presence led them to believe that Jewish existence in the Diaspora is not a normal existence, even in the lands in which the Jews enjoy complete political and civil equality. It is generally held that this is the result of nonpolitical discrimination against the Jews which hinders their full integration, and of their experiencing rejection even in those lands where they are formally equal to all others.

I believe that the example of Argentina can be enlightening in this respect, and I shall attempt to explain the reason for this. It is my claim that in Argentina, in contrast to general belief, anti-Semitism permeates all the social classes, including the working class or the "poor," as well as all political and ideological trends, including all shades of the left. Some Argentinian authors have argued, and still argue, that anti-Semitism in their land is more prevalent among the wealthy or, expressed differently, that it is less prevalent among the "populist classes." The purpose of their argument is to establish that anti-Semitism exists only among right-wing groups. This is only partially true. Active and overt anti-Semitism which takes a political form exists only in the extreme right, which draws most of its supporters from the so-called middle classes and the wealthy. (One should not conclude from this that there are no right-wing and anti-Semitic workers!) But my first assertion holds firm in relation to hidden, passive anti-Semitism. All of Argentine society is riddled with this disease, and one can find rather virulent social anti-Semitism even among many who cannot be considered to be active political anti-Semites.

My personal experience of over thirty years bears this out. My political activities

have shifted from the center-left to the left, but, because of family ties, I have been privy to political opinions that are right-of-center. During thirty years I have come into contact with all levels of society. I was born into an upper-middle class family, became wealthy at a relatively young age, did many kinds of work including menial jobs, and was active in many groups. My father, born into a wealthy family, was a federal judge at the age of 30. All his life he was active in the Radical Party.

Prior to my entering politics, I was active in a labor union; at the age of 19 I edited a longshoremen's paper. I was also a student activist for a short while. My political activities began in the Radical Civic Union (the Radical Party), a party founded about a hundred years ago. Until 1945 this party enjoyed the support of the majority of the voters; it became the second largest political party, after the Peronists. The Radical Party was established by the urban and land-owning middle class which was excluded from politics as a result of the civil wars. It was established in the midst of the revolution of 1890 as an attempt to take over the government, and since then it has retained its nationalist and populist flavor. Between 1935-1960, it served as a comfortable host to leftist groups influenced by Socialism, and in some cases also by Marxism, as well as to right-wing groups with Fascist tendencies. In this sense (and not in this sense alone), the Radical Party resembles the Peronist movement. I was active in the left-wing of the Radical Party and, until I left it in 1959, I held a number of senior positions in the government. After a period during which I was close to the Argentine Communist Party (pro-Soviet), I joined what was then called the "New Left."

I mention these things in order to buttress my previous assertion, and I shall make reference to but a few events to which

I was privy during my lifetime. In addition, I want to emphasize that, except for those people who knew my family, I was not known in public as a Jew. It was only later that I began to make my Jewish "extraction" known.

Everyone knows that discrimination exists within the Radical Party, which had and has many leaders of Jewish origin. A Jew can achieve any representative position in the party (member of Parliament, member of the Constituent Assembly, advisor to the President, Minister), but he cannot aspire to its executive leadership. I have already mentioned the name of Levenson, the ideologist of the party's left-wing, who in effect controlled the entire Radical Party as a member of the Constituent Assembly. But Levenson failed to become the formal leader of the party, even in the region in which he lived — specifically because he was a Jew. There have been no Radical regional governors of Jewish extraction. The Radical Party, like all parties which achieve power at the national level, has honored the anti-Semitic taboo which forbids a Jew to serve as Foreign Minister. All that has been said about the Radical Party is also true of the other middle class parties, including the Peronist Party. We shall speak of the left-wing parties later on.

Anti-Semitism also pervades the armed forces. If there were once Jews in the higher echelons of the officer corps, this has not been so since the 1930s. More recently, it was possible to find at the top of the officer corps children of non-Jewish immigrants with names no less "foreign" to the ears of the majority population than were Jewish names. One such example is Ibrahim, who served as Commander of the Air Force. This example is but one of many which underscores the fact that a specific is at work rather than a generalized xenophobia. One

cannot imagine a Jew reaching a similar position.

At this point I should like to relate a family anecdote which is germane. My brother was a student at a military preparatory school, in anticipation of continuing his studies at the military academy. I myself was in the naval school for a short time. In both cases, my father hid our Jewish origins and in the appropriate blank on the application forms he wrote "Prussian." Why did he do that? Was my father paranoid? Not at all. Jews are rejected because they are considered to be "different," and no matter what a Jew does, he can only add to that difference and not subtract from it. It is important to understand this, because it is customary to argue that part of the rationale for such discrimination must be attributed to the behavior of the Jews themselves, their "foreign" customs, their tendency to remain aloof and marry among themselves, their "dual loyalty," etc. But this criterion is not applied to other groups such as the Germans, Armenians, French and particularly the English. It is well-known that members of these groups also have "foreign" customs: they also isolate themselves, maintain private schools, publish their own newspapers and even continue to use their mother tongue within the family for over a generation. The Germans, British and Armenians are members of religions which are not the religion of the majority population. In addition, the North Americans not only constitute a community with characteristics similar to those described above, but carry on widespread missionary activities. This creates considerable bitterness both within the institutions of the Catholic Church and among the religiously faithful masses. Nonetheless, these communities are accepted, to the extent that it is even con-

sidered an honor to marry an Englishman, Frenchman, North American or German.

