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Sabrina Cusimano

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HATE THEN, HATE NOW :

THE ROOTS OF RACIAL VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

SABRINA CUSIMANO
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Introduction

Hatred. Growing up in Suburbia USA, hatred was something I was not at all accustomed to. I was especially uninformed in the area of racial hatred. My junior high and high school was extremely diverse. We had Indians, Muslims, Koreans, Vietnamese, Jews, Israelis, Blacks, Cubans, Colombians, not to mention exchange students from across the world. Everyone dressed the same, acted the same, listened to the same music, hung out at the same places, shopped at the same stores, and watched the same movies. One could say we had a united heritage - middle class America. There was no place for racial difference because everyone was the same, once you passed skin deep.

My first real experience with racism came with a visit to my father in Louisiana. It was Thanksgiving and everyone was gathered around the television watching a football game. A pass was thrown, but the receiver dropped the ball. My brother screamed at the TV; What do you expect from a stupid nigger, can't even catch a damn ball. He was eleven years old when he made that comment. I talked to my father later about this, saying he should teach his son not to say such things and not to think such things. My father replied "if you lived in New Orleans, you'd feel the same way".

It is one hundred and forty years since the Civil War ended. Racial hatred is hardly diminished in most of the country. It took another hundred years after the war for blacks to gain enough power for the Civil Rights movement. There are still people in the southern states that refer to the Civil War as the War of Northern Aggression. There are few black Senators, few black governors, and few

black businessmen in CEO positions. Black culture is less widely accepted than Hispanic or Asian culture. There is “black” music, “black” television, and “black” movies. What is it that caused such a racial difference in the United States? Much of this difference was fostered after the Civil War. Reconstruction caused turmoil in the South. Segregation was allowed to occur. Tests were imposed to prevent black suffrage. The law turned the other cheek on an entire people. These are the very same people who made the U.S. powerful. Without slave labor, the United States could not have reached such potential at such an early stage. Yet, despite the reality that blacks were the legs U.S. agriculture stood on, black citizens, after the Civil War, were looked down by, and seen as the economic bottom-feeders of, society.

Such racial discrimination can be seen equally as strong in Germany. The Jews in Germany are still seen as outsiders in their own country, much like the blacks in American society. Many Germans do not accept the Jewish people as German, despite ancestral roots. The Jews are seen as an economic burden, but in the opposite view of blacks in the United States. The Jewish businessmen prospered, and so they were accused of taking money from the true Germans. The Jews are viewed as an economic burden from the upper end of the socio-economic spectrum.

What is most amazing is that this racial hatred in both countries caused not only the division of the countries, North from South in the United States and East from West in Germany, but also the most destruction and the most casualties either country had ever sustained. The United States lost over 600,000

men in the Civil War, more than the deaths from all other wars fought by this country combined. Germany lost 6 million men, women and children fighting for a cause of racial purity. It is hard to be pure with the blood of another man dripping off your hands. The justification for the each country was religion, Jews are not Christians so it is okay to kill them, Africans were not Christians when they were brought over on ships, so it is okay to enslave and break them.

Both countries also are extremely prone to violence as a means of solving problems. Since its inception the US has enlisted violence as a cure-all solution. The destruction of Native Americans, the pre-Revolutionary struggles, racial and ethnic fighting in the Jacksonian period are pre-civil war examples of the explosive violence in the United States. The same trends hold true during and after the Civil War. Americans seem willing to shed blood to get the point across. After the Civil War, the South used violence and aggression to achieve their political goals. The same type of history can be seen in Germany. It was a late comer on the European scene so violence was used to gain prestige, power, people, and land. German aggression did not end after the two world wars. Violence remains in Germany today, not in small part due to the very active and growing neo-nazi movement.

The reasons for such strong racial divides can be traced back through history. The reasons can be economic threat or cultural threat. Reasons include fear of the "other" and feelings of racial superiority. Most cultures feel some sense of pride in their unique heritage, but in the United States and Germany, the racial problems escalate past rational nationalism and into a racial hostility and hatred.

Why the United States and Germany have such prominent racial problems is the question I will be addressing in this study.

Chapter One United States History of Race Relations

Race relations in the United States had strange duality before the Civil War. Not only was there the strong slave - plantation relationship that was established in the South, there was also a rather large portion of free blacks in the North and South. In each case, both slaves and free blacks, as their populations increased so did the social unrest among whites. To understand the race problems in the United States, it is very important to examine the restraints on free blacks before the Civil War as well as the harsh environment of the slave society. As can be seen throughout American history, it is when the status quo of American life is seen to be thrown off balance that trouble emerges. This is most defiantly true of black- white relations before, during and after the Civil War.

Along with the ever-growing slave population was the ever-growing free black population across the United States. The growing numbers was a sore spot for white plantation owners, because it was felt that free blacks undermined the authority of the owners. Race relations in the South meant white control of blacks, including free blacks. Whites felt they needed to control all blacks to maintain their society. Over time, the number of free blacks increased as more and more masters manumitted (or freed), their slaves. As the numbers increased so did the fear and rules for free blacks

In 1790 there were 59,000 free blacks in the United States, by 1830 there were 319,000 free blacks living in the United States. This massive growth brought fear into white society. Blacks were the "other" outsiders that were less than human in the eyes of many whites and the increasing number of the "other" caused increased tensions in both the North and South.

The fear of blacks led to numerous laws restricting their movement and overall rights. Laws were passed in many Southern states requiring that blacks, upon gaining freedom, must move out of the state. As the number of manumitted slaves increased, laws began to be passed prohibiting the freeing of slaves all together. Laws were so strict as to keep blacks in the county in which they lived, in many states free blacks were hardly free to move about a town, let alone the country. If caught out side of his or her county, a black would be placed back in slavery. Even in the North, blacks were not free to move around because unfamiliar blacks were considered to be fugitive slaves.

Freedoms for black Americans had hit a high around the time of the American Revolution, but the freedoms enjoyed declined so completely by the time of the Civil War that the line between free blacks and slaves became barely discernible. All Southern states required passes for free blacks. Without a pass, any black person was considered a slave. By 1835 the right to assemble was taken away in most states. Even church services had to be headed by a respectable white minister (Franklin 151).

During the time of the Revolutionary War, free blacks had the right to vote in most states and did with some frequency. All but one of the Southern states

that gained admission to the Union forbade free black suffrage. Tennessee initially instated black suffrage, but it was revoked in 1834. Blacks were never granted voting rights in Washington DC Blacks were disenfranchised in Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Maryland by 1840. In those states that did not outwardly refuse black suffrage, such as New York, requirements for voting were often unreasonable and absurd.

