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Theme:

Racist Stands in Jewish African Relationship
during The Civil Rights Movements

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DEDICATION

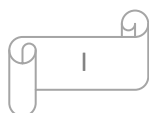
I dedicate this work to:

-My lovely parents, and grandparents.

- My uncles and my aunts,

-My brothers and sisters.

-My close friends: Aicha, Amina, Kawter, Zohour, khadidja, Hafsa, Asmaa and khadidja.
Alia .

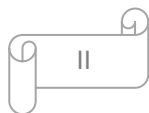


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Abstract:

Racism is a pernicious problem that degrades human beings and affects deeply their identity. In the context of the United States of America, this issue was the most pronounced as it promoted both of racial sympathy, and racial friction amongst ethnic groups as the Jewish /African relationship revealed. Such nexus was bolstered when common grievances were shared, or when individual interests were undermined, as the assault against one's religion. The present work tries to hinge into the Jewish/African racist stands during the Civil Rights Movement. To pursue this, the study undertakes the exploration of three elements. First, it sheds light on the concepts of race, and racism, with a view to identifying the elements that epitomised racial distinctions. Second, it delves into the examination of the circumstances that led both of the Jews and the Africans to migrate to the USA. Third, it unearths the nature of the relations between the Jews and the Africans, probing the factors that triggered both the entente and discord which culminated in the rise of racist stands. The investigation brings to the fore the fact that the Jews and the Africans developed good relations given their common plight of suffering, and that racism and Jewish racist stands were later promoted because of religious considerations. The work demonstrates that attempt against one's culture, basically religion and language, leads inevitably to the promotion of racial tension, and racism.

Keywords: racism, race relations, immigration, ,the Africans, the Jews, .

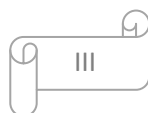
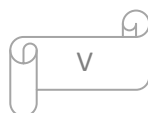


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List of Acronyms

USA: the United States of America

NAAP: The National Association for the Advancement of colored people

UFT: The United Federation of Teachers

JCRC: The Jewish Community Relation Council

SNCC : The Student Non violent Coordinating Committee

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General Introduction

General Introduction

General Introduction:

Since times immemorial, the world had been epitomised by a dual pattern of racial relations that tended to swing between entente and discord. Disparate ethnic groups, living within the same territory or in neighbouring territories, built relations, the length of which was essentially tied with a set of parameters: political, economic, social, and cultural. The temporary entente involved collaboration and the espousing of common objectives when a common interest was felt; whereas the strained relations among the races led to racial dissension when discord over certain issues rose to the surface.

Generally, different groups, encompassing the same territory, resort to alliance when they feel threat from another group in power. In this case, the most common case that brings those groups together is assault against their culture, basically language and religion. The latter have constituted, along human history, a serious part of disagreement and fighting among individuals of various regions, religions, and beliefs. The majority group, hence, gives itself the legacy to exercise all forms of abuse of power over one or all of the minority groups by depriving them of their basic rights. The most peculiar example of this exclusion is the use of racist attitudes, and all what derives from.

The United States of America portray, par excellence, the spot where racism found a fertile land. In fact, racism has been a serious issue since the colonial era. Historically, the country has been dominated by a settler society of a religiously and ethnically numerous European White race. The heaviest burdens of racism in the country fell traditionally upon Native Americans, Asian Americans, Latin Americans, American Jews, African Americans, homosexual and completely different gender preference citizens, and a few other migrant groups and their descendants. The reason for this segregation was intrinsically linked to cultural differences, which by instinct, induced the majority group to disdain the cultural traits of the minority groups . Specifically revealing in this racial relation was the White/ Black, White/Jew, and the Jew/African/binaries. This segregation raised sentiments of sympathy between some minority groups, but, pitifully, turned into racist stands when the interests broke, and when one's identity (religion) was put at stake as was the case with the Jew/African relationship.

General Introduction

The purpose of this research work is to scrutinise the Jewish/African relationship, with a view to assessing the extent to which the entente between the two groups was a frail relation, and canvassing the rate to which cultural traits, above all religion, was determinant in the outbreak of Jewish racist sentiments and stands towards the Africans, especially during the civil rights movement.

To assess this problematic situation, this investigation addresses the following research questions:

- How was the initial relationship between the Jewish and the Africans in the USA?
- How long and how effective did common suffering bring alliance and cooperation between the Africans and the Jews?
- Were Jewish and African racist outlooks a clearly group action, or simply an individual stand of some Jews?

On the light of those questions, the following hypotheses are formulated:

- The Jews and the Africans developed good relations given their common plight of suffering
- The Africans adhered to anti-Semitism because they saw that the Jews were duplicating the example of the Whites in exploiting and oppressing other peoples, especially the Palestinian people.
- Jewish racism against the Africans wasn't a glaring group action
- This racism was essentially linked with religious considerations

The present work has been divided into three chapters. The first chapter deals with the conceptual framework. It hinges into the elucidation of the concepts of race, racism that help clarify the elements that epitomise racial distinctions. The second chapter highlights the history of immigration and settlement of the Africans and Jews to the United States in order to unravel the circumstances behind their displacement, and pinpoint the conditions of their settlement in the new land. The third chapter analyses the relations between the Jews and the Africans, discussing both of the entente and discord which culminated in the rise of racist stands.

General Introduction

Though the topic has been tackled in different studies, but this work rests basically on an objective stand . The current study relies essentially on rational and logic in order to demarcate the impress of religion in shaping race relations.

The undertaking of this research paper was not an easy task, owing essentially to the lack of sources available locally, including both the print and electronic sources. There was, hence, a large reliance on the academic sources accessible on the net.



Chapter I :Conceptual Framework

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1.Introduction:

Historically, people believed that mankind could be divided into distinct races on the basis of their physical characteristics such as skin colour. The idea of racial superiority and ethnocentrism has promoted and sustained racism and subsequent racial tensions. This social phenomenon has been present in every civilization and society since antiquity, yet it was more magnified from the fifteenth century onwards. Racial difference continues to play a negative role in present-day society and remains a complication and emotionally-charged global issue. The aim of this chapter is to explore the concepts of race and racism with a view to elucidating the elements that epitomise racial distinctions. The chapter aims equally at shedding light on the different types of racism and race relation definition also cultural pluralism ,assimilation ,segregation and integration.

2.Definition of Race:

The interrelated concepts of race and racism should be examined separately before their connection is explored as both concepts have many different definitions in dictionaries, as well as in the fields of biology and sociology.

In many dictionaries the word race means a group of people descended from common origins. It is also defined as the division of human beings into groups having different physical characteristics such as: skin colour, eye colour, physical shape, hair type, facial type, and other physical attributes. (oxforddictionaries.com).

In biology, the concept of race means a population sharing commonality in one or more genes because race is associated with biology. Biologists use the word race in two senses: as a group of related descendants, and as a variety. Though they link race with common physical features, they also maintain that there are differences within the same race. In this vein, Fox, for instance, holds: ‘there are more genetic differences among Africans from different regions of Africa than there are between Africans and Europeans’. (qtd William E.Thompson . Joseph V.Hickey.p270).

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By the 15th century, the biological ideas of race developed after the European voyages of discovery in the New World and Africa. According to Montagu, Gloud and Graves, the biological definition of race have always contained elements of morphology (physical traits) (revisesocoilogy.com).

Moreover, biologists applied race to humans as a biological concept of human subspecies.

Sociologically, the term race is one of the most complex concepts. Many sociologists argue that race is a manner of dividing people into groups, sharing physical characteristics or social qualities into categories. It is also used to signify distinct types of humans. According to the sociologists Howard Winant and Michael Omi, ‘race is a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflict and interests by referring to different types of human bodies’ (thoughtCo.com).

The term race refers also to a group of people with different or similar physical traits judged by society to be significant. It means that people treat each other on the basis of physical characteristics such as: skin colour, eye colour, and other attributes. Sociologists consider the lucid clarification of the concept race a difficult task because of the absence of any biological foundation. They view racial categories and significance of race in society unstable, shifting and intimately connected to social forces and structure. Howard Winant and Michael Omi assert here that race is ‘....an unstable and decentred complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle’. In addition to the social significance, race has a political significance too to justify inequalities at all the political levels. Howard Winant and Michael Omi link race to political struggles between diverse groups of people in society and social conflicts (thoughtCo.com).

Several sociologists indicate that racial definition has changed over time. By the 17th century, the term race referred to the classification of human beings upon their physical appearance; whereas in the late years of the 18th century the term race was applied to diversities of human subspecies, and by the early years of the 19th century the scientific theories of race emerged. These theories were used to prove the emerging social order where the white race gave itself pre-eminence over the other races (black, yellow).

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This was primarily due to the fact that the imperial powers (Britain, France, Spain) had easily subdued the subjects of colonial territories in Africa, America, and Asia. Early theorist, Joseph Rather de Gobineau, asserted that humans were divided into three main races: white (Caucasian), black (Negroid) and yellow(Mongoloid). Theorists deemed that white people were more superior and capable than the blacks. According to de Gobineau, the white race possessed superior intelligence, morality and willpower. These characteristics explained their technical, economic and political superiority; while the black race was thought to be the least capable race possessing the lowest intelligence, an animal nature and a lack of morality.

Since the second half of the 20th century, the word race itself became problematic. Although it was used in a general context, it was replaced by less ambiguous and loaded terms which depended on contexts such as: population, peoples, communities, and ethnic groups. In addition to physical features, other attributes were added as sharing the same culture, history, language and customs.