The rejection of the Jew occurs in every level of society. The lower or lower-middle class family will not look favorably upon its daughter marrying a Jew. Perhaps this reflects certain prejudices regarding sexual relations, but one must not assume that the same family would readily agree to its son marrying a Jewess! This prejudice has taken hold within the upper classes as well, and it is just as prevalent there. The only difference lies in the ability of the upper classes to restrict the entry of strangers into their exclusive neighborhoods, while the lower classes cannot restrict their clubs or beaches. It is easy to show that Jews are denied membership in certain clubs even if they are very wealthy and have been living in Argentina for generations, although less wealthy non-Jews are granted membership.

Let us look at three of the classic institutions of the Argentinian *bourgeoisie*: *El Circulo de Armas* (Rifle Club), the Jockey Club, and *La Sociedad Rural* (Cattle-Raisers Club).

El Circulo de Armas is the most exclusive private club. It numbers about 500 members, all of them male. A newcomer can be admitted only after one of the old members has died. This club is not open to the *nouveau riche*, and it need not be said that each member can veto the admission of any candidate. Under these conditions, membership in El Circulo de Armas becomes an illusory goal to anyone from an immigrant family — even "pure" but "inferior" Argentinians would not dare present their names for candidacy. What does "inferior" refer to? It means anyone whose family name does not have a pure Argentine "ring" to it. Here we find ourselves in the realm of irrationality, governed by rules which no one can explain or clearly define. There are two cir-

cumstances under which a member of a respected family which bears an "embarrassing" name can be accepted: (1) the name of the family is Spanish, Basque, English, French, German or Nordic; (2) the father is "someone," i.e., a judge, landowner, well-known physician, or lawyer of note. The situation of a candidate with an Italian name is difficult unless his name is well rooted in the annals of Italian aristocracy, but under no circumstances will someone with an "exotic" name, whether Arabic, Chinese or Jewish, be accepted. With the help of "suitable" marriage liaisons, it is possible to overcome the existence of an Arab or Chinese in the family tree; only Jewish origin is an obstacle that cannot be overcome.

Does it sound fantastic? Well, here is an example. The Aberg-Cobo family bears a Swedish name. The head of the family arrived in Argentina about 80 years ago; he was a baker by trade. Mr. Aberg married "well." His descendants are an integral part of Argentinian aristocracy, and no door, not even that of El Circulo de Armas, is closed to them. But a person who has a Jewish name in his family tree will not succeed in crossing the threshold of that club. Even in the Jockey Club, which has the most flexible rules, it would be difficult for a person with "questionable blood" (read Jewish) in his veins to gain membership.

Finally, let us look at La Sociedad Rural, whose membership includes the large landowners. Clearly, a stranger will not be easily accepted. Mr. Fortbat is an immigrant from Catalonia who controls a mighty economic empire that includes, among others, the Coma Negra Company which supplies 90 percent of the cement used in Argentina. This gentleman was accepted into the Club only at the end of his days, after repeatedly presenting his candidacy for membership in the course of

several dozen years. But no Jew could succeed even to that degree, notwithstanding the fact that his family was rooted in Argentinian soil for many generations. Anyone with a drop of Jewish blood in his veins is considered a "Jew" in this respect.

The ranks of the *nouveau riche*, (e.g. editors and directors of mass circulation newspapers and periodicals) create an image of a new high society at bathing beaches, clubs, hotels and churches. A good example of this is Punta del Este, which is considered to be the height of elegance. However, places of this type lose their splendor after wealthy Jews begin to show themselves there; Punta del Este has been no exception. There are also garden-neighborhoods near the bathing beaches and other vacation spots, where Jews cannot purchase a plot of land or rent a house.

"Dual Loyalties"

The Jew has always been blamed for "not being loyal to the state" ultimately. In the past, when most of the Jews in Argentina were poor, many of them were visible among the top leadership of the international left. Most of the activists in the Argentinian labor unions were of foreign extraction, including many Jews. In those days it was thought that every Jew, by his very nature, was an "extremist" and an "enemy of the state." Today, while the right still entertains such suspicions, the left blames the Jews for being "more loyal to Israel than to their place of birth." Since Israel is a "tool of imperialism," the Jew is labelled "pro-imperialist," a phrase which means, among other things, "enemy of the state." The nationalist right applies these two charges in ways that sometimes reach absurd excesses. For example, the extreme right-wing priest, Manville, one of the chief

ideologists of the Argentinian right, held that he was prepared to accept Chinese Communism but not Soviet Communism. The reason: there are no Jews in China!

