

April 1988

# AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Historical  
Perspectives on  
Israel, the United  
States, and  
American Jewry  
40th Anniversary Issue*

Volume XL April, 1988 Number 1

# American Jewish Archives

*A Journal Devoted to the Preservation and Study  
of the American Jewish Experience*

Jacob Rader Marcus, Ph.D., *Editor*  
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*Published by The American Jewish Archives  
on the Cincinnati Campus of the  
Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion  
Dr. Alfred Gottschalk, President*

*American Jewish Archives is indexed in The Index to Jewish Periodicals, Current Contents, The American Historical Review, United States Political Science Documents, and The Journal of American History*

*Information for Contributors:  
American Jewish Archives follows generally the University of Chicago Press "Manual of Style" (12th revised edition) and "Words into Type" (3rd edition), but issues its own style sheet which may be obtained by writing to:*

*The Managing Editor,  
American Jewish Archives  
3101 Clifton Avenue  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220*

*Patrons 1988:  
The Neumann Memorial Publication Fund*

*Published by The American Jewish Archives on the Cincinnati campus of the Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion*

*ISSN 002-905X  
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In 1926, Jacob Rader Marcus, the editor of this journal, armed with a fresh Ph.D. from the University of Berlin, spent three months studying at the newly established Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Before leaving to return to his academic duties at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, he offered his vision of the new university’s mission in a letter to his fellow HUC alumnus, Judah Leon Magnes (1877–1948), the first chancellor of the Hebrew University. In many respects it is a vision whose aims have been fulfilled.

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# “A University That Would Revolutionize World Jewry”:

*An Unpublished Letter  
from Jacob Rader Marcus to Judah Magnes (1926)*

American School of Archaeology

Jerusalem, Palestine

July 18, 1926

7 Ab, 5686

Dear Dr. Magnes:

I am taking the liberty of writing to you of my impressions of the country and the University after a stay of three months. I am primarily interested in the cultural development of Jewry here, and although the economic and political phases of life are closely related to it I shall not dwell upon them. I fear that my attitude toward these latter two elements is somewhat negative. I cannot, for the present, see any hope for a free and unconfined political development of the Jewish people here. The strategic importance of Palestine in the British Empire; its position on the highroad between Mesopotamia and Suez, the inherent conservatism of English foreign policy; the gradual progressive scrapping of the Balfour Declaration,—all tend to make me very pessimistic. Added to this difficulty comes the problem of Arabic-Jewish relations. I find the Arabs very nationalistic. I despair of any working agreement between the two groups, particularly since England will always be able to exercise—to the detriment of Arabic-Jewish concord—her traditional policy of a “balance of power.” The economic difficulties of furthering a land that is agriculturally poor and without maritime facilities appear to me to be relatively insurmountable.

The difficulties, however, that are inherent in the political and economic life of the land are not inherent in its cultural being. There is a magnificent academic tradition that runs for centuries through Palestine from the days of the earliest flowering of Hebrew literature to the last monograph of the University. Bible, Apocrypha, Mishnah and

Talmud are words to conjure with. Even after the Christianization of Palestine and the consequent limitation of Jewish school life Palestinian Jewry wrote the earliest Midrashim; possibly our first mediaeval poems; founded the Massoretic science, and developed an active cultural life under the Fatimid Caliphs. The Crusades, for a time, impaired the continuity of a learned tradition, yet Jehuda Halevi came, later Nachmanides, then Obadiah of Bertinoro until in the 16th century we find the academic work carried on with renewed force to the present day.

The cultural life of Palestine took on added impetus in the 80's with the new immigration, modern schools were established, Hebrew began to be a living tongue, an organized school system began to take form. Yet it was all a headless body, the system lacked its completion. There was no institution of higher learning, no university. The children of the old settlers left the farms, left Palestine to finish their studies. Some went to Beirut, many to Central Europe, many to France.

The present University, Dr. Magnes, must be expanded and completed in order to round out the Jewish educational organization of this country. If the Jews refuse to build a university that will be complete and adequate for present day needs then others will be found to undertake the work. I understand that influential Anglican non-Jews are anxious to build an English university here. It is obvious that such an institution will not solve the problems of Jewish education here but on the contrary make a free unhampered Jewish development impossible. Such an organization will not give back to Palestine the children of its settlers who are now scattered from Berlin to New York.

The probability of the immediate success of a big-visioned University is, in my opinion, unquestionable. The new school can link up with the magnificent old Jewish academic tradition. The work that was begun three thousand years ago can be carried on with vigour and energy. Two-thirds of Jewish communal life has been literary and academic,—two thousand years. The Jews are the people of the mind, of thought. If heredity and environment count for anything then the Jew is preeminently a thinker. He apotheosizes study, not the body. Every fibre of Jewish being strains toward intellectual life. The agricultural tendency, the return to the soil, the turning aside from the schoolhouse is hard, very hard. In 50 years we have not been able to settle 35,000 people on the soil, but in 5 years we built the great city of Tel Aviv; in

less than that we can found a great University big enough and broad enough to encompass World-Jewry. We not only can do it,—we must do it.

But it must be a real University. Now we have but the outlines, the scientific laboratories and the Institute of Jewish Studies. What has been done is good, very good. I have for three months, week in and week out, listened to lectures, and I know that the possibilities of spreading Jewish knowledge in a humanistic spirit are infinite. There is a freedom, a broadness, an earnestness about the work that tugs at the heart strings of any Jew who has a spark of Jewish sympathy within him. The charm of the place, of the instructors, of the hour is irresistible. But you must go farther.

The new University must be developed. There is practically no department of general education. The brilliant young Talmudists, the tanned Haluzim, the wiry settlers' sons are only too often deplorably lacking in the elements of a broad secular education. A thoroughly modern university is needed here with complete faculties of Liberal Arts, Medicine and Law. The school must have complete faculties in these three groups so that there be no need to run to the Sorbonne or to Vienna, or to knock at the doors of schools where the Jew is merely tolerated and where he is compelled to listen to instructors who pour obloquy on him and his fathers. I would like to see a new type of school on Mount Scopus:—a school that would be built basically on Continental traditions; a school that would further individual initiative, research and thoroughness through the seminar system; a school that would be filled with the best European traditions of academic freedom and liberalism. Yet because I am a Jew and this must be a Jewish University I would wish that this new school be filled with the social spirit and the finer nationalism that is so true of the better American colleges. The University dare not be an academic factory; it must not only produce students, but also Jews who are conscious of their social obligations to the Jewish people and its cultural traditions.

Such a university, I believe, would serve to stimulate profoundly Palestine life. It would at once crown the Jewish academic system; it would become the center of all thinking life and would add new impetus to economic activity and to political thought. Here—if nowhere else in the world—Jewry would be able to express itself freely, unhampered, boldly. Here those scholars who are sensitively Jewish could

pour themselves out and be understood. Here the attempt could be made to make of Palestine again a center of World Jewry. Jewish life in Poland and in Eastern Europe is being throttled by adverse economic and political conditions. Jewry needs authority. Palestine is now in a position to develop itself; to take upon its shoulders the task of stimulating World Jewry in a modern, progressive yet traditionally Jewish spirit. The possible influence of Palestine on the Jewish cultural center is tremendous. Primarily it would serve to coordinate, to develop and to inspire Palestinian life,—but even more it would form and hold together World Jewry. It would prevent the Jewries of all lands from nationalizing their Judaism in the narrower sense, of sectarianizing their religious loyalties, of subjecting their universal ideals to the narrowness of ephemeral geographical prejudices.

All this the new Jewish University can accomplish. It has the men, it has the tradition, it has the soul of the people with it. It merely needs money. Good God, with what it costs to establish a group of Jewish colonies about the size of a North Dakota farm we could build up a University here that would revolutionize World Jewry and start the blood pounding through its veins. There is nothing in all Jewish life more important than this school. Absolutely nothing. Jewry must recognize this. Jewry must build this school and the sooner the better.

Believe me I have the honor to remain,

Very respectfully yours,  
(Jacob Rader Marcus)

Assistant Professor of Jewish History  
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio

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# American Zionism and American Jewry: An Ideological and Communal Encounter

*Evyatar Friesel*

It is almost as difficult to determine who is a Zionist as it is to define who is a Jew. In the present article the following definition is suggested: a Zionist is a Jew who believes that Jewish statehood in the Land of Israel is a necessary condition for the life of the Jewish people in the social and political circumstances of the modern world. That definition is less than the one favored by many Israeli Jews, who declare that a Zionist is a Jew who settles in Israel. In the first formulation, aliyah is desirable, but not indispensable. On the other hand, the definition offered involves more than the one preferred by many Diaspora Jews, who see themselves as Zionists, support the existence of a Jewish state, but recoil from considering it an indispensable condition for Jewish life in the modern world.

Taken together, the three definitions mentioned cover almost all American Jews. Indeed, today most American Jews are apt to say that it is “natural” for a Jew to be a Zionist, however defined—which is an illusion. As late as the 1950s, such distinguished scholars as Oscar Handlin and Will Herberg were still describing Zionism in the United States as a phenomenon typical of the perplexities of second-generation American Jews.<sup>1</sup> What happened is that American Jewry underwent a process of “Zionization.” The aim of the present essay is to describe that process. We will be dealing with a development that took a long time and had nothing casual about it—even more, it was far from easy.

Zionism was a movement with a well-developed ideology—some would even say overdeveloped—with a clear and well-defined idea about the situation of the Jewish people in modern times. Zionism explained what was wrong with modern Jewry; it proclaimed an aim that should turn wrongs right again; it defined the cultural, economic, and political means to attain those aims. All these ideological con-

cepts—the critique against modern Jewish reality, the negative attitude regarding the relationship between Jews and non-Jews, the plan to bring about the territorial concentration of the Jewish people in the Land of Israel, aliyah, and many other concepts—they all reflected a Jewish situation that was essentially European.

But these were terms of reference that fit neither Jewish realities in the United States, nor Jewish aspirations there. Consequently, it was only to be expected that American Zionism, supposedly relating to American Jewish conditions, would develop in a new direction. Indeed, when somebody tried to understand American Zionism with European-related concepts, American Zionism literally turned un-understandable. Everyone who does research in the history of American Zionism ultimately gets used to those memoranda of European envoys, *shlihim*, dating from the beginnings of the century and continuing over the decades, despairing about the strange internal processes of that strange being, American Zionism.<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \*

From the beginnings of the movement in the United States, American Zionists were confronted with the problem that many of the European-originated components of the Zionist idea failed to arouse an answer among Jews in the United States. As one example among many, let us consider *sh'lilat-hagaluth*—the negation of, or despair with, Galut—so central a component in European Zionism. It is known that among European Zionists thinkers, *sh'lilat-hagaluth* was not an ideological element of uniform character. As a component of the Zionist idea, it had a certain weight in political Zionism of the Herzl school—where it was a major factor—and another weight in cultural Zionism of the school of Ahad Ha-Am, where its influence was slighter. However we consider it, in America it had no weight whatsoever. American Jews, certainly of the older, “German” type, but not less of the younger, “Russian” type, had come to America to rebuild their lives there, their own lives and the lives of their children and grandchildren. As an ideology based on the negation of European Galut, Zionism had a certain attraction even in America. But if it was supposed to apply to America itself, it was a hopeless proposition. For almost all, America was not Galut. America was the land of liberty, the blessed land, or, in Yiddish, *die goldene medine*, “the golden land.”

In its ideological development in the United States, Zionism had eventually to deal with three problems. First, while remaining attuned to the hopes of the Jewish people regarding the Land of Israel, it also had to affirm Jewish life in America. Second (and this problem developed from the first), it had to formulate its acceptance of Jewish life in America from a point of view still Zionist, and in positive terms. And third, it had to respond to the two first problems in a way that remained somehow attuned—or at least not too greatly in contradiction—to the basic principles of general Zionist ideology, which were fundamentally geared to the European Jewish reality.

The process of formulating answers to these three questions, which went on for many years, is the theme of the present article. It represented an ideological effort whose social and ideological components are definable, and which was obviously rooted in the specific characteristics of the American Jewish community. It developed along two paths that will be explained here. One path was a specific ideological development inside the American Zionist movement that brought about the gradual building of bridges between the movement and American Jewry at large. The other path came from the opposite direction: certain developments among the leading strata of American Jewry that brought them close to the hopes of Zionism—especially the kind of Zionism being explained by many American Zionists. In other words, there are two trends we will be dealing with: the Americanization of the Zionist idea, and the “Zionization” of American Jewry. It was a process of rapprochement in which the two sides—the Zionists and the non-Zionists—played an active role.

### *The Americanization of Zionism*

One major issue of the debate in modern Jewry regarding Zionism was the conflict of interests and loyalties that the Zionist program seemed to pose for those Jews who aspired to integrate in the general environment. Keen to become part and parcel of the cultural, social, and political life of their respective countries, aware that much remained to be done, by Jews and non-Jews alike, to attain that goal, these Jews feared that Zionism might create one more obstacle for their hopes. The debate between Zionists and “integrationists” about what was termed the question of “dual loyalty” turned into one of the

sharpest internal discussions in modern Jewry, and it flared up everywhere, in Central and Western Europe, but also in the United States: “But speaking as an American, I cannot for a moment concede that one can be, at the same time, a true American and an honest adherent of the Zionist movement,” wrote Jacob H. Schiff—perhaps the outstanding figure in American Jewry in his day—to Solomon Schechter, in 1907, criticizing the latter’s adoption of Zionism.<sup>3</sup> Schiff went on, commenting about certain figures that Schechter had described as being good citizens and good Zionists:

The men whom you mention by name may have, or may have had as far as they have passed away, a thorough conviction of a deep attachment to this country, but if they are honest Zionists—I mean if they believe and hope and labor for an ultimate restoration of Jewish political life and the re-establishment of a Jewish Nation, they place a prior lien upon their citizenship which, if there would be a possibility for their desire and plans to become effective, would prevent them from maintaining allegiance to the country of which they now claim to be good citizens.<sup>4</sup>

American Zionists were highly aware of the problems caused by accusations such as Schiff’s, and tried whenever possible to refute them. But it was not until Louis Brandeis became the leader of the Zionist movement that a compelling answer was formulated—compelling not due to the originality of the argument but because of the authority of Brandeis himself. If the man who was shortly to become a member of the Supreme Court of the United States proclaimed that the allegation of dual loyalty was without foundation, what was there still to be argued?

Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with Patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state and of his city; for being loyal to his family, and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge. Every Irish-American who contributed toward advancing home rule was a better man and a better American for the sacrifice he made. Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better man and a better American for doing so.<sup>5</sup>

But Brandeis went further: not only was Zionism a legitimate phenomenon in American life, but there was an identity of ideals between Americanism and Zionism.

There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to Jewry. The Jewish spirit, the product of our religion and experiences, is essentially modern and essentially American. Not since the destruction of the Temple have the Jews in spirit and in ideals been so fully in harmony with the noblest aspirations of the country in which they lived.<sup>6</sup>

Consequently, said Brandeis, Zionism was also a moral obligation, a matter of "noblesse oblige," for every self-identifying American Jew.

Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist. For only through the ennobling effect of its strivings can we develop the best that is in us and give this country the full benefit of our great inheritance. The Jewish spirit, so long preserved, the character developed by so many centuries of sacrifice, should be preserved and developed further, so that in America as elsewhere the sons of the race may in the future live lives and do deeds worthy of their ancestors.<sup>7</sup>

Other Zionists close to Brandeis elaborated the same position in different ways. Julian W. Mack, the president of the Zionist Organization of America from 1918 to 1921, argued that Zionism did not and could not involve any dual allegiance in the political sense, and that politically American Jews owed loyalty only to the United States. He and others stressed, like Brandeis, the moral meaning and social message contained in the Zionist program.<sup>8</sup>

### *The American Cultural Zionists*

The new line of Zionist thought just mentioned dealt with the question of Zionism in its relation to American general society, or, the American Zionist as American citizen. But there was a second and not less important question to be answered: Zionism in its relation to American Jewry. In other words, if American Zionism rejected the negative position about Jewish life in America, what constructive vision of American Jewry did it suggest? This matter, which was certainly not less complicated or important than the first one, was dealt with by a different group of American Zionist activists and intellectuals. Their ideas were basically elaborated over a short period, the years 1903 to 1911, although they underwent additional refinements at a later time. Israel Friedlaender deserves to be considered as the most important figure of this group. Others were Judah L. Magnes, Harry

Friedenwald, Solomon Schechter, Max Schloessinger, and several more. Later, Mordecai M. Kaplan became the best-known exponent of these ideas. Most of these intellectuals were connected in one way or another with the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. All of them were influenced by the ideas of Ahad Ha-Am, although they also introduced changes in his thought. The approach they elaborated deserves to be called American Cultural Zionism.<sup>9</sup>

The American cultural Zionists stressed the importance of creating a national Jewish center in Palestine whose spiritual and intellectual influence should be felt all over the Diaspora. But they added an American component to their cultural Zionism. The future of the Jewish people, they stated, would be based on two major centers of Jewish life, one in the United States, the other in Palestine. Israel Friedlaender "pointed out that the conception of Zionism, such as expounded by Achad Ha-Am, can very well be harmonized with the view of those who are working for the upbuilding of a Jewish centre in America."<sup>10</sup> American Jewry should participate in building up the Jewish center in Palestine, the country that had remained the geographical and spiritual basis of the historical consciousness of the Jewish people over the centuries. As explained by Friedlaender:

The great danger which threatens American Judaism is provincialism. By cutting itself gradually away from the other Jewries of the world, American Judaism may become an isolated limb, just as Judaism in France and in England have already become, and shut off from the national Jewish organism, will wither and die. To eliminate this danger, it was necessary to establish a "spiritual center" in Palestine, which should form the connecting link between all the Jewries of the world and in this way safeguard the existence of the Jewish national home.<sup>11</sup>

The Jewish center rising in Palestine would again create original Jewish culture and thought that would inspire Jews everywhere and contribute to a spiritual renaissance of the Jewish people along national lines. *National* meant cultural-national, not political-national. Jews were political citizens of the different countries where they lived, although they belonged also to one common historical entity, to one people. The most succinct, yet highly accurate, definition of the aims of American cultural Zionism was elaborated later on by Israel Friedlaender: "Zionism plus Diaspora, Palestine plus America."<sup>12</sup>

In their ideological set-up, American cultural Zionists chose to ignore two major components of classical European Zionist thought. One was the principle of *sh'lilat-hagaluth*, "negation of the Diaspora," a matter we have already mentioned. The other was not less interesting: American cultural Zionists almost did not mention anti-Semitism, which was considered so major a factor in the upsurge of Zionism in Europe. Let us remember that those were years—the first quarter of the twentieth century—when anti-Semitism was quite familiar and quite worrying in the United States too. It is worthwhile to note that among the major organized bodies in American Jewry at that time, no other group gave as little attention to anti-Semitism as the American cultural Zionists.