Race in that period came also to be linked with social construction or category, meaning that people learn through socialisation and interaction operations to attribute specific particularity to communities which are classified into different racial categories. Hence, sociologists view race as a product of society and an important category that shapes social life and affects the group's life-chances in a given geographical region.(revisesociology.com)

Though sociologists have given disparate connotations to the concept of race, there is, nevertheless, a consensus in historical and sociological studies of race about the subsequent characteristics:

1.race-based societies perceive designated racial groups as a biologically distinct and exclusive groups, based upon certain physical characteristics (e.g.,skin colour, hair texture, eye shape, and other facial features) which are markers of race status.(American psychologist,2005).

2. They argue that races are naturally unequal and therefore must be ranked hierarchically (inequality is fundamental to all racial systems). In the United States and South Africa, African descendants occupy the lowest level of the hierarchy .

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3.They assume that each race has a distinctive culture behaviour linked to their biology. The idea of inherited forms of behaviour is fundamental to the concept of race and is one basis for the belief in the separation of races (eg. Black music ,Black theatre, Black literature, Black dance, Black forms of dress, Black language and customs).

4.They believe that both physical features and behaviours are innate and inherited.

5.They assume that the difference among races is therefore profound and unalterable. This justifies segregation of the races in schools, neighbourhoods, churches, recreational centres and health centres. They are also against intermarriage or inter-mating between the different races (American Psychologist, 2005).

6. They have racial classification stipulated in the legal and social system .

Race instituted social meaning on different physical traits among groups of people that served as the basis for the construction of the total society. Thus, race has only pseudo-scientific biological significance when applied to human population. Race does not biologically appear in humans, yet the biological sense of race as a biological phenomenon does not exist since it is based on physical characteristics.

To sum up, the concept of race is not subject to a final bounded definition in view of the lack of clarity as to what scientists, and theorists attempt to assess. Scientifically, there is no physical sense or clear definition of what race means. None of the definitions provided by scientists is dominant over another in societies. Each definition shows the significance of society in defining race, and this itself is linked with the beliefs, and norms that govern the society.

3. Definition of Racism:

Racism as a world historical phenomenon is large and diverse that no definition can comprise all its varieties. The concept of racism is much younger than the concept of race. There are various definitions of racism. Merriam Webster's dictionary defines racism as a belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities, and an inherent superiority of a particular race (Merriam.webster.com).

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Racism can also be defined as a prejudice, discrimination or antagonism directed against someone belonging to a different race based on the belief that one's own race is superior (oxforddictionaries.com).

For example, the white people may behave in a racist way towards the black people because of their skin colour, for they think that they are more superior and capable than the blacks. In plain words, racism is the belief that one race is more superior or inferior to another race.

Yet, racism is not solemnly an ideology which can be easily reduced to biological arguments as such. Contemporary racial thought invokes a range of markers of differences in order to construct the stereotypes and images on which racism relies on. One can agree with Goldberg when he argues 'racists are those who explicitly or implicitly ascribe racial characteristics of others that they take to differ from their own and those they take to be like them, these characteristics may be biological or social.(revisesociology.com).

The ideology underlying racist practices often consists of the idea that human beings can be divided into separate and distinct groups called "races" that are different in their physical or biological racial traits, in their social behaviours and innate capacities that can be ranked as inferior or superior. Racial theories have divided human beings into two races of humans: higher races which can create culture (usually the whites), whereas lower races are unable to create culture and are less capable (the blacks).

According to David Wellman, racism is a 'system of advantages based on race This means that certain races (the whites for instance) secure their racial advantages to access better schools, housing and jobs to the expense of other groups (the blacks). He maintains that the association of racism with prejudice does by no means offer a clear definition for the persistence of racism. The latter can only last when it is correlated with power. In this case, it is associated with social phenomena such as: ideology, class. In other words, the binary prejudice/power affects social culture, economic resources and decision-making, leading to the institutionalisation of racist policies and processes. Racism is more than individual beliefs and processes and attitudes. It follows that racism is a fundamental feature of a society either on individual or institutional levels.

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Racism is revealed in peoples' attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, as well as practices and social prejudices that determine worth and power, leading to stereotypes, xenophobia, prejudice, racial discrimination, hierarchical ranking and inequalities. Clearly, it is an aggressive or derogatory behaviour toward people from different races. It can be present in political systems, for example Apartheid in South Africa which was based on racial segregation.

In short, racism refers to any distinctions, exclusions, and restrictions made by the powerful groups over those whom they consider as inferior. Such segregation is generated with regard both to physical and cultural specificities, creating thereby unequal and discriminatory social hierarchy. This furnishes, hence, the reason of abolishing the acknowledgement on an equal ranking of human rights and essential freedoms in any domain of public life . It is now worth examining the different types of racism.

4.Types of Racism:

Racism can happen everywhere, within society and social institutions. It is either overt or covert, and has many types: individual racism ,systemic racism ,and cultural racism..

4.1 Individual Racism:

Individual or interpersonal racism is a set of attitudes, actions, and practices of individuals or small groups of people acting against other individuals in society . It occurs at unconscious and conscious levels, can be passive or active, and it can be expressed both overtly and covertly. It includes prejudice, xenophobia, and internalised injustice. According to Jones individual racism is closely affiliated with racial prejudice . Although prejudice has generally been conceptualised as an attitude, prejudice scales often include items concerning the defining elements of racism (www.urbandictionary.com).

An example is endorsement of statements about innate group differences, the relative inferiority of the other group, and policies that reinforce group differences in social resources (e.g., education or wealth). This means the assumption of the innate superiority of white people and the inferiority of black people. This also benefits the dominant culture at the

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expense of the minorities. Alternatively, psychological models suggest that prejudice and racism are the result of motivations to restore feelings of self-esteem, achieve a sense of superior status or support a social hierarchy that favours one's own social or racial group. (www.urbandictionary.com).

4.2 Systemic Racism:

It is a system which includes public policies, institutional practices and other types of work practices that promote and maintain racial group inequality. These systems result in the exclusion or facilitation of racial groups. Systemic racism persists in all levels of the society such as: schools, offices and workplaces. According to the sociologist Joe Feagin in his book *Conceptualizing Racism*, 'if we conceptualise a social system as comprising all of society's interrelated and overlapping institutions and other social entities, only a small step is needed to take us from an institutional to systemic racism perspective' (Winthrop.D.Jordan.1555-1812).

Systemic racism encloses a large range of white-racist dimensions because the whites think that they are more superior, intelligent, and capable than the blacks in their attitudes, feelings and emotions, thoughts, language, actions, practices and institutions in a given society . It also differs from overt discrimination in that no individual aim is necessary. This type of racism is prevalent in two forms: institutional and structural racism.

4.2.1 Institutional Racism:

It comprises patterns of social institutions for example: organisations, schools, banks, which give negative treatment to a racially different group due to discrimination and inequality. It affects many areas of life such as: housing, wealth, employment and education. It includes also racist acts proliferated by individuals or small social groups governed by behavioural criterions that maintain racist thinking and foment active racism.(www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov)

Sociologists use the concept of institutional racism to justify why people face mistreatment or are given unequal statuses and describe unjustifiable ethnic minority disadvantages in organisations. Also, institutional racism involves the differential effects of

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policies, practices and laws on members of certain racial groups and on the whole group. Institutional racism can develop from international racism (e.g., limiting immigration on the basis of the assumption of the inferiority of the other groups), motivations to provide resources to one's own group (e.g., attempts to limit another group the right of voting power).

It can also grow as a by-product of policies with one explicit goal but with unintended systematic race-based policies which typically are associated with ideologies developed to justify them (Klinker & Smith).

4.2.2 Structural Racism:

Structural racism is a concept which refers to racist attitudes in a society. It is also called societal racism because each society is structured in a way that excludes large numbers of people from different minority backgrounds from taking part in social institutions. Additionally, the concept of structural racism describes the biased racial issues associated with public policies and institutional practices. Moreover, structural racism encourages perceivers to consider widespread factors such as those within an environment or societal context that perpetuate racial inequality (Murphy& Waldon).

4.3 Cultural Racism:

The term cultural racism is used in scientific research to express a specific type of racism which developed from the generally known forms of racism. It is defined as the way in which a dominant culture defines reality to advantage superior races (white people), and oppress inferior races (black people) because they think themselves more capable and more intelligent. It is created upon the idea of a notion as a cultural organism, it conveniently legitimates the exclusion of others on the basis that they are culturally different.

This type of racism shapes norms and values presumed by the dominant society that perpetuates racism. This kind of racial discrimination is related to xenophobia, Islamophobia, Antisemitism and Orientalism.

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Broadly speaking, racism, whatever its different forms, remains a conflicting issue for the world community in general, and for individuals in particular as it unleashes a myriad cases of racial tensions. On the other end of the scale, it gives birth to racial solidarity.

5.Racial Tensions:

Racial tensions refer to the feelings of hatred and aggression that some people exhibit vis-à-vis others. It is generally voiced by the dominant group towards the minority groups (tensions between the light-skinned majority and the minority of indigenous tribes in Latin America) . The most common example in history is the White racist attitude as to the Blacks in the USA which took place in the sixties. In modern times, the contempt is directed by the inner group to the outer group (the immigrants) as the stand of the Europeans vis-à-vis the illegal immigrants from Africa and Asia. Racial tensions are due to a number of factors such as religious issues, and government policies that tend to marginalise some groups to the expense of others. They can also be related to discrimination and prejudice. They may either take the form of verbal violence (insults and abuse), or physical violence (frequently through the use of arms). Racial tensions generate plenty of problems as stress, health complications, and insecurity. They do also generate reactive ideologies as terrorism.