No one charges Arabs with dual loyalty, although they fervently uphold the policies of their countries of origin. During the two World Wars, no one objected when the sons of English immigrants joined the British Army, despite the fact that until the 1930s there were extensive anti-British sentiments in Argentina. No one charged the Italians or the Germans, who gave massive support to their countries in both World Wars, with dual loyalty. I recall how, during the Second World War, as a young boy, I saw the English and American school children, particularly the rugby players, going out to "capture" Nazi and Italian symbols. Some people looked favorably on this activity, and others objected to it, but no one accused those who were involved with dual loyalty.

Is there any need to dwell longer on this subject? I believe not, for my purpose was merely to provide an example of my basic charge. But I must develop this topic from yet another viewpoint, that of the left, to which I have referred only briefly.

It is common knowledge that the ratio of Jewish representation in the traditional left in Argentina is far higher than their numbers in the general population. Despite the fact that the number of non-Jews in the left-wing parties is growing, this assertion has not lost its hold. A similar thing is happening in the various "New Left" groups, despite the fact that their sources of membership are less limited than those of the old left. It is also quite obvious that the presence of Jews diminishes as one rises in the party hierarchy, and disappears completely at the top. One of the leaders of the montoneros, who is no longer alive, was a Jew. But he was not "accepted." He had

imposed himself by force of arms upon the leadership of a smaller group which then merged with the montoneros.

Here, again, I should like to add a number of personal comments.

During the period of the Six-Day War, I tried, with a small group of friends, to create an upheaval within the left-wing ranks. Our demand was simple: a little more objectivity. We were not successful, despite the fact that we were given a hearing of sorts. We could not succeed because opposition to imperialistic policies served as a mask for the sudden outburst of anti-Semitic prejudices. In general, we met with the refusal to recognize that the people of Israel are a normal nation with a working class that must also be taken into account when consolidating an international left-wing position. Imaginary stories, similar to the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," served as arguments in the discussion. The most widely disseminated story was that Israel is the spearhead of American imperialism, because "all the American monopolies are in Jewish hands." At first, no one "charged" me personally with being a Jew, but I knew that it was widely discussed behind my back. When the discussion with the Communist Party grew more heated, its official organ printed an article dedicated to me. In one of the opening paragraphs it said: "That verbal guerrilla fighter who hides the fact that his mother is a Jewess...."

I believe that my personal experience is indicative of this contradictory situation: The Jews suffer from strong social and cultural discrimination which is activated whenever they try to integrate into society, but *at the same time they are urged to integrate and assimilate*, that is, to give up their Jewish uniqueness (customs, institutions, etc.). In other words, at the same time that the Jews are blamed for not in-

tegrating, the door to that integration is slammed in their faces. This is true for both groups and individuals — even those who give up or hide their Jewish uniqueness.

I believe that I can serve as a good example. I neither relinquished my Jewish identity nor did I try to integrate, but I was born into a family that was an integral part of Argentine society. Nonetheless, my Jewishness reappeared under the least expected conditions. The fact that my being a Jew could be known to others only upon my initiative enabled me to become closely acquainted with the hidden anti-Semitism that is a part of the daily life of the non-Jew. In this respect, one final anecdote.

I was in the home of non-Jewish friends of Belgian-German extraction, members of the *nouveau riche*. During the course of dinner, a ridiculous and embarrassing situation arose. A couple of English extraction and I were the guests of the family. The English gentleman was a well known physician. At the close of the meal, the hostess announced that she was about to serve us the "*piece de resistance*" of her kitchen: a dessert which she called "Jerusalem." Almost instinctively the physician blurted out: "I won't eat it; I don't touch anything that has to do with Jews!" I immediately informed him that I myself was Jewish, thus adding to the embarrassment of all. The situation eased only after a thousand and one pardons and explanations about the "not serious" nature of that crude remark. But jokes of this nature are not unusual, particularly when the people making them think that no Jews are present.

Most young people claim that they have never experienced anti-Semitism themselves. I believe that this behavior is typically "defensive." It "denies" embarrassing facts both consciously and subconsciously. At the same time, one may assume that "accidental" incidents of anti-

Semitism are less frequent in the experience of Jews whose names identify them as Jews. The non-Jew is careful not to be insulting, whether it be for personal reasons, because of his good nature or kindness, or simply in order to avoid "getting involved." Moreover, there are many Jews, particularly women, who do not mix in non-Jewish groups. (More about this later.) It is unnecessary to note that it is a mistake to shrug off expressions of speech. Language reflects not only concepts, but also images and experiences that are far more important in terms of unconscious appraisals.

Against this social and cultural background, violence threatens both the Jewish community in general and the individual Jew, particularly when there is a common pre-conception which attributes to the Jew such qualities as cowardice and faint-heartedness. This provides a fertile ground for the growth of political anti-Semitism. One may assume that it will grow when two conditions ripen: the need for a scapegoat on which to blame whatever is happening (e.g. an economic crisis), and the real or imagined need to free society from a "foreign" group which is competing in a particular domestic sector. The threat of such violence is fairly perceptible.