Furthermore, the American cultural Zionists also added a very significant ideological element to their position. Although referring constantly to *Ahad Ha-Am*, they were equally influenced by many of the ideas of another important thinker of modern Jewry, Simon Dubnow, the father of Jewish autonomism. Dubnow took a much more socially oriented approach to Jewish life and Jewish communal activities than *Ahad Ha-Am*. More than that, Dubnow took a positive attitude toward Jewish existence in Diaspora—except that in the case of the American cultural Zionists, Diaspora had a limited meaning; it meant *America*. About the future of Jewish life in Europe, and especially in Eastern Europe, the American cultural Zionists were doubtful indeed.

The two ideological trends we have mentioned, one "outer-directed," the other "inner-oriented," shaped the American Zionist position. The corollary was a very ambitious one: being interested in American Jewish life no less than in Jewish settlement in Palestine, American Zionism formulated nothing less than a view about the self-definition of developing American Jewry along Zionist lines, which meant, of course, *American* Zionist lines. As we shall see, the influence of the circle of Zionist activists inspired by these new ideas was immediately felt in the major centers of American Jewish activity. Zionists began to appear as dedicated activists in different American Jewish organizational enterprises created during these years that actually had little to do with Zionism. A significant part of the activists in the New York Kehillah, founded in 1909, were Zionists, as was a large part of the faculty of the recently reorganized Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Zionists even appeared in the fortress of Reform Judaism,

the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. They declared there that Reform Judaism should adopt the Zionist credo in order to survive, and ended by causing a crisis that brought about the dismissal, in 1907, of three teachers from the College—three out of ten, almost one-third of the faculty.<sup>13</sup> Later on, Zionists were prominent in the most impressive of all American Jewish initiatives of the World War I period, the American Jewish Congress.

### *The Change of Attitude Among American Anti-Zionists*

It is usually thought that the Columbus Platform of 1937, established by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, marked a change in the attitude of the American Reform movement regarding Zionism, toward a position that, if not positive, was at least neutral.<sup>14</sup> In fact, more than indicating a new position, the Columbus Platform signaled a process of change. The change of mind in the Reform movement, from the extremely negative resolution against Zionism adopted in 1897, was a very gradual development.<sup>15</sup> It is true that in the early years of the century there were leading figures in the Reform movement who were already either unhappy with the existing anti-Zionist line or were declared Zionists. One of the founding fathers of the American Reform movement, Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal, was a Zionist. The president of the CCAR from 1910 to 1912, Rabbi Maximilian Heller, was a very active member of the Federation of American Zionists.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, until the 1940s a sizable part of the Reform movement and especially of its rabbinate—perhaps even the majority—was lukewarm, indifferent, or even antagonistic toward Zionism.<sup>17</sup>

Perhaps the Reform movement was not even the main sector in American Jewry where the modification from anti-Zionism to non-Zionism took place. It seems that the changing mood in Reform Jewry did not originate inside the movement itself, but rather reflected new positions evolving in American Jewry at large. During the first half of the twentieth century, there were at least three other groups in American Jewry where new considerations of Zionism were being elaborated.

One sector was the second-generation Jews, the children of the East European immigrants, already Americanized, working hard for their

social and economic improvement. They were as keen as the older German part of American Jewry about their American identity, but their interpretation of its meaning and of the subtle interplay of rights and duties it imposed on their Jewishness was rather diverse. For them, Zionism was as natural as anti-Zionism had been for the German strata. They were now the majority of American Jewry, and they established trends and dictated attitudes in congregations and communities. Their Zionism was no longer the Zionism of their parents; we may well assume that the Americanizing trends in Zionist thought were, in their eyes, highly attractive.

A second group, quite close to the first (but certainly not identical), was the religious Conservative movement in American Jewry, established in 1913. Its conception of Judaism (and of Jewish life in America) was developed at the Jewish Theological Seminary, where, as mentioned above, the American brand of cultural Zionism also had its origins. Zionism of the Americanized type was part of the Jewish self-definition of the Conservative movement, a fact whose importance was not only spiritual or ideological. American Jewry was gradually organizing itself along religious lines, into three main movements. The fact that one of them, the Conservative movement, was Zionistic per definition, established a broad and convenient channel for the penetration of Zionist ideas and interests into the American Jewish community.

The third group was, from an ideological point of view, perhaps the most interesting of all. A careful observation of attitudes toward Zionism shows that among the older, German strata of American Jewry there were many whose opinions regarding Zionism were far from similar to those found in the religious leadership of the Reform movement. Some of these Jews were among the most distinguished figures of the German-Jewish establishment in the United States.

When in 1907 Jacob H. Schiff severely rebuked Solomon Schechter for his Zionist declaration,<sup>18</sup> none other than Schiff's closest associate in American Jewish activities, Louis Marshall, chose to express a divergent opinion. Marshall, it should be remembered, was a prominent figure in the newly established American Jewish Committee. Religiously he belonged to the Reform movement, and (like Schiff) was a leading member of Temple Emanu-el. Now, in an open letter to the editor of the *American Israelite*, the prestigious Reform weekly, he wrote:

. . . I cannot forgo the opportunity of inquiring in my individual capacity, whether you really deem it wise to attack Zionism with the malevolence and acrimony which you and others have occasionally evinced? . . . I am not a Zionist, and probably will never become a convert to Zionism, but I cannot fail to recognize the movement as one of tremendous importance, worthy of serious, patient and sympathetic study and investigation. . . . It has given birth to a manly Jewish consciousness, in refreshing contrast with the apologetic attitude which precedes it. . . . Political Zionism does not appeal to me, because in my judgment (though it may prove an erroneous one) it cannot be productive of practical results and will lead in the end to bitter disappointment.

And further on:

I am acquainted with many Zionists, whose Americanism cannot be successfully challenged, who are patriotic sons of the soil on which they were born. . . . To them Zionism is a dream, entirely consistent with their American actuality . . .<sup>19</sup>

An examination of Marshall's other utterances shows clearly that his opinions about Zionism were undergoing further development. "I am not a Zionist, certainly not a Nationalist. I am a Jew from conviction and sentiment . . . and as I grow older, the feelings of love and reverence for the cradle of our race increase in intensity," he wrote to Nathan Straus, in 1914.<sup>20</sup> In later letters, from the 1920s, he kept repeating that he was not a Zionist nor a Jewish nationalist. Nevertheless, he was drawn to activities that had a clearly Zionist or Jewish national character. The most outstanding of these initiatives was his participation in the enlarged Jewish Agency, which after many discussions and quite a number of near-failures, was formed in the summer of 1929.<sup>22</sup>

One who did become a Zionist was Jacob H. Schiff. It happened in 1917, under the influence of the Balfour Declaration and the growing misery of East European Jewry, toward the end of the First World War. "Greatly more than I did when I first ceased my opposition to the Zionist Movement, do I feel now that the creation of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine is most desirable," he wrote to the anti-Zionist Reform rabbi David Philipson, in September 1918.<sup>23</sup> Schiff had long negotiations with the leadership of the American Zionist organization about becoming a member of the movement, which came to naught, mainly because of Brandeis's misgivings.<sup>24</sup>

Marshall, Schiff, and with them the Strauses, the Sulzbergers, Cyrus Adler, and several other dignitaries, who together represented the

most active and articulate part of the German segment of American Jewry, represented the closest to a national leadership that American Jewry produced during the twentieth century. Although most of them belonged to the Reform movement, it seems that they were much more dynamic and open-minded in their reactions to trends and ideas in American Jewry than the rabbis who formed the religious leadership of Reform Judaism, many of them educated in the traditions of the German Reform movement. Diverse attitudes about Zionism were found in the same families. Nathan Straus was active in Palestine in the years before 1914 and defined himself in a way vaguely Zionist, while his brother Oscar was an anti-Zionist. Cyrus Sulzberger was a member of the Federation of American Zionists, while his uncle, Mayer Sulzberger, was active in the American territorialist movement. More than by ideologies, these men were activated by the necessities and the possibilities of Jewish public life in Palestine, but foremost in the United States. It was on that level, Jewish organizational initiatives in the United States, that a highly significant meeting between the American Zionists and the non-Zionist American leadership took place.

*Zionists and Non-Zionists Meet in American Jewish Enterprises*

Looking back, it appears that the American Zionists were extremely aware of the significance that the new direction of their Jewish communal activities held for American Jewry. When Judah L. Magnes gave up the position of secretary of the Federation of American Zionists in 1908, in order to concentrate on the formation of the New York Kehillah, he could not have been more explicit about his motivation.

I feel that I shall be abler to do more for our Federation and our movement if I am relieved of the duties which have been mine during the past three years. Our Zionism must mean for us Judaism in all of its phases, Zionism is a complete and harmonized Judaism. Nothing Jewish, whether it be the Jewish land, the Jewish language, the Jewish religion, the Jewish people, can be foreign to a Zionist.<sup>25</sup>

Magnes's attitude was typical of those American Zionists who had adopted the cultural tendency. Others, such as Louis Lipsky (whose

Zionist position went more in the political direction), were critical both of the New York Kehillah and of Zionist participation in it.

On the theory of "going into the communities," or on the theory of Hebraic culture being essential if Zionism is to make any headway, a number of our influential Zionists have adopted a *golus* [Diaspora] program which absorbs them and makes it impossible to concern themselves with direct Zionist work. . . . It is a fundamental assumption of our movement that assimilation cannot be permanently checked in *golus*; that a national culture on national soil is the only alternative to the submergence of the Jews as such. But these friends have gone ahead, taking with them many of the rank and file, who have tackled the tremendous problem of education, communal organization, Hebraic culture among students, etc. Their activities have resulted in immediate loss to us of persuasive personalities.

Lipsky wrote this in 1914.<sup>26</sup>

Lipsky was, of course, fighting a lost battle. By 1914, most American Zionists of whatever ideological orientation, together with the Poalei Zion activists (who usually kept apart from American Jewish "bourgeois" initiatives), were beginning the huge public effort toward the creation of the American Jewish Congress. The most far-reaching vision of the Congress was formulated in 1914 by Louis D. Brandeis: "The Congress is not an end in itself. It is an incident of the organization of the Jewish people, an instrument through which their will may be ascertained, and when ascertained, may be carried out." And further on: "The Congress is not to be an exalted mass-meeting. It is to be the effective instrument of organized Jewry of America."<sup>27</sup>

It took the non-Zionists time to adapt to the Zionists, both to the aims of their Jewish public activities and (especially) to what might be seen as the Zionists' "style": the fact that the Zionists acted on a broad popular Jewish front, while the non-Zionists' preference was for discreet ways of influence. Commenting on the Yiddish press of New York, Marshall wrote to Solomon Schechter, in 1915, that "where unity and harmony should prevail, they sow the seeds of discord. Where calmness and self-control are required, they froth at the mouth. Where secret councils are indispensable, they demand mass-meetings, Jewish congresses, and loud vociferation. Men who should know better are carried away by this insanity."<sup>28</sup>

Additionally, there was a significant segment in the older Jewish community that fought strenuously against the new influences chang-

ing the direction of American Jewry. Several of their representatives were members of the American Jewish Committee, in whose midst they tried to avoid what they considered the pro-Zionist attitudes of Marshall and others. The position of the Committee regarding Zionism, from its foundation in 1906 until the Ben-Gurion—Blaustein agreement in 1950, expresses a complex balancing act between the different tendencies inside the organization.<sup>29</sup> Several times, in the first part of the century, the anti-Zionist forces in the older segment of American Jewry tried to stop the growing influence of Zionists or pro-Zionists. The 1907 purge of the Hebrew Union College faculty can be seen as one of these occasions.<sup>30</sup> An effort to organize the Reform movement's anti-Zionists in 1918 was thwarted by Louis Marshall and Jacob H. Schiff.<sup>31</sup> And finally, the formation of the American Council for Judaism, in 1942, was the most important effort of the older segment of American Jewry to oppose the by then overwhelming influence of Zionist ideas and activities in American Jewry—Zionist ideas and activities of the "Americanized" type described in this essay.<sup>32</sup>

All of this adds to the understanding of the obstacles faced by those among the older leadership of American Jewry who chose the path of collaboration with the Zionists. It was a process that took many years and much conviction, and involved the gradual development of the new ideas and approaches that made it possible. The result was highly rewarding, even if the American Jewish notables who brought it about were hardly aware of the promise imbued in their labors: the maturation of an American Jewish self-definition broad enough to cover almost the whole of American Jewry.

### *Summing Up*

It is worthwhile to note that so many of the trend-creating developments in American Jewry described above, on the ideological level, as well as in the organizational sphere, happened during the first two decades of the century—the period that has been designated as the age of optimism in American Jewry.<sup>33</sup> Patterns established in those earlier years continued at a later period, but the basic discussions about them were not again repeated.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, American Jewry certainly had a view about itself, although that view was still undergoing elaboration. One of its central ideas, shared by practically all sectors of American Jewry, was the belief in the country, its conditions and its institutions, and the hopes about the future of Jewish life in the United States. That belief was most clearly articulated in the writings and actions of the older segment of the community, but it was no less vibrant among the new Jewish immigrants, affirmed and reaffirmed day after day by the very fact of the growing Jewish immigration into the United States.

American Zionists, understanding the necessity to adapt Zionism to the realities of America and to the tenor of Jewish life there, accepted the premises that influenced the community. From a Zionist point of view, this meant a quite complex intellectual effort to adapt the principles of European Zionism—which actually were based on Jewish conditions almost opposite to those in the United States. But American Zionists went further. Riding the tide of Jewish optimism, they labored to infuse into the growing community their own conception about how American Jewry should define itself as a group, what ideological influences it should adopt, and toward what ideals and goals in modern Jewish life it should direct its promising energies. “Zionism plus Diaspora, Palestine plus America,” was the formulation that Friedlaender and his colleagues worked to infuse in the consciousness of the young American Jewish community. The ideological effort of that generation of American Zionists deserves to be recognized as one of the original elaborations of Zionist ideology in a more general sense.

On the other hand, the American Zionists were not acting in a vacuum. They found a community ready to consider their proposals. The meeting between Zionism and American Jewry has been described here as a process which worked in two directions: Zionism that became Americanized, and American Jewry that became “Zionized.” Considered in terms of modern Jewish history in general, that development was quite specific too. There were, it is true, “understandings” reached between sectors of both camps in other countries as well, but nowhere did its course run as deep nor was its influence felt more significantly than in the United States. The process that occurred on the American Jewish side toward its adaptation to Zionism should

be recognized as a creation not less original than the one brought up on the Zionists' side.

At the beginning of the century American Jewry was divided into two main groups, the so-called German and the so-called Russian Jews (a third group, the Sephardis, was small and, although interesting, had little influence). By the 1940s, the difference between both groups had almost disappeared, a result which had been influenced by many factors, including the openness of American conditions and the interruption of Jewish immigration to America after 1924. An additional factor, no doubt, was the elaboration of those ideological frames of reference that were common, if not to the whole of American Jewry, at least to a large part of it. And there seems to be no other value influencing the self-definition of so large a segment of American Jewry than the type of consensus that was created between Zionism and Jewish Americanism in the first part of the century. When in 1958 the Zionist Organization of America reformulated its ideological position toward Zionism and the State of Israel (written, significantly enough, by Mordecai M. Kaplan, the most important follower of the original generation of American cultural Zionists), it was actually the platform of American Jewry, and not only of American Zionism, that was elaborated.<sup>34</sup>

Much attention has been paid in the present article to the ideological expressions of the rapprochement between Zionists and non-Zionists in the United States. This was mainly because the ideological dimension is easily identified and analyzed. Nevertheless, in the framework of these conclusions it should be stressed that the process happened also on the level of public Jewish activities, Zionist and otherwise. Furthermore, one might suggest that for the dynamics of the interaction between the two tendencies, the realm of public activities was perhaps even more important than the realm of ideologies. It was in the collaboration around Jewish public issues, in the United States and in Palestine, that the relationships between the two groups were developed, tested, fought out, and ultimately proved hugely successful. Behind the meeting between Zionists and non-Zionists in the United States there was an idea, an idea that developed slowly and sometimes even painfully, but which was served—indeed, pushed along—by the practical activities on the American Jewish scene where Zionists and non-Zionists learned to work together.

Lastly, we must ask how American Zionist ideology squared—if it squared at all—with the classical, European-inspired positions of Zionism. One may well wonder. In terms of European Zionist thought, American Zionism might have been considered as the outstanding example of *Gegenwartsarbeit*, of Zionists participating in and influencing a large Jewish community. Nevertheless, the balance that existed in most European Zionist organizations between activities in and for Palestine and local communal interests, was not (or could not be) upheld in the conditions of American Jewry. Geared to ideas and concepts that reflected the adaptation of American Jewry to the general environment, indeed, having contributed so much to the elaboration of these concepts, the balance between Judaism and Zionism in America tipped to the American side.

As already mentioned, European Zionist emissaries had a difficult time discovering what was wrong, in their view, with the movement in the United States. After all, American Zionists almost never gave the broader movement any trouble. American Zionism was and remained a large and relatively disciplined body in the World Zionist movement, even if there was a moment, in 1920–21, when thoughts about secession had been seriously considered. But the moment passed, the great figure capable of bringing it about—Brandeis—was forced out. American Zionism remained in the international organization, a large body, although a rather inert one, with a very low-key commitment to those issues which were vital for international Zionism, issues such as aliyah and a personal participation in the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

But then, suddenly, that inert mass was capable of arising like a roaring tiger, with unheard of and unthought of energy, able to mobilize hundreds of thousands of followers, Zionists and non-Zionists, Jews and even Gentiles, and to fight for a major issue in Jewish and Zionist life! It was that combination of power and powerlessness, that promise of harnessed energy the key to which was so elusive, that kept European Zionists wondering about American Zionism.

Only from an historical perspective, then, does it become understandable that three conditions had to be lined up regarding a given issue, in order to activate the strength imbued in American Zionism: the issue had to touch a positive chord in terms Zionistic, Jewish-American, and American-American. That was the other side of the

historical meeting between Zionism and Judaism in America. American Zionism had become inseparable from American Judaism, and consequently, from American life in general. Exactly as Brandeis had proclaimed back in 1915, American Zionists were among the best of American Jews, the most conscious, the most dedicated. But such a position had a price: their lack of participation in the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. Forty years after the establishment of the State of Israel, the imprint of American Jewry on Israeli society is certainly respectable. But it is much, much less than it might have been—considering the size, the power, and the influence of American Jewry—if American Zionism had not become so deeply American-oriented.