6.Racial Solidarity:

It refers to the actions of solidarity between two or more groups in cases of discrimination, and deprivation. In other words, it is a reaction against all forms of exploitation and abuse by the dominant group (against the minority groups) in the social, cultural, economic, and political fields. It involves a community of interests, feelings, and purposes. This solidarity is shown through the release of manifestos, the voicing of grievances, and the mobilisation of wide membership through the allocation of time, energy, money, and votes for the collective group. The length of ethnic solidarity depends exclusively on the nature of interests. If particular circumstances put the welfare of the group offering help in stake, then the solidarity breaks. Hence, interests, whether philanthropic, economic, social, cultural, or political, are the main drivers either of solidarity between ethnic groups, or a breach in this relationship. A prominent example of this is the ethnic solidarity between the Blacks and the Jews during the African American rebellion against White racism in the USA. Ample details of this will be

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secured in chapter three as it represents the core of the research work. All in all, racism remains a pernicious issue both for the dominant and minority groups. This is why the need for studying, and developing a process for managing race relations has been urgently required.

7.Understanding Race Relations:

Race relations refer to the relations between members or communities of different races within one single country (oxforddictionaries.com).

The need for studying and finding avenues for settling race relations stemmed for the intensification of racial tensions, and the growth of race consciousness. Indeed, racial frictions between people in one single country, over such matters as: housing, employment, education, and other services, create a dangerous atmosphere both for the dominant group, and the incoming groups (immigrants).

In sociology, the sociology of "race relations" that has developed has been preoccupied with two main themes: first with assessing the extent and effects of racism and discrimination upon those who have been its objects; secondly, it is with the political struggle against racism and discrimination (Ellis Cashmore p.300).

The debate over race relations unfolded in a set of solutions for the sake of creating positive race relations. These include immigration cultural pluralism, assimilation, and segregation. Such measures are to reinforced by the decision-makers, the media, and the human rights organisations.(Ellis Cashmore p.301).

7.1Cultural Pluralism:

The term cultural pluralism refers to societies that allow two or more distinct groups to work equally and separately with no assimilation, anticipation or prerequisite of one group to another. is used when a group of people, or an individual, in a large society perpetuate their extensive culture, at varying degrees. It is described as not only a fact but a societal goal. The term is used beyond the humanities and the social sciences, and has been a dominant feature

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in human history. It occurs when the practices and attitudes of society in social, political and legal institutions are determined to respect differences and values of diversity in such a way that social cohesion is strengthened rather than threatened. In that scope, Vander Zanden maintains ‘cultural pluralism occurs when racial and ethnic groups cooperate while still retaining their distinctive identities and life style.(William E.Thompson Joseph V.Hickey p289).

Cultural pluralism often reflects the desires of minority groups to cooperate with others, but at the same time preserve their distinctive cultural heritage. This stems from their desire to emphasise the uniqueness and worth of their identity in the broader context of the social order. They may do so in relative equality, as in Switzerland where the German, French, and Italian communities live together in harmony despite the great differences in language, religion and customs. In many other cases, cultural pluralism reflects tolerance and accommodation on the part of the dominant groups or their attempts to promote ethnic diversity to maintain power by a system of divide and rule (Madden,Charles F.Gladys Meyer, and Madeline H.Engle).(William E.Thompson Joseph V.Hickey p 289).

7. 2 Assimilation:

It can be described as the process whereby outsiders, immigrants, or subordinate groups become indistinguishable within the dominant host society, eventually conforming to the existing cultural norms of society (Cardiff.ac.uk).

This process can be undertaken either on an individual or collective basis. A more recent definition has been given by Alba Nee who defines assimilation as the ‘attenuation of distinctions based on ethnic origins’ (Cardiff.ac.uk).

Assimilation takes place over three generations: it starts first with the immigration generation, then continues with the subsequent generations. Full assimilation may occur with the third or fourth generations, and sometimes more. Yet, it might also be slowed owing to economic, or structural factors, or may simply result from racial discrimination. It occurs in a number of ways (the melting pot). According to Milton Gorden, there are three main types of

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assimilation: cultural assimilation, structural assimilation and, material assimilation (William E.Thompson Joseph V.Hickey p 290).

Generally, assimilation is a problematic topic as it variously focuses on the different debates or arguments with different congregation.

7.3 Segregation (Concentration):

In Merriam Webster dictionary segregation, or concentration, is defined as the separation or isolation of a race, class or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary residence in a restricted area, through the use of barriers to social intercourse, separate educational facilities, or other discriminatory means (Merriam-webster.com).

Segregation is a social system that gives separate facilities for minority groups. It involves the social separation of minority groups from dominant groups within societal law, customs, norms, attitudes, and practices that are rooted within social institutions (education and housing, medical care, transportation). It is a form of institutional racism and it still exists in many societies. It generally applies to the enforced separation of the blacks or colour people by the whites. Segregation has many negative effects on the ‘concentration’ peoples: it inhibits people from fully participating in civil society; it reduces the chances of foreign background children from benefiting from good education, and hampers the mastery of the majority language as there are few possibilities of interaction between the immigrants and the natives.

7.4 Integration:

It is an area of social philosophical and sociological interest. The first use of the concept of integration was by the British sociologist, David Lockwood who coined this term. It can be understood as the standards which associate individuals and groups one to another in a particular society.

According to Durkheim and Hillman, the term integration refers to the inclusion of units to form a higher-level entity . In other words, the different social groups become incorporated through an interaction and exchange process, more precisely by attuning and harmonising values and behavioural patterns, as well as social regulation and norms. (Sonnenberg). The

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ultimate objective behind social integration is the achievement of a smooth corporation that allows all of the partners to socially perform with equality and dignity, guaranteeing the maintenance of peaceful relationships, and community cohesion.

8. Conclusion:

This chapter tried to highlight the concept of race and its by-product racism. The results put into evidence that race is commonly associated with ethnic group, or community. Besides, the term racism does not simply allude to biological considerations, but social considerations are also prominent. Hence, racism involves negative treatment and contempt with regard both to physical (skin colour, eye colour, physical shape, hair type, facial type, and other physical attributes), and cultural features (language, religion, customs). There is a common consensus among sociologists as to the profoundness and inalterability of racial differences given the fact that they are innate and inherited.

Once races get in touch with each other, (through for instance immigration), then the dominant race exercises different forms of racism ranging from individual racism to a wider forms of racial distinction committed by the decision-makers (systemic racism, institutional racism, and structural racism). These types of racism have paved the way for the birth of another form of racism, cultural racism, which tends to exclude the culture of the outer group, and favour the one of the inner group. Nowadays, this has become a frequent issue exemplified by the following trends: xenophobia, Islamophobia, Antisemitism and Orientalism.

The gravity of this problem and the high persistence of racial tensions and clashes have triggered the necessity for settling race relations so that the different races within a single territory may live in peace and order. This has been realised through cultural pluralism, assimilation, segregation or concentration, and integration. Yet, one may doubt the efficacy of those measures in wide countries where different communities commingle with each other, and where disparate interests clash. The United States of America illustrate par excellence this situation. Hence, the next chapter will shed light on the different groups that comprise the USA, in other words an account of the history of immigration in this country will be effectuated.



**Chapter II: Immigration of
the Jews and Africans to the
USA**

Chapter II: Immigration of the Jews and Africans to the USA

1.Introduction:

Throughout times, immigration was conceived as a good expedient for escaping political and religious persecution, and most importantly an important medium for socio-economic advancement. In that vein, the United States represented a land of freedom, protection, security, wealth, and prosperity. The country has become a nation of immigrants par excellence. Thus many races, displaying different cultures, commingled in the same space. This interaction in this wide melting pot was inevitably to develop ties, and break others as the Jew/African nexus epitomised. The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the process of immigration to the United States, highlighting basically the circumstances behind Jew and African immigration.

2.Immigration to the United States:

The United States is a nation of immigrants since times immemorial in view of the benefits it offered as wealth, freedom and security. Immigration to the United States started during the colonial times, i.e the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Following Columbus's discovery of the Americas in 1492, immigrants from Northern Europe (England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Holland, Germany, France and Scandinavia) settled in the land. Most of these immigrants were poor people who left their countries, aspiring to find a safe shelter to practice their religion, and prosperous job opportunities (Immigration in the United States of Americas).

The first colony was established in 1607 by English immigrants at Jamestown Virginia. The Pilgrim Fathers travelled to America on the Mayflower ship and organized the second colony of the Plymouth settlement in New England in 1620. Then, the Dutch followed the English immigrants and founded New Holland in 1623. By 1630, about 4,646 immigrants had settled in the land (emigration info).

Alongside migrants from Wales, Scotland and Ireland, a small settlement of Swedish and Finnish settlers organized a small colony named New Sweden in 1638. The first waves of settlers constituted what was known as the primary great migration, including essentially English Puritans.(emmigration .info).

In the 1670's, a group of German immigrants arrived in Pennsylvania , Virginia, and New York. Drawn by shortages of land, and religious or political persecution in Europe,

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they found in the New World great opportunities for securing large tracts of land, and immense possibilities for enrichment. In the early 1700's, French migrants headed for Louisiana and Arcadia. Subsequently by 1770, their numbers increased to 2,148,076 (emigration info).