From Social to Political Anti-Semitism

As these lines are written, anti-Semitism is gaining strength in Argentina. It is classical anti-Semitism, in which elements characteristic of Argentinian society and of the current historic period merge. Fascist and anti-Semitic groups that enjoy complete freedom of activity are growing rapidly. The illegal economic activities of a number of Jews, and the imaginary "revelations" which have been added to

them, were used to create an atmosphere of a Jewish plot aimed against the interests of the State. This imaginary economic conspiracy and Jewish activism in left-wing organizations have fueled charges of a world-wide plot against "national interests." This feeds social anti-Semitism and justifies, as it were, the political actions of the anti-Semitic groups.

What is behind this? First, the search for a scapegoat for the acute economic crisis. This leads directly to placing the blame on the "foreign" group (Gelbart, etc.) which, while in charge of economic policy, ostensibly were disloyal to the "national interests," made illegal use of state funds, and carried out large-scale embezzlement (Gelbart, Greiver, etc.). The non-Jewish upper-middle class, which includes "real" representatives of international monopolies, enjoys this situation because it wishes to be free of a competing group. Another beneficiary is the extreme right that would like to get rid of a non-right middle class group that has been accustomed to finding allies in the democratic ranks. If we disregard the particularly Argentinian characteristics of the situation, what emerges is a classic anti-Semitism which is historically recognizable.

A backward glance will confirm this. The first evidence of anti-Semitism appeared at a time when there were almost no Jews in the country: during the crisis of 1870. In 1890, local politics went through another acute crisis which led to the formation of the Radical Party in 1891 and the Socialist Party in 1896-97. During a period of crisis, xenophobia in general and anti-Semitism in particular grew strong; this happened in the 1890s and led, *inter alia*, to the beginning of the struggle of the working-class, made up primarily of immigrants. Anti-Semitism and xenophobia did not pass over the new (Radical) pop-

ulist party, which prides itself on its Argentinism. These feelings were described in the book *La Bursa*, by Julian Martel, one of the classics of Argentine literature. This novel is a kind of autobiographical confession of a *petit bourgeois* who speculated innocently in the period of growth which preceded the crisis.

In both 1910 and 1919 the country went through serious crises. Again, the waves of "patriotism" and anti-Semitism grew, this time accompanied by extreme right-wing "storm troops" which broke strikes and carried out pogroms simultaneously. Then, in 1930, Argentina experienced a trauma; Fascism and anti-Semitism together grew in strength. For the first time, a pro-Fascist became president (General Uriburu). During that decade, the Fascists also controlled several regional governments: in 1930 the Fascist ideologist Carlos Iberguren controlled Cordoba, and in 1936 Manuel Frasco, leader of the Fascist gangs, became governor of the Buenos Aires region.

Thus the gradual integration of Argentinian Jews, of which we spoke in the first part of this article, was accompanied by the growth of anti-Semitism which has assumed violent expression at critical moments. This phenomenon has reappeared in the present decade, at a time when it seemed as if the Jewish community in Argentina reached its "finest hour." All negative phenomena, from the "economic crimes" which caused the crisis, to the political chaos, are placed at the door of the Jews. The role played by non-Jews who were also involved in economic crimes or in political leadership is ignored. No one mentions the fact that the great majority of the Jewish community, like the great majority of the non-Jewish population, was not involved in any political activities at all, and was concerned primarily with maintaining the existing order.

The Dilemmas of the Jewish Community

All the Jews of Argentina are aware of the hidden violence, rejection and hatred which exists all about them. While some of them deny its existence, others admit it half-heartedly but try to minimize its importance. For example, among older Jews who are active within the community, recognition of the situation is expressed in the unwillingness to work for "others" (human rights movements, the left, workers, students) if they do not affect Jews. When there is no doubt that the attacks are aimed against them the Jews will be "diplomatic," measured and careful. Another expression of awareness of the situation is the exaggerated sensitivity of those Jews who discern waves of anti-Semitism in every isolated incident. This situation inhibits any strong action on the part of the community which lives, without being aware of it, in continual fear.

Let me explain further, lest I be misunderstood. I am not making judgmental statements nor do I think that a different approach would be any more effective. I am merely citing facts, without any opinion. The Jewish community does not *feel* free, but threatened. Neither does it *function* freely, but is hampered by fear. It feels helpless, not only with respect to the defense of others, but also with regard to its own self-defense. In short, it feels itself a minority and is frightened of ghosts (frequent imaginary waves of anti-Semitism), but restricts its actions to those cases of clearcut anti-Semitic attacks. This fearfulness on the part of the Jewish community leads to its desire to be looked upon with favor by any government — democratic or dictatorial, liberal or authoritarian.