### Notes

1. Their opinions are so different from present approaches that they deserve to be quoted. Oscar Handlin's: "Zionism was the outlet, particularly for the second generation. This group was especially perplexed, as all second generations were, by the question of their place in American culture, confused by specific problems of social and economic adjustment, and anxious over the meaning of anti-Semitism. Americans tended to be extremists in the world Zionist movement, in no small measure because they carried into it the whole burden of their worries and fears as American Jews." Handlin, *Adventure in Freedom* (New York, 1954), p. 217. And Will Herberg's: "... the second generation did indeed find itself in two 'civilizations,' but this duality was precisely what it was so eager to get rid of. . . . The characteristic response of the second generation was secularism. . . . Many of them became radicals and 'internationalists.' . . . Others, in a reaction against devaluation, became Zionists; their 'nationalism' was paradoxically also an effort to adjust themselves to America, where ethnic nationalism was a recognized feature of acculturation. Both radicalism and Zionism were second-generation phenomena." Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Garden City, N.Y., 1960), p. 185.

2. After having pondered over many of such memoranda, it seems that the most impressive piece of that type of literature is the analysis of American Zionism written by Chaim Arlosoroff in 1929, and subsequently published in *Surveying American Zionism* (New York, 1929). Arlosoroff was one of the outstanding political and intellectual leaders of the Zionist movement in his day, head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency from 1931 until his untimely death in 1933. He spent several months in the United States in 1928-29, and his memorandum (actually, a long essay that covered, in its printed form, 35 pages) is one of the greatest examples of misperception I have read in Zionist literature. His conclusion was, typically, that the European leadership should take over the American Zionist organization, reorganize it, and direct it through intervention from outside, as the only way to "save" American Zionism from itself.

3. Open letter, August 8, 1907, *American Hebrew*, August 23, 1907, p. 385; Schechter's statement had also been published in the *American Hebrew*, in December 1906, and brought forth a long-drawn polemic. See "Zionism—a Statement," in Solomon Schechter, *Seminary Addresses and Other Papers*, 2d ed. (New York, 1959), pp. 91-104.

4. Ibid.
5. "The Jewish Problem—How to Solve It," in J. de Haas, *Louis D. Brandeis* (New York, 1929), pp. 170–190.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. *Americanism and Zionism* (New York, 1918); see also the collection of articles by Bernard A. Rosenblatt, *Social Zionism* (New York, 1919).
9. In more detail, see "Ahad-Ha'amism in American Thought," in J. Kornberg, ed., *Ahad Ha'am: At the Crossroads* (Albany, N.Y., 1983), pp. 133–141, 195–198.
10. Israel Friedlaender, "Zionism and Americanism," May 13, 1911, lecture, in M. Davis, "Israel Friedlaender's Minute Book of the Achavah Club (1909–1912)," *Mordecai M. Kaplan Jubilee Volume* (New York, 1953), p. 205.
11. Ibid., p. 210.
12. *Past and Present* (Cincinnati, 1919), pp. x–xi.
13. See H. Parzen, "The Purge of the Dissents—Hebrew Union College and Zionism, 1903–1907," *Jewish Social Studies* 37 (1975): 291–322.
14. N. Glazer, *American Judaism*, 2d rev. ed. (Chicago, 1972), p. 103. Howard R. Greenstein, *Turning Point: Zionism and Reform Judaism* (Chico, Calif., 1981) thinks "that the controversy over Zionism did not reach its zenith with the passage of the Columbus Platform. . . . It was unquestionably a turning point in the reassessment of the merits of Jewish nationalism in Reform circles," but it also sowed the seeds of further discord" (p. 9).
15. *CCAR Yearbook*, vol. 7 (Montreal Conference, 1897), p. xli.
16. See Naomi W. Cohen, "The Reaction of Reform Judaism in America to Political Zionism," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 40 (1950–51): 361–394; E. Friesel, *The Zionist Movement in the United States 1897–1914* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 1970), pp. 90–108, 161–168.
17. Howard R. Greenstein, in *Turning Point*, pp. 25–30, describes how much the Columbus resolution was rather a matter of chance than of deep-seated conviction.
18. See above, n. 3.
19. *American Hebrew*, September 20, 1907, p. 488.
20. January 20, 1914, in Ch. Resnikoff, ed., *Louis Marshall, Champion of Liberty*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 708.
21. See his most interesting letter to Julius Rosenwald, February 9, 1927, *ibid.*, pp. 763–764.
22. On the enlarged Jewish Agency, see M. I. Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976), chap. 8; H. Parzen, "The Enlargement of the Jewish Agency, 1923–1929," *Jewish Social Studies* 39 (1977): 129–158; Y. Eilam, "Birth of the Agency," *Israel Year Book* (1980), pp. 51–58; copious documentary material on the discussions toward the formation of the Jewish Agency is found in the papers of Weizmann and of Marshall: *Louis Marshall, Champion of Liberty*, vol. 2, chap. 7; *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann*, vol. 12, ed. J. Freundlich, and vol. 13, ed. P. Ofer (Jerusalem 1977, 1978).
23. September 5, 1918, in *Correspondence on the Advisability of Calling a Conference for the Purpose of Combating Zionism* (New York, 1918), p. 5.
24. E. Friesel, "Jacob H. Schiff Becomes a Zionist: A Chapter in American-Jewish Self-Definition, 1907–1917," *Studies in Zionism* 5 (1982): 55–92.
25. *Maccabaeon*, August 1908, pp. 68–69.
26. L. Lipsky, "What Is Wrong with the Zionist Organization in America?" *Maccabaeon*, May 1914, p. 140; see also "What Ails the New York Kehillah," *ibid.*, December 1912, pp. 185–189.
27. "Jewish Rights," in J. de Haas, *Louis D. Brandeis*, pp. 226–228.

28. February 19, 1915, in: *Louis Marshall, Champion of Liberty*, vol. 2, p. 506.

29. See Naomi W. Cohen, *Not Free to Desist* (Philadelphia, 1972), chaps. 6 and 12. The Blaustein—Ben-Gurion agreement is found in *American Jewish Yearbook* 53 (1952), pp. 564-568.

30. See above, n. 13.

31. See *Correspondence on the Advisability of Calling a Conference*.

32. The development is aptly described in Greenstein's *Turning Point*.

33. See in B. W. Korn, ed., *A Bicentennial Festschrift for Jacob Rader Marcus* (New York, 1976), pp. 131-155.

34. Mordecai M. Kaplan, "A Proposed Platform for the Greater Zionism," in *A New Zionism* (New York, 1959), pp. 187-189.

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# Redefining Ahad Ha-Am: Israel and the Diaspora as Coexisting Centers of Jewish Life

*Alfred Gottschalk*

Ahad Ha-Am (Asher Ginsburg) was born in 1856 and died in 1927. He was one of the most creative men of Jewish letters and philosophic disposition of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although Ginsburg was perhaps the most individualistic of the thinkers of the Jewish world of his time, he always considered himself most modestly as just Ahad Ha-Am, "one of the people." Ahad Ha-Am was endowed with a keen, perceptive mind, and his critical barbs forced his opponents constantly to review and reevaluate their positions as well as their analyses of the problems that plagued the Jewish world of the time. Ahad Ha-Am was not only an essayist of note who sharpened the tool of Hebrew so that it might be useful to express the thoughts of modern man, but also set down with clarity those basic notions which have come to be identified with his name and which we recognize when we use the term "cultural" or "spiritual" Zionism. In a real sense, Ahad Ha-Am was the architect of that philosophy of Zionism. As the editor of *Hashiloah*, which served as the Haskalah's "Review of Literature," as leader of the B'nai Moshe, an elite intellectual group, as a proponent of the rejuvenation of Hebrew culture, he created a rich heritage whose heirs we are to this day.

The outlook of Reconstructionism, the emphasis within Conservative and Reform Judaism on the rebirth of Hebrew as a means for conveying the spiritual treasure of our people, the stress on the teaching of modern Jewish values in our schools, are all derivatives of Ahad Ha-Am's world outlook. In his own way he was an educator *par excellence*, having before him the vision of a people which had to be led out of illusion into a new dimension of thought and experience. Because of this, Ginsburg emerges as one of the great Jewish leaders and teachers at the turn of the century.

Perhaps one of the significant aspects of Ahad Ha-Am's thought—which immediately separates him from such luminaries as Herzl, Pinsker, Borochoy, Brenner, and Berdichevsky—is that he did not view the Jewish “problem” in terms of the problems that beset individual Jews in the modern world. The problem of anti-Semitism, for example, which was the determining wedge in the creation of political Zionism, was not a primary consideration for Ahad Ha-Am. What was of prime importance for him was the “plight of Judaism” and the problems which it faced due to the onslaughts of Darwinism, positivism, and nationalism. Compounded with the onset of these movements was the steady decline of traditional Judaism as an overview which could command the thinking and allegiance of the modern Jew. Ahad Ha-Am singularly devoted himself to the task of finding a solution for the “plight of Judaism” rather than the problems of Jews. For this reason he found it necessary to become the architect of a system of thought, out of which a comprehensive overview of Judaism emerged.

### *Ahad Ha-Am's Early Life*

Before entering into a discussion of Ahad Ha-Am's thought, it is only proper to take a brief glimpse at the man. Asher Ginsburg was born in 1856, in the small town of Skivre in South Russia, a year after the new tsar, Alexander II, ascended the throne. Though Russia was caught up in the midst of the Crimean War, the ascension of Alexander was hailed as the beginning of a new era. The tsar, while he could not bring about political peace in Russia, did attempt far-reaching social and administrative reforms. For the Jews it meant a breath of relief after the horrors of Tsar Nicholas and his regime. The dreaded policy of juvenile conscription came to an end after thirty oppressive years. Schools and universities were again open to Jews, though the reason behind this policy was to quicken the assimilative process of Jews into Russian culture. The overall effect, however, was a sharpening of intellectual life in which the Jewish community benefited. Hebrew and Yiddish periodical literature once again flourished, and hopes for a promising new age flickered on the horizon. However, the liberal adventure was shortlived. Dissension within Russia manifested itself in revolutionary uprisings and assassinations, and when news came to

the tsar that the Jews were fomenters of revolution and the oppressors of the peasantry, committees of investigation were once again set into motion and restrictive legislation followed. As a part of a larger pattern of restriction against the revolutionary elements, Alexander's policy was bound to have serious repercussions, and so, after being the object of a manhunt, he was finally assassinated in the spring of 1881.

During these twenty-five years the character of Ginsberg was in the process of development. He was born into a noted Hasidic family which was both affluent and distinguished for its scholarship, and his father, Isaiah, a merchant and tax farmer, exercised his patriarchal prerogatives to the hilt. And so we have a picture of Asher rising early while it was still dark to study Gemorrah and the *Shulhan Arukh*. By the time he was sixteen he had a reputation as an outstanding talmudist and expert in ritual law. He had also, by this time, mastered grammar and studied some of the Spanish-Jewish writings. In addition to his interest in Jewish law, he had a passion for secular literature, which he read on the sly.

He reports in his *Pirke Zikronot* ("Memoirs") the incident of his grandfather surprising him in his study of algebra and geometry and rebuking him for his efforts. Thereafter he studied the forbidden lore by tracing the mathematical formulas on the steamed window, thereby leaving no evidence of his speculations. His grandfather, again discovering him at his studies, was aghast, thinking that the youngster was practicing witchcraft, and so his newest pleasure was quickly brought to an end. Ginsburg devoured the books in his father's study. So agile and keen was his mind, and so hungry was his soul for knowledge, that he mastered the Russian alphabet by reading the street signs and the signs over various stores. From these primitive beginnings he started his readings in Russian literature. His interest in philosophy, sociology, and the general traditions of Western intellectual life became a consummate passion for him. Although he made attempts at attending some of the German universities, *Ahad Ha-Am* always remained an autodidact. From an educational point of view, it is amazing that *Ahad Ha-Am* was able to assimilate so much knowledge of a most complex nature without the aid of the distinguished tutors and professors who graced the universities of Europe in his day. *Ahad Ha-Am* disciplined himself throughout his lifetime, and the time for study was part of the regimen of his daily existence.

With 1881 and the accession to power of Alexander III, an anti-liberal and pan-slavic program was initiated. Pobedonostsev, a tried reactionary, despised liberal institutions and wanted to create an autocracy under the aegis of the Orthodox church. He commenced a war on all minority groups and plagued Jews with a series of riots and pogroms which were not checked until 1882. In May of that year stringent laws were promulgated which narrowed the Pale of Settlement and practically prohibited Jews from roaming out of their villages. The impetus of these acts shook the Jewish world. A mighty blow had been struck to Haskalah and assimilation. Thousands of Jews milling at the borders in their attempt to flee to Russia dramatized the fact that the Jews had no land of their own where they could seek refuge. In response to the situation, societies of Hoveve Zion ("Lovers of Zion") sprung up which attempted to direct Jews to Palestine. Men such as Leo Pinsker, who had held out hope for emancipation, became, as it were, nationalists overnight. In 1881, as a result of the pogroms, he wrote his *Auto-Emancipation*, which became the new rallying point for the Lovers of Zion.

In these same years in Western Europe the great disenchantment took place. The hopes of the previous century for a world united in brotherhood exploded in the faces of the liberal elements of the Jewish community in particular. The dominant note sounded in the nineteenth century was that of nationalism. The nation had supplanted God as the recipient of loyalty and allegiance. Whereas in the medieval period the frame of reference for dealing with problems was of a religious nature and framed in religious and theological terminology, the nineteenth century spoke in secular and national terms. Whereas in the Age of Reason that which was common to all men received emphasis, the nineteenth century gloried in that which set men and nations apart, pitting one against the other in a war of cultures and national form. It was inevitable that Jews should be caught up in this struggle, since their problem was intricately intertwined with that of their environment. The problems of the nineteenth century were more complex because of the multiclass nature of society, each segment of which viewed the dominant motif of nationalism in terms of its own interest and goals.

In his attack upon capitalism, Karl Marx made the Jews an economic symbol by claiming them as the progenitors of capitalism, heaping upon them all the opprobrium of which he was capable. In aligning Jews with capitalism, he linked them to the worst aspects of an exploitive system of which they were a product but not the originators. Through this device the enmity of the working class was siphoned off and directed against the Jews, setting in motion one of the mighty forces—modern anti-Semitism.

The horns of the dilemma were twofold. Out of Germany the angry voices of the anti-Semitic agitators Marr and Stöcker were to be heard. Pandering to the upper classes, they fastened on to the other horn of the anti-Semitic dilemma, attributing the revolt of the masses to those obvious Jews, Marx and Lassalle. Stöcker wrote, "The Jews are at one and the same time the pace setters of capitalism and of revolutionary socialism, thus working from both sides to destroy the present political and social order."

### *Ahad Ha-Am's Critique of Zionism*

The trap of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was set. To capture Jews it could snap in either direction. In time the hatred of the Jew was formulated along lines that were consummated with the expansion of the German Empire. A cult of race, taking as its creed the framework of the science of anthropology, propounded the theory of blood and soil. Against this background we must understand the emergence of political Zionism and its correlative, cultural Zionism. It was the opinion of Herzl and of Pinsker that the Jews faced these anti-Semitic attacks because they were a "ghost nation," a people without a land, language, or national roots. Therefore, they proposed the necessity of regaining a National Homeland, where the masses of Jews could find refuge and create for themselves a true national existence which would make of the Jewish people a normal, integrated folk, whose prototype was the nation-state of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Because of the agitation and ferment in Eastern and Central Europe, the political Zionists sought the alleviation of the Jewish problem in terms of individual Jews rather than through a philosophic program of national cultural revival. If the Jews were removed from the economic and political context of Europe, it was believed, anti-Semitism would

disappear. It was held that anti-Semitism resulted from the unfortunate economic situations that Jews were forced into, which were perceived as exploitative and nonproductive. This situation was to be resolved by the removal of Jews *en toto* and transplanting them to Eretz Yisrael or some other country, such as Uganda, where Jews could recreate a National Homeland.

It is of interest to note that Ahad Ha-Am was perhaps among the first to take cognizance of what is now a fact, that the creation of a Jewish state would never provide a haven for the majority of Jews living in the world. He was skeptical as to whether more than but a fraction of the entire Jewish world population would ever make Palestine its permanent place of residence. For this reason he never negated the validity of the existence of a wide diaspora of Jews who would have to remain nourished on a philosophy of Judaism which would be in consonance with the modern spirit. It was not that Ahad Ha-Am was calloused to the needs of individual Jews, but that he realistically faced the fact that Palestine could provide the solution for but a small percentage of the beleaguered Jews of his time. Far more serious, he thought, was the need to keep alive a modern, vivid expression of Judaism. To this he bent his great energy and evolved a philosophy of Jewish education.

The Zionist adventure, Ahad Ha-Am maintains, was born not because Judaism was in straits but because Jews were in straits. And, consequently, what Western Zionists wanted to do was to create a Jews' state so that they who now suffered disabilities because of anti-Semitism might find a place of refuge. Ahad Ha-Am took strong objection to having a state built on what he perceived to be negative grounds, namely, to serve solely as a haven of refuge for the persecuted. Commenting upon Herzl's *Der Basler Congress* (Vienna, 1897), he states that "it was anti-Semitism that gave birth to Herzl, and Herzl who gave birth to Political Zionism, and Zionism to the Congress." Western Jews who had their eyes opened to Jewishness through anti-Semitism did not create Zionism for its own sake, but rather to alleviate the ill-effects of anti-Semitism. His sharpest barb is the observation that if anti-Semitism suddenly disappeared, Herzl's Zionism would soon follow in its wake. He quotes Herzl as saying, "The nation is a collective of people whose relationship and unity is maintained by virtue of a common enemy." If the common enemy should disappear,

then it is clear that the nation would disintegrate. Herzl was not aware, according to Ahad Ha-Am, that historic Judaism derives its strength from the national culture which shapes its adherents in its image and unites them by means of an overwhelming spirit, whose existence is not dependent on any external foe.