See table 1 for more details as to the newcomers and their origins:

Table 1: Immigrants in the pre and 1790 Period

U.S. Historical Populations		
Country	Immigrants before 1790	Population 1790
Africa	360,000	757,000
England	230,000	2,100,000
Ulster Scotch-Irish	135,000	300,000
Germany	103,000	270,000
Scotland	48,500	150,000
Ireland	8,000	(Incl. in Scot-Irish)
Netherlands	6,000	100,000
Wales	4,000	10,000
France	3,000	15,000
Jewish	1,000	2,000
Sweden	1,000	6,000
Other	50,000	200,000
British total	425,500	2,560,000

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Total	950,000	3,900,000
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Source: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_immigration_to_the_United_States

The first major immigration wave began between 1840 and 1880 when new European groups (Irish, Scandinavians, and Germans) migrated to the US. Throughout this era, 10 million folk came to America fleeing poor harvests, political unrest or famines. In one year solely, over 100,000 Irish settled within the US (Immigration in the United States of America).

Most of the new comers became industrial plant staff and helped build the canals and railroads. Scandinavians were farming people who mainly settled in the geographic area of the Midwest. The Germans, too, migrated in huge numbers because of wars and unsuccessful revolutions. It is estimated that about five million Germans had landed in America (history.com).

Several of them were arch staff; they settled in new cities like Chicago. Throughout this era, an oversized number of Chinese additionally migrated to the US and settled on the west coast where they helped to create the railroads. (Immigration in the United States of America).

By the end of the Mexican-American war (1846-1848), 80,000 Mexicans in Texas, California and the Southwest were given American citizenship. The California Gold Rush (1848-1855) conjointly attracted immigrants from Europe, Australia, and China. Immigration was inspired by higher conditions on ships. Besides, steep declines in period of travel time and fares made the voyage across the Atlantic easier and more cost-effective. When the economy was sturdy, these new individuals were typically accepted. (Immigration in the United States of America).

A new wave of immigration began within the late 1880s. Lots of the new immigrants poured into the U.S from Eastern and Southern Europe and from the Mexican States. They enclosed Slavic people like Russians, Poles and Ukrainians, Mediterranean groups like Italians (because of population, poorness and natural disasters within the 1910s), Sicilians, Greeks, Turks and Armenians, and religious groups just like the Japanese European Jews (because of the Pogroms against Jews in Russia between 1880 and 1906). Most of them

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arrived by boat in New York town through Ellis Island. They were poor folk travelling in “steerage”. (immigration in the united states of America).

Most of the new arrivals from Europe settled in the Japanese coast and western cities where they lived in overcrowded slums and unhealthy and unsafe houses. Several did dangerous works in mines, mills, and factories. In New York City, they dug the subway tunnels, designed the skyscrapers and bridges and developed the apparel industry. This new wave of immigration was so phenomenal that within the peak years between 1900 and 1920 the quantity of immigrants rose to as several as 1,000,000 a year (Immigration in the United States of America).

Table 2 illustrates the number of immigrants from 1790 to 1850; while figure 1 shows a detailed description of the periods of peak and decrease of immigration to the USA.

Table 2: Number of Immigrants from 1790 to 1850

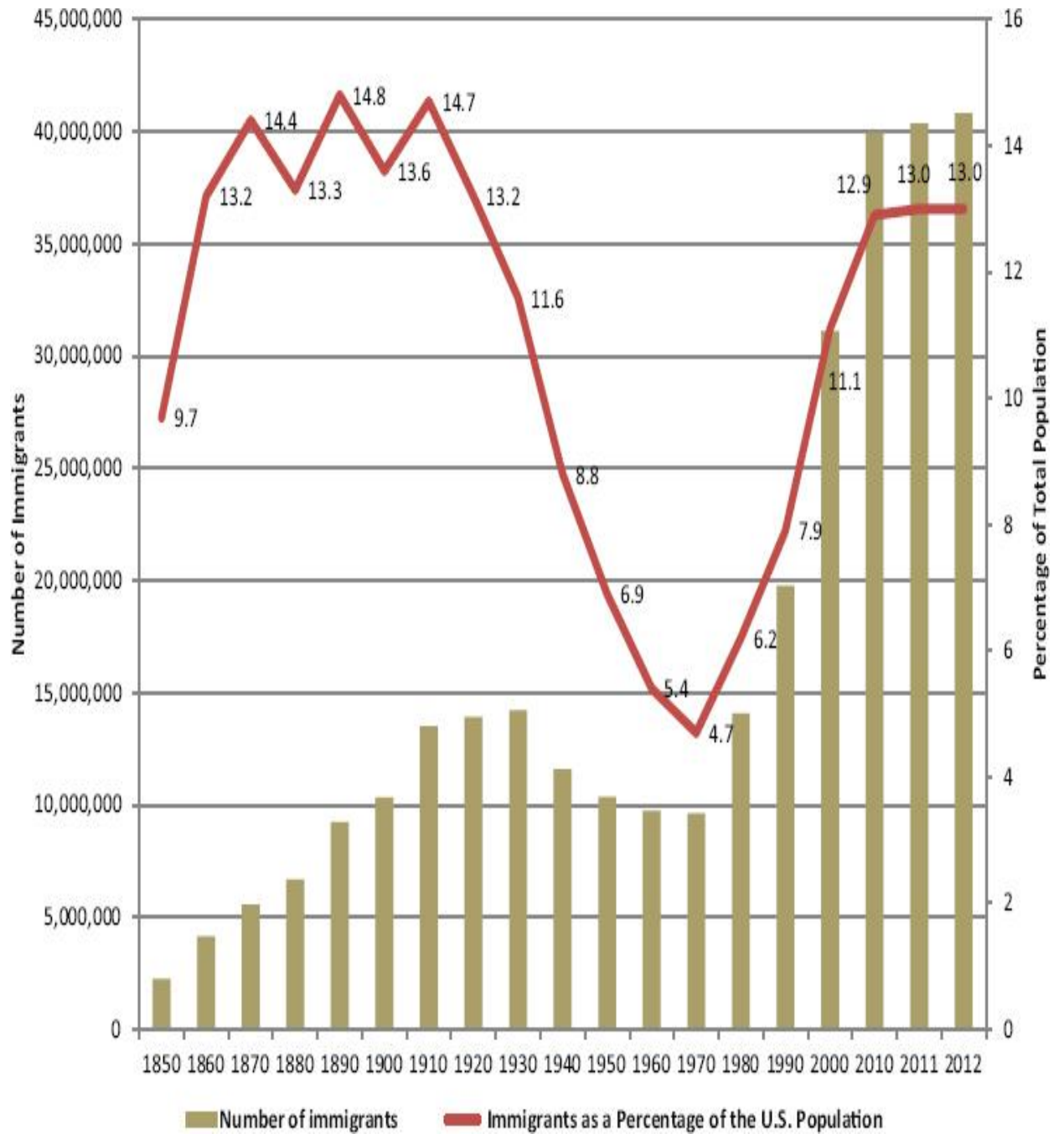


Year	Population	Immigrants
1790	3,918,000	60,000
1800	5,236,000	60,000
1810	7,036,000	60,000
1820	10,086,000	60,000
1830	12,785,000	143,000
1840	17,018,000	599,000
1850	23,054,000	1,713,000

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_immigration_to_the_United_States

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Figure 1: Number of Immigrants in the Period 1850-2012



Source: <https://www.nap.edu/read/21746/chapter/3#23>

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The massive migration to the USA goes without alluding to the large diversity of the races that landed there. This melting pot was inevitably to stir alliances and clashes between the different ethnic groups. One peculiar example was represented by the case of , the Jews and the Africans. In this scope, it would be interesting to explore first the circumstances around the settlement of those peoples.(history.com).

3. Jew Immigration to the United States:

The history of the Jews within the USA has been a part of the American national material since colonial times. Till the 1830s, the Jewish community of Charleston, South Carolina, was the biggest in North America. Within the late 1800s and also the starting of the 1900s, several Jewish immigrants left from varied nations to enter the U.S. as a part of the final rise of immigration movements (see table 2 for the number of Jew immigrants from 1654 till 1900).

Historians have traditionally divided American Jewish immigration into three periods: Sephardic, German, and Eastern European. While the case can be made that during each period, immigrants were not solely of any one origin (Some Germans came during the “Sephardic” period and some Eastern Europeans arrived during the “German” era, for example), the fact remains that the dominant immigrant group at the time influenced the character of the American Jewish community (myjewishlearning .com).

The first group of Sephardic settlers arrived in New Amsterdam in 1654 from Brazil. For many decades after, adventurous Sephardic (Jews descending from the Jews of Spain) and Ashkenazic merchants (Jews who trace their ancestry to Germany and Eastern Europe) established homes in American colonial ports, as well as Newport, R.I., New Amsterdam (later New York), Philadelphia, Charleston, S.C., and Savannah, GA.(my Jewish learning).

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Table 2: Number of Jew Immigrants from 1654 to 1900

Year	Jewish Population	Year	Jewish Population
1654	25	1910	1,508,000-2,349,754
1700	200-300	1920	3,300,000-3,604,580
1776	1,000-2,500	1927	4,228,029
1790	1,243-3,000	1937	4,641,000-4,831,180
1800	2,000-2,500	1940	4,770,000-4,975,000
1820	2,650-5,000	1950	4,500,000-5,000,000
1826	6,000	1960	5,367,000-5,531,500
1830	4,000-6,000	1970	5,370,000-6,000,000
1840	15,000	1980	5,500,000-5,920,890
1848	50,000	1992	5,828,000
1850	50,000-100,000	2009	6,544,000
1860	150,000-200,000	2011	6,588,065
1870	200,000	2012	6,721,680
1880	230,000-280,000	2013	6,721,965
1890	400,000-475,000	2014	6,769,000
1900	937,800-1,058,135	2015	7,160,000

Source: <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jewish-population-in-the-united-states-nationally>

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While the Ashkenazi Jews outnumbered the Sephardic ones by 1730, the character of the American Jewish community remained Sephardic through the American Revolution. Colonial American synagogues adhered to Sephardic ritual customs and administered all aspects of Jewish religious life. The synagogue did not, however, attempt to govern the economic activities of its (mostly mercantile) members. This was a departure from the Old World where synagogues in places like Amsterdam, London, and Recife, taxed commercial transactions, regulated Jewish publications, and punished members for lapses in individual or commercial morality. In this manner, colonial synagogues set a precedent of compartmentalization — a division between Jewish and worldly domains in American Jewish life (myjewishlearning.com).