Most of the Jews, as already noted,

belong to the populist-nationalist parties. There is an explanation for this. These are the parties of the upwardly mobile old and new middle class, as opposed to the more traditional social groups. Most Jews, having some degree of wealth, feel protected by parties which safeguard the existing order, but also support social mobility. Upon joining those parties, the Jews become part of political and national trends which energetically try "to crystalize nationalism." Not surprisingly, one finds a number of Fascist-chauvinists in the ranks of those parties. (It is true that they can also be found among the conservatives, but those are Fascists of aristocratic tendencies, while within Peronism and Radicalism one finds Fascists of populist tendency.) The dominant groups in the populist parties are imbued with rabid Argentinism, authoritarian characteristics, and an almost religious reverence for "national symbols" such as the national anthem and flag. Added to this is a strong inclination toward the past, which glorifies "race," language, tradition and religion. One must not forget that the parties are open to atheists and those of progressive opinions, as long as they agree to the parties' extreme patriotism and are prepared to live together with the majority. One must also remember that these parties are more pro-Catholic than the traditional liberal groups, although, of course, less so than the extreme nationalist groups. It was Radicalism that initiated "El Dia de la Raza" (The Day of the Race) on October 12; it was Peronism that introduced classes on the Catholic religion into the schools, and compelled "non-Catholic" students to take classes in "ethics." (This, in itself, is clear discrimination!) It was the Frondisi group (one of the branches of Radicalism) which permitted the establishment of "private universities" when it gave in to the demand

of the Catholic Church; and it was again Peronism that limited the use of foreign languages.⁴

This association with local nationalist trends, which creates much tension among the Jews, has its roots in the class structure. As already noted, many Jews are motivated by the characteristics of those parties which, on the one hand, speak up for the safeguarding of private property and capitalistic exploitation, and on the other hand stand for social mobility which is important to the Jews because they are newly propertied and are rising in the world. The paternalistic populism of those parties is but the local version of the classic expression of anti-liberal bourgeois movements; that is, the involvement of the state as the supervisor of the workers' movement.

Argentine nationalism was born during the struggle against the Spaniards at the time of the war of independence. Its stance was anti-Spanish — and anti-Indian and anti-“gaucho” as well. Control of the expanding market was at the core of the dispute with the Spaniards; the Indians and gauchos were the working force, but they were also obstacles in the way of middle class control over the extensive lands that had no owners. Buenos Aires, or more correctly, the commercial and agricultural middle class therein, sought a way to extend its hegemony over other regions of the country. But some of the other regions had similar goals, and some even sought recognition as separate “national” entities. Thus the war against the Spaniards was accompanied by much longer and crueller civil wars. These were wars between regions, which also aimed at destroying the Indians and forcefully subduing the gauchos.

After the establishment of the working class, constituted mainly of foreigners having “foreign ideas” (anarchism, socialism,

Marxism), the liberal middle class that had been anti-Spanish-Indian-gaicho underwent changes. It began to look with nostalgia at the colonial past; it took a new look at the Latin “race,” became pro-Spanish, and began to glorify the memory of the Indians and the gauchos. Changes also occurred in the liberal opinions of the middle class. Anti-worker laws were passed, and one of them (known as the Law of Residency) permitted the expulsion without court-trial of “undesirable foreigners.” Who were those “undesirable foreigners”? The leaders of the workers who “disturb the public order.” So much for the liberals.

The nationalist-populist groups were content with strengthening their ideology, which supported the propertied classes who were struggling against other sectors that were economically stronger (owners of vast land-holdings, the wealthy industrial-financial middle class) and had ties to foreign capital.

The situation of the Jewish middle class hides an inner contradiction. As property-owners, the Jews joined other property-owners in order to fight the upper-middle class and the working class, but they found themselves in the midst of a political group which gave strong expression to cultural and political nationalism. The Jewish middle class found itself within the ranks of elements who were opposed to granting special rights to minority groups.

Most of the Jews are squeezed between the closed aristocratic class whose interests compete with those of the Jews, and other middle class groups with whom they hold common interests in some areas but who take a nationalist stand. This situation becomes more acute at moments of crisis, such as the present. During the regimes of Campora, Peron and Izbal, the populist Fascism of Lope-Rega appeared. With the army's rise to power, Fascism assumed a

toughened anti-workers position. There were also two incidents of anti-Jewish Fascism. The first ones to attack the Jewish middle class were the Fascists' partners in the "national middle class"; ironically, later, both middle class groups were attacked by the military branch of the upper-middle class.⁶ The "foreign body" exemplified by the Jews was, in both instances, but a scapegoat; it was the sacrifice to the increasing competition caused by the economic crisis, a competition that became most intense among the non-monopolistic middle class. The anti-Semitic social climate described above eased the way for overtly anti-Semitic policies. It was not long until the blame for the crisis was placed almost entirely on the "Jewish conspiracy." Usually, every change in government in Argentina is followed by the claim that the responsibility for the deteriorating economic situation was that of the outgoing government; this time that excuse was forgotten by all. This process was not continuous. First, there was a growing climate of anti-Semitism, and then as a result of internal and external pressures, it was somewhat diminished; but it had played its role and could be expected to appear again.

Choosing the Left

A minority among first-generation Jews in Argentina turned to the left-wing parties, particularly to the Socialist and Communist Parties, on the assumption that they could lose their distinctiveness within the international proletariat. They chose a very tortuous road.