Ahad Ha-Am concisely set forth this view in the following statement:

One may even doubt whether the establishment of a "Jewish State" at the present time, even in the most complete form that we can imagine, having regard to the general international position, would give us the right to say that our problem has been completely solved, and our national ideal attained. "Reward is proportionate to suffering" (Aboth 5:23). After two thousand years of untold misery and suffering, the Jewish people cannot possibly be content with attaining at last to the position of a State tossed as a ball between its powerful neighbors, and maintaining its existence only in diplomatic shifts and continual truckling to the favored of fortune. An ancient people, which was once beacon to the world, cannot possibly accept as a satisfactory reward for all that it has endured a thing so trifling, which many other peoples, unrenowned and uncultured, have won in a short time without going through a hundredth part of the suffering. It was not for nothing that Israel had Prophets whose vision saw Righteousness ruling the world at the end of days. It was their nationalism, their love for their people and their land, that gave the Prophets that vision. For, in their day, the Jewish State was always between two fires—Assyria or Babylon on one side, and Egypt on the other—and it never had any chance for a peaceful life and a natural development. So, "Zionism," in the minds of the Prophets, expanded that great vision of the end of days, when the wolf should lie down with the lamb, and nation should no longer lift up the sword against nation; and then Israel too should dwell securely in his land. And so this idea for humanity has always been and always will be inevitably an essential part of the national ideal of the Jewish people; and a "Jewish State" will be able to give the people rest only when universal Righteousness is enthroned and holds sway over nations and States.<sup>1</sup>

It is in this connection that Ahad Ha-Am proposed a new kind of center which was not necessarily to be a political center for Jews nor a haven for the oppressed. He fought tenaciously against the Uganda project, maintaining that only in Eretz Yisrael could Jewish culture be reclaimed and restored to its pristine state. The center to be established in Palestine needed to be one that embodied prophetic Judaism. Consequently the *merkaz ruhani*, the spiritual center which was projected, was one in which the choicest of Israel's intelligentsia was to find its moorings. There, according to Ahad Ha-Am, the B'nai Moshe, the

spiritual heirs of Moses, could rebuild the cultural foundations of Hebraism and correct some of the aberrations of what had come to be called Judaism. Ahad Ha-Am looked to the few and not to the many for the rebirth of the genuine Jewish state. It is of interest that a number of the philosophical principles which Ahad Ha-Am first espoused have been adopted and activated by the government of Israel. After Israel was established, its intellectuals turned to the problem of the meaning and definition of a *Jewish* state. What purpose was there for this center in addition to being a haven for the oppressed of the Jewish people? The first prime minister of the State of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, spoke of Israel as a vehicle for the redemption of man, for the implementation of the prophetic society to which Ahad Ha-Am had alluded. "Anyone who does not realize that the Messianic vision of redemption is central to the uniqueness of our people does not realize the basic truth of Jewish history and the cornerstone of Jewish faith."<sup>2</sup> It is argued that there has to be a uniqueness to Israel, that it has to embody a quantitative difference to make it distinctive from other nation-states.

### *The Role of Israel*

Ahad Ha-Am conceived of the Jewish state as that place in which the moral superman was to be born. In an essay ("The Transvaluation of Values") against Berdichevsky, who had enthroned the Aryan superman as being the prototype to which Jews are to aspire, Ahad Ha-Am turns the eyes of history back to Moses, Amos, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah for his prototype of the modern Jew. It is prophetic Judaism, then, which he espouses as the goal and purpose of the new cultural center—the Jewish State of Tomorrow.

In Ahad Ha-Am's mind, Eretz Yisrael was the hub of the wheel. The spokes of the Diaspora were always a present and relevant factor in his conception of Jewish destiny. Consequently, his whole philosophy is Diaspora-directed as well. Israel, the modern counterpart to Ahad Ha-Am's "Palestine," continues, because of natural circumstances, to be the creator of the new Hebraic patterns of thought and culture. And yet the Diaspora also has a relevance. It is interesting that Ahad Ha-Am conceived of the Galut as having a twofold nature. There is the actual physical Galut, which Zionism cannot show us how to escape,

since the majority of Jews will never immigrate to Eretz Yisrael, and the spiritual Galut, which Ahad Ha-Am claimed could be escaped. The latter cramps the people in its spiritual life by taking from it the possibility of safeguarding its individuality according to its own spirit. This spiritual cramping, he says,

which our ancestors called the exile of the Divine presence has become especially painful in our time since the overthrow of the artificial wall behind which the spirit of the people entrenched itself in past generations, in order to live their own lives. And now we, in our national life, are enslaved to the spirit of the people around us. We can no longer save our national individuality from being undermined as a consequence of the necessity of assimilating ourselves to the spirit of an alien life which is too strong for us. . . . Now it is this problem of spiritual *Galut* which really finds its solution in the national refuge of Palestine, a refuge not for all Jews who need peace and bread, but for the spirit of the people, for that distinctive, unique cultural form, the result of the historical development of thousands of years which is still strong enough to live and to develop naturally in the future. Though the refuge contains only a tenth part of the people, this tenth part will be sacred to the whole which will see in it a picture of its national individuality or what it is like when it lives its own life without external restraint.<sup>3</sup>

### *Implications for Jewish Education*

We may accept from Ahad Ha-Am many of his remarkable insights, but the convolutions of present-day Jewish life give rich evidence that a number of his theoretical formulations have little relevance to the experiences of our time, including the Holocaust and the State of Israel.

There is an overriding commitment which Jews throughout the world now share—the survival of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. In the face of any external challenge to that survival we are one—Am Yisrael.

It is for these reasons that Ahad Ha-Am's call for the creation of a cultural/spiritual center in Israel must be ultimately redefined to include similar centers in the Diaspora, and especially in the United States. Questions such as the quality of Jewish life, the nature of Jewish culture, and the definition of a Jewish society come to the forefront. And confronting the challenge of building centers of Jewish culture in Israel and the Diaspora brings us face-to-face with the need to create usable, working models of such a creative process.

I would like to examine the role of Jewish education in building such a model. There is, after all, a strong basis for affirming that Jewish education is a central concern for Jews everywhere as they attempt to perpetuate a Jewish culture and peoplehood that are continuous from our past, responsive to our present realities, and attuned to the challenges of the future.

While Jewish education alone cannot resolve the problems of Jewish estrangement, alienation, and assimilation, it has a critical role to play in determining the continuity of the Jewish people. To better understand how Israel and the Diaspora might strengthen Jewish education everywhere, there is a need to analyze the foundations on which Jewish education rests, the goals toward which it seeks to move, and the realities in which it takes place.

The foundations of Jewish education lie in a vast inherited tradition, a shared historical experience, and a world view that is shaped by core values. For some these elements are perceived as fixed and immutable, challenging the educational process to transmit the past as it has been handed down and to firmly plant it in the minds and hearts of the present and future generations. Others understand these same elements as a dynamic and developmental process whereby generations of Jews have reinterpreted their tradition, history, and world view in response to both external and internal forces and changes. In this view the educational process invites interaction with this heritage to create a meaningful formula for contemporary Jewish living both individually and collectively. With the advent of the State of Israel still others have come to view this legacy as relevant insofar as it supports a national redefinition of Jewish identity and destiny. Education in this context focuses on the creation of a society and citizenry that embody the national aspirations of the Jewish people.

Thus in each case the meaning of Jewish tradition, history, and values is interpreted quite differently, reflecting profoundly held beliefs about the nature of Jewish destiny. In the face of these divergent perceptions about the foundations of Jewish education, the task is to search for those categories of knowledge which we might affirm as common to any vision of the educated Jew. Such affirmation would take into account that the acquisition and utilization of this knowledge would vary according to the several philosophies of Judaism.

An examination of the most recent curricula developed by the several ideological movements in North American Jewish life is revealing in this regard. Dr. Walter Ackerman of Ben-Gurion University noted that although the content areas of the several curricula shared much in common (history, texts, prayer, Israel, etc.), each defined the perspective and goals in these areas in consonance with the particular ideology of the movement that created the curriculum. The conclusions to be drawn are that this common core of knowledge is to be utilized to reinforce a specific ideology and that attempts to formulate a curriculum for universal use would prove most difficult. If this is the case in one Diaspora community, it is clear that efforts to create a curriculum that would be suitable for Diaspora communities as well as Israel would not prove fruitful. This reality does not preclude collaboration on other levels. For example, a knowledge of Bible is most likely a *sine qua non* of any Jewish educational model. Accordingly, considerations about Bible, both scholarly and pedagogical, could form the basis of joint efforts to strengthen Jewish education. Scholars and educators from both Israel and the Diaspora have unique perceptions to bring to such a mutual effort. The very recognition of a common commitment to the text in the face of a plurality of perceptions about its meaning might provide a basis on which to move forward to other categories of knowledge.

There is another important consideration in examining the foundations of Jewish education, namely, the realm of educational theory, technology, and methodology. Whatever the particular view of Jewish tradition and content, any educational effort must take into account the body of knowledge and research which derives from the discipline of education. Assuming a shared goal of creating the most effective models for Jewish learning, Israel and the Diaspora can create a partnership that seeks to apply the scholarship in education to the particular challenges of Jewish education. Drawing on such theoretical fields as sociology of education, curriculum, instruction and evaluation, academics, researchers, and practitioners might collaborate to create a base of knowledge that addresses some of the most perplexing Jewish education questions. To the degree that Jewish education seeks to

build Jewish identity, how can evaluation theories provide models for the assessment of outcomes that indicate identity formation? How does curriculum theory contribute to the creation and implementation of models that respond to the overall aims of Jewish education while taking into account the particularities of different populations, social settings, and cultural environments? The potential of educational technology in the service of Jewish education is a universal question. Eli N. Evans, in his essay "The Electronic Village: Its Implications for Jewish Life," advocates the use of all forms of media—cable television, broadcast television, video discs, and computers—to reach mass audiences of Jews in order to enhance Jewish learning. Such an approach takes into account the impact of media in the lives of children and adults worldwide, but there is much research to be done on the educational effects of the media. Not only is joint collaboration important in assessing technology in the light of educational goals, but educators in both Israel and the Diaspora must generate more experimental projects to disseminate Jewish learning through the media. In such an endeavor scholars of Judaica, educators, and media specialists from all communities will need the support and encouragement of funding bodies to carry on research and development. This brief survey of the importance of collaborative efforts in the realm of educational research and scholarship indicates the benefit to be derived from a partnership between Israel and the Diaspora that focuses on common educational issues.

### *The Goals of Jewish Education*

Any examination of the potential for joint efforts between Israel and the Diaspora must take into account the goals which are posited for Jewish education. Here the differences in perspective are significant. In Israeli education there is a presumption that the Israeli and Jewish identities of students are inextricably linked. Both the secular and religious tracks in Israeli education include, as a matter of course, the classical texts and history of the Jewish people. The continuity with Jewish cultural experience is provided for by the centrality of the Hebrew language. Both Jewish and general subject matter are an integral part of an Israeli child's education. The questions that arise in the

context of Israeli education are an outgrowth of how Jewish culture is perceived in the formation of national identity and citizenship. The range of views includes both the most traditional understanding in a religious sense to a secular outlook that perceives Jewish culture as the historical heritage of the Jewish nation. Ultimately the goals are to educate and socialize the young of Israel to a vision of citizenship and patriotism in accordance with a particular definition of Israel as a Jewish state.

In the Diaspora the social, cultural, and practical context is quite different. With the exception of those Jews who by choice exclude participation in the social and cultural life of the communities in which they live, all others contend with the challenge of living in two worlds. One's Jewishness is shaped through interaction with the other cultural forces in the environment. National and religious identity are not blended, and under the best of circumstances do not stand in opposition to each other. Jewish identity in the Diaspora is optimally the affirmation of the individual and collective expression of Judaism in relation to values and mores that derive from the general culture in which Jews live. In the Diaspora Jewish education must reflect goals that give credence to these multiple realities, setting forth how Judaism can be a pervasive force in the lives of Jews within such complex realities. The articulation of goals in the Diaspora is further complicated by the various ideological forces in Jewish life, each presenting a different view of what constitutes the core Jewish experience and appropriate accommodation to the general society and culture.

Given the very different world views and needs of Jews in the Diaspora and Israel, we might only hope to achieve consensus on the most general aims for Jewish education. Beyond those affirmations more specific goals, objectives, and standards would provide little guidance within such a plurality of perspectives. Even the quantification of what a Jewish education should consist of would not achieve universal acceptance. There is, however, great promise in creating opportunities for serious dialogue among educationists from the different communities and philosophical perspectives. Much can be gained from the sharing of experience, knowledge, and skills which have the potential for effective utilization in a wide variety of settings. The creation of a common pool of human and material resources, reflecting special expertise, could serve as an important asset for all forms of Jewish edu-

cation. The challenge would be that of adaptation, not adoption, in a particular educational configuration.

### *Israel and the Diaspora as Partners*

After forty years as a sovereign nation, Israel remains the lodestar of the Jewish world. It is central to all Jewish organizations for living a normal Jewish life. It represents in its dream component and harsh realities the opportunity for fulfillment of an individual as a Jew in a national environment and under circumstances which lead to the recreation and reconstruction of the Jewish people within our time. A Jewish world without Israel at its center is but a shadow existence. Jews living in the Diaspora who are leading Jewish lives to the best of their ability and within the context of the freedom accorded them will preserve Judaism and Jewishness in the Diaspora environment. With Israel at the center of Jewish concerns, in terms of spirituality, language, scholarship, and the arts, that life will be enhanced and enriched.

Yet world historical events since Ahad Ha-Am's time have made necessary a redefinition of his concept of Israel as a Jewish cultural/spiritual center. The Diaspora must create similar centers for the millions of Jews who will continue to live outside the State of Israel. There, coexisting centers of Jewish life can create the intellectual and spiritual apparatus which will allow world Jewry to survive in this crucial age, providing an overall framework for the totality of our people and the shaping of the Jewish national culture by both Israel and the Diaspora.

The model of the Diaspora-Israel partnership in strengthening Jewish education that I have suggested in this essay is but one step in such a direction.

I cannot help but feel that such an approach will ultimately lead to the mutual strengthening of both Israel and the Diaspora. And that mutual strengthening must have a future. We can build a living bridge of Jews who will traverse the tangents between the Center and the Diaspora. Let those of us who are part of the modern world in Israel and the Diaspora write a new *K'tav Amanah*, a document of mutual trust and belief.

We Jews, whether we are Israelis or Diaspora Jews, especially American Jews, have much in common, both in our past and in our future. We are an uprooted people, and so, wherever we find ourselves today, we care about each other and about our welfare as a people. Ahad Ha-Am, I suspect, would have felt very much the same way.

### Notes

A portion of the present article was published in the *Journal of Reform Judaism* as "Ahad Ha-Am: Confronting the 'Plight of Judaism'" (Summer 1987, pp. 63-72). I am grateful to the *Journal of Reform Judaism* for giving me permission to use this material.

1. Ahad Ha-Am, *Zionism and Judaism* (1922), pp. 26-27.
2. *Forum*, vol. 4, p. 113.
3. Ahad Ha-Am, *Ten Essays on Zionism and Judaism*, trans. Leon Simon (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p. 97.

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# American Christians and Israel, 1948 – 1988

*Carl Hermann Voss and David A. Rausch*

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, founder in 1942 of the Christian Council on Palestine, was the embodiment of the classic Protestant Social Gospel: optimistic, if not quite utopian, open to sundry suggestions and solutions, possessed of singular fortitude as well as a rugged assurance that good always triumphs over evil and the “Kingdom of God on earth” will prevail. From his earliest days as a Methodist theological student through his younger years as a Congregational minister in Albion, Illinois, and Springfield, Ohio, then in Atlanta, Georgia, such convictions resulted in his pioneering, in 1911, one of the first organizations to implement the principles of the Social Gospel—the Social Services Commission of the Congregational Churches of the U.S.A., later (1934) to become the Christian Social Action Council of what ultimately emerged as the United Church of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Atkinson worked with such leading citizens as former President William Howard Taft, attorney Amos Pinchot, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and reformer Raymond Robbins in the League to Enforce Peace<sup>2</sup> just prior to his trailblazing efforts for ecumenism in key positions with the Carnegie-endowed Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.<sup>3</sup> A robust, outspoken Christian statesman, Henry A. Atkinson led fellow Social Gospelers into the fray with buoyant hopes that a new world was “a-bornin’.” True, the Kingdom might now be delayed; but it would assuredly come—eventually . . . So with Zionism.

One aspect of Atkinson’s indomitable faith over the decades was seen in his firm belief that, at long last, Zionism would indeed be victorious. Not only was this certainty rooted in the biblical promises read aloud by his mother from his earliest childhood in the 1880s but

it was confirmed afresh by his own visits to the Holy Land in his travels between the two world wars. He had come to know about the famed Fundamentalist Zionist, William E. Blackstone, whose 1891 petition to President Benjamin Harrison met with Atkinson's wholehearted approval when he chanced upon it some years later.<sup>4</sup> He also was a friend of the Congregationalist clergyman, Dr. Adolph Berle, Sr., whose *The World Significance of a Jewish State* (1918) he had read at the time of publication, soon after Great Britain's promulgation of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, "view[ing] with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."<sup>5</sup> Atkinson enthusiastically endorsed Balfour's famous letter to Lord Lionel Rothschild and often quoted from it. Even though Britain might be slow to implement its League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, granted at San Remo in 1922, Atkinson believed that the British would "muddle through" and effect a satisfactory settlement. He fancifully speculated that some cantonal arrangement on the Swiss model of unity might be achieved, naively proposing a future Palestine in which Jew and Arab, Christian and Moslem would model their government "perhaps after the pattern of Lebanon," he would muse.

### *The Christian Council on Palestine*

At one of the earliest meetings of the Christian Council on Palestine in 1943, Atkinson was taken aback by the sharp disagreements he encountered from such important members of the executive council as archaeologist William Foxwell Albright and theologian Reinhold Niebuhr. They reminded him that realism required a *Jewish* state, not a new bi-national or tri-national satrapy.

Later that fateful fall of 1943, the newly elected co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, listened to Atkinson's simplistic expedient of amassing Christian opposition to the 1939 British White Paper and abruptly and sternly rebuked his Christian friend. Rabbi Silver reminded him that only a "Jewish commonwealth" with a self-governing Jewish majority could achieve justice for a harassed and homeless people. Merely relaxing immigration restrictions would not be enough. When Atkinson's rabbinical preceptors—Stephen S. Wise, Philip S. Bern-

stein, and Milton Steinberg—echoed Silver, though in less vehement fashion, the Christian clergyman began slowly to take a new tack. Nevertheless he held back; he still retained his optimistic outlook as he continued in valiant efforts to secure much-needed Christian support for the newly organized Council on Palestine composed, as planned, almost entirely of Christian ministers.

After Henry Atkinson had gathered many influential names, he told the executive secretary of the Council, a young minister from Pittsburgh, that the work with the Council would really last a very short time. He read aloud scores of outstanding names beginning with Reinhold Niebuhr of New York's Union Theological Seminary and continuing with Ralph W. Sockman of New York's Christ Church (Methodist), the doughty Methodist Bishop Francis J. McConnell, the brilliant William Foxwell Albright of Johns Hopkins University, the rugged Daniel A. Poling of the *Christian Herald* and Philadelphia's Baptist Temple, "and many big shots like that," gloated the quintessential Social Gospeler. "You know, [Carl Herman] Voss, it really will be a matter of only a few months. Then you'll see: the British are going to be so impressed by that letterhead of ours with all those top-notch names on it that they will realize we really do have public opinion on our side. They'll grasp the fact that the Christian world will not allow the gates of Palestine to remain closed to the Jewish refugees left in Hitler's Europe. They'll open the gates of Palestine and refugees will pour in. We'll fold up the Committee and congratulate ourselves on a job well done."