Slavery was originally not an agent of supremacy and hatred. At the time slavery began in the United States, it was being practiced in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Native Americans were the first victims of slavery in the United States. The native peoples were used as laborers until they died of European diseases. Next was the use of prisoners and drunks from England itself. This did not work either because the numbers were too few and white men could easily escape and proved hard to recapture. To fully realize the potential of US soil, thousands of laborers were necessary (Franklin 28). For these reasons, Africans became the unlucky victims of United States slavery. It is not necessary to spell out all of the horrors of plantation life in the American South. Many blacks chose suicide as an alternative to the harshness of plantation life. The country was torn by the argument of slavery. Congress reached stagnation. Nothing could be accomplished but the debate of slavery. Then the South made the infamous step of seceding from the Union. The Civil War began soon after. First as a war to rejoin a country and ending as a war against the oppression of an entire race.

In the midst of the Civil War, President Lincoln introduced the Emancipation Proclamation. The Proclamation freed slaves in all territory that

had seceded from the Union. This was a tactic to prevent Great Britain or France from recognizing the Confederacy. Not only did this move transform the course of the War; it transformed the course of Reconstruction. The Lincoln administration could not speak about restoring the old Union, or speak of allowing the South's prewar leaders and institutions to be reinstated. The proclamation meant a complete overhaul of the Southern economy, race relations, and politics.

During the Civil War, the North experienced large industrial development, while the South had no such experience. From 1865 the United States had the task of retying pre - 1861 industrial, political, and social bonds. There was a triumph of industrial life over agrarian. The South was very behind northern advances. New and improved northern cities boasted industrialism, while the South was a broken down monument to the fading agrarianism.

Society was highly disrupted after the Civil War. The country was still very young, only one hundred years at this point. Not only did the United States have to deal with the four million newly freed blacks, who had no experience with public affairs, the United States also had to deal with a huge flow of European immigrants Who poured into the country and muddied the political waters considerably (Franklin 222).

The tensions of defeat and destruction in the Confederate States after the end of the Civil War made for an extremely volatile situation. Yet Congress and the Union armies did not treat it as such. For most people in the North the issues were cut and dry, the South had lost; slavery was over and it was time for the

rebel states to make post war concessions. Northerners did not help in the attitudes toward the slavery - freedom transition. When lack of cotton production caused faltering in the Northern economy, northern investors became eager to resume plantation agriculture at a time when the price of cotton had soared to unprecedented heights (Foner 26). Even Union troops tried to convince the newly freed blacks to sign often-unfair contracts with their former masters. The North was pleased by the end of slavery, but displeased with the effects lack of the plantation system would have on the northern economy. The North foolishly believed, the abandonment of slavery did not imply the abandonment of cotton, blacks would work more efficiently and profitably as free laborers than as slaves. Rather than immediately acquiring land, they believed the former slaves should work for wages and learn the discipline of the free market (Foner 27). But blacks had very different ideas of how they wanted land ownership to happen. Blacks believed they had earned the land by working on it for two hundred and fifty years, and quickly became frustrated with the unfulfilled promises of land ownership.

The South had much trepidation concerning the reentrance to the Union. The leaders in the South feared that any concession would just lead to destruction of Southern society. Democrats tried to save the South from Republican control in government. But when traditional means of power failed, many resorted to white supremacy groups such as the Ku Klux Klan.

The death of Abraham Lincoln most certainly destroyed hopes for a peaceful time after the Civil War. Lincoln's words in his second inaugural

address show how Reconstruction was supposed to run;

“With malice toward none, with charity for all with firmness in the right as God give us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow, his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations”.

Lincoln's words in this address belie his actions. He supported the ten- percent plan. This plan required ten percent of the voting population of a state to pledge an oath of allegiance to the Union, and at that point the state would be reinstated into the Union and local governments would gain control of the state. The plan, according to abolitionist Wendell Phillips frees the slave and ignores the Negro (Foner 21). It is made clear that Lincoln did not fully consider social changes in the south beyond the abolition of slavery.

The only step Lincoln made, with support of Congress, towards easing societal pressure in the South, was the creation of the Freedman's Bureau in 1865. The agency protected the legal rights of slaves provided education and medical attention, and oversaw labor contracts. The Freedman's Bureau was a beginning for the transition from slavery to freedom. As Foner and Mahoney note

“The transition from slavery to freedom posed difficult challenges for national policy makers and involved wrenching changes for both former masters and former slaves, as both sought to define their place in the post emancipation Southern economy “(p 23).

Unfortunately, the Freedman's Bureau was one of the only positive steps the federal government took towards aiding in the social adjustment of the South. It should be said that the federal government granted equal freedom for blacks but did not grant

them the possibility for equal opportunity in society. After the war, schooling for blacks was legal; children and adult blacks alike wanted to be instructed. It was the blacks' initiative that created black schools. The initiative often lay with African Americans, who pooled their meager resources and voluntarily taxed themselves to purchase land, construct buildings and hire teachers (Foner 44).

Republicans in Congress had no kind sentiments for the rebellious Southern States. It is said that Congressmen delighted in the death of Lincoln because it left Reconstruction in the hands of the Radical Republicans. But Congress was out of session when Lincoln was shot and Johnson, a slave owner from Tennessee, became president.

The ascension of Johnson to the presidency was quite possibly the worst possible turn of events for the future of Reconstruction. Johnson proved incapable of providing the nation with enlightened leadership or meeting the North's demand for a just and lasting Reconstruction (Foner 73). Johnson was not the appropriate man to lead the country through the Civil War Reconstruction - he was stubborn and unwilling to compromise for the good of the country. He himself held very racist ideals. He was a friend to few - he denounced the Southern aristocracy, believed that blacks had no place in the reconstruction of the South, had no concept of how the North felt of the war that had just ended. He allied himself with the poor white farmers of the South.

Johnson had from April until December 1865 before Congress would reconvene. Before December Johnson laid out the plan for Presidential Reconstruction. He pardoned most Southern white willing to take an oath of

allegiance. Those who were not pardoned include Confederate leaders and wealthy planters, most of who later received individual pardons. This oath of allegiance is remarkably similar to the oath of allegiance taken by Germans during the de-nazification process of the 1940's. Johnson appointed provisional governors and ordered conventions to be held in all the former Confederate states. The new governments were given the right to govern as they saw fit. Johnson figured people in the South, poor white in particular, given the opportunity would elect Union yeoman to gubernatorial, legislative, and congressional seats (Foner 75). This, however, did not transpire. When given the choice, Southerners by and large re-elected old Confederate leaders.

Civil War Reconstruction under President Johnson was almost non-existent. Federal troops did patrol Southern cities, but no real efforts to change racial divisions were made. The Klan was very active across the South. Many Klan members were arrested, but very few faced trials, let alone punishment. Civil courts had no intention of punishing violence against blacks. Justice could have been served through military courts, but the government feared fierce opposition from the south and did nothing. "Again the conservatism of the federal government - its unwillingness to depart from traditional civil procedure and incur the charge of military despotism – served as a barrier to justice" (Trelease 384).

Even with the reinstatement of Confederate leaders who were soon back in power, with the end of the Civil War, the South as they knew it was destroyed. The emancipation of slaves changed every aspect of Southern way of life. The

post Civil War era in the South was characterized by a struggle for the 'southern' way of life, the culture that brought a sense of 'national' unity among Confederate states. The South was in constant fear of northern reprisal. Both sides suffered from raw emotions and economic, social, and political upheaval. The physical damage done by the war was much more easily repaired than the emotional wreckage.