Colonial American Sephardic synagogues also sought to combine modern notions of aesthetics with traditional Judaism, creating congregations that were rational and refined. Synagogues established rules of order so that services and meetings proceeded with the proper amount of deference and decorum. For example, colonial synagogues assigned seats for male and female members so that everyone knew their place in the congregation. This not only eliminated shuffling and bickering over seating each week, but also established a sort of congregational hierarchy in which the best seats went to the most prestigious congregational families who, in turn, paid the highest dues. In Europe, so few women attended services that there was no need to designate seats; American women, in contrast, regularly attended religious services.

In the 1840's, German Jews began to land in America in vital numbers. The Jews had left Germany due to persecution, restrictive laws, economic hardship, and the failure of movements — widely supported by German Jews — advocating revolution and reform there. They looked to America as an antidote to these ills — a place of economic and social opportunity (myjewishlearning.com).

Prior to the outbreak of the First World War, some 250,000 German-speaking Jews came to America. This sizable immigrant community expanded American Jewish geography by establishing themselves in smaller cities and towns in the Midwest, West, and the South. German Jewish immigrants often started out as peddlers and settled in one of the towns on their route, starting a small store there. This dispersion helped to establish American Judaism as a national faith.

German Jews founded Cincinnati to which large numbers of their brethren flocked. Cincinnati was considered an entranceway to trade in the Middle West and West. It soon

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became the seat of American Reform Judaism, as well as the home of the movement's first American leader, Isaac Mayer Wise and its newspaper and seminary. Besides the reform of Judaism in America, German Jewish immigrants created establishments as vital and long as B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, and the National Council of Jewish women (myjewishlearning.com).

After 1880, Eastern European Jews began to immigrate to the USA in massive numbers. Pushed out of Europe by population, oppressive legislation and poorness, they were forced toward America by the prospect of economic and social advancement. Between 1880 and also the onset of restrictive immigration quotas in 1924, over 2 million Jews from Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Romania came to America. Once again, the character of American Jewry was reworked because the eastern Europeans became the majority.(myjewishlearning.com).

Those immigrants tended to settle in the poorer neighborhoods of major cities. New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Chicago, for example, all featured Jewish sections by the turn of the twentieth century. Living conditions in these neighborhoods were often cramped and squalid. The immigrants found work in factories, especially in the garment industry, but also in cigar manufacturing, food production, and construction. Jewish workers supported the labor movement's struggle for better working conditions. Yiddish culture, in the form of drama, journalism, and prose, flourished in American Jewish immigrant neighborhoods, and the plight of the immigrant worker was a common cultural theme. The Eastern European Jews also brought with them certain ideological principles that would influence American Jewry. Many of the workers supported socialism or communism as a means of securing economic and social equality. In this manner, the Eastern Europeans established a strong link between American Jews and liberal politics.

Large-scale Jewish immigration to the United States ended in 1924. Still, the contemporary American Jewish community remains very much a product of these founding groups. Let us now consider the context for African immigration to the USA.

4.African Immigration to the United States:

African immigrants within the USA come from almost all regions in Africa and do not constitute a homogenized group. They include peoples from completely different national, linguistic, ethnic, racial, cultural and social backgrounds. As such, African immigrants are

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distinct from African Americans, several of whose ancestors were involuntarily brought from West Africa to the USA by means of the Atlantic slave trade.(en.m.wikipedia.org).

People who trace their ancestry to Africa constitute America's second largest racial minority. In 2000, U.S. Census Bureau recorded around 35 million African Americans, or slightly more than 12 percent of the total population. (William E. Thompson Joseph V. Hickey p294).

Some early settlers (like many whites) arrived in the country as indentured servants ; others were classified as slaves .The first slaves landed in North America (Puerto Rico) in 1519. Prior to the end of the slave trade, about 10 million slaves had been deported from Africa to the Western Hemisphere, with 360,000 settling in the USA. Evidently, those slaves were forced to migration to satisfy the rising demand for cheap labour. Forced migration, hence, preceded the formation of the United States, with the blacks constituting an important population. In the 1660s, laws were passed that made blacks slaves for life, and children who were born to a slave woman became slaves regardless of their father's race (William E. Thompson, Joseph V. Hickey 294).

In the course of time, the African slaves endured very harsh conditions in the white American plantations with long hours of work, and bare food. Those who tried to rebel against their masters, or fled were severely punished. (William E. Thompson Joseph V. Hickey p.94).

Voluntary immigration of the Africans to the USA started only in the nineteenth century. The first voluntary black migration from Africa originated from Cape Verde in the 1880's, and this was linked with commercial whaling. In 1863, in the midst of the Civil War , president Lincoln issued the Emancipation proclamation which freed all slaves in the confederate territory . Two years later ,near the end of the war ,the Congress approved the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution, which outlawed involuntary servitude everywhere in the nation . Subsequently, the end of the slave trade reduced immigration to the USA, and it was not until the end of the twentieth century that African immigrants started to make their way to the country. (William E. Thompson Joseph V. Hickey p.294).

For the 4 million or so former slaves ,however ,the dream of freedom in America was brief .By the turn of the century ,southern vigilante terrorism and Jim Crow laws produced two societies: a white society of privilege and power ,and a black society of " utter

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destitution in money, knowledge and rights " (William E.Thompson Joseph V.Hickey p. 294).

In the south, blacks were barred from voting, using public facilities, attending schools with whites, and associating with whites for reasons other than economic necessity. Politically disenfranchised and facing grinding poverty and violence, many blacks voted with their feet. Although this way of voting was not convenient in comparison with casting a ballot at a local polling place, it nevertheless had several advantages as assuring people of getting what they voted for. The most direct benefits were the acquisition of more information, and the realization of wiser decisions (William E.Thompson, Joseph V.Hickey 294).

In 1900, 90 per cent of blacks lived in the south most on farms and in rural communities. Their life conditions were extremely harsh. Over the next few decades , more than 4 million blacks pushed north to cities to find work in factories ,educate their children, and regain their political rights (William E.Thompson Joseph V.Hickey p. 294).

Their efforts culminated later in the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), organized in 1905 by sociologist W.E.B.DuBois and other black leaders.(William E.Thompson Joseph V.Hickey p.294).

African Americans took a major step in securing their constitutional rights in 1954 when future Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall and others challenged segregated schools in *Brown v .Broad of Education of Topeka, Kansas* and won. The Civil Rights movement in the 1960s added to these gains. On the surface, black progress was dramatic especially in the political arena (William E.Thompson ,Joseph V Hickey 294). In 1964, there were only about 170 black elected officials in the United States. In 1988, there were almost 7,000 (Beeghley 369).

Today ,there are more than 250 black mayors , and blacks head America's largest and most influential cities .Blacks also have made important gains in government ,possibly the most significant being the appointment of general Colin Powell as head of the joint chiefs of staff and secretary of state .For many Americans, though, black celebrities such as Bill Cosby and Michael Jordan are the strongest proof that discrimination is largely a thing of the past and that members of any race can make it if they are willing to put forth the effort (William E.Thompson,Joseph V.Hickey 295).

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Most sociologists agree that over the last three decades civil rights legislation and affirmative action programs have helped narrow but have not closed the gap between whites and blacks in terms of income, average years of schooling, and more equal opportunities (Willie, 1990). (William E.Thompson Joseph V.Hickey p.295).

All in all, African immigration to the United States of America was initially done through forced migration of thousands of blacks who were destined to work as slaves in the white American plantations. Voluntary African migration started subsequently, by the end of the twentieth century, bringing both categories of immigrants (forced and voluntary) in the stream of a life marred by a great rate of white racism. (history.com).

5.Conclusion:

Both the Jews and the Africans flocked to the United States of America, as many other peoples, because it was a land of opportunity, wealth, security, and freedom. The Jews considered America as an antidote to their ills, notably political and religious persecution, and economic hardships. As to the Africans, though they had initially been forced to migration, they migrated later voluntarily to secure a better life. In the course of time, the two groups found themselves in a large melting pot where they had to find their place. The two races endured at first certain difficult conditions, to which they responded by the organisation of labour movements for the betterment of their plight. This context of common grievances was inevitably to stir alliances between the Jews and the Africans This point will be tackled in the next chapter.



**Chapter III: Racist Stands
in Jewish African Relations
in the USA during the 20th
Century**

Chapter III: Racist Stands in Jewish African Relations in the USA during the 20th Century

1.Introduction:

The United States is a multiracial society where racism scores high in terms of the issues that marred and continue to mar peoples' lives. The Jewish African relations represented an aspect of this challenge though not so much pronounced as the White racist attitude vis-à-vis the Blacks. Though the former were vowed to collaboration and harmony during the Civil Rights Movement, the affinity between the Jews and the Africans later drifted to frictions signified by racist stands and widely publicized conflicts. The aim of this chapter is to delve into the relations between the Jews and Africans, with a view to elucidating the problems over which the clash and the racist attitudes developed. Since the study concerns the Africans who had been naturalised, they will, hence, be referred to as African Americans.