Until the 1930s, the Socialist Party spoke for the interests of the working class and the lower-middle class, including members of the free professions. The Jews who

joined also came from those same groups. Subsequently, most of the Jews with socialist leanings rose on the social ladder. Workers who did not leave the party (mostly non-Jews) were concentrated in a number of specific occupations — printing, locomotive drivers, teachers, etc., all economically profitable occupations. The Socialist Party now drew its new members from among those occupations, or from the new lower-middle class, i.e., lawyers, physicians, engineers. As a result, the party, which had been reformist in nature from its beginning, became increasingly conservative. In 1932, its parliamentary faction split, one part joining forces with the Conservative Party and the "aristocratic" branch of the Radical Party, and the other joining another conservative faction of lesser importance on the national scene (the Progressive Democratic Party headed by the land-owner Lisandro de la Torre.) Today, the Socialist Party has split into dozens of small groups, some of them openly reactionary (the Social Democratic Party), some under the wing of Peronism, and some consisting of a nucleus of academics having liberal ideas.

A similar development occurred within the Communist Party. Today it is composed of wealthy, middle-class people who are members or supporters of a party having two characteristics: it expresses the interests of the middle and upper-middle classes through the use of social, democratic, reformist terminology; and it retains absolute loyalty to the Soviet Union. Two incidents will exemplify the first characteristic. In 1944, the Argentine Communist Party opposed in the name of "democratic initiators" (sic!), all laws legislated for the benefit of the working class by Peronism, which was then making its appearance. During the last revolution, the Communist Party supported General

Videla, as the representative of the small propertied class.⁷ With regard to the second characteristic, one can state that the Communist Party in Argentina has been "the most loyal" in Latin America; it has always served as the spearhead in the battle against the deviations of others, such as the Castroist trend toward guerrilla warfare.

The party's Jewish activists and supporters have suffered from growing anti-Semitism within the party's ranks, a sentiment which exists to a considerable degree — despite denials. This anti-Semitism derives in part from the "theoretical" and ideological perversions of the Soviet Union, but it is also an outgrowth of the social anti-Semitism that I have described above. In recent years, many of the members and supporters of the Communist Party moved into the Peronist ranks. This is absolutely logical: in the struggle between the two nationalisms, local nationalism is stronger. In addition, Communist Jews who accumulated wealth were attracted to the party which supported their new class interests.

Determined efforts to integrate through assimilation are more common among the younger generation. We do not deal here with those Jews who in their desire to separate themselves as individuals from the Jewish community were to be rebuffed by the general population. We are particularly interested in the many Jews who tried to assimilate with the help of the Peronist left and "national socialism."

The Peronist left is different from its more traditional peers who seek the gradual or revolutionary abrogation of private ownership of production. It is a movement with a typical lower-middle class ideology. In some cases it does call for the socialization of production, but it mainly attacks large-scale capital and strong foreign nationalism (and thus imperialism)

— and all this in the name of small property-owners and local nationalism. The Peronist left seeks to overcome economic dependency through national liberation, but it safeguards the continued existence of private property. This is a typical lower-middle class mixture of concepts.⁸ We are confronted with an extremely irrational and anti-universalistic nationalism, to the extent of talking about national science, national anthropology, psychology and sociology, and even national physics and mathematics. It is a source of renewed return to the past and to "holy" traditions, accompanied by an irrational attachment to land and country.

The young Jew who seeks to belong is forced to assimilate into this irrational nationalism: he is forced to make peace with militant anti-Jewish policies, to live comfortably with anti-Semitism, to relinquish his intelligence and even to "commit subjective suicide." But in no event can he get rid of the suspicion of that "privilege" that hangs over him because his origin is "different."

Additional Data and Some Conclusions

We have been describing a community which is considered "suspicious" and thus is prevented from integrating successfully into the larger society. We find Jews who cannot separate their individual futures from that of the Jewish community, despite their unceasing efforts to assimilate — including relinquishing all particularist affiliations, giving up the idea of universalism (which was promised the Jew, in the name of equality, by the democratic revolution), and attempting to join other particularist groups (in the name of a different democratic revolution). Has the Jew

achieved his freedom, or at least a strong foundation from which he can struggle to achieve it? Not at all. But, can one argue that the Jew has achieved his national liberation? Even if we press the situation, we cannot make that claim. There is no way to solve, by political means, the problem of the Jewish community and its component members, including those who abandon it.

This fact is still more evident in a situation which is not marked by legal discrimination or political oppression, in which the Jew enjoys *pro-forma* equality and legal protection against negative phenomena. Witness the astounding development occurring in Argentina. A number of local Jews are accused, rightly or wrongly (this is not important), of economic crimes, embezzlement, theft of money from the state and from public institutions, smuggling money abroad, bribery, and attempts to undermine the existing order. Would any other community in which a small number are similarly charged be blamed as a whole? The fact that the Argentine government finds itself forced to explain that there is no connection between the "steps taken" and anti-Semitism, requires an explanation. The special aspect of this question is clear: it is Jews who are involved.

Despite all this, however, the Jewish community (or, if you wish, the majority within it) has no intention of emigrating from Argentina. The community will not leave despite the pervasive social anti-Semitism, despite the continual presence of militant anti-Semitic groups, despite continual revelations of anti-Jewish actions, and despite the probability that these will spread. It will not leave unless it is expelled, or a catastrophe occurs."