The South was terrified by the future before them. They were, or at least they felt, at the mercy of an unfriendly president and an unyielding Republican Congress. The South feared the 14th Amendment; fear of Universal black suffrage, lack of representation in Congress, and a strong doubt that acceptance of the Amendment would stop Northern hatred for the South. Many Northern politicians pressed on for black suffrage in order to prevent old Confederates from regaining their prewar positions of power.

Along with the fear of government actions, the South suffered from a mistaken view of the outcome of the War. It did not see surrender as an admittance of guilt. This problem can be seen again in post war Germany, guilt is hard to realize when neither the South in the United States, nor Germany did not see what wrong they had done. Instead of viewing themselves as the aggressors, both Germany and the South in the United States saw themselves as the side standing up for what was right. The South believed in a wounded innocence and that the evil North was preventing a reconciliation among States. The fear of the North rose as the time after the Civil War dragged on. The South believed that there was a conspiracy in Washington to destroy the Southern way of life.

Southerners blamed Yankees for their strife and openly hated the Union. During Reconstruction, Southerners viewed the blue coated dogs of despotism as a constant reminder of defeat. The presence of Union soldiers often had the opposite effect on those in the South. The South felt like it was still fighting an undeclared war. Examples of this unspoken war are abundant, such as a police officer that received a raise after shooting a federal soldier.

Slavery in the South was much like the reign of Nazi Germany. Slavery was not one aspect of life in the South; it was every aspect of life in the South, as Nazism was in Germany. Slavery was a system of labor, a form of race relations, and the foundation of a ruling class. Like the fall of the Nazis, loss of slavery meant a loss of everything familiar to Southern life and culture, how they lived was essentially no more.

Even though blacks were freed in the 1860's, servitude to whites continued. Congress had passed a series of Black codes. These codes were intended to give blacks an equal part of society. Most importantly blacks were allowed to buy, sell, and own property. Blacks were then permitted to make contracts. They were given the right to be a witness and a juror in a court of law. The "black codes" also gave blacks the right to attend theater, use public transportation and stay in hotel rooms. These allowances were not enough. Blacks were still not a part of society. The codes did just as much harm as good. The black codes required blacks to enter into yearlong labor contracts. They also required black children to enter into apprenticeships and during which; children were subject to corporal punishment. Congress did not break up the plantation

system, the dreams of 'forty acres and a mule' were destroyed, and Congress rejected proposals to . . . provide aid to establish schools (Welsh 468). Any way it is looked at, blacks in the years after the civil war were given little chance to become part of society, let alone advance socially and economically.

Landed whites developed a new system of labor to keep the black sharecroppers dependent on whites. Wages for sharecroppers were so low that a system of indentured servitude ensued. Black sharecroppers need to borrow from the landowners to feed their families, and were therefore tied to their former masters by debt. This system continued the white sentiment of superiority over blacks.

Reconstruction ended shadily. The presidential election of 1876 was marked the end of the Reconstruction period in the South. The outcome of the election was disputed between a Republican; Rutherford Hayes, and a Democrat Samuel Tilden. In 1876, only three Southern states remained under Republican control, these states were; Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. As the election stood, receiving the Electoral College vote from these three states was necessary to win the presidency. Both candidates claimed that he had won in these states. An Electoral Commission was set up to determine the victor. The Republicans held an 8-7 majority in the commission, and Hayes was chosen to be president. The only thing between Hayes and inauguration was a Democratic House of Representatives. Since the North was mainly Republican while the South was mostly Democrat, a deal between the two was struck. The Republican candidate would become president, if and only if, the North withdrew all remaining Union

troops from the Southern states (Foner 134). Hayes became president, thus ending the Reconstruction of the South.

Pulling Union troops out of the South helped mend the relations between North and South, because it allowed the South to once again govern themselves. The reconciliation of North and South was at the expense of the black population. The South used violence and fear to reduce blacks back to near slave status.

The whites had used slavery to keep the black population down at heel, but with slavery gone, a new method of degradation was employed. This new method was segregation, which took root strongly in the South and to some extent in the North. The segregation was established through so called Jim Crow laws. These laws, by the early 1900's, segregated almost all parts of everyday life. Segregation extended to schools (which blacks were allowed to attend during Reconstruction), hospitals, streetcars, hotels, parks, stadiums, restaurants, bars, bathrooms, water fountains, and even exits and entrances to buildings. In death blacks were also segregated; in morgues, funeral homes, and cemeteries. Segregation was a constant reminder to blacks of white supremacy. Blacks were forced to defer to whites in all informal settings as well, and failure to do so could mean punishment or even death. A thousand daily reminders of their subordination humiliated them (Welsh 469).

There was an unbelievable denial of the black cause in government activities in the years after the Civil War. Congress did not pass new laws to defend the rights of black citizens, no presidents forced the upholding of existing laws, and the courts destroyed the intentions of the constitutional amendments

and civil rights acts that were designed to help blacks become part of society. Lack of government action can be easily seen in the presence of the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan was a breeding ground for racial hate and violence - but the federal government for years did not curb their actions.

“Within the traditional federal system, the crimes of the Ku Klux Klan were offenses against state and local law; the central government lacked jurisdiction over murder, assault, robbery, and trespass, and but for the Klan most Republicans would have kept it that way. They eventually did what they had to do in 1870 and 1871, but only after hundreds of Southern Republicans had lost their lives and thousands had suffered lacerated backs and broken bodies or had been driven from their homes and property. The bloody shirt had to be waved for three years before Congress moved itself to significant activity on behalf of elementary law and order” (Trelease 383).

A huge blow to the cause of racial equality was the Supreme Court case Plessy v. Ferguson. Southern states had established vast laws of segregation, as earlier mentioned. The Plessy v. Ferguson ruling declared that segregation did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of equal protection as long as the races were separate but equal. This ruling was absurd, as separate is inherently unequal. Facilities for black were never equal and the social separation of the races continued. With the blacks being oppressed by the over bearing whites of the population. This is not to say that every person believed in racial inequality, but those who did believe in inequality were much more powerful and active than those who didn't.

By the turn of the century, Southern blacks found themselves enmeshed in a complex system of oppression, each of whose components - segregation,

economic inequality, and political disempowerment - reinforced the others (Foner 135). Whites saw black participation in government to be a threat to their supremacy. Between 1865 and 1870 there was a brief period when blacks were able to participate in the political process, both as voters and as representatives.

No formal peace agreement was ever reached and no structure of how society should be based was ever laid out. By the time the federal government retreated from its reconstruction of the South former Confederates had achieved through political terrorism what they had been unable to win with their armies - the freedom to order their own society and particularly race relations (Rable 10). It was the inability of the North to reach a quick and amicable agreement with the former Confederacy that fueled such drastic and violent race repercussions. Withdrawal of federal supervision of Southern life cause black disenfranchisement, gave power to state legislators to rule race relations as they pleased, and resulted in black rural peonage. These repercussions are felt over the next one hundred and fifty years.