When reminded of this naive prediction fifteen years later, shortly before his death, Atkinson reflected grimly: "How wrong I was, lad . . . How wrong I was!"

Like all too many Americans, Atkinson had misjudged the trends and events. He had underestimated the lack of courage in the American government, the insensitivity of the average Christian's conscience, the power of missionary groups to quench all hope of using Palestine as a refuge. He failed to gauge correctly the silence of the Roman Catholics, as well as the hesitation of many Jews. He assessed inadequately the crippling effects of the obduracy of the British Foreign Office and the myopic-minded *Realpolitik* of the Departments of Defense and State to convince the public that any meddling in British policy in the Middle East would spell disaster for the war effort.

*The American Christian Palestine Committee*

When, at the end of World War II, these same circumstances prevailed with scarcely any change in the hard facts of political life, the attainment of the Partition of Palestine after the vote by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 29, 1947, and the establishment of the new State of Israel in May 1948 seemed almost a miracle. Again a mood of unreasoning optimism arose among many in the newly formed American Christian Palestine Committee (ACPC), which had from 1946 carried on the work of the combined American Palestine Committee (founded in 1931) and the Christian Council on Palestine (founded in 1942).

At a meeting in the early winter of 1949 the executive council of the American Christian Palestine Committee had to decide whether it was going to continue now that Israel's statehood had been achieved and the new nation was apparently soon to be admitted to the four-year-old United Nations. An Episcopal minister from Westchester, the Reverend Wendell Phillips, argued that the Committee had now done its job. He maintained it should be dissolved and the information services of the embassy and consulates of the new State of Israel allowed to carry on their own programs to counter the hostile forces aligned against Israel.

Professor Paul Tillich, however, thought otherwise. As a member of the ACPC since February 1944, and as a refugee from Nazi Germany since 1933, he recalled the false optimism of his countrymen, especially among his own friends and comrades of the Religious Socialist movement in Germany in the days of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933). He argued that a prudent view of the future would demand a strong Committee, ready and willing to oppose all hostility and antagonism.

Indeed, opposition even then had begun in one organization, the Committee for Peace and Justice in the Holy Land, composed of such well-known pro-Arab supporters as former oil company executive Kermit Roosevelt, Barnard's dean, Virginia Gildersleeve, Yale's archaeologist Millar Burrows, Harvard's philosopher William Ernest Hocking, Harry Emerson Fosdick of Riverside Church, Union Theological Seminary's president Henry Sloane Coffin, and Rabbi Morris Lazaron of Baltimore's Hebrew Temple and the American Council for

Judaism. The rabbi's presence reflected, it was announced, "the non-partisan character" of the organization's constituency.<sup>6</sup>

The American Christian Palestine Committee soon discovered it would have to continue carrying on an educational and informational program among Christians. It did so in effective fashion for a number of years, only to wind down its activities in the late 1950s and early 1960s as financial support began to shrink. By that time, the Israeli government, through the embassy in Washington and consulates throughout the country, was carrying on an ever-growing number and variety of services that interpreted the new Israel to Christians and, of course, to Jews and non-Jews alike.

*"Our Hope"*

Certainly, Christians reacted quite differently to the formation of a Jewish state. Fundamentalist-Evangelicals welcomed the event, reminding their prophetically minded constituency of Israel's importance in Bible history and future events.<sup>7</sup> Arno C. Gaebelein, the influential Fundamentalist teacher during the early decades of the twentieth century, had died in 1945, but his son, Frank E. Gaebelein, and his friend, E. Schuyler English, carried on his teaching in the periodical *Our Hope* (founded in 1894). *Our Hope* welcomed the new nation with the ten-paragraph excerpt, "Israel Becomes a Nation Again." It declared: "The State of Israel, one of the world's oldest sovereignties, became the world's newest sovereignty at midnight on May 15 [the correct date was 14], 1948." Alerting its readers to the retreat of High Commissioner Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham, the selection of the new premier David Ben-Gurion, the "recognition" by President Harry S. Truman, and the impending attack by five Arab nations, *Our Hope* exclaimed that "Britain has mystified the world by having disarmed the Jews and armed the Trans-Jordan Arabs."<sup>8</sup>

To the Fundamentalist-Evangelical, as to Henry A. Atkinson's mother, who faithfully read the prophetic passages to her son, the Bible had given the Land to the Jewish people. "There are many Bible references to this restoration," *Our Hope* asserted, quoting one passage in full:

Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and

justice in the earth. In His days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: and this is His Name whereby he shall be called THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS. Therefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that they shall no more say, the Lord liveth, which brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, the Lord liveth, which brought up and which led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all countries whither I had driven them; and they shall dwell in their own land (Jeremiah 23:5-8; cf. Matthew 24:30, 31).

“Observe,” E. Schuyler English concluded in this “Current Events in the Light of the Bible” section of *Our Hope*, “that in God’s sight it is *their own land*.” English even alerted his readers to the fact that Moshe Shertok, foreign secretary of Israel, had informed the world that these new citizens would be called “Israelis” (rather than the “Israelites” the Fundamentalist was used to), and Editor English cited experts who differed on how this new term would be pronounced.<sup>9</sup>

### *Daniel A. Poling*

The Evangelical publication, *Christian Herald*, with a circulation approaching 400,000 in 1948, claimed to be *interdenominational* and *undenominational*. Its editor was Dr. Daniel A. Poling, a member of the (Dutch) Reformed Church of America and honorary member of the Ohio Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren Church (his father’s church, in which his own ministry had begun). A self-proclaimed “gentle Fundamentalist,” Poling was senior minister of the Baptist Temple in Philadelphia and national co-chairman of the American Christian Palestine Committee. Answering unequivocally a reader’s question in October 1947, Daniel Poling declared to the *Christian Herald* readership: “I am a Christian Zionist who believes that Palestine should become, as promised, the Jewish state.” Welcoming the new State of Israel, he never wavered from that position.<sup>10</sup>

The American Christian Palestine Committee was able to build upon the support that had been gathered through the years by this spectrum of varied minds and theologies to back the idea of a Jewish national home for many different reasons. The joint leadership in earlier decades of such men as the Mormon Senator William King of Utah

and the quintessential Protestant Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts were two extremes of the kinds of interest and support given by Christians to the cause of a Jewish state. In the realm of politics in the 1940s, the guidance came from individuals as diverse as Senator Charles McNary (a Republican who was Wendell Wilkie's running mate in the presidential campaign of 1940) and Senator Robert Wagner of New York, a leading Democrat and New Deal advocate and an outstanding Roman Catholic layman.

Bipartisan in representation but mostly Protestant in its constituency, the ACPC encompassed more than 20,000 Christian leaders under its standard. It carried on a comprehensive educational program into the late 1950s and early 1960s to inform the American public concerning the new Israel. The ACPC endeavored to interpret to American Christians the Jewish people's quest for nationhood as reflected in the Zionist movement, while also drawing attention to the extraordinary achievements of the Jews of the new land of "Israel." At the same time the Committee pointed to the responsibility Christians had, in light of the Hitler terror, to wipe out the evils of anti-Jewish persecution and to remedy the problem of Jewish national homelessness.

To accomplish these ends the Committee had an expansive and varied program: it sponsored seminars on a local basis and conferences on a regional scale, forming city and state chapters. A small but capable staff distributed pamphlets, reprints, and other literature. The ACPC organized a speaker's bureau, Club Program Service, which offered more than three hundred non-Jewish speakers to church groups, university forums, service clubs, and community organizations on the subjects of Zionism, Israel's history, and Jewish-Christian understanding of Israel. Study tours, composed of Christian leaders, were organized to visit Arab lands and Israel. Each year such groups, sponsored by local Jewish communities, attained a rare kind of mutual understanding and friendship, which continued to prevail among Jews and Christians participating in such projects. Films and slides, radio and television programs were promoted, and a provocative, informative, well-edited journal, *Land Reborn*, was published to highlight the major parts of this program, mobilize support among non-Jews, and share informed opinion, usually from prominent Christians, on burning issues in Israeli-Arab affairs.<sup>11</sup>

## Dorothy Thompson

In 1951 a rival organization suddenly sprang up, the American Friends of the Middle East (AFME). The AFME asserted to be “pro all nations of the Middle East” but proved to be especially critical of the new Israel. Claiming that its support came from individuals and corporations interested in the Middle East, the AFME group gathered a sizable number of Middle Eastern authorities, ranging from professors to authors, oil company executives to missionaries, archaeologists to Middle East educators, carrying on an extensive program which called for an annual budget of at least half a million dollars. Not until the early 1960s, however, was it disclosed that the greatest part of the budget—more than \$400,000—came from the CIA, being dispensed in the Middle East by the so-called Dearborn Foundation.<sup>12</sup>

Dr. Garland Evans Hopkins, an associate editor of *Christian Century* magazine, served as executive vice president of AFME; and the president for a considerable length of time was Miss Dorothy Thompson, a famed newspaper correspondent and the daughter of a Methodist minister. Raised in a family devoted to social justice, Thompson had seen her father criticized to the point of almost losing his parish for making friends with a local Italian Catholic priest. During the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s Miss Thompson, by then a popular columnist and lecturer, had been an enthusiastic pro-Zionist who spoke at Zionist rallies, and, in later years, at American Christian Palestine Committee affairs on such subjects as, “I Speak as a Christian” and “I Speak Again as a Christian.” In her column in the *New York Herald Tribune* and allied newspapers she sounded a recurring refrain: “The Jews Are a People,” “The Jews Deserve and Need Palestine,” “Jewry is Deserving of Justice and Palestine,” etc.<sup>13</sup>

In the mid-1940s, after a trip to the Middle East, Dorothy Thompson suddenly changed her mind, following two and a half decades of single-minded support of Zionist aspiration. At that time she began to condemn Zionists in general and Israelis in particular, using her column and lecture platform as a means to berate the Jews as a people and Israel as a nation.<sup>14</sup> This was quite a contrast from the 1930s and early 1940s, when the New York Jewish community, for example, found strength and courage in Thompson’s column as it alternated in the

*New York Herald Tribune* with the writings of Walter Lippmann, a Jew who never mentioned Jews or Zionism or the Nazis' extermination of Jews.<sup>15</sup> Thompson's columns now became anti-Israel, and her new brand of writing appeared even in the pages of *Commentary*, publication of the American Jewish Committee, in a widely publicized article entitled "America Demands a Single Loyalty: The Perils of a 'Favorite' Foreign Nation" (March 1950).

When her lecture engagements shrank in number and her column fell victim to cancellation in a number of newspapers, she made a prudent decision and resigned from the presidency of the American Friends of the Middle East. Thompson retained her membership in the organization, however, speaking out on its behalf and maintaining her loyalty to its principles.<sup>16</sup>

An examination of voluminous correspondence in the Dorothy Thompson files at the Syracuse University Libraries has thus far yielded no specific instance of her confiding to friends or associates exactly why she had this sudden change of mind in 1946. She did not reflect it in her conversations or conduct in Palestine in 1945 when she visited Jerusalem on VE-Day and seemed to be as excited and moved by the feats and progress of her Jewish friends in Palestine as on previous visits. In later years some people traced the change to her having married a Sudeten German, Maxim Kopf, who, it was often conjectured, might have altered her thinking in anti-Jewish ways. Such supposition is, however, at best or at worst purely hypothetical. Her generous support of Jewish refugees over many years and her consistent custom of contributing every speaking fee from Zionist sources to the alleviation of the plight of Jewish refugees would lead one to other, more praiseworthy conclusions.

Perhaps some insight may be gained from Dorothy Thompson's own words in a speech, "Israel, Judaism, and the American Jew," delivered to the Philadelphia chapter of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism at the Hotel Warwick on November 1, 1949. After arguing in most of her speech that Zionism was anti-American and anti-Enlightenment in its denial of assimilation and its adherence to foreign nationalism, Thompson shared her horror at some of the events that had transpired in the founding of the Jewish state and her astonishment at the opposition she received for voicing her dismay. She stated:

In addition to this fear being engendered among Jews [of a horrible American pogrom] there is another tendency equally dangerous as it affects non-Jews, and that is to equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. This really amounts to making anti-Semites by appointment out of everybody who either does not believe in Zionism, or who criticizes any phase of Zionist and Israel policy and I speak from very unhappy experience—we are in a frame of mind and a condition of affairs in this country, where to make any criticism of any policy or party in Israel is equated, by Zionist leaders and apologists, with anti-Semitism, with, as a result, a highly strained and by no means healthy condition in the press. I thought, for instance, that the assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte and his aide, was a terrible thing; I also thought that the failure of the Israel government to apprehend the culprit was shameful; I also thought that the immense reception, accorded to the Irgunist leader Beigin [Menahem Begin] in New York, was out of place, for I do not feel friendly to terrorists and wild chauvinists whatever their race, nation, or party. I made these criticisms in good faith, but also, as I learned, in most naive innocence, for by making them, I called down upon my head a campaign of vilification such as had seldom been my lot to endure; a huge letter-writing campaign to newspapers, for instance, demanding that my column be dropped, and charging me, of all things, with being an anti-Semite, as though being anti-Irgun or anti-the Stern group was synonymous with being against all Jews everywhere. One of my editors admonished me, “For God’s sake, Dorothy, lay off *the Jews!*” When I protested that I had never been on the Jews but had confined myself entirely to the actions of a specific group and party in a specific instance, as throughout my public life I had thousands of times criticized specific measures and actions taken by states and parties within states, he said, “Well, you may as well learn that Israel and Zionism are sacrosanct; lay off the question, or praise everything; or you will have your throat cut”—whereupon he launched into the most terrific blast of anti-Semitism I have ever heard from a civilized American.

Dorothy Thompson concluded her speech by claiming that she had candidly shared her experience in “the ardent and absolutely sincere hope that Israel will flourish” and in a spirit “uttered by one who far from rejecting the American Jews, and far from rejecting the State of Israel, wants to see American Jews wholly American, free and equal members of the American nation they have dreamed of.”

To many of Dorothy Thompson’s supporters and friends her reversal was sad and disillusioning, leaving a host of them deeply disappointed. She had been such a source of strength and courage for literally millions of people for so many years that her change of mind, in their estimation, was so radical, so pronounced, so bitter at times, so totally unexpected, and so out of character with her former views, that it was as though she had become mentally unbalanced—not, it would appear, such an unkind or unwarranted conjecture.<sup>17</sup>

*Pierre van Paassen*

When her good friend of the Viennese years (the 1920s and 1930s), Vincent Sheean, wrote his saga, *Personal History* (1934), as a roving correspondent, he attained best-seller fame and gathered as well considerable royalties and high fees on the lecture circuit. Sheean devoted a scathing chapter, "Holy Land" (pp. 333-355), to the Zionists in general and the Palestinian Jews in particular, laying the blame on them for the riots at the Wailing Wall in 1929.

These charges were refuted by Pierre van Paassen in his highly acclaimed, widely read *Days of Our Years*, published in 1939.<sup>18</sup> Van Paassen's flamboyant but fascinating journal of a foreign correspondent went through a number of editions; and he, too, became the rage of lecture platforms. In a number of additional books which he turned out on much the same pattern, with tales of Holland, Europe, and far-off lands, and with adventures almost beyond belief, he still pleaded the Zionist cause.

Van Paassen was before anything else a Christian adherent of the Zionist movement, unashamedly, avowedly, and eloquently so. In the 1940s he was probably as well known on behalf of Zionism as any spokesman, Jewish or Christian; but soon his undependability, his drinking habits, his mercurial allegiance to the Revisionists and off-again, on-again positions in their non-Jewish organization ranks, and the repetition of his themes in the swiftly appearing books began to diminish his effectiveness. When people, after Dorothy Thompson's fall from grace and after her death in 1961, looked to van Paassen for guidance and support, they found none. His books no longer attracted readers, and he had nothing new or original to say. His repetitious themes and the lack of scholarship disturbed many, both Christians and Jews, especially now that he had become an ordained Unitarian minister, seeking recognition primarily on that clerical score and his Zionism, coupled with a mystical One World dream where the Soviet Union had only the highest and noblest of intentions.<sup>19</sup>

*John Haynes Holmes*

A minister with considerably more power, credibility, and integrity, whose background was also Unitarian but who proudly called himself

an "Independent," was the great John Haynes Holmes, minister of New York's Community Church, who outlived van Paassen by three years and died at eighty-four in 1964. Yet he did little in his latter years on behalf of Zionism and Israel, except to recall with nostalgia and delight his memorable visit to Palestine in 1929 as a guest of Judah Magnes, Henrietta Szold, and Hans Kohn (then of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem). After his adventurous trip to the Middle East Holmes published a lucid, impassioned book, *Palestine: Today and Tomorrow—A Gentile's View of Zionism* (1929). He had total admiration for Judah L. Magnes and gave his allegiance to the bi-national viewpoint of the Jewish-Arab state as proposed by Magnes, Martin Buber, Ernst Simon, and Hugo Bergman and their Ihud group. Nevertheless, this visionary dream and his own brand of absolute pacifism were rendered irrelevant by Israel's establishment in 1948. Like many liberal Christian ministers, especially those with convictions of absolute pacifism, John Haynes Holmes limited his observations to deploring Israel's having founded a political state; he refused to accept the premise that without such a state the Israelis would be annihilated by their neighbors. He consistently viewed David Ben-Gurion as a "trouble maker" and yearned for the kind of leadership he felt Judah Magnes had given the Hebrew University and the people of Israel. Holmes always questioned his visitors who had been to Israel: "Do they [the Israelis] really appreciate what Magnes meant to them and did for them and ultimately will leave them as legacies of peace and light?" He reluctantly but understandingly forgave Magnes's defection from pacifism at the beginning of World War II and at the outset of hostilities between Arab and Jew in the War for Independence in 1948. John Haynes Holmes had made his greatest contribution in 1929; and his many friends and disciples who were supporters of Israel were willing to let his name abide with honor for that work.

### *Reinhold Niebuhr*

During Holmes's absence in Palestine in 1929, he invited a newcomer to New York City, Reinhold Niebuhr, to serve as guest preacher at Community Church for six successive Sundays. Niebuhr had just arrived at Union Theological Seminary to join the faculty as the William E. Dodge Professor of Applied Christianity. He was already commit-

ted to a Zionist approach to Palestine's ultimate settlement and had spoken to that effect in his former Detroit parish. He had also written sympathetically about the Jews in his regular Saturday night column in the *Detroit News*. His strictures against assimilation appeared often in *World Tomorrow*, the *Christian Century*, the *New Leader*, and the *Messenger* (Evangelical Synod), and he had a special aversion to the admonitions and pieties of those who advocated "brotherhood" in all-too-easy language, as in the newly founded National Conference of Jews and Christians (as it was then called).