An analysis of the reasons for this stand is beyond the scope of this article. Let it merely be said that this projection is based

upon an empirical overview of Argentine Jewry's actions in the past and the present; it is confirmed by the actions of other Jewish communities and by what is happening in general among the Jews of the Diaspora.

Despite the past waves of anti-Semitism in Argentina, there was never a large-scale emigration. Although larger numbers are leaving today, it cannot be considered a massive departure. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish community wishes to remain, and even denies the danger of growing anti-Semitism, despite the fact that since the beginning of the latest anti-Jewish wave, it has grown in violence and in scope. Even those who agree that anti-Semitism exists tend to minimize its importance and to express, in general, their hope that it will pass without further intensification. This behavior is not extraordinary. Before World War II, this was the attitude of the Jewish communities in the relatively weak countries of Poland and Bulgaria and in Eastern Europe in general, as well as in the developed countries such as Germany and France. After the war, these same communities continued to exist wherever there were remnants of Jews. In those places where the communities had been wiped out, they sprang up again through renewed immigration, despite the fact that anti-Semitism had not completely disappeared. It should be noted, finally, that despite anti-Semitism, thousands of Israelis, both those born in Israel and older immigrants, are migrating to Western Europe and to the United States.

Nonetheless, and contrary to the projections of many Jewish community leaders and intellectuals, I do not believe that the Jews of Argentina are tending to disappear as a result of assimilation. Despite the fact that the number of assimilated Jews has grown, they are still the exceptions to the

rule. Nor am I sure that their numbers have actually grown in proportion to the growth rate of the community, but this point requires further clarification.

Assimilation is increasing when seen from the viewpoint of the "active" Jew, the Zionist, the religious Jew, or the Jew who is connected in some way to the life and institutions of the community. Most of the institutions which were developed to safeguard Jewish cultural life, both religious and secular, are slowly dying. Most second- and third-generation Jews know little or almost nothing about the history of the Jewish people and Jewish traditions in general; customs followed by the Sefardim or Ashkenazim are but little known. By and large, these Jews do not know Yiddish; they do not know Ladino; and only a handful has some knowledge of Hebrew. Between this nucleus and those who have completely assimilated (that is, those who do not know that they are Jews) lie the masses who maintain their Jewishness, in various degrees of self-awareness and of affiliation to the community.

To the best of my understanding, the perpetuation of this unassimilated mass is the result of anti-Semitism on the one hand, and of an unwillingness to lose one's self-identity on the other, although this unwillingness may not always be conscious and is generally expressed but weakly. This becomes a very complicated issue, dialectically combining the demand for recognition of Jewish identity, with self-hatred in various forms and degrees. I believe that this attitude has not yet been studied sufficiently nor objectively. I do not pretend to do so here, nor am I equipped to do so. But I wish to point out a number of facts viewed from the personal perspective referred to above. As a Jew in an assimilated family (partial assimilation in the

Ashkenazi branch of my family, and complete assimilation in the Sefardi branch which goes back to Spanish *conversos* of the fifteenth century), I believe that I can analyze the Argentine Jewish community from the "outside," as it appears in the eyes of non-Jews, while at the same time I have a considerable amount of information regarding its life-style.

I must state, first, that to this day the Jews generally lived in particular areas. There are still Jewish colonies, that is, small villages in which the entire population is Jewish. There are villages and small towns with a Jewish majority, or at least a sizable Jewish population. In the medium-sized cities (50,000 to 200,000 residents), too, there are large groups of Jews. Despite the fact that the Jews have scattered throughout the length and breadth of Argentina, this demographic situation tends to remain stable.

In Buenos Aires, where most of the Jews live, and which is the recipient of regular internal migration, there are Jewish neighborhoods. These are, on the one hand, centers of old settlement which constitute a broad geographical area where most of the population is Jewish and, on the other hand, new neighborhoods to which Jews have moved in large numbers as their economic and social position has improved. Some Jews began to move in the direction of the old aristocratic neighborhood of Buenos Aires, "the Northern Quarter." The value of real-estate first rose in that small and old neighborhood, and then for various reasons, skyrocketed. The Jews reached the area together with other, non-Jewish *nouveaux riches*. But while some of the latter group turned away to other neighborhoods, the Jews remained almost entirely in the Northern Quarter. At the same time, and as a result of a process that had begun earlier,

the traditional middle class began to leave the neighborhood. They sold their villas to embassies, museums or government offices, or they demolished them in order to build high-rise apartments for rental. Thus the "rising" Jews settled mainly in the center of town or near the old aristocratic quarter, after the old aristocracy had left it. The result is that they live adjacent to the new middle class, and mainly in neighborhoods in which they constitute the majority population.¹⁰

A large number of Jewish merchants are concentrated in a neighborhood known as *El Once* (the Eleventh Quarter). This neighborhood has many shops owned by Jews, and the commercial center stretches along many streets and boulevards to the residential area in which the Jews constitute a majority.

There are parallel events in the commercial realm: the establishment of business firms whose partners are mainly Jewish, the establishment of financial institutions headed by members of the Jewish community, and the tendency to make use of the services of a certain type of Jewish professional (for example, notary publics).