Chapter Two - History of Race Relations in Germany

Germany's history shows a very strong predilection towards a fear of outsiders and a threat from those considered not "German". Germaness is defined in terms of nationality, heritage, race, and religion (Jarausch 63). "Germans" are white Christians, with ancestry in the old German states, such as Austria and Prussia. The proclivity for fear and hate can be traced back even before the unification of

one Germany in 1871, and the trend is fully expressed in the actions and thoughts of Nazi Germany during the World War II Era.

Starting back in the 1850's, much of German literature was Anti-Semitic. In popular fiction, authors set Jews against the common German working man, placing the common German working man on a moral high ground - the non-materialistic worker. The Jewish character in fiction was the recent immigrant that swindled his way into a materialistic fortune, with no regard to morals or decency. The portrayal of Jews in such a way reflected the fear that many working class citizens shared. Jobs were being taken away from Germans, by lower wageworkers from the East. The middle class was suffering from a monetary pinch resulting in a social hatred. Jews strove to be part of German society with great commercial success, they were in society but not of it.

College students also reflected this social hatred. In the 1870's college fraternities once open to Jewish membership, revoked this privilege. The trend in school division continued and in 1927 the German National Student Organization voted to include a clause disallowing Jewish members.

Germans felt threatened by the presence of the other in society. Between 1871 and 1910 there was a very large influx of *Auslander* (foreigners) into Germany. A social shift occurred in Germany with many moving to cities or to the United States. The shift in the population spurred on immigration. Polish seasonal workers were brought in to fill the places of those who had moved elsewhere. The news of the success of the Polish workers spread and soon thousands were moving to Germany to find jobs. The large flow of immigrants led

to the 1913 Law of German Citizenship which defined citizenship on the basis of culture and descent rather than where a person lived.

The social hatred turned to political hatred as time went on. The political hatred of Jews gained wide spread acceptance in the 1890's when the German Conservative Party adopted the Anti-Semitic Party in government when it proclaimed the new Tivoli Program. This Program embraced Anti-Semitism and rejected democratic trends in government. The program gave Anti-Semitism respectability and diffused the members of the Anti-Semitic party into more effective and organized avenues of power.

The Weimar Republic gave some hope of ridding government of Anti-Semitic sentiment. The Conservative Party changed into the Deutsche Nationale Volkspartei. This new party had a new image to go along with it - free enterprise, protection of private property, Christian ethics, and a rejection of Marxism and Anti-Semitic thought. But after one year the party was back to its old platform of Anti-Semitism and anti-democracy.

Political hatred and fear can be seen in the assassination of Walther Rathenau. Rathenau was the Reich foreign minister. He was murdered soon after signing the Treaty of Rapallo with Russia, in 1922. He was killed because of rumors that the treaty was part of an international Jewish conspiracy.

One of the reasons behind the massive dislike for the Jewish population was due to the economy. Rapid industrialization caused a break in the social working class. Jewish businessmen were set apart from the common working man - compounding the traditional German Anti-Semitism. The rapid

industrialization was not met with political change, causing a very disjointed society. The mass movement of newcomers into German society led to a nativist reaction. Immigrant workers were cheaper and less demanding than German workers were. Therefore employers were replacing German workers with their cheaper immigrant counterparts. The economic self-interest of the workers caused an outcry of racial purity. The large companies were in favor of the cheaper laborers, leaving German workers resentful of immigrants.

There is no need to repeat the horrors of the Nazi conquest of Germany, but what is important is what happened to the minorities during Nazi rule and how badly damaged Germany was after the defeat in 1945. Hitler came to power because he promised relief from economic depression. He also pledged to restore the pride Germany lost because of World War I. Hitler appealed to the people for his stated desire to return to the old authoritarian ways before Weimar.

The ultimate goal of the Nazi regime was to exterminate all inferior races to clear the way for German settlement. The main target of this attack was the large Jewish population across Europe. But the other victims need mentioning also. Purification of German stock began in 1938. The Nazis adopted a policy to exterminate the mentally ill so they would not perpetuate the illness. In total 80,000 people were killed on the basis of mental health. Other victims include Polish priests and Hungarian gypsies. But the focus of the holocaust was the Jews. In all, six million Jews, about two-thirds of the European Jewish population, were murdered at the hands of the Nazis.

The public discrimination of Jews was all part of the Nazi platform. The

Nuremberg Laws were enacted in 1935, revoking the German citizenship of Jews, forbidding the marriage of Jews "Germans", among other restrictions. The Nazis effectively extracted Jews from public life. They were not to be in the civil service. There was a nationwide boycott of Jewish businesses. Police were instructed not to interfere with violence against the Jews. The Nazis were very thorough in their methods of extracting Jews from society.

The horrors of World War II coupled with Germany's harsh defeat caused the country to crumble. One day the Nazis were in power, and the next day the entire country was occupied by foreign troops. The government that controlled every part of German life was gone, leaving Germany to cope with the physical and emotional scars of the war alone and without guidance. In 1945, Germany was essentially no more. The Nazis successfully destroyed all political and social development in the country, setting Germany back 150 years.

Six million German citizens died from war related causes. Despite the huge loss of life, the millions of refugees coming into Germany caused a population increase after World War II. In 1945 there was a desire to make a better society - to start over. But the basic needs of a citizenry came before the creation of a better society and soon old officials were running the new government. The new, but old, government situation was very similar to the reinstated power in the South after the Civil War.

Chapter Three - After World War II

1945 saw the creation of two Germanys. One half dominated by

communist Russia, and the other half controlled jointly by France, Great Britain, and the United States. The West German half, the half-occupied by the Allied powers, was called the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). In the FRG, Nazism was prohibited, along with swastikas, and the Hitler salute. But in late 1945, Nazi parties still emerged, such as the German Reich Party and the Social Reichs Party (SRP). In 1953 the Federal Court outlawed the SRP, but the Nazi parties reorganized and reemerged in 1964. One of these new parties was the National Democratic Party (NPD) lead by Adolf Von Thadden. This party was part of the extreme right boasting a highly xenophobic platform. His platform was to retrieve the land lost at the Oder-Neisse line and to white wash Nazi criminals.

Denazification of Germany was as muddled as the Reconstruction of the Southern United States after the Civil War. It was decided among the Allied powers, which included the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and France, that there were to be two steps to the process of denazification in Germany. First, there would be the punishment of the Nazi crimes of individuals during the Third Reich. The second step was to extract fascism and pro-facist attitudes from the German population and from political and social institutions.

The trials of individuals were to done jointly by the Allied powers. In 1945 the International Military Tribunal (IMT) began trying Nazi leaders in Nuremberg. The IMT tried twenty-four civilian and military officials of the Nazi regime. The Allies provided the judges and prosecuting attorneys and the defense was provided by German non-nazi attorneys. Eleven men were sentenced to death, eight were given long prison terms, three men were acquitted, and two

committed suicide while waiting in prison. These trials were criticized, not for their sentencing, but because the trials were held only for international crimes. Those guilty of political treason within Germany were left unpunished. Men responsible for the downfall of the Weimar Republic and the rise of Hitler were not even tried in by the IMT. With the sentences of the IMT, the joint denazification of Germany ended. Each zone was left to complete the task as they saw fit.