By the early 1930s, Reinhold Niebuhr was fully aware of the problems German Jewry faced and, with such articles as "Germany Must Be Told!" in a May 1933 issue of the *Christian Century*, pointed to Palestine as a refuge for Jews fleeing Hitler's sadism. In an historic and stirring address in 1938, before a national convention of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization, he deplored the moral bankruptcy of the Munich settlement of 1938 and its "Evil Pact"; and then he turned to Palestine and spoke of the time, energy, and treasure invested in the national homeland and the necessity of not letting it fail.<sup>20</sup>

Professor Niebuhr warned repeatedly in the 1940s about the inequities of the 1939 British White Paper limiting immigration to Palestine and cutting it off entirely in March 1944. His membership in the American Palestine Committee from the early 1930s and his leadership in founding the Christian Council on Palestine in 1942 reflected his keen interest in that country's Zionist beginnings. In New York City he had a steady stream of visitors coming to his study to discuss a Jewish national home. He had many friends in Jerusalem and in London, including such well-known people as Kurt Blumenfeld from Berlin, later Jerusalem, and Isaiah Berlin (later "Sir Isaiah") of Oxford and London. Niebuhr kept in touch with American Zionists for whom he spoke frequently. He was especially well known for two articles, "Jews After the War," in the *Nation* in February 1942, when, to the consternation of his many "liberal" and socialist friends, he wrote on behalf of Zionism in a carefully reasoned plea. In those two essays Niebuhr insisted on the right of Jews to live anywhere in the world they chose but at the same time to have the right to express their unique heritage with a national homeland. He particularly wanted to have the Jewish people recognized for their genius in their culture, their religion, and their contribution to the history of mankind. The

*Nation* articles created a great furor in the early 1940s and were widely distributed for many years thereafter.<sup>21</sup>

While Niebuhr's pro-Zionism is probably best known from these articles, he wrote on the subject throughout his entire career. The magazine he founded in 1941, *Christianity and Crisis*, also carried important articles on anti-Semitism, the Holocaust, and Arab-Jewish tensions in the 1940s. Henry A. Atkinson's pro-Zionist article, "The 'Jewish Problem' Is a Christian Problem," appeared in the June 28, 1943 issue and stirred up such a lively debate in the pages of the journal that it was clear great divisions prevailed within Christendom concerning a Jewish national homeland. The debate never ceased. The editorial board of *Christianity and Crisis* was composed of some foremost Protestant leaders and was hopelessly divided on this issue for the next four decades. It became increasingly pro-Arab in spite of Niebuhr, its pro-Zionist founder.

#### *Bayard Dodge*

When Bayard Dodge, president of Beirut University, contributed the pro-Arab article "Peace or War in Palestine" in the March 15, 1948 issue of *Christianity and Crisis*, he unequivocally opposed the U.N. Partition Plan. He warned that "not only well meaning Christian leaders, but even the highest executives in Washington . . . did not take seriously the warnings of missionaries, as well as of the experts of the Department of State and the Army Intelligence" that the Arabs would not accept Partition. Among other concerns, Dodge feared, "If American Christians insist upon sending large numbers of Jewish immigrants to Palestine, it will wreck much of the work which missionaries have carried on for a century, among the Oriental Christians and Moslems of the Southern Near East." Insisting that "Arab progress depends much more upon American industry and philanthropy, than it does on Jewish example," he denigrated the Jewish benefits to Arabs, asserting that "our Protestant and Catholic missions and our non-sectarian colleges are developing leaders with the spiritual strength to demand integrity, toleration, and public service."<sup>22</sup>

Bayard Dodge was satisfied he had "been assured by competent Arab leaders that they are willing to accept some sort of a federal state

[of Arabs and Jews in Palestine], provided it can be conducted according to the regularly established principles of democratic government, with respect for human rights." "Although they [the Arabs] will insist upon limiting immigration," he added, "they will respect the rights of the Jewish cantons, so that they can form the sort of spiritual cultural 'National Home' which the non-Zionist Jews have asked for." The Christian missionary and university president concluded piously: "The Seers of old prophesied a return to Mount Zion. But let us leave it to the Divine Providence to carry out his purposes, without human interference and bloodshed. For one greater than the Prophets has said: 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the Sons of God.' "

In a three-paragraph "Editor's Note" which followed President Dodge's article, Reinhold Niebuhr emphasized that Bayard Dodge had been asked by the editorial board of *Christianity and Crisis* "to give his impressions and convictions on the Palestine situation." Niebuhr underscored the fact that Dodge's position "accurately reflects the prevailing opinion in the missionary movement of the Middle East." Acknowledging the fact that "so many men of good will take completely contradictory views of the situation," Professor Niebuhr reminded Dodge (and the readers of *Christianity and Crisis*) that "the bi-national state was found unacceptable by the United Nations, primarily because the Arabs were unwilling to grant the Jews any freedom of immigration in such a bi-national state." Niebuhr concluded:

It must also be observed that the proposal to resubmit the question to the United Nations [as Dodge had urged in his article] is fraught with the gravest perils. Responsible observers, close to the situation, express the fear that such a policy may completely destroy the United Nations because there is little prospect that an agreement could be reached on any alternative proposal, thus making confusion worse confounded.

In one fell swoop, Reinhold Niebuhr had rendered Bayard Dodge's entire article of little effect. Other articles critical of Israel continued to appear in the pages of *Christianity and Crisis* during the 1950s and 1960s, but Niebuhr remained committed to the Jewish state.

Of those who commanded the respect and possessed the credentials of a Reinhold Niebuhr, one of the most redoubtable opponents of Zionism was William Ernest Hocking, Alford Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University. A prominent Christian layman and missionary statesman, foremost philosophical idealist in the Josiah Royce tradition, Hocking began the second decade of the century as a convinced Zionist,<sup>23</sup> and an admirer of Arthur James Balfour<sup>24</sup> and the Balfour Declaration.

Traveling widely as chairman of the Laymen's Inquiry on Foreign Missions, Hocking became progressively anti-Zionist during the late 1920s. By the 1930s he was on the attack against the claims and hopes of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine, proposing a "three-faiths land" which would be sacred to Jew, Moslem, and Christian, as World War II brought America into its areas of concerns and theatres of action. Professor Hocking became increasingly disturbed with Jewish aspirations, especially as Nazi persecution of the Jews highlighted the need for at least one place where Jews might be welcome while the world closed its doors everywhere to Jewish refugees. Articles and public addresses, including views presented in radio debates, so hardened Hocking's opposition that by the late 1940s he was one of the foremost anti-Zionists in the academic world of the United States.

Yoking himself in implacable support of the aims of Kermit Roosevelt, Virginia Gildersleeve, Garland Evans Hopkins, Bayard Dodge, the oil companies, and the missionary movement in general, William Ernest Hocking was among those instrumental in encouraging and forming the American Friends of the Middle East (1951). Entirely sympathetic to anti-Zionist Rabbi Elmer Berger and his American Council for Judaism, Hocking tried persistently but unsuccessfully to win over Reinhold Niebuhr and Harvard's political scientist, Carl J. Friedrich, to Christian opposition to the Jewish state. While friends and intellectual giants did not succumb to Hocking's entreaties, other Ivy League men and women were quite impressed.

On June 12, 1951, William Ernest Hocking wrote to the *New York Times* (published June 18) criticizing grants-in-aid to Israel as urged by distinguished signatories to an appeal by the *Nation* Associates. He emphasized that those who viewed Israel as "a natural ally" in the

Middle East might “inflame the already explosive situation against every American interest” and were “inviting 150 million people [the Arab world] to seek their political friendships elsewhere.” Slapping at the Jewish community, he asserted that the Arabs “had no apprenticeship in Europe and no fabulously wealthy American community to draw upon,” an imbalance that was “the American duty . . . to rectify.” He concluded:

As an American taxpayer I feel a profound resentment at the thought of being called on to support not democracy in the East, but the self-interest aims of a state willing to create for itself an environment seething with potential hostilities, whose consequences we shall have to share just to the extent that we abet Israel. We can safely lend our support to Israel only when we can make it clear to all, including the Arabs, that we are not supporting Israel against the Arabs.

Three months later his article “Is Israel a Natural Ally?” appeared in the influential *Christian Century* (September 19, 1951). In this short essay Hocking reiterated his opposition to government aid to Israel, noting that “the Zionists have developed a propaganda of contempt for Arab culture, character, and prospects” that had biased American Christians as well as the government of the United States. “In brief,” he concluded, “anti-Arab policies are un-American policies. . . . It would be read in Arab lands as a reward of [Israeli] aggression—as in fact it would be.”<sup>25</sup>

The depth of William Ernest Hocking’s animosity toward the State of Israel is perhaps most telling in a 1958 article that he wrote for the (then) right-wing *American Mercury*. The anti-Jewish extremist magazine (Russell Maguire, its wealthy board chairman and publisher, in 1952 had purchased copies of John Beatt’s anti-Semitic book, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, for his friends) billed Dr. Hocking as a scholar who exposed the machinations of the “Zionist tacticians—with London and Washington cooperation” and who “foresaw today’s events in 1932.”

Criticizing American support for Israel, Hocking asserted that “at a stroke we made ourselves seem sponsors and protectors of a regime in Palestine which had in effect renounced its birth-duty to the Palestinian Arabs; we became underwriters of the abstract logic of the Zionist hope, fundamentalist and totalitarian in character.” He referred to the “self-declared State of Israel” and insisted that when

“Egypt, sensing danger, attacked Israel, and went down in defeat,” Israel took the opportunity to clean house, “ridding the new state of embarrassing Arab citizens.”

“Who cares?” Hocking contended emotionally. “Not Israel! Israel has arrived; it is, Israel thinks, *fait accompli*.”

“But only the blind can suppose that under these conditions we have reached the end of the story,” Hocking declared, insisting, “nor can the crazy armistice line be accepted as a permanent barrier to the unity of a land which was once called holy.” The emeritus professor of Harvard concluded:

The first step toward sanity would seem to be a confession by Israel that the ideal of a national home, expressing the soul of the Jewish people, is not realizable under human conditions; that the use of force and corrupt pressures whether in the Middle East or in Washington to achieve the impossible must be discontinued; and that the flag of a religious fundamentalism alien to the present spirit of Israel will no longer be used to cover a crude political realism. With this easing of the logical absolute, the way for human goodwill would be open, and the existing impossibles could begin to melt. I am not expecting this confession to be forthcoming; but its definition may work, in the silent places of men’s thought where, after all, the forces of history were made.<sup>26</sup>

That these statements were written a decade before Israel obtained the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem in the Arab-initiated Six-Day War of 1967, underscores the unacceptability of a sovereign Jewish state in the mind of liberal Christians of the Hocking mold.

### *Fundamentalist-Evangelicals*

The biblically and prophetically minded Fundamentalist-Evangelicals were quite a contrast to the liberal Hocking or the anti-Semitic right-wing extremists. While acknowledging imperfection in the State of Israel and the plight of the Middle East milieu, the bottom line for Fundamentalist-Evangelicals was the Jewish right to the Land. Hocking had stated in the *American Mercury*: “Nor can any will of God be appealed to to sanction the present situation.” Much to the contrary, Fundamentalist-Evangelicals concurred with the early sentences of Blackstone’s Petition of 1891, i.e., “According to God’s distribution of nations [Palestine] is their [the Jewish people’s] home, an inalienable possession, from which they were expelled by force. . . . Let us

now restore them to the land of which they were so cruelly despoiled by our Roman ancestors.”

Whereas Dorothy Thompson was devastated by attacks against the British and by the assassination of Count Bernadotte, conservative evangelical news analyst Gabriel Courier wrote in his column in the *Christian Herald* (November 1948):

So they shot Count Bernadotte. They shot *at* him before they got him. And when they murdered this man from the U.N., the Stern gang extremists did as much harm to their cause in Israel as they would have done by dropping an atomic bomb on New York. . . .

Let's remember that "the Jews" did *not* do this thing; an irresponsible, lawless, barbarously ignorant Stern gang did it. And when they did it, they may have cut off from their cause the sympathy and resources of millions of friends around the world.

Completely innocent, the leaders of Israel and their cause have suffered a tragic blow . . .

Earlier in June 1948, Courier had ridiculed the United States for not backing the U.N. Plan, concluding: "What then? Do we just hand Palestine over to the Arabs?" Later, in 1949, he gloried in Israel's victory, asserting that "Israel has made the Arab—and the U.N. look foolish. Egypt seems to have lost all stomach for the fight." Of England, Courier questioned: "How can she deal with the Jew when she supported the Arabs?"<sup>27</sup>

A 1958 survey conducted by Opinion Research Corporation showed that most Protestant clergymen in the United States considered themselves to be either "conservative" (39%), "fundamentalist" (35%), or "neo-orthodox" (12%). Their influence on their parishoners during the 1950s should not be underestimated. Fundamentalist-Evangelical Billy Graham had risen to prominence throughout the world, and Fundamentalist-Evangelical periodicals kept their readers informed on events taking place in the Middle East. For example, up to its merger with *Eternity* magazine in January 1958, *Our Hope* continued to run news about Israel and the Middle East in its "Current Events in the Light of the Bible" section. Through these news reports, conservative Christians were made aware that the Israeli-Arab situation was even more complex and increasingly volatile, as the weeks and months sped by.<sup>28</sup>

Likewise, Gabriel Courier had been interpreting the news for the *Christian Herald* throughout the 1940s and 1950s. In his "Gabriel

Courier Interprets the News” section he emphasized that the Arab world was in flux and was by no means unified. Violence threatened the Jewish state and world peace at every juncture. In April 1958, in “Furtive Crescent,” Courier wrote of Egypt and Syria’s merger to form the United Arab Republic “with Nasser, of course, as President.” He believed that Nasser could not be satisfied with “one bite,” expecting him to try to link by land Egypt and Syria. “No one felt the calculating gaze of the new Republic more than Jordan (unless it was Israel; Egypt already had ordered the name ‘Israel’ erased from all school maps and replaced by the name ‘Arab Palestine’),” Gabriel Courier reported, noting that King Hussein of Jordan and his second cousin King Faisal II of Iraq had agreed to merge economically, militarily, and diplomatically into an Arab Federation to protect themselves from Egypt and Syria. In coming months, Courier included reports on Lebanon’s request to the United Nations to protect it from Nasser’s United Arab Republic and also on the Israeli-Jordanian frictions.<sup>29</sup>

*Wilbur M. Smith*

Prophetically minded Fundamentalist-Evangelicals fully expected the Jewish people to occupy all of Jerusalem. As early as 1950, the Moody Bible Institute, the “West Point” of Fundamentalist-Evangelicalism, offered a correspondence course entitled “World Crises and the Prophetic Scriptures.” The series of twelve lessons was written by a famed professor in their circles, Wilbur M. Smith, who had taught at MBI from 1937 to 1947, at Fuller Theological Seminary from 1947 to 1963, and at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School from 1963 to 1968. Lesson 7 was “The Reestablishment of Israel in Her Own Land,” while Lesson 8 was entitled “At the Center of the Earth—Jerusalem.” To Wilbur Smith, God had not only promised the Jewish people Palestine and worked the miracle of their restored state, but would restore Jerusalem to Jewish control. He wrote:

I am not an alarmist, and I trust through the years I have never attached to any world event a prophetic significance that was not justified; but it seems to me that almost any day or night this prophecy of our Lord could be fulfilled. Already there are more Jews living in Jerusalem than there were Jews living in the whole of Palestine at the dawn of this century. Furthermore, there is a government of a newborn nation in the modern city of Jerusalem—Israel. One hun-

dred feet of no-man's land, some barbed wire fences, and a few machine guns manned by a mere handful of Arabs—these are all that keep the Jews from fully occupying this city and setting up their government there.

“Why the Jews do not go in and take that city, I do not know,” Smith interjected. “They certainly could do it.”

In a series of articles a decade later, “Jerusalem in Prophecy,” Wilbur M. Smith declared that the Balfour Declaration could have meant a great deal to the Jewish people, but Britain never carried out her promises. He viewed the 1948 war quite differently than did William Ernest Hocking and the American Friends of the Middle East. Smith explained that this “war for freedom” by the Jews in Palestine “in an almost miraculous way put to flight the Arabs, for whom the most part were occupying the land, and established the State of Israel—one of the most amazing events of modern history.” Writing in *Moody Monthly* (October 1960), Dr. Smith then made a statement *he* would live to see:

If some morning we should open our newspapers and read that Israel has taken the old city of Jerusalem, *and is able to hold it*, we shall know that the words of our Lord have been fulfilled—and when this takes place, we are at the end of the age of the Gentiles.<sup>30</sup>

While many other Christians were calling for “internationalization” of the city of Jerusalem, Fundamentalist-Evangelicals believed that the Bible gave it to the Jewish people. These supporters of Israel also believed that the right of Jewish statehood was fair and just, totally in accord with sound protocol.

### *The Six-Day War*

Little wonder then that 1967 found Evangelical periodicals ablaze with eschatological fervor. The Six-Day War and Israel's victory had thrilled these Christians. The October 1967 issue of *Moody Monthly* had a picture of the Wailing Wall on its front cover. This special issue on the Bible and prophecy was captioned: “The Amazing Rise of Israel!” Dr. John F. Walvoord, president of the dispensationalist Dallas Theological Seminary, began his article of the same title with these words:

The recent dramatic victory of Israel over the Arab states electrified the entire world. The stunning impact of this war of only sixty hours on the political scene was not only a great setback for Russian designs in the Middle East, but crushed Arab hopes of destroying Israel. For students of the Bible the most significant aspect of the war lies in the fact that Israel, after 1900 years of exclusion from the capital city, Jerusalem, now possesses this holy place so rich in both history and prophecy.

Emphasizing that Israel had been attacked by Arab nations at its inception, Walvoord related to his readers the great gains Israel had made in reclamation of the Land and progress in agriculture. Other articles on Israel as the depository of divine revelation and Israel in prophecy followed.<sup>31</sup>

*Eternity* magazine (which had absorbed *Our Hope*) had the caption "Israel Is Here to Stay" on its July 1967 cover, featuring an article by Raymond Cox, "Eyewitness: Israel." The article had been written a few months before the "current violence," but the editors explained that they found it "more timely than ever." With the Arabs stockpiling armaments for an attack on Israel, Cox noted that "many wonder whether Israel can survive a united assault." He himself, however, believed that "this is more a prophetic question than a military question. . . . Israel will survive."<sup>32</sup>

#### *William Sanford LaSor*

The following issue of *Eternity* was dedicated totally to Evangelical-Jewish relations as well as the Arab-Israeli war and Bible prophecy. The theme was "loving one's neighbor as oneself." The editors had planned to have this special issue more than a year before in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee. And yet, the events of the Six-Day War had to be analyzed. The major article in this issue that concerned itself with the Six-Day War was written by William Sanford LaSor, professor of Old Testament at Fuller Theological Seminary. He clarified that he was "not willing to concede that the State of Israel is to be identified as the Israel described in Holy Scripture," but he was "willing to admit that it seems quite likely that the regathering of the Jews to Palestine, the establishment of the State of Israel, and the almost incredible military successes of Israeli armies against what appeared to be overwhelming odds, are somehow to be related to God's promises."