2.Jewish-African American Relations in the USA:

The African-American and Jewish communities in the United States had a long history of cooperation and tension. To an extent, African-American and Jewish individuals came into contact through the the Atlantic Slave Trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the crux of their relationship had been mostly ideological because the two groups bonded as fellow minorities. For their part, African Americans sympathized and associated with the history of the Jewish individuals facing oppression in each of Egypt and Europe. African-American spirituals and slave songs such as “Go Down, Moses” replicate these ties.(northerncity.library.temple.edu)

Similarly categorised as racial others, several American Jewish immigrants associated with the plight of African Americans also. Amidst waves of massive Jewish immigration to the USA and also the initial migration of African Americans to the urban North, the end of the nineteenth century progressively brought the two communities together and arranged the inspiration for a more complicated relationship that might develop and evolve over the course of the 20th century (Schroeder).

By the early twentieth century, both of Jewish and African-American communities were organized socially and politically to combat anti-Semitism and racism severally. Finding several parallels in their quests for equality, the two communities began work together on common interests. As an example, four distinguished Jewish activists signed

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the national decision that led to the foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured people, and from 1914 to 1975 the chair of the NAACP's executive Board was Jewish. African Americans and Jews additionally worked together in various alternative activist organizations, from the Urban League, the Trade Union Movement, to the Communist Party.(northerncity.library.temple.edu).

In northern cities, African-American and Jewish communities were connected through business and social relations and sometimes lived within the same neighbourhoods, as African Americans faced less resistance once entering into predominately Jewish areas.(northerncity.library.temple.edu).

However, as some Jews became upwardly mobile, several were affected to a lot of prosperous neighbourhoods. As they were removed of neighbourhoods like North Philadelphia, the Jews maintained rental properties in these areas and progressively interacted with African Americans as shopkeepers, employers, and landlords. Thus, as the increase of the modern civil rights movement helped unite the two groups towards a common purpose, tensions were usually evident at the neighbourhood level. (northerncity.library.temple.edu).

During World War II, the black press supported the war effort through the “Double V Campaign” for victory over Nazism and against racism reception. The African-American community's well-publicized recognition of Jewish oppression at the hands of Nazi Germany propelled support for the war, as well as support for the Jewish people.(northerncity.library.temple.edu).

In turn, Jewish community leaders and organizations lent their support for securing “victory at home” for African Americans whose civil rights remained curtailed within the post-war years. Throughout the landmark Supreme Court case *Brown vs. Board of Education*, which outlawed public college segregation and declared that “separate however equal is inherently unequal.” the NAACP enjoyed the support of major Jewish organizations like the American Jewish Committee and also the American Jewish Congress. United by opposition to the religious intolerance and racism of the ku Klux klan et al, Jewish and African-American organizations worked to promote intergroup tolerance. (northerncity.library.temple.edu).

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Additionally, several members of the Jewish community worked with African Americans on the front lines of civil rights campaigns, encompassing Freedom Summer.(northerncity.library.temple.edu).

In June 1964, the murder of the black activist, James Chaney, and Jewish activists, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, who were operational to register African Americans to vote in Mississippi, shocked the state and garnered national attention for the civil rights movement. A month later, President Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibited discrimination based on “race, colour, religion, or national origin” in employment practices and public accommodations, marking a vital accomplishment for both of the Jewish and African-American communities.(northerncity.library.temple.edu).

However, in spite of such progress, the relationship between the two groups became unsettled, as new dynamics within the civil rights movement began to take hold. By the mid-1960s, the civil rights movement’s focus on non-violence was giving way to a more militant approach. Within the Black Power movement, activists highlighted tensions between Jewish and African-American urban communities that had existed for decades.(northerncity.library.temple.edu).

In addition, some black activists drew attention to the fact that while Jews had held leadership positions within civil rights organizations for decades, the same was not true for African Americans within Jewish organizations. At this time, some organizations, such as the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), began to exclude whites, including Jews, from their leadership ranks and in some cases even excluded them from the organization entirely. The race riots that plagued the urban North throughout the latter half the 1960s further frayed relations between the two groups, as African-American rioters vandalized and looted Jewish-owned businesses.(northerncity.library.temple.edu).

In the wake of the 1964 Columbia Avenue riots in North Philadelphia, some Jewish merchants accused African Americans of targeting their businesses and argued that the riots were actually an anti-Semitic pogrom, while African Americans responded with charges of racism from Jewish shopkeepers and landlords. (northerncity.library.temple.edu).

Other observers, including the journalist Lenora Berson, who wrote a report on the Columbia Avenue riots for the American Jewish Committee, pointed out that the rioters

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were targeting all white-owned businesses, not just Jewish ones. In response, organizations like the Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC) and the black-led Citizens Emergency Committee of North Philadelphia attempted to mediate between the two groups and encouraged them not to abandon their joint work on civil rights. (northerncity.library.temple.edu).

3.Tensions in Black-Jewish Relations:

There is a long history of black-Jewish partnership within the American civil rights movement, and even as long a history of tension and misunderstandings. From the beginnings of organized civil rights activism during the early 20th century, Jews were prominent leaders, participants, and financial backers of the Movement, counting among the founders and supporters of organizations like the NAACP and also the National Urban League. On the judicial path toward the advancement of civil rights, the Jews played vital roles as lawyers and judges. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

American Jews had often felt a kinship with African Americans, based on shared minority status and the cultural memory of slavery (albeit a much more immediate history for African Americans). In the mid-20th century, certain conditions contributed to this sense of identification. The recent history of the Holocaust made many American Jews more attuned to discrimination and racism and more committed to opposing it. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

In addition, the widespread postwar financial success of American Jews bolstered their confidence that the American ideals of equality and meritocracy from which they had benefited could also work for African Americans, not realizing that anti-black racism made the African American experience significantly different from the Jewish case. For their part, some African Americans, who drew strength from biblical stories of slavery and God's redemption and witnessed Jews' active commitment to civil rights, also saw Jews as partners in their struggle.

At the same time, latent tensions always existed between the two communities. The causes of tension in Jewish and African relations could be tied to the circumstances cited below:

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1. As black intellectuals shifted from individuals striving for success to a greater preoccupation with collective identity and group goals, antagonism toward Jews increased. During the civil rights era, both Jews and blacks had shared a vision of integration and assimilation into American society based on merit, but, over the years, they diverged in their strategies for advancement: Jews pursued objective and merit-based selection in education and occupations, whereas blacks supported affirmative action policies as a way for redressing historical discrimination. (qtd Collaboration and Conflict Five Phases in Jewish and Black Relations).
2. Class differences between Jews and blacks were and continued to be important. Although for a fair length of time, Jews had not represented a majority of grocers and slum landlords, their past activities in those positions, and their shared interests with and values of the dominant white population continued to make them a symbol and focus of resentment by blacks.(qtd collaboration and conflict five phases in Jewish and black relations).
3. Over the years, Jews had experienced social and economic success. Their acceptance permitted their open support of Israel's policies. The confluence between the geo-political interests of the United States and the emotional positions of some factions of the American-Jewish community had provided some influence to the latter. Most blacks were either indifferent to Israel or were direct supporters of the Palestinians. That had been and continued to be a major source of tension between the two groups. Cruse amplified this point by stating that tensions between African-Americans and Jews were "a clash of two ideologies-Black Nationalism and Zionism" (qtd collaboration and conflict five phases in Jewish and black relations).
4. Some blacks revealed a kind of religious intolerance towards Jews and vice versa. For example, fundamentalist blacks rejected Jews as "killers of Christ", and Muslims viewed Israel and its American Jewish supporters as enemies of Islam. Fundamentalist Jews and the Orthodox viewed secular Jews and Gentiles including blacks in negative terms, notwithstanding the group in Israel of black Jews from Ethiopia, and a small black Jewish community in America.(qtd collaboration and conflict five phases in Jewish and black relations).

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5. Because neither blacks nor Jews were willing to repudiate the ethnocentrism of their more extreme members, both became angry: Jews because blacks did not condemn Louis Farrakhan who was prominent African-American religious leader and black activist and blacks because the Jews were unwilling to criticize the right wing policies of Israel. As Friedman wrote: "Neither group has been eager to wash its dirty linen in public; both have been inclined to emphasize unity within the group against the hostility of the outside world" (qtd Collaboration and Conflict Five Phases in Jewish and Black Relations).

6. At a psychological level, blacks envied Jewish economic success and expressed resentment towards Jews as "one underdog to another who has made it in America" (Lerner & West 151). Jews might have envied African Americans' creativity, prowess in sports, and at times, their moral voice. These feelings might have reflected a form of "sibling rivalry," and like that in families, suggested a certain ambivalence since admiration was embedded in the tension. Each group believed the other did not honour or respect the uniqueness of their "suffering." Since the Second World War, Jews had been preoccupied with bringing attention to victims of the Nazi Holocaust; whereas African Americans had been more concerned with their own victim hood than with the Holocaust, and wished to unearth the history of their own Diaspora and genocide which received less "coverage." Blacks considered that only Jews who were in concentration camps suffered equally with them. Similarity of experience was not shared experience. Some blacks felt that Jews used their historical suffering to give themselves identity and status as victims, and then used these as credentials to offer empathy to blacks (Lester 173). (qtd collaboration and conflict five phases in Jewish and black relations).

7. At another psychodynamic level, Cornel West speculated that Jews might be associated with the Freudian "Ego"; i.e., the principle of critical intelligence and delay of gratification, while blacks might be associated with the "Id"; i.e., the pleasure-seeking principle (qtd. Lerner & West 138). For a successful relationship, each group had to acknowledge the qualities of the other. (qtd collaboration and conflict five phases in Jewish and black relations).