The Soviet Union used a quick and irrational method of denazification. The leaders of the Soviet Union equated capitalism with Nazism and therefore concentrated their efforts on economic and political leaders in pre-1945 Germany. Russian denazification punished some 45,000 industrial, political, and military leaders. All of those leaders had all possessions confiscated by the Soviet government and one third of these were sent to labor camps in Russia. In all, Russia jailed 67,000 people in their zone of influence. This system of denazification did punish some of the obvious criminals, but left large gaps for former nazi leaders and followers to slip back into society. Former members of the Nazi Party or its affiliates who came from a working-class background could escape punishment with a simple declaration that false class-consciousness had led them to join the Nazis (Orlow 244).

The other three powers did not fare much better in the drive for denazification. The French considered every German above the age of twelve a basically hopeless cause, and therefore focused on teaching the young. The French military government dismissed half of all the teachers. All in all, the

French jailed 19,000 Nazis.

The United States' attempt at denazification was not much better. They put leading businessmen and government officials involved in the Holocaust on trial. Yet Nazi's that were not leaders were more difficult to remove from society. The United States issued Law Number 8, which ordered the internment of thousands of members of the Nazi party. Also anyone with an affiliation to the Nazi party was removed from their professional jobs and enlisted to clean up the rubble from the towns. The United States jailed 100,000 people who were thought to be "dangerous Nazi's" by the end of 1945. By February of 1946, the U.S. began a phase of questionnaires - issuing them to some 12 million adults living in Germany. Answers to these 'questionnaires' classified people as either major offenders, offenders, lesser offenders, fellow travelers, or untainted. Only the untainted would not be penalized (Orlow 245). The United States tried to be effective in denazification, but the questionnaires were arduous to process. Many Germans felt that American tribunals were too harsh and that Americans could not possibly understand the dynamic of living under Nazi totalitarianism. The denazification process turned out to be an ineffective disaster, focusing on 'lesser' Nazis while many presumed major offenders and war profiteers did not have to go through the gauntlet of denazification procedures because they were suddenly needed as senior executives in the revitalized economy. There were bitter comments that while it was important in 1945 to have been a member of the VVN (the Association of Victims of Nazism) it was far better in 1947 to be a WWN, wirtschaftlich wichtiger Nazi - that is, an economically important Nazi

(Orlow 245). This sentiment is almost an echo of the grievances of Civil War reconstruction - soon economic and political leaders were back where they were in the pre-war times, with little or no consequences for any role played in the war itself.

Russian officials did not let any social norms or standards stand in the way of what they deemed necessary reforms. The German three tiered system of education was discarded to make way for the Russian educational system of a 12-year program. Also Russian officials put German communists in charge of changing the textbooks and the reeducation of teachers. France had the most hands off method for revamping schools. French officials sent most teachers to France for a brief reeducation.

British denazification was slightly more effective than the other three zones. British officials were able to identify local Nazi officials and teachers that had only played small roles in the party itself. These people received new training from the British officials and were quickly returned to their positions. The British zone was the only zone to cooperate with the German reformers. The other Allies looked to their own educational systems for models of reform.

After the process of denazification, a process of re-education began. The physical obstacles to re-education alone were almost insurmountable. Many schools had been destroyed during the war. Also textbooks were unusable. Nazis fed propaganda through the textbooks published in German. Besides lack of equipment, adequate teachers became a rare commodity. Most teachers had been members or affiliated with the Nazi party. While Britain tried to work with the

existing system, the United States tried to overhaul it. The U.S. wanted to throw away the German system in favor of a 12-year American - like system. The United States went so far as to use textbooks written by Americans, these texts were barely readable to native German speakers. The overhaul of the system was a failure.

Two Germanys were created after World War II; each side had its own chance to deal with the criminals from the War. The Federal Republic hardly punished those who had committed holocaust crimes. Most were released on legal technicalities. Those who did receive punishment were handled very lightly. An example of this is the one of Dr. Gunter Venediger. He was charged with the murder of four British prisoners of war. For this crime he was sentenced to two years in prison (Schmidt 6).

Germany's Basic Law provides for freedom of all. The large anti-foreign sentiment in Germany has not been appeased by the government, therefore many Germans, especially the youth, are turning to non traditional and often violent means of getting their views aired in society. There is a strange unity in the extreme right movement in Germany, the movement consists of young angry skinheads and an older generation remaining from the time of the Third Reich, an unlikely combination of characters.

Chapter Four - Race Relations in the United States at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

Race relations in the United States continued to be a problem as blacks became more and more a part of society. Separate but Equal was not enough separation for most whites in the United States. The 'other' was still a part of their society, and becoming more and more successful as time wore on. The success of some blacks and the continued struggle for racial equality led to a heightened fear on the part of white supremacists.

The Civil Rights Movement can be traced back as early as 1905, when a group of blacks gathered together to gain the rights of full United States citizenship. Blacks wanted to fight back against the Jim Crow Laws that were firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century. This group was known as the Niagara Movement. The movement gained popularity and by 1907 its actions were being supported by such groups as the New England Suffrage League and the Equal Rights League.(Franklin 318) Out of the efforts of the Niagara Movement, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was born.

It was around the time of the Niagara Movement that lynching gained widespread popularity across the South. Blacks were hung for such petty offences as looking at a white woman or speaking to a white man before being spoken to. According to NAACP estimates 3,200 blacks were killed by lynching from 1899 to 1919 (Jost 1993). Justice in these mob killings was a rarity, those who participated suffered no repercussions.

Birmingham, Alabama had hosted many black performers including some show which were completely black. Yet when a local newspaper, The Birmingham

News, boasts the biggest colored show yet to hit the Municipal Auditorium trouble resulted. As long as the existence of blacks in society was not obvious, the white supremacists were at bay. It is when their existence was pronounced that whites were troubled. During a white performance a man shouted "Lets go get that coon" and three men jumped on stage and assaulted Mr. Nat King Cole. Surprisingly justice in Alabama was swift. Alabama was an unlikely location for justice in a case of whites attacking blacks. Alabama was a place that segregation reigned supreme. The three men each received six months in jail and were fined \$200 dollars a piece. This is a tame example of the violence experienced by blacks across the United States.

In just half of the year 1919 there were twenty - five race riots across the United States. These riots involved white mobs, and occurred in both the North and the South. The mobs would descend on cities, burning black neighborhoods and terrorizing the black people who lived there. The Ku Klux Klan excelled at perpetuating such activity. The Klan raised prejudices and supported a variety of violent crimes against people of color. Even with violence happening across the country, the federal government turned its back on the black population. Instead of stepping in to take control of the violence, the federal officials said such violence was the responsibility of state and local governments. Presidents refused to speak out and Congress refused to pass legislation making lynching a federal offense state officials did nothing (Welsh 471). Segregation stretched across the country, surprisingly even President Woodrow Wilson, in Washington , instituted segregation in the federal government.