Admitting that “it is probably true that most Evangelical Christians are more sympathetic to the Israeli than to the Arabic side of the continuing conflict,” LaSor implored Evangelicals not to forget “that a large number of Arabs are Christians” and “a vast number of Arabs are now wanderers on the face of the earth, and they, too, deserve a place to call home.” Interacting and living in the Arab world as well as widely traveling the Middle East, LaSor explained to his Evangelical community that “only one who has lived in the Arab world and has talked intimately with Arabs knows how deep are the wounds caused by the formation of the State of Israel.” He related the extreme difficulty of using the Old Testament with its passages on “Zion” in a Christian service in the Arab world. “If you ask an Arab Christian what solution he has to offer to the present problem,” LaSor noted with all candor, “you will get the same answer you get from a non-Christian Arab: Israel must be effaced, every Jew must be driven into the sea.”<sup>33</sup>

Believing that Christians must devote themselves in larger numbers to missionary work among the Arabs, LaSor asserted:

It is my deep conviction that the Christian must be positively impartial in the present situation. By “positively impartial” I do not mean “neutral” or passive. We must have a positive approach and an impartial one. It is possible that the best peace-keeping force in the Middle East would be the State of Israel. The Arabs were unwilling and United Nations unable to keep the peace. If the nations involved would accept such a solution, and if Israel would rise to the occasion, this would result in tremendous benefit and blessing to Lebanon, to Jordan, even to Syria, and perhaps to Egypt. But such a decision is not ours to make.

He concluded by asking Christians to urge Arabs and Jews to “apply the principles of justice and mercy” and to urge “our own governments to act with the same principles, to remember that the safeguarding of human rights for both Arab and Jew is more important than Jewish votes and Arab oil.”<sup>34</sup>

*G. Douglas Young*

Fundamentalist-Evangelical G. Douglas Young, director of the American Institute of Holy Land Studies and a former professor at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, took a more solid pro-Israel stance.

Young's article, "Lessons We Can Learn from Judaism," appears in the same issue as LaSor's, declaring: "The very existence of modern Israel loudly proclaims that Judaism has survived two millennia in diaspora and thus it can neither be decadent nor of no interest to God." He insisted that the existence of the new State of Israel "should force every Christian back to St. Paul's mystery, back behind the sins of the early Church so long and so sadly perpetuated, back to the Bible itself where it is clear that God has a continuing interest in Jews."

Young's interest in prophecy was a powerful force in leading him to see Israel for himself, and he traveled there just after the Sinai Campaign of 1956. Totally enamored with what the Israelis had accomplished in spite of a worldwide campaign to annihilate the Jewish state, Dr. G. Douglas Young became a credible witness with the Evangelical community in the United States and Canada to stem anti-Israel rhetoric. In Jerusalem in 1958, he founded the Institute of Holy Land Studies, where Evangelical students and faculty could learn more about Israel. In 1963, he and his wife, Georgina, moved to Israel, spending the next seventeen years actively involved in the everyday life of the Jerusalem community. During the Six-Day War in 1967, Dr. Young drove an ambulance through the bombed areas of Jerusalem, and his wife provided for as many neighbors and visiting soldiers as she could feed and shelter at the Institute. The people of Israel reciprocated his love by appointing him to civic and municipal commissions, awarding him the Israel Pilgrim Medal and, later, Jerusalem's highest honor, the title "Worthy of Jerusalem." Young's *A Dispatch from Jerusalem* brought news from Israel to the American Christian community; and his organization, Bridges for Peace, still exists today. When he died of a heart attack in May 1980, he was buried on the crest of Mount Zion after a stirring memorial service in the St. Andrew's Scottish church.

Young's love for Israel and for the Jewish people was indicative of the broad segment of Evangelical Christians to whom Professor LaSor had alluded. In the article "The Feel for Jerusalem," published in the *Jerusalem Post* (December 24, 1969), Dr. Young had written:

As a Christian I testify to the joys, privileges and freedom in Israel for me, my institution, my students and faculty, the other Christian people, churches and institutions in this dynamically exciting part of the world, where at long last

once again, Jewish energy, creativity and “follow-through” are making the wastes a garden, the desert to blossom, the crooked places straight.

I thrill to see so many of my own faith coming on pilgrimage to see and experience for themselves all that is taking place here. I could only wish that the pilgrim could find the way to stay a little longer to let the real Israel seep into his consciousness and expel the hate, the myths, the false reporting that seems to be getting through the mass media in other parts of the world, both in the secular and in the church press.<sup>35</sup>

During the 1970s, G. Douglas Young had become increasingly alarmed by the anti-Israel rhetoric infiltrating the Evangelical community. Pro-Arab missionaries, archaeologists, and university professors combined with Arab Christians themselves in an attempt to capture Evangelical Protestantism in the same way that a strong segment of Liberal Protestantism had been captured.

For example, Bert De Vries, an Evangelical professor of history at Calvin College and participant on archaeological excavations in the Middle East, castigated Billy Graham’s film, *His Land*, in the *Reformed Journal* (November 1971). De Vries insisted that Israel had been founded on “Arab land” and declared that the Jews had forfeited their right to the Promised Land long ago through their “unfaithfulness.” By 1975, De Vries announced:

Why then the vehement Israeli reaction to Arafat and the PLO? The PLO call for an end to the state of Israel does not mean the destruction of its Jews, but the destruction of its Jewishness. Arafat proposed to replace Israel with a state in which Muslim, Jew, and Christian will live together in a “democratic, humanistic, and progressive society.”<sup>36</sup>

When G. Douglas Young’s article “Israel: The Unbroken Line” appeared in *Christianity Today* (October 1978), the Evangelical periodical felt obligated to follow with Elisabeth Elliot’s pro-Arab “Furnace of the Lord” (without telling Young that they were going to provide space for a rejoinder).

*“Christianity Today”*

The scholar who researches the attitudes of American Christians toward Israel is impressed by one striking reality: the same anti-Israel arguments are used decade after decade. Apart from new events and actions taken by Israel, the Arabs, the United Nations, etc., reported in

the media, the basic arguments in 1988 remain the arguments from 1968 (or even 1948!). For instance, *Christianity Today* magazine, founded with the support of Billy Graham and Sun Oil magnate J. Howard Pew to be an Evangelical counterpart to the *Christian Century*, was undergoing intense upheaval during 1967. Editor Carl F. H. Henry had embarked on gaining nationwide Christian respect for the magazine, which included more “balance” on the Middle East than Billy Graham had. During 1967, *Christianity Today* received most of its information on the Arab-Israeli situation from its correspondent, Dwight L. Baker, chairman of the Baptist Convention in Israel. Again, the importance of the missionary movement and its anti-Israel rhetoric must not be underestimated, even in affecting the opinions and stance of Evangelicals. Pastor Baker was concerned that the position of missionaries in Arab nations was becoming “more dangerous” because of the Israeli victory in the Six-Day War. The views of Harry W. Genet, assistant executive secretary of the Arabic Literature Mission in Beirut, were also included in the July 7, 1967 issue, as Genet related that the “slender missionary force in the Arab world” was experiencing “the hardening Arab attitude toward foreigners.”<sup>37</sup>

The next issue of *Christianity Today* (July 21, 1967) contained a diatribe against Israel by James L. Kelso, a former moderator of the United Presbyterian Church, that was so incendiary the editors labeled his remarks an “interpretative appraisal of the Arab-Jewish conflict.” Next to missionaries, Christian archaeologists (with notable exceptions, such as William Foxwell Albright) had been progenitors of the anti-Israel rhetoric, in both liberal and conservative circles. Kelso also worked with Arabs for forty-one years and had participated in a number of archaeological expeditions in Palestine. He began:

How did Israel respect church property in the fighting a few weeks ago? They shot up the Episcopal cathedral just as they had done in 1948. They smashed down the Episcopal school for boys so their tanks could get through to Arab Jerusalem. The Israelis wrecked and looted the YMCA upon which the Arab refugees had bestowed so much loving handcraft. They wrecked the big Lutheran hospital, even though this hospital was used by the United Nations. The hospital had just added a new children’s center and a new research department. The Lutheran center for cripples also suffered. At Ramallah, a Christian city near Jerusalem, the Episcopal girl’s school was shot up, and some of the girls were killed.

So significant was this third Jewish war against the Arabs that one of the finest missionaries of the Near East called it “perhaps the most serious setback that Christendom has had since the fall of Constantinople in 1453.”<sup>38</sup>

Dr. Kelso then went on to blame the Balfour Declaration as “the major cause of the three wars whereby the Jews have stolen so much of Palestine from the Arabs who have owned it for centuries.” He expounded upon the Arab refugee problem, the mothers and babies that he saw suffering in the camps “in the bitterly cold winter of 1949–50,” interjecting that “Mary and Christ received better treatment at Bethlehem than the Arab refugees did that winter.”

Missionary and archaeologist came together in a duet of anti-Israel rhetoric in his following statements. The United Presbyterian pastor exclaimed:

A missionary who has worked constantly with Arab refugees through the long years since Israel became a state in 1948 speaks of them as “human sacrifices to political ruthlessness.” It is the most accurate statement I know. Sometimes it was actual human sacrifice, as when 250 Arab men, women, and children were massacred at Deir Yassin, I know that massacre well, for one boy who was fortunate enough to escape that massacre later worked for me on my excavations. There is deep horror about all this history in the fact that great numbers of Christians in the United States applaud Israel’s crimes against Arab Christians and Arab Muslims. How can a Christian applaud the murder of a brother Christian by Zionist Jews? The Arab church is as truly the body of Christ as the American church.

This last question, unfortunately, came to dominate both liberal and conservative Christian propaganda against Israel. Either in blatant denouncement or a secretive whisper, the anti-Israel argument took the form of anti-Jewish thought, i.e., how can you support the non-Christian Jew against your Arab brother?

Some *Christianity Today* readers were appalled at Reverend James L. Kelso’s interpretation, and their edited letters in following issues showed shock and dismay. Elias Newman of Minneapolis wrote of his “chagrin and disillusionment,” while Reverend Harold P. Warren of First Baptist Church in Oak Park, Michigan, emphasized that many of Kelso’s statements “are contrary to the facts as I know them.” Warren’s church was attempting to build a good rapport with the Jewish community in their area, and he believed that “it is time for Christians

to speak out on behalf of Israel and be identified as friends of Israel." In the September 29, 1967 issue, Benad Avital, first secretary of the embassy of Israel in Washington, D.C., responded to Kelso's "emotional charges." The following year, William Culbertson, president of the Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, supported the Jewish restoration to the Land of Israel in an article citing relevant biblical passages. It was followed by James Kelso's fifteen-point response. Again, Kelso began by reminding *Christianity Today's* readers that "10 per cent of the Arab population is Christian."<sup>39</sup>

### *Liberal Christians*

*Christianity Today* had been striving since its inception to capture not only the entire spectrum of Evangelicals, but also to affect Christians from all walks and of all theologies. Even the letters to the editor concerning Israel underscore the great diversity in the conservative Christian community regarding Israel. Among liberal Christians, Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, past president of Union Theological Seminary, deplored the Israeli victory in 1967 as "the most violent, ruthless (and successful) aggression since Hitler's blitzkrieg across Western Europe." He argued that "every square mile of Arab homeland appropriated by Israel, every additional Arab subjugated or driven into exile, will merely exacerbate the smoldering resolve for revenge." The *Christian Century* called for joint administration by Israeli and Jordanian forces, while the National Council of Churches favored an "international presence" to guarantee the holy sites and security.<sup>40</sup>

Reinhold Niebuhr, however, graced the pages of *Christianity and Crisis* (June 26, 1967) with his famous article "David and Goliath." "No simile better fits the war between Israel and the Arabs in lands of biblical memory," the respected theologian began, "than the legend of David and Goliath. David, of course, is little Israel, numbering less than 2.5 million souls. . . . Goliath, of course, is the Arab world under Egyptian President Abdel Nasser's leadership, numbering a population of 20 to 40 million. This Goliath never accepted Israel's existence as a nation or granted it the right of survival." This time, the chairman of the editorial board, John C. Bennett, followed with his "Further Thoughts on the Middle East."

Niebuhr approved of Jerusalem's administrative reunification, asserting that "Judaism presupposes inextricable ties with the land of Israel and the city of David, without which Judaism cannot be truly herself." After his death, the magazine he founded was often unjustly critical of Israel, so much so that his widow, Ursula Niebuhr, has requested *Christianity and Crisis* to withdraw her husband's name from the journal as a "Founding Editor." Nevertheless, disciples of the great theologian, such as Franklin Hamlin Littell and A. Roy Eckardt (with his wife, Alice), have carried the message to the liberal Christian community. Franklin Littell was active first in the American Christian Palestine Committee as a young graduate student fresh out of Yale with his bright new Ph.D. He then became extremely important in successor organizations to the ACPC, including the Christians Concerned for Israel (CCI) and the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel (NCLCI). The latter included both Fundamentalist-Evangelical and Pentecostal Christians as well as members of the liberal Christian tradition.

On the fortieth anniversary of the liberation of Europe and the rescue of the survivors of the concentration camps, the NCLCI, in a press conference at the Church Center for the United Nations, urged the UN to reconsider "the falsehood promulgated in its 1975 resolution declaring Zionism to be a form of racism" and called on the Christian community to appreciate the centrality and importance of the State of Israel for the Jewish people. The statement, "Forty Years Later: Christians Speak Out on Israel and Zionism," was delivered at the UN in May 1985, and later appeared in newspapers. "We see it as urgent that Christians speak out against the vicious anti-Semitism that hides under the cloak of anti-Zionism," the ad continued. Similar newspaper advertisements have been paid for by Christians for Israel as well as those who oppose Israeli actions.

### *Roman Catholics*

While the signers of the above declaration include "Reverend Franklin H. Littell, President Emeritus," the leading signature is that of Father Edward H. Flannery, president of the NCLCI in 1985. Sister Rose Thering is listed as one of the three vice-presidents of the organization. This underscores the fact that there are a number of eminent American

Catholics who have been supporters of the State of Israel and its right to exist. This is phenomenal when one considers that the Vatican was not only opposed to the establishment of the State of Israel, but has carefully refrained from recognizing the Jewish state. After the Six-Day War in 1967, Pope Paul VI proposed the internationalization of all holy places in Jerusalem. Pope John Paul II stated in 1980 that in the establishment of the State of Israel “a sad condition was created for the Palestinian people who were excluded from their homeland. These are facts that anyone can see.”

On the American scene, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in 1975 declared that because “Jews see this tie to the land as essential to their Jewishness,” Christians “should strive to understand this link between land and people which Jews have expressed in their writings and worship throughout two millennia as a longing for the homeland, holy Zion.” Nevertheless, this official statement on Catholic-Jewish relations added the caution that this affirmation was not “meant to deny the legitimate rights of other parties in the region, or to adopt any political stance in the controversies over the Middle East, which lie beyond the purview of this statement.” A Roman Catholic theologian, Rosemary Ruether, who has been very active in Christian-Jewish relations, wrote in the *National Catholic Reporter* (September 14, 1984) that Zionism was a “form of nationalism that most Americans regard as unacceptable and, ironically, a Fascist state if settlements continue to be established in the West Bank or annexation takes place.” She concluded that if Israel is to remain a democratic state it must cease to be a Zionist state. Similar diatribes by Ruether appear in the *Christian Century*.<sup>41</sup>

Father Edward Flannery deplors such attitudes among Christians—including Catholic Christians. In the essay “Israel, Jerusalem, and the Middle East,” he wrote:

The Middle East (Arab-Israeli) conflict has proven a grave distraction for the Jewish-Christian dialogue and for Jewish-Christian understanding generally. Numerous Christians, unaware of any bias on their part, see the establishment of the State of Israel very simply as a serious injustice inflicted upon the Palestinian Arab population by the Israelis. Through this prism they fail to perceive much significance, historical or theological, in the new state, and direct their attention exclusively to problems of Arab refugees, a Palestinian state, and other socio-political aspects of the problem. The peril in which Israel continuously exists and the problem of its security and survival become in this way

secondary considerations, if they are considered at all. The simplicity and one-sidedness of this approach, for one thing, stems in most cases from inadequate information and uncritical acceptance of Arab or anti-Zionist propaganda. The United Nations can serve as a large-scale sample of this way of approaching the Middle East problem. It is imperative, in any case, for the health and survival of the Jewish-Christian embrace that the misinformation and mythologizing that have engulfed the conflict be dispelled.<sup>42</sup>

Recognizing that one must not be insensitive to the Palestinian Arab, Father Flannery identified the root problem in the Arab-Israeli conflict as “the refusal of many of Israel’s enemies to accept or respect Israel’s right to live in peace and security.” Answering the question, Is anti-Zionism in its various degrees and forms anti-Semitic?, he answered: “Not necessarily, but almost always.”

### *Black Christians*

The pro-Israel, Fundamentalist-Evangelical biblical and prophetic interpretations made great inroads into the black church in the twentieth century. To these black Christians, the newly formed Jewish state of Israel was part of God’s plan and purpose. Support from the remainder of the black community, however, was slow in developing all through the years from 1948 onward. A number of blacks, prominent in their local communities, often accompanied study tours sponsored by the American Christian Palestine Committee to the Middle East, returning with positive and favorable reports of what they had seen. Many times this occurred because these black leaders encountered immigrants of a darker hue, such as the people from India, the B’nai Zion, and the Falashas from Ethiopia, and heard them report that they had been well received and were being accommodated into the stream of economic and political life in Israel.

Walter White, well-known executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, visited Israel in 1949; and Vernon Jordan, executive vice-president of the National Urban League, visited the land in the 1960s. Both returned with favorable reactions, but neither with startling reports nor with enthusiastic championing of the Zionist achievements. They had other responsibilities on their own civil rights agendas, and these came first.

In May of 1967, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., joined seven other prominent Christian clergymen, including Franklin Littell, Reinhold

Niebuhr, and John Sheerin (editor of the *Catholic World*), in issuing a statement urging all Americans to “support the independence, integrity and freedom of Israel in the current crisis.” The clergymen declared that “men of conscience must not remain silent at this time” and warned that the Egyptian blockade of the Straits of Tiran “may lead to a major conflagration.” Shortly before he was assassinated in 1968, Dr. King made his definitive statement on Israel at a meeting before the Conservative rabbis’ Rabbinical Assembly at Kiamesha Lake, New York. There, the great black leader spoke of Israel as a democratic force in the Middle East, as a creative factor in the life of Jewry, and as a potent force for good Jewish-Christian relations. These assertions he firmly believed and resoundingly affirmed.