These tensions generally took specific forms: public anti-Semitic statements among African Americans and anti-black statements among Jews. Jews usually felt significantly betrayed by African American anti-Semitism, arguments that blacks ought to be more generous given Jewish support of the Civil Rights and that African American leaders ought

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to quickly and roundly condemn expressions of anti-Semitism in their community once such statements were created (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

The latent tensions became more prominent within the Civil Rights Movement as it moved north and into the cities within the mid-1960s. In the South, Jews – despite having white privilege, clearly did not have identical power as other whites. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

In the North, Jews did not appear as totally different from alternative whites, and were usually those who wielded the foremost power in black neighbourhoods. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, that investigated the causes of the 1967 race riots, found that Jews owned about 30 minutes of the stores in black neighbourhoods like Harlem and Watts which several of the biggest stores were owned by Jews and had Jewish-sounding names (Jonathan Kaufman 137).

The mid-1960s also brought a shift among the Civil Rights Movement from a focus on integration and alliance-building to one of separatism. In 1966, SNCC and other radical civil rights groups made Black Power the new basis of their activism, calling for racial pride among African Americans and black self-determination within the Civil Rights Movement. Proponents of Black Power observed that blacks could not accomplish true freedom unless they led the movement themselves; otherwise whites would preserve a degree of power and authority over them. They emphasised the necessity for black self-sufficiency, as well as black cultural pride and inspired white activists to work on their own problems. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

These ideas were not entirely new; Malcolm X – influenced by his conversion to the Nation of Islam, a black separatist religious sect – had advocated a platform of separatism in the early 1960s. By the late 1960s, however, Black Power had essentially modified the structures and assumptions of the Civil Rights Movement and had inspired new organizations, like the Black Panther Party, as well as a new wave of "Afro-centrism" in African American culture. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

The Six Day War provided another spur to black-Jewish tension. After Israel's shocking military triumph in June 1967, several American Jews experienced a surge of pride in Israel, an underdog nation that had succeeded in becoming a power to be reckoned with, and felt a new or renewed commitment to Zionism.. Likewise, some African

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Americans also saw the Jewish state as a model for traditionally oppressed individuals empowering themselves. At an equivalent time, several civil rights activists began to develop a lot of vital approaches to Israel, identifying with the Palestinians as an oppressed group seeking self-determination, and castigating Zionism as a colonial, racist movement group seeking self-determination, and castigating Zionism as a colonial, racist movement. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

These tensions around Zionism came to a public head in 1977, once Andrew Young, a civil rights activist and also the first African yank Ambassador to the United Nations, met in secret with representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization. This meeting sparked an uproar within which Jews were prominent among people who loudly condemned Young, and that resulted in president Carter asking Young to resign, that he did. Several felt that Jews had forced his resignation.(jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

Another symbolic rupture in black-Jewish relations was the contestation round the decentralization of Brooklyn's Ocean Hill-Brownsville colleges in 1968. The town of New York had projected the decentralisation of the college system by breaking it into neighbourhood districts to be run by community boards. This could offer parents a stake in their children's colleges and make the colleges accountable to them. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

Ocean Hill-Brownsville a majority African American community was one of the three districts chosen to check decentralization. Parents, with the support of white teachers led by Sandra Feldman, a Jewish member of the United Federation of teachers (UFT) union, had already been organizing in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and supported the decentralization plan. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

The tensions around decentralization focused primarily on the question of whether or not the community board had the power to hire and fire teachers with no regard to the teachers' union's system of due process. Although the issue was concerning district decentralization and administrative protocol, the situation came to be understood as one that pitted African American interests against human interests. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

The reason behind this was that parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville were involved by the very fact that the teachers were overpoweringly white and also the students

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overpoweringly black and Puerto Rican. In 1967, about two-thirds of New York teachers, supervisors, and principals were Jewish (Kaufman p. 137).

The community board needed a lot of non-white role models for the students. In 1968, after months of tension between teachers and parents, the community board dismissed 19 teachers and administrators whom they perceived as most hostile to the decentralization experiment. The teachers' union, UFT, voted to go on strike till they were reinstated. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

Another educational issue that divided some blacks and Jews in the 1970s and beyond was affirmative action. Several Jews were wary of affirmative action programs for many reasons: having benefited from meritocracy, they believed powerfully in individual benefits because the basis of equality of opportunity; that they had negative associations with any program that smacked of quotas, that traditionally had been used to exclude Jews from colleges, clubs, and workplaces; and that they perceived that Jews would not have the benefit of policies that gave preferential treatment to African Americans over whites. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

The case of Marco De Funis, a white Jewish man, highlighted the Jewish perspective on this issue. In 1971, De Funis was denied admission to the University of Washington School of Law. He brought a suit against the college claiming that he had been the target of discrimination as a result of alternative students with admission scores below the cut-off had been admitted whereas he had not. The initial trial was in De Funis' favour (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

However the Supreme Court of Washington reversed the decision. As a result of De Funis was Jewish and affirmative action already a heated issue within the Jewish community, the case attracted a good deal of attention from Jewish organizations and also the Jewish press, with a variety of viewpoints expressed both in favour and in opposition to affirmative action policies. In 1974, the case came before the Supreme Court and organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League submitted briefs supporting the original decision. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

Over the years, other incidents, such as Jesse Jackson's off-the-record relevance to New York as "Hymietown", during his 1984 presidential campaign, and also the riots between blacks and Jews within the heavily Hasidic and West Indian Crown Heights neighbourhood

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of Brooklyn in 1991 provoked in Jews a mix of anger and nostalgia a few perceived "golden age" of black-Jewish relations, and created the subject of black-Jewish relations one in every of public concern, addressed in mainstream media. Of course, some argued that there was never a true alliance, simply a checkered history of connections and collaborations. But for some blacks and Jews, this history of cooperation led to higher expectations concerning their relationships with other whites, and once those expectations were not met, the disappointments on either side were even sharper. (jwa.org/teach/livingthelegacy).

3.The Politics of Relations between Jews and Africans:

Political relations between blacks and Jewish political agencies warmed more because the modern civil rights movement gained real force. The two communities had got to know each other through common work. Their organizations had become largely desirable allies as their earlier successes brought increased membership, stronger finances, and larger political access. And that they shared a set of liberal values, as well as bringing change among the existing system; employing moderate, non-confrontational techniques in doing so; a commitment to the centrality of individual rights instead of privileges bestowed by membership in a group; and a conviction that it had been the obligation of government to foster equal opportunity. They advocated litigation, education, and legislation to bring on equality, evidenced, as an example, within the American Jewish Congress's new Commission on Law and social action.(The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews . Clayborne Carson).

The existence of the so- called black-Jewish alliance is troublesome to clarify, therefore, given the reoccurring public disputes and therefore the persisting pessimism concerning future ties. The historical perspective showed that the quarrels would continue, for those that became ritualistic .A typical controversy began with a controversial statement or action by a person, which was then condemned in public by Jewish leaders as a sign of increasing black anti-Semitism.

The initial stimuli for past crises in black-Jewish relations were usually statements by obscure people ;yet the intelligible need of Jewish leaders of exposing black anti-Semitism had the impact of transforming obscurity into notoriety .

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The 1967 associate degrees-Israeli statement of many people in the SNCC was published in an irregular news report sent to many hundred supporters ,most people who were close to SNCC ,first learned of it in morning newspapers .In 1968 a high school student's anti-Semitic poem was heard by few listeners of a public radio program before it absolutely was widely publicized by New York teachers' union officials who were embattled with black community control advocates (The politics of relations between Africans-American and Jews. Clayborne Carson)

In 1993,a speech delivered to students at Kean College of New Jersey by Khalid Muhammad ,a little-known minister of the nation of Islam, was reprinted in *the New York Times* , thereby stimulating a controversy that remained within the news for months afterwards .For many Jewish commentators ,these events were used as proof that some black leaders harboured anti-Semitic feelings which others were unreliable friends who were reluctant to stand up to the black anti-Semites .For many African-Americans, events recommended that Jewish leaders were overbearing in their insistence that black leaders in public repudiated isolated expressions of anti-Semitism over which the leaders had no management.(The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews).

The rituals related to these continual crises in black -Jewish relations had typically concerned person leaders and intellectuals turning to their black counterparts for assurances that never appeared to be adequate .No important African -American leader had ever admitted to being anti-Semitic, however some leaders with negligible followings ,recognizing the advantages of notoriety among alienated blacks ,did not fear that label. Jewish considerations were rarely allayed by the tries of friendly black leaders and intellectuals to distance themselves from anti-Semites. (The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews. Clayborne Carson).

Scholarly discussion of black-Jewish relations had been largely successful in distinguishing the reasons why members of each group worked together on behalf of civil rights reform than in explaining why this cooperation was frequently disrupted. Similarities within the historical expertise of the two groups common expertise of slavery, collective oppression, and minority status in preponderantly white; a less noted however related similarity was that some members of each group had more responsible minority status in American society by distinguishing with the universalistic, egalitarian ideals of the Western liberal tradition. Although, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,

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black and Jews had wavered between integrationism and separatism as methods for group advancement, the spread of democratic ideas in Europe and also the Americas strong the former orientation. Moreover, in the U.S., the two groups were among the foremost consistent supporters of the twentieth-century labour movements and of the liberal wing of the party. (The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews. Clayborne Carson).