The NAACP was frustrated with the president and congress for their lack of action. The NAACP decided to focus its energy on the courts because the courts system was much less affected by the whims of the majority. Small inroads within the court system, but initially the Supreme Court left most of the devices of disenfranchisement and segregation to remain in tact. In 1938, the tables began to turn. The NAACP hired Thurgood Marshall to head litigation and more liberal minded appointees were part of the Supreme Court. This combination started Civil Rights success in Court.

The NAACP developed a brilliant plan for fighting the social injustices in the United States. The first target was segregation in schools. First it was proven at the college level that separate did not mean equal. Often separate meant blacks did not have college opportunities available, and those colleges that did exist for blacks were horribly unequal to white facilities. Then the NAACP targeted segregation in high schools and grade schools. It was this attack that lead to the well known case Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka.

After such landslide changes as Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, which declared segregation inherently unequal, whites were only slightly alarmed. As long as change was slow and intangible the white community dealt relatively well with the changing dynamic of blacks in society. Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka came after long negotiations on the part of the NAACP. The first court decision was almost expected. The second Brown ruling came as more of a shock to whites in the South because it called for desegregation at a swift pace. Yet no real timetable for the enactment of the Brown ruling was set. Whites

figured they could get around the Brown decision just like they had gotten around black suffrage. Many Southern communities found ways of circumventing desegregation rather than fight it outwardly. Southerners were wise in choosing which battles to fight and which to ignore.

The refusal of the Brown ruling did not last long. In 1956 things in the South began to change. Blacks began protesting segregation and posing a real threat to the Southern white society. It was at this point that white Southerners began widespread retaliation on multiple fronts; political, economic, legal, and not so legal.

Chapter Five - The Division and Separation of Germany

Following the denazification process of the divided Germany, Great Britain and the United States combined their pieces of the broken country, creating Bizonia. Soon after, France added its piece creating what was known as West Germany. The government and law created in the Western half of Germany was created with reunification in mind. Under the Basic Law, the number of people that could apply for German citizenship was incredibly large. It was this way because the Basic Law was thought to be temporary. It did not take the long term repercussions of an open immigration policy into account. Between 1949 and 1973, some 13 million refugees, expellees, and migrant workers entered West Germany. West Germany and later East Germany would be burdened by the massive influx of foreigners because of the many loopholes in the Basic Law.

The FRG (Federal Republic of Germany) or West Germany, underwent

and economic miracle in the 1950's and 1960's. Under the guidance of Ludwig Erhard, West Germany turned from a war ravaged disaster to a world class economic competitor. The economic miracle occurred in no small part because of aid given to West Germany from the Marshall Plan. Also the avoidance of inflationary pressures helped the economy prosper. Housing, transportation systems, and industrial sites were quickly rebuilt. In 1965, the unemployment rate dropped to an unheard of 0.5% and between 1951 and 1963 the average West German household income increased 400% (Orlow 268).

The Eastern portion of Germany would become the German Democratic Republic (GDR). This portion of the country made up only one-quarter of pre-war Germany's agriculture and one quarter of pre-war industrial production. The eastern half of Germany was controlled by the Soviet Union alone. The Soviet Union turned the GDR into a socialist industrial economy. The Soviet Union wanted a strong industrial economy in order to build a base of support for socialism. Also the East German industries were to support itself, and more importantly to send resources back to Russia. Much of production was sent back to Russia gratis, as reparations for German destruction during World War II. Problems occurred for East Germany;

“...the centralized economic system in the GDR did not work well. Success, such as it was, came in spite of, rather than because of, the system. The lack of resources, coupled with an unwillingness to give economic managers (not to mention labor) the freedom to make decisions, led to chronic shortages and widespread public dissatisfaction” (Orlow 297).

While West Germany was benefiting from the economic boost of the 1950's and 1960's, East Germany was struggling to survive. The economic trials of East Germany would be remembered during reunification, and cause renewed resentment on the part of those who lived through the East Germany's difficult past.

Chapter Six - United States' Civil Rights Movement

As throughout American history, when blacks in society pushed for equality, white supremacists pushed back with violence. Jost, journalist from CQ Reporter, notes; as the civil rights movement gained momentum in the 1950s and 1960s, violence intensified. The Southern Regional Council counted at least 138 race-related bombings between June 1, 1956 and June 1, 1963(8). Other attacks ranged from cross burning to beatings. In the words of H. Rap Brown - "Violence against minorities is American as apple pie". As the numbers and visibility of a certain minority increases in the United States, the amount of hate crimes directed toward that minority also increases. This was first and always true of blacks, then toward Irish immigrants in the early 19th century, of Jewish immigrants in the late 19th century, and of Hispanics in the 20th century (CQ Reporter 7).

The second *Brown v. Board of Education* had prompted much deliberation but did not prompt any speed in desegregation. The Supreme Court could not uphold their ruling without the help of Congress and the President. But instead of enforcing the *Brown* ruling, Congress and President Eisenhower dragged their

feet. At the time Eisenhower was extremely popular. He could have used his popularity to dispel some of the racial tension, but instead he did not speak out on desegregation until three years after the ruling. The South locked into a plan of resistance to desegregation. At a public school in Little Rock nine black students tried to attend. The public was outraged and took prevention of desegregation into their own hands. Federal troops had to be sent in to stop the rioting public. Similar situations occurred across the South. In Mississippi, the governor blocked the doorway, trying to prevent a black man from enrolling in the University of Mississippi. Kennedy had to send federal marshals to stop the violence that ensued. Force was used yet again when governor George Wallace tried to prevent black enrollment at the University of Alabama.

After trying such outward methods of prevention, southern leaders turned to roundabout segregation. Some states shut down public schools, and gave grants for white students to attend private schools. (Private school segregation was still legal at this point). The states provided aid for private schools, while blacks often did not have the resources to establish their own schools. Then states initiated the freedom of choice plan which meant that whites chose white school and blacks were pressured to chose black schools. To hinder these efforts the Supreme Court made segregation of private schools illegal and rebuked other efforts of covert segregation. Even this was not enough to bring segregation of schools to an end. The South prevented the desegregation for a few more years by tying up plans for desegregation in local and state government agencies. It took years for the NAACP appeals to finally reach a court that was indeed color blind.

The delay was successful, in 1964 98% of black students still attended all black schools. By 1970 the tide did change and only 14 % of black students attended all black schools (Welsh 474).