Finally, one must make note of a particular phenomenon which is widespread among intermarried couples and their friends. Other than in areas of professional and political relations, which are broad by their very nature, the Jews tend to establish ties among themselves and to carry on their social lives mainly within Jewish groups. This is apparent among assimilated families as well. Even in the mixed marriages, the Jewish partner "sets the tone" in everything regarding family, social and friendship ties.

One may take issue with many of my remarks. They are based neither upon field work nor on any quantitative study, and

thus are open to attack from many quarters. But I believe that they reflect the general situation correctly, and they will be useful if we keep in mind the claim what I have tried to prove namely: that the Jewish community in Argentina is not tending to disappear, as has been said on many occasions, but is maintaining itself.

It has been noted earlier that the Jewish community and the individual Jew in Argentina find themselves within a society that rejects them. Now, one must add that the Jewish community does not want to leave; tends to retain its individuality (as blurred as it may be), and continues to appear as a separate community. The Jewish community also suffers from an objective and subjective insecurity of which I have written at length in this article. In short, it is a community which maintains its existence in a clearly abnormal situation.

Reviewing this situation, and noting that there is no political solution to this problem, except in response to situations of open persecution, we must conclude that Zionism is faced with a new challenge. Zionism cannot respond to this challenge with its traditional answers, because of the simple but decisive truth that the historic factors have changed since that movement's appearance. Zionism achieved its basic goal: the establishment of the State of Israel. This achievement has introduced a major new element into Jewish history. Yet, Zionism has not been successful in actively enlisting the Western Jew in the attainment of its goal (today: *aliyah* to Israel). Nonetheless, it has achieved another result instead; Israel has become the center from which the Jewish communities in the Diaspora derive a life-force to strengthen their identity and character in a different manner.

NOTES

¹ Re. the class and internal-class division in Argentine society, see my previous works: *Tierra y clase obrera*, Buenos Aires: Achaval, 1973; and "L'Nituah ha'Antishemiyut b'Argentina," *B'Tefutzot HaGolah*, 81/82, 1977, pp. 135-47. (Hebrew)

² The editorial board of the periodical *Contorno*, which began to revive Argentine literary criticism in 1954, had a Jewish majority: David and Ismael Vinas, Noeu Jitrik, Leon Rozichner.

³ Irving Louis Horowitz, "HaEtniyut haYehudit vehaL'umiyut b'America haLatinit," *B'Tefutzot HaGolah*, 64, 1973, pp. 88-93. (Hebrew)

⁴ See Nathan Lerner, "Los Nacionalistas Latino Americanos y las Minorias," *Dispersion y Unidad*, 17, 1976, p. 155, for considerable data about the tendency of national groups in Latin America "to formulate an erroneous national identification, to seek a monolithic culture which integrates all the constituent elements and obliterates their uniqueness." His remarks are interesting, although I do not agree with all of them. For example, he does not stress that the goal of national homogeneity was intensified after the beginning of the class struggle. That struggle influenced the groups that Lerner terms "liberal," and they assumed a somewhat chauvinistic character. Similarly, the so-called liberal or cultural nationalists, such as Lugones, Ricardo Rojas, Vasconcelos, Borges and Maya identified their nationalism with anti-worker positions having a more or less Fascist character. See, in this respect, my book *Polemica sobre la historia argentina*, Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de America Latina, 1973.

⁵ In addition to the above, see my article *Los origenes del radicalismo* Documentos para polemica, Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de America Latina, 1974, and David Vinas, *Del apogeo de la oligarquia a la crisis de la ciudad liberal*, Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez, 1976.

⁶ I do not agree with those, such as A.L. Horowitz, who (in the above-mentioned work) see the Jewish middle class as "neo-colonialist." This is true only for those Jews belonging to the upper classes.

⁷ The Communist Party was opposed to the "Thirteenth Salary Law" and supported the actions taken by the employers who were against that legislation. It opposed another law which sought to recognize the attainments of the agricultural workers, claiming that it harmed the owners of the small farms, etc.

⁸ See my *La liberacion nacional*, Buenos Aires: Tesis, 1975, and *Tierra y clase obrera*, *op. cit.*

⁹ In previous writings I argued that the socio-economic conditions in Argentina would lead to a strengthened and expanded active anti-Semitism that would become endemic within the broadest sectors of the Argentine society. At the same time, I do not wish to, nor can I, prophecy the results of this anti-Semitism. See my article "L'Nituah ha'Antishemiyut b'Argentina," *op. cit.*

¹⁰ This phenomenon was described, among others, by the nationalist-populist writer Arturo Juarteche, in his best-selling *El medio pelo en la sociedad argentina*, which deals in general terms with the new middle class.

"Bobbe Golde lived to be ninety-four and one of the stories I remember most distinctly about her is that she always took salt instead of sugar in her tea because, she said, 'I want to take the taste of the *Goless* (Diaspora) with me into the other world.' Interestingly enough, so my parents told me, we bore a striking resemblance to each other."

— Golda Meir, *My Life*