Small minorities inside every group played crucial roles within the development of a tradition of leftist social activism focused within the party of the U. S., despite the fact that it absolutely was severely weakened by cold war repression.

One of the ironies of the dispute over SNCC's pro-Palestinian stand in 1967 was that Steely Carmichael and other outspoken black critics of Israel had been influenced by black-Jewish left culture, as were different black firebrands like Mauling Karenga and Le Roi Jones/Amiri Baraka (Kaufman 253-254). (The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews Clayborne Carson).

These historical factors help to clarify the durability of black-Jewish political ties during the period after the founding of the NAACP in 1909; however other historical factors justify the repeated disruptions of those ties. Because they recur regularly, black-Jewish conflicts and controversies can not be understood merely as responses to specific events however as reflections of underlying social, political and psychological realities that were totally different for members of every group .Indeed, African-American and Jews usually reacted angrily to suggestions that their oppression was not unique (Kaufman, p.253-254).

African-Americans were equally disturbed by any equation of their oppression in the USA with that of the Jewish Americans. A common identity as oppressed individuals was less necessary in explaining black-Jewish conflicts than the variations within the historical experiences of African-Americans had followed totally different methods of group advancement and remained internally divided over the extent to that their own interests coincided with those of the other group. (The politics of relations between Africans-American and Jews. Clayborne Carson).

African-American and Jewish civil rights activist had been typically distinguished from other members of their group due to their class and educational backgrounds or their

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assimilationist outlooks. Although among Jews , religious values encouraged a generalized pro-civil rights sentiment ,active involvement in the twentieth-century civil rights efforts continued to be common among secular Jews than among those with strong religious commitments.(The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews. Clayborne Carson).

African-American civil rights activists had also attended be assimilationist, although this was less usually the case because the southern black freedom struggle expanded in scale during the 1950s and 1960s. Responding to pressures from grass-roots leaders and from black nationalists like Malcolm, Civil rights activism became increasingly tied to group goals rather than the ideal of an interracial "beloved community". For black Americans achieving equal citizenship rights was not merely an idealistic goal however also a technique for group advancement.

Although civil rights reform was not the only objective of black African-Americans that to those of Jewish Americans ,both blacks and Jews had experienced discrimination ;Although European pogroms and also the Holocaust of World War Two formed fashionable Jewish-American identity ,African-Americans were more affected by a tradition of overt and sometimes terroristic racism in the USA.(The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews Clayborne Carson).

The anti-Jewish sentiments control by several Americans are quite totally different from anti-black ones .but the impact of anti-Jewish sentiments on American Jews had never been corresponding to the institutionalized discrimination encountered by black Americans. Jews in America have not been forced to depend on special governmental protections of their citizenship rights .Until recent decades ,there has been little inclination on the part of Jews to use federal legislation as a direct weapon against anti-Semitism ,which rarely affects the life possibilities of Jews and has no considerable impact on national policies affecting Jews as a group.(The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews Clayborne Carson).

Hence, African-Americans and Jewish-Americans worked closely together in these civil rights efforts, but the success of those efforts affected the lives of black people more than the lives of Jewish- Americans; despite the centrality of civil rights in African-American

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politics, the success or failure of civil rights reform efforts depended upon the support of non-black.

As the civil rights movement expanded and become progressively militant after 1955, however, both black and Jewish civil rights activists faced new pressures from members of their own race who disagreed with the direction of the movement. This was significantly the case once the revival of black nationalism during the mid-1960s, when Malcolm X and therefore the Nation of Islam, gained a following as a result of their strong criticism of the civil rights movement and its integrationist leadership. (The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews Clayborne Carson).

Even before the increase of the black activists accepted the notion that their struggle sought-after over civil rights reform. Some Jewish civil rights' activists in agreement with this conception of the struggle, but the growing stress on economic and political goals exposed variations between black and person leaders over the ultimate purpose of the civil rights movement. (The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews. Clayborne Carson).

The upsurge of black self-interest politics during the last of the 1960s revived well an established nationalist and separatist tradition that had never fully disappeared. Some of the black community leaders who placed less emphasis on civil rights goals than on economic and political goals were themselves products of the civil rights ferment. Black power politics of the post 1965 period was usually depicted as a decisive part of the previous period of black activism, however the black struggles of the first 1960s were catalysts for the emergence of native black leadership who challenged established civil rights' leaders.

Rather than seeing contemporary tensions in black-Jewish relations as exceptional, therefore, it is more accurate to examine them as recurring manifestations of the essential tension between integrationist civil rights activity and present group interest politics. Particularly throughout the years since 1966, black and Jewish civil rights advocates usually were compelled to defend their activities against the charge that they were not serving the interests of their own groups. (The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews. Clayborne Carson).

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Some Jewish civil rights leaders found it increasingly difficult to support black militancy because it moved beyond the ideological boundaries of earlier civil rights efforts; for neoconservative Jews ,a civil rights movement had been supplanted by another movement that was unworthy Jewish support ,because it pursued black rather than Jewish interests, For black militants these changes meant that the civil rights movement had involved into a liberation movement that was more worthy of black support.

Jewish support for black advancement efforts declined after 1967 not only because the blacks affected toward racial separatism but also because the Jews affected toward increasingly group consciousness after 1967 Arab-Israeli war .As a narrowly conceived movement against racial discrimination and intolerance ,the civil rights movement had attracted substantial Jewish support, but black power militants properly charged that the conception of the movement was as much a Jewish creation because it was a black one.(The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews . Clayborne Carson).

During the 1930s and 1940s Jews spearheaded the national campaign for anti-discrimination legislation as American Jewish congress leader Will Maslow once commented ,slightly overstating the case. Moreover, black nationalists from the time of Marcus Garvey to the current had sought-after to displace black civil rights leaders by calling attention to the subordinate role these leaders played in black-Jewish alliance; they also attracted black support by exploiting different assimilationist outlooks, middle class status and their disposition to alienate non-black allies.

The increase of Malcolm X throughout the late 1950s incontestable that a spokesman for a little religious group could revive the moribund black nationalist tradition and attract an oversized following among discontented blacks by being a lot of rhetorically militant than the established national black leaders.(The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews.Clayborne Carson).

In spite of the efforts Malcolm X and his nationalist successors, substantial numbers of blacks and Jews continued to join forces to oppose bigotry and racial discrimination. They did that not because they were impelled to do therefore by the black or Jewish masses ,but because the black and Jewish civil rights activists perceived that their best chance to realize influence in their various communities and in national politics was through political

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activities that would make their assimilationism an asset instead of a liability .(The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews. Clayborne Carson).

Ironically, despite claims by the blacks that the Jews had abandoned the civil rights struggle, and claims by the Jews that the blacks had betrayed the struggle, each individual of both communities consistently maintained close relations and worked together toward common goals. Nevertheless, the political ties between African -Americans and Jews remained unstable because they did not replicate the large disparity of political orientations among each community. (The politics of relations between African-Americans and Jews. Clayborne Carson).

6. Conclusion:

This chapter tried to dig into the relations between the Jews and the Africans in the United States of America. The investigation revealed that those relations were subject to fluctuations, swinging between collaboration and common activism at certain times, to tension, clash, and racial outlooks in other circumstances. The two groups supported each other because they saw that they had the same plight: that of common suffering, mal treatment, and White racist attitudes. They worked therefore together, especially within the Civil Rights Movement, to redress their situation and attain their rights. Yet, this collaboration turned into frictions that could be interpreted through different lenses. First, there were the material changes in domestic and international dynamics that directly affected every group and affected the relations between them. Second, the conflict emerged from incendiary rhetoric and mutual misunderstanding. Black and Jewish relations, thereby, suggest that the two groups remained the foremost dependable sources of support for social change in the United States, while they remained divided,internally and with another ,over future direction of those efforts.



General Conclusion

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Throughout this investigation, different points have been illuminated. Since the discovery of the New World, disparate peoples had drifted to what later was known as the United States of America in search of religious freedom, economic opportunities, and political security. The wide territory became, hence, a grand melting pot where a myriad of races intermingled. Such interaction was inevitably to lead to the building of ties between racial groups around particular interests, and later culminated in their destruction for critical issues.

The Jews considered America as an antidote to their ills, notably political and religious persecution and economic hardships. Indeed, the Holocaust terrorised the Jewish people, undermined their identity, and obliged them to flee Europe. The Africans, on the other hand, had been forced to immigrate as slaves, and later on they immigrated to the USA voluntarily for many reasons as: wars, illnesses, and poverty. They considered America as the land of wealth, freedom, and security.

At first, both communities endured difficult conditions in their lives in the USA as marginalisation, and deprivation. The situation was even worse for the black race as they had been strongly oppressed, alongside with the denigration of their identity. This common plight of suffering drew the two races closer to each other during the twentieth century, especially the civil rights movements. The Jews and the Africans worked side by side to help the blacks gain their rights in the USA as citizens with integral rights. They cooperated with each other in the political domain and fought for the promotion of the two groups' socio-economic conditions. Those efforts unfolded in the creation foundation of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured people. African Americans and Jews additionally worked together in various alternative activist organizations, from the Urban League, the Trade Union Movement, to the Communist Party.

This co-operation, however, turned into friction during the civil rights' era given Israel's encroachment on the Palestinian rights in 1967, and the Africans' open support for the Palestinians. This tension led to reciprocal animosity racist stands. Fundamentalists Jews and the Orthodox viewed secular Jews and Gentiles including blacks in negative terms. Because neither blacks nor Jews were willing to repudiate the ethnocentrism of their more extreme

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members, both became angry. Hence, it was basically mutual misunderstanding over religious matters that produced such contempt.



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