The issue of busing caused huge problems in society. The plan proposed by some civil rights groups was to bus black children into white neighborhoods. The plan was to help give black children a better education and reduce the racism in the next generation. There was to be an equilibrium reached in the schools, some inner city students would be bused to the suburbs and an equal number of white students would be bused into the inner city schools. This plan turned out to be a disaster. Although the Supreme Court ruled that busing was appropriate, it was resisted strongly within the community. Busing was resisted by white communities for a variety of reasons; mainly they were prejudice against blacks, they also feared inner city crime, did not have faith in the quality of inner city schools, and they wanted the convenience of neighborhood schools. Black parents also resisted the busing plans. They did not feel that the disruption of the children's routine was necessary, they did not want their children to suffer from discrimination and criticism from fellow classmates, they were also offended by the idea that their children would learn better sitting next to white children (Welsh 475.)

After the race riots and protest of the 1960's President Johnson appointed the Kerner Commission to examine the cause of the riots. This commission concluded: What white Americans have never fully understood - but what the Negro can never forget - is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto.

White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it (Welsh 506). Yet, even with this not so startling revelation, the government did little to improve the conditions that started the riots.

Chapter Seven - German Reunification

German reunification followed the same foul path as the United States Civil War Reconstruction had. Both countries suffered from serious divisions in society, economic bases and political history. The reuniting process in both countries fostered further division instead of unity. We are supposed to learn from history, but actions concerning Germany both directly after World War II and then again during the reunification process showed no regard to history's lessons.

Even though leaders denied it, what happened in October of 1990 was the abortion of the GDR into the Federal Republic, creating 16 instead of 11 federal states. There were very few people who opposed reunification, most notable of the opposition was Oskar Lafontaine, whose popularity has only recently rebounded from his feelings on reunification. Unfortunately, people had unrealistically high hopes for the future of a reunited Germany. At the time of reunification there was little support for the extreme right party - the Republikaner. A few years of corruption in the major political parties may have led to renewed popularity in extreme right - wing activity. Since the dismal showing in the December 1990 elections, two neo-nazi parties, the Republikaner

and the Deutsche Volksunion have gained support in state and local elections. Both parties have been represented in several state legislatures.

In a September 1992 nationwide survey conducted by the INFAS institute, it was discovered that 51% of all Germans were sympathetic to the phrase Germany for the Germans. In 1989 that phrase had become the mantra for the neo-nazi party.

Author of The New Reich, Michael Schmidt, went to Germany in 1988 to research the role of neo-nazis in present day German society. He writes:

“Three years later, the laughter will have left me for good. By then, right wing extremists had killed thirty-four people. Refugees homes had gone up in flames, and the police escort for Nazis was no longer a handful of officers but an entire task forces that nevertheless would still hesitate to intervene - not least out of fear of themselves being beaten by an overwhelming number of hate filled thugs. I would be there to witness it; how youths are indoctrinated, how the hard core is sworn in for street battles, and how hate seems to escalate without limit (Schmidt 14).

The film *Der Ewige Jude* (the Eternal Jew), is used for the indoctrination of many youths into the world of hatred. The creators of this film are Dr. Fritz Hippler and Dr. Eberhard Taubert. Each alluded punishment for making the slander filled film. Their seeds have been sown back, and even now they thrive and spread - and their best tool remains slander. Fifty years after the film's production - despite the war, despite the Constitution, despite democracy, still they remain unpunished (Schmidt 18). Both of these men are today leading untarnished and influential lives in Germany. One worked for the federal government in a highly prestigious military position. The other writes for influential right wing publications.

Schmidt also cites an arrest of neo-nazi demonstrators, some dressed in

paramilitary outfits, but because there were no eye witnesses that could (or would) positively identify who was participating in the demonstration, and which people were leading the demonstrations, all involved were released. No one received punishment despite the prohibition of nazi propaganda and nazi demonstration in Basic Law.

Even after 1992, after the Rostock riots, the old tradition of giving right wing offenders the benefit of the doubt continues. Excuses such as drunkenness or youth get most offenders out of legal trouble. Often those charged are seen as 'isolated perpetrators' despite the obvious ties to neo-nazi organizations. yet it ties to these organizations that lead to hate and terror (Schmidt 38).

There is almost a passive attitude to the neo-nazi presence in Germany. A restaurant owner in North Hesse was asked why he allowed the neo-nazis together on his premises, his casual response was that; they are going to do it somewhere, so it might as well be here. The passive attitude extends to the police force as well. By March of 1988 a Jewish cemetery in East Germany was ravaged five times. Two hundred and twenty-two gravestones were damaged. The police did not intervene in any of these incidents. Even though the back of the police station looks out on to the cemetery. The damage was done while shouting anti-Semitic mantra and under the influence of drugs and or alcohol, yet it is maintained that no one at the station heard a thing (Schmidt 57). Schmidt recounts an even more frightening denial of neo-nazi activity. The setting is Dresden, 1990 weeks after reunification, a train station. Skinheads and neo-nazis gather chanting 'Germany for the Germans' and 'Foreigners out'. Police are

positioned all around the train station. But when the police commissioner is asked they do not respond to the obvious display of neo-nazism his response is eerily stoic;

“He looks around, puffs out his cheeks a little, and shrugs his shoulders, as if he can’t make out - right in front of us - the men stretching out their arms in the Hitler-salute...the skinheads act as if there weren’t a single policeman in sight - even though the Hitler-salute is a criminal offense...Commissioner Wunsch doesn’t seem to care about anything except a smooth course for the demonstration” (Schmidt 74-75).

With such blatant disregard for the Basic Law and for discouragement of racism, it is amazing that the crime rate is not higher than the already inflated numbers.

Right wingers have used xenophobia as a weapon to gain political clout. Germany experienced a huge demographic shift after World War II. There was a large flow of guest workers into the country as there had been through German history. Few of these foreign workers came from the communist countries of eastern Europe. Then from 1980 to 1992 the total number of those seeking political asylum jumped from 108,000 to 430,000 per year. While those seeking asylum wait for their applications to be processed, they may live freely in Germany and benefit from the social programs set up there. This puts an ever greater strain on the already strained German economy. The cries of xenophobia did not, however, stop with asylum seekers. Right wingers attacked other 'foreigners' as well, these 'foreigners' being all non-German residents living in Germany. The right wingers especially resent the presence of Turkish residents (Orlow 328).

In 1993, the Bundestag reacted to the many asylum seekers by passing a law to tighten asylum provisions. People applying for asylum that came from countries with a functioning democratic government could be refused without a judicial hearing. Germany also paid Romania to take back Gypsies that had entered Germany illegally (Orlow 328).

Chapter Eight - Present Day Problems

Although nazi and neo-nazi propaganda is forbidden under German criminal law, neo-nazism is permeating Germany. Propaganda is disguised in seemingly reputable publications. An example of this is NS-Kampfzruf (National Socialist Battle Cry). It looks like a regular newspaper, but preaches the doctrine of Hitler. The date on the top of the newspaper is dated in years since Hitler's birth (Schmidt 3). Along with publications, there are Nazi propaganda films such as Der Ewige Jude (The Eternal Jew) which is used to spread racial hatred in Germany. The film likens Jews to a plague of rats upon the country.

Today in Germany racial violence and hatred continues to spread. Although the concentration of foreigners is in the West, there is a much larger concentration of hate crimes in the East.

“Last year's 746 violent xenophobic crimes represented a 5 percent increase over those in 1998, according to federal statistics. Intolerance runs deepest in the former East Germany, which has 20 percent of the country's population but more than half the anti-foreigner crime” (Rubin A1).

The eastern city of Eberswalde (former industrial center of the GDR) was the site of the first race motivated killing after reunification, and racial violence continues to elevate in the city. Even though there are currently only 600 foreigners in a population of 45,000, foreigners are blamed for high unemployment rates. During The GDR's days, there was zero tolerance for hate violence, and the government's full employment policy prevented tensions from forming (Rubin A1). The reunified government is unwilling to crack down on violence and unable to promise full employment and therefore quell job competition anxieties.

Violence in Germany is not limited to the Jewish population. Along with Jews, Turks and Africans are targeted by anti-foreign groups. On June 11 of this year, Alberto Adriano (an immigrant from Mozambique) was killed by three young neo-nazis because of the color of his skin. Two of the three attackers were 16 years old and received only nine years detention for the murder. The third, 24, received life imprisonment. Another recent race motivated attack ended in the choking death of two Turkish men, the attackers were part of the ever growing youth neo-nazi population. Even Chancellor Gerhard Schoeder admits that the police and the courts alike must be tougher on right wing extremists. (Cohen A7).

Hate crimes are on the rise across the United States. According to a survey by the U. S. Conference of Mayors one third of big-city mayors reported an increase of hate crimes in their jurisdiction from 1991-1992 (CQ Reporter 3). Civil Rights groups are pushing for stronger laws to specifically deter hate crimes, but many complain that these laws would cause an infringement of freedom of speech. Those opposed to such legislation say freedom of expression must be

upheld, even in the case of race related ideas. Those that advocate anti-hate crime legislation argue that laws punish actions, not expressions.

Civil Rights could not help the lowest class of blacks in the United States. In the 1970's, good-paying manufacturing jobs in the cities decreased because of automation and movement of factories overseas. There was an increase of service jobs, but these were mostly in the suburbs. Black men lost their jobs, lost their ability to support their families, and the number of households headed by black women increased. Middle class blacks fled the inner cities, leaving fewer businesses, strong schools, and less money to be circulated in the community. By 1996 one Chicago ghetto with 66,000 people had just one supermarket and one bank, but 48-state license lottery agents and 99 state-licensed liquor stores and bars(Welsh 506). Young blacks are worse off than any other section of the American population. In 1990, one in every four black men between the ages of 20-29 was in prison or on probation. One third of the black population lives in poverty.

Prospects for the urban poor black population are not good. Unfortunately, most whites believe that government has done enough for the blacks, and they believe inner city conditions have improved. Blacks that live in the impoverished areas of the country will tell you that conditions have not only not improved they have gotten worse. They believe that the government has not done nearly enough. What good does access to equal rights without the means to take advantage of these rights?

Chapter Nine - Conclusion

The United States and Germany have been through similar fates. Dietrich Orlow entitled the chapter in *A Modern History of Germany* on reunification 'Euphoria and Disillusionment'. This title could not have been better chosen for the situations of Germany since the fall of Weimar and of the United States since the issue of slavery tore the nation apart one hundred and fifty years ago.

Germany was euphoric in the hey day of Nazi Germany, and became disillusioned after World War II. The country was divided and war torn. It needed to be rebuilt from the ground up. The rebuilding process went well for both East and West Germany. But during the rebuilding process, the two halves built away from one another and away from common German history. Therefore the two Germanys were inherently different when they rejoined. Reunification and the turmoil leading up to reunification, such as the withdrawal of Soviet control over the East, reopened old World War II wounds. These wounds were not tended to after the war. These wounds were glazed over after W.W.II when old leaders from the Nazi regime were allowed to re-enter society unscathed.

Despite de-nazification attempts after W.W.II and stipulations included in German Basic Law, racism is alive and very well in Germany. Hate crimes against foreigners is still rising, yet the government does nothing. The government almost caters to the anti-foreign sentiments in Germany, as evidenced by lax treatment of obvious neo-nazis and tightened immigration laws. The government has had opportunity to forge a path away from hatred and racism, but instead it

chooses to ignore offenses and shift blame. Foreigners are viewed as the other not a part of society. The fact that guest workers helped Germany flourish in the 1960's seems irrelevant to Germans today. In most Germans eyes the only true Germans are still white Christians of Germanic decent. Flash-forward another hundred years and the racial problems will not be better, and very likely will worsen.

In the case of the United States, the Civil War has been over for one hundred and thirty five years, and yet the wounds are still causing the nation pain. The United States was divided by the war. During the separation of the nation, the differences between North and South came into stark contrast. The South had a different society after the Civil War. Society in the South was based on the oppression of others, with the end of slavery, the Southern way of life was devastated. Also the Southern economy was torn apart with the end of slavery and without the industrial development that went on in the North during the war, the South would suffer huge economic setbacks. The differences between North and South were not taken into account when the South rejoined the Union, and such was the situation when Germany was reunified, unsolved problems and vast differences in society and economy only further complicated the reunifications of the US and Germany.

Instead of policy to start over and reshape society, old Confederate leaders were soon back in power and finding new and creative ways of oppressing blacks once again. Small attempts were made by the Radical Republicans in Congress to help the Southern black, but these attempts were meager at best. It took another

century for blacks to fight his way into equal protection under the law. But still today, blacks are not treated equally, there is still social voluntary segregation. There are still 'black' neighborhoods, 'black' schools, and 'black' churches. The African-American is still not a part of society. The situation is almost identical for Jews, and other minorities, in Germany;

“Never again would Jews be able to rely in the same way on rational discourse, social justice, or the supremacy of law to guarantee them security, harmony, and peace of mind in a non-Jewish environment” (Webber 206).

The holocaust was beyond rationality, beyond humanity. Like blacks in the U.S., Jews are left out of the society that refused to protect them. Examples of the injustices to Jews and blacks still abound. To look, in the United States, at the 1993 beating of Rodney King or more recently the shooting of Amadou Diallo and in Germany at the racially motivated killing of Alberto Adriano is to look into the continuing racial discrepancies in the law and protection under the law.

Instead of creating new societies, after the Civil War, the North reabsorbed the South and during German reunification the West reabsorbed the East. No new thought was brought into government, old ideas were just dusted off and reused. This caused great dislocation and frustration for the South and the East. It gave frustration and rage to people already predisposed to violence. So in both cases the inner frustrations are translated into racial violence. The governments of Germany and the United States cannot afford to sit back and pass laws. Laws are ineffective in changing the hearts and minds of people. Instead energy should

be put into programs that promote a unified society, instead of one full of fragmentation. The governments try to hide racism back in a closet, hushing cases of racial violence and passing laws to silence the outcry for change. The pasts of Germany and the United States are wrought with race-related violence and hate, and yet it is these pasts that are being used as the foundation for the future. Unless new societies can be built within the pre-existing nations of the United States and Germany, racial hate and violence will continue without end.

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