The left wing among the civil rights groups, both black and white, was tinctured with anti-Semitism. This directly fostered anti-Zionism, as Israel was often viewed as an imperialist force in the Middle East. Black militants supported the Arab nations in their struggle with Israel, at times condemning Israel as part of a world conspiracy against blacks. Animosity between blacks and Jews resulted in a *Time* magazine cover story (January 31, 1969) entitled “Black vs. Jew: A Tragic Confrontation.” Moderate black leader Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, criticized *Time*’s “unfortunate, almost irresponsible reporting of the current tensions between the black and Jewish populations.” In a letter published February 14, 1969, Young pointed to the significant positive relationships between the two groups, and “the masses of black people who are obviously not anti-Semitic.”

Indeed, even in regard to Israel, well-known black leaders such as A. Philip Randolph of the AFL-CIO, Bayard Rustin, civil rights activist and publicist, and Whitney Young had given their unqualified support. Their names were among sixty-four black leaders who signed a page-length *New York Times* advertisement, “An Appeal by Black Americans for United States Support to Israel” (June 28, 1970). Christian clergymen, such as Martin Luther King, Sr., Gardner Taylor (past president of the Progressive National Baptist Convention), and William J. Walls (bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church), joined black publishers, editors, congressmen and women, political and judicial leaders, union representatives, businessmen, and organizational representatives in calling upon the United States to up-

hold the ideals of democracy and social justice in the Middle East by “unequivocally guaranteeing Israel’s security.”

It is an important fact that the opposing *New York Times* advertisement (November 1, 1970), “An Appeal by Black Americans Against United States Support of the Zionist Government of Israel,” was filled with left-wing signatories, but notably lacked black Christian leaders. In fact, Reverend Albert B. Cleage of Detroit’s Shrine of the Black Madonna was the only black Christian clergyman listed—a less than overwhelming sign of Christian support. Loaded with extremist rhetoric, this proclamation began: “We, the Black American signatories of this advertisement are in complete solidarity with our Palestinian brothers and sisters, who, like us, are struggling for self-determination and an end to racist oppression.”

Early in 1975, Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton took a trip to Africa and Israel, returning with an enthusiastic response. Writing in the nation’s largest black newspaper, the *New York Amsterdam News*, Sutton praised “the genius of a dedicated group of agronomists, technicians and scientists who have turned Israel’s roadsides, mountains and deserts into fertile and productive land.” Later that month, an editorial acknowledged the role of the Jewish people in the civil rights movement, declaring that blacks could not adopt a position of “benign neutrality” when Jews needed support. In April 1975, the Black Americans Supporting Israel Committee (BASIC) was formed.

As there is much debate about the state of black-Jewish relations today, so also there are many questions surrounding black Christian attitudes toward Israel. While Reverend Charles Mims, Jr., Evangelical black pastor of the 1,500-member Tabernacle of Faith Baptist Church in the heart of Los Angeles’ Watts District, is indicative of millions of blacks who are supportive of the Jewish people and of Israel, Reverend Jesse Jackson’s sharp criticism of Israel and uncritical attitudes toward the Palestine Liberation Organization are indicative of a segment of the black community with little compassion toward the Jewish state.

### *An Overview*

Perhaps the complex state of affairs in the black community today only reflects the historic ambivalence that has dominated Christen-

dom as a whole. The World Council of Churches has often uttered expressions of “effective international guarantees” for the territorial integrity and political independence of Israel and the Arab nations, while repeatedly criticizing Israeli policies and calling for “an international presence” over Jerusalem. With so many Christian denominations fearful of losing their missionary agencies and institutions in Arab lands, their animosity toward the Jewish state has steadily increased.<sup>43</sup>

And forty years of Arab and Christian propaganda have certainly taken their toll. In 1980, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. endorsed a pro-Arab commission report which stipulated that the Palestine Liberation Organization, with Yasser Arafat as its leader, was the accredited agency of those opposed by Israel. The Middle East agenda of the seventeen-member commission was so biased at its inception that major Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, refused to present testimony—the PRO PLO findings were a foregone conclusion. The recent defeat of positive statements on Israel in both the 199th General Assembly of the 3.1 million member Presbyterian Church (USA) and the 1.7 million member United Church of Christ in June 1987 underscores the political ploys, stereotypes and caricatures, and fears of divisiveness over Israel that plague even the best of intentions in Jewish-Christian relations.

Significant in this study is the fact that American Christians were not silent concerning the State of Israel from 1948 to 1988. There are American Christian movements for and against the Jewish state that in fact predate that state. Those who oppose the Jewish state today, however, continue to use the same arguments and comparisons that were formulated forty years—and more—ago. Arguments concerning refugees, internationalization, bi-national and tri-national states, United States “bias” against Arabs and the harm threatening American interests, have changed little. Comparisons of the Israelis to Adolf Hitler and the Nazis, to sophisticated warmongers in a well-armed bastion, to internationally funded parasites, to Arab haters and denigrators, have been used by anti-Israel Christians for four decades. Yet, throughout these years there has been a segment of the American Christian community that has loved and supported Israel. This essay has underscored the conclusion that Israel may well count on a strong

core of Christian supporters in America, but at the same time the Jewish state must never expect justice from American Christendom as a whole.

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Carl Hermann Voss and David A. Rausch are co-authors of the recently published *Protestantism: Its Modern Meaning* (Philadelphia, 1987).

Voss is the author of nine books and editor of twelve others. In the early 1940s he was one of the founders of the American Christian Palestine Committee, its first executive director, then chairman of the executive council, and co-editor of *Land Reborn*. A biographer of Stephen S. Wise and John Haynes Holmes, he is also an authority on comparative religion.

Rausch is professor of church history and Judaic studies at Ashland College, Ashland, Ohio. He is the author of nine books, including *Zionism Within Early American Fundamentalism: 1878–1918—A Convergence of Two Traditions* (1980) and *A Legacy of Hatred: Why Christians Must Not Forget the Holocaust* (1984).

Voss and Rausch are now completing a book entitled *They Were Not Silent—American Christians For and Against Israel: 1917 to the Present*. Material from the research for that volume provided the basis for this essay.

### Notes

1. Carl Hermann Voss, "The Rise of Social Consciousness in the Congregational Churches: 1865–1942" (doctoral diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1942), pp. 134–136.

2. The high expectations men and women held for the World Organization expected to emerge from the "Great War" of 1914–1918 are apparent in the chronicles of Robert Goldsmith, with a special introduction by President A. Lawrence Lowell, *League to Enforce Peace* (New York, Macmillan, 1917), and Ruhl Jacob Barlett, *The League to Enforce Peace* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

3. The optimism and hopefulness of the pre- and post- World War I years are reflected in the reminiscing pages of Charles Stedman MacFarland's *Pioneers for Peace Through Religion*, based on the records of the Church Peace Union (founded by Andrew Carnegie), 1914–1945 (New York and London: Fleming H. Revell, 1946).

4. Henry A. Atkinson, "William E. Blackstone," *Land Reborn* 6, no. 1 (February–March 1955): 6–7.

5. In the June 23, 1922 issue of the *New Palestine*, Adolph Berle, Sr., wrote a brief article, "The Jew: Barometer of Civilization," describing the Palestine he had recently visited: "I who had set out as a pilgrim and had been captured by the way by interests that appeared to be anything but pilgrim interests, discovered that I had not gone astray when I found myself on the highways and

in the camps with men and women who had come to Palestine with love in their hearts and as day laborers were the purest idealists" (p. 405). Berle, professor of Christian ethics at the Crane School of Religion at Tufts University, looked upon the Jew as "a permanent intellectual and moral asset of mankind, [a great fact which] has made him the natural ally of culture and the development of the intellectual life."

Berle explained further why he looked upon the Jew as "the barometer of civilization": "His mentality, his moral outlook and his cultural tendencies are the concern of the whole world. Wherever he has wended his way, whether in freedom or under persecution, he has proven himself an indestructible force. The great question for the world is whether this great force shall be dissipated and lost, be driven into a war on existing social systems and other cultures, or given the opportunity and furnished the place and occasion to develop the highest and finest capabilities of which it is possible."

Berle clinched his argument by pointing to "this which makes the Homeland quest of the Jews of such importance to the rest of the world" (p. 406).

6. The founding of the Committee for Peace and Justice in the Holy Land is described in the autobiography of Barnard's dean, later president, Virginia Gildersleeve, *Many a Good Crusade* (New York, 1954). Of special interest are the accounts of her support of the Christian educational institutions of the Near East College Association and her activities in the spring of 1945 at the San Francisco Charter Conference for UNO (United Nations Organization), where, as a member of the United States delegation, she cast a baleful influence on any individuals or organizations favoring the Zionist cause. She singled out among the delegates the graduates of the American Universities of Beirut, Aleppo, Cairo, Assuit, Istanbul (Robert College), etc., for briefing sessions and special conferences, never reluctant to manifest her anti-Zionist views. See especially pp. 177 ff. and 400 ff.

7. For a detailed analysis of the premillennial eschatology of the prophetically minded Fundamentalist-Evangelical, cf. David A. Rausch, *Zionist Within Early American Fundamentalism 1878-1918: A Convergence of Two Traditions* (1980). To place this movement in perspective within the larger context of Protestant thought, cf. David A. Rausch and Carl Hermann Voss, *Protestantism: Its Modern Meaning* (1987), where chapters 7 and 8 deal with "Protestant Liberalism" and "Fundamentalism" respectively.

8. "Israel Becomes a Nation Again," *Our Hope* 55 (July 1948): 26-27. On Arno C. Gaebelein, his son Frank E. Gaebelein, and his friend E. Schuyler English, cf. David A. Rausch, *Arno C. Gaebelein, 1861-1945* (1983). The excerpt also states: "Ten days later (as we write), it is evident that this small state has been launched in stormy waters. Regular military units of the Arab states are attacking on many sides, crying out: 'We are ready to die for Allah!' while well-equipped Jewish forces, called 'Haganah,' are defending their strongholds with steadfast zeal and this word on their lips: 'We are ready on every front!' " Of Russia, it continues: "The U.S.S.R. has recognized Israel as a sovereign state, thus performing another of her many enigmatic operations—for on the one hand, Communist-controlled Czechoslovakia, through the firm of Skoda, has accepted orders from Syria for arms, totalling \$24,000,000, while on the other, Russia is financing the Stern Gang in Palestine. In backing both sides the Kremlin, no doubt, expects to create chaos upon chaos."

9. "Pronunciation," *Our Hope* 55 (July 1948): 27. This editorial explained: "There is some confusion about the pronunciation of Israelis. Dr. Wilford Funk says that all the vowels should be short, the pronunciation appearing to be 'Iz-ri-uhl-iz,' with the accent on the last syllable. But Rabbi Isidor Hoffman, counselor to students at Columbia University, submits that in Hebrew the pronunciation would be 'Is-ray-el-ees,' the last syllable being accented. Both experts suggest that since the word is a new one, coined by the State of Israel, it is up to its Government to announce

an official pronunciation. So, in the meantime, take your choice. You are as much an authority as the next person."

10. "Dr. Poling Answers Your Questions," *Christian Herald* 70 (October 1947): 4. Cf. Poling's columns in the July 1947 issue (p. 4) and the June 1948 issue (p. 5). In this latter issue, Poling expounds: "CHRISTIAN HERALD is inter-denominational and undenominational. Its managing editor is a Methodist, its publisher a Presbyterian. Practically every Protestant Evangelical denomination is represented on its roster, and all races and colors as well." Dr. Daniel A. Poling was also treasurer for the Children's Memorial Forest in Palestine; cf. Joyce Van Patten and Richard Tyler, "Children's Memorial Forest in Palestine," *Christian Herald* 70 (August 1947): 32.

11. See Carl Hermann Voss, "The American Christian Palestine Committee," in *Essays in American Zionism 1917-1948*, edited by Melvin I. Urofsky, *Herzl Year Book*, vol. 8 (1978), pp. 242-262.

It was difficult to structure a definite, consistent program, except to stir public opinion and carry on as broad and specific an educational project as possible, especially through pamphlets and booklets, radio debates and public forums. We had to rely on letters to the editor and petitions to Congress, protests to the State Department and pressure on the American Delegation to the United Nations, especially in the final months from the August 1947 Report of the Special Committee on Palestine through the adoption of partition by the General Assembly in late November, 1947, on to the incredible reconstitution of the Third Jewish Commonwealth on May 14, 1948. Christians did play a part but not as significantly or as definitively as they should have. . . . Despite the uncertainty and timidity of many Christians, however, there was indeed a Christian voice; and it was expressed, though imperfectly and often ineffectually, by the American Christian Palestine Committee. (pp. 261-262).

12. In a book unfortunately marred by inaccuracies and omissions, *American Protestantism and a Jewish State* (1973), Hertzell Fishman deals in a scholarly way with the origin and purposes of the American Friends of the Middle East. He documents definitely and precisely the matter of the CIA sponsorship and financing of AFME.

13. Dorothy Thompson's articles of the 1930s included "Refugees: A World Problem" (*Foreign Affairs*, April 1938); "Nazi Rule of Terror Described" (*Pro-Palestine Herald*, 1933); and "The White Paper on Palestine" (*New York Herald-Tribune*, May 19, 1939); and in the early 1940s, she was writing for her *Herald Tribune* and syndicated audiences on such topics as "American Opinion Denounces Land Regulations in Palestine: Blood and Soil Under the Union Jack" (March 1, 1940); "The Future of the Jews" (National Conference on Palestine, Philadelphia, Pa., 1943); "The Jews Are a People" (*Our Voice*, May 1, 1943); "I Speak As a Christian" (Balfour Day, November 2, 1943, New York City); "To Whom Does the Earth Belong?" (Madison Square Garden, New York City, March 21, 1944 and *Jewish Frontier*); "There Is Only One Answer" (*Palestine*, American Zionist Emergency Council, November 1942); "The Jews in the Family of Nations" (Jewish Agency Publications, 1943-44); "Let the Promise Be Fulfilled: A Christian View of Palestine" (*New Palestine*, December 1944); "I Speak Again As a Christian" (January 1945, American Christian Palestine Committee, St. Louis, Mo., ACPC Reprint); and "Why the Zionists Are Right" (February 1945, *Palestine*, American Zionist Emergency Council).

14. By the summer of 1946 Dorothy Thompson had begun to change her viewpoint, and her pro-Zionism abated, giving way to anti-Zionism with increasing intensity until by 1948-49 she was quite anti-Israel.

15. Ronald Steel, *Walter Lippmann and the American Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), esp. pp. 186–195, 330–336, 372–390.

16. A sympathetic, accurate, but somewhat limited biography, *Dorothy Thompson: A Legend in Her Time* by Marion K. Sanders (1973), gives no clue to the mystery of her sudden, inexplicable change of mind in 1946. Her July 9, 1946 column in the *New York Post*, “The Palestine Tragedy,” was the first indication of her altered views; in subsequent weeks and months she focused her attacks on “Jewish acts of terrorism” and “Zionist zealotry.” By 1952 her distinguished journalistic career began to wane; her influence declined; she died in 1961.

17. Dr. Abram Leon Sachar, founder and first president, later chancellor, of Brandeis University, wrote to Carl Hermann Voss on January 6, 1988 about his friendship with Dorothy Thompson: “I knew [her] very well when I was at the University of Illinois. In her earlier years as a journalist she was an ardent Zionist; later on she turned bitter against the whole Israeli concept and in your writing about her you will have to handle her as a schizophrenic because the early Dorothy will really be arguing with the later one.”

18. Pierre van Paassen, *Days of Our Years: A Personal Memoir* (1939).

19. In the *Saturday Review* of May 23, 1964, Commentary’s ace correspondent, Hal Lehrman, reviewed van Paassen’s *To Number Our Days: An Autobiography of Pierre van Paassen* (1964), and complained of “journalistic fuzziness,” “rearranged chronologies,” “frequent repetitions of tales of a quarter century earlier,” “doctored anecdotes and interviews,” and “inventions which take over as fact.”

20. Reinhold Niebuhr, “My Sense of Shame,” *Hadassah Newsletter* 19, no. 3 (December 1938): 59–60.

21. “Jews After the War,” *Nation*, vol. 154, Feb. 21, 1942, pp. 214–216; Feb. 28, 1942, pp. 253–255.

22. Bayard Dodge, “Peace or War in Palestine,” *Christianity and Crisis* 8 (March 15, 1948): 17–19. Of the displaced persons, Dodge writes: “The attempt to aid the displaced persons in Europe, by sending them to Palestine, will place the Jews in the outlying districts of Palestine itself as well as the quarter million Jews in the states of the Arab League, in great peril. By trying to help the Jews in Europe, we are likely to subject the Jews in the Near East to persecution and massacre” (p. 27). Dodge notes of Jewish opponents: “At the same time that Christians are trying to overcome prejudice in America by upholding Partition, the American Council for Judaism, the president of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, and numerous rabbis, are opposing the Zionist policy in Palestine. Many fear that it may produce the same sort of anti-Semitism in America, which it has already caused in England.” He refers to these opponents of Zionism as “Jewish moderates” (p. 28).

Reinhold Niebuhr, “Editor’s Note,” *Christianity and Crisis* 8 (March 15, 1948): 30. Niebuhr notes that “President Dodge rightly points out that the Arab and Jewish states, which would emerge from partition, could not become economically viable if the highest measure of economic cooperation were not achieved, an end which will not be easily attained within the present framework of animosity.”

23. William Ernest Hocking, “The Need of Zionism,” *Maccabean* 15 (1915): 272.

. . . In the future we must recognize and make place in the world for that vital intense creative nationality, the Jewish nationality. We want only that internationalism which preserves nationality. Nationality is fundamental, because it means continuance of experiments in living together.

The life of every nationality as embodied in art, religion, science, and the conduct of life has its root in the soil of its land and, therefore, the whole of humanity is impoverished, when any nation is uprooted and the whole of humanity will be impoverished unless every

strong national stock has a chance to show what is in it and to develop itself in experimental life on its own homeland. The first point then is that Jewish nationality must have a fair chance for national self expression.

That nationality wherever it exists must be an all-round partnership in the things that go to make up a state. Whatever happens to the Jewish people in the future I hope that the expression of their national life will be an all-round expression: . . . In the aspirations in the establishment of a Jewish state that we plead to see to it that the Jewish state is self-protective, that is, that it does its distinctive and adequate part in the maintenance of its own distinctive life. It will mean a great deal to the self-respect of Jewry the world over if the Jewish state established in Palestine is self-protective.

My third point is that the sentiment of Jewish nationality as the sentiment of nationality in all people is profoundly religious. Every nationality has religious roots and should experience its attitude in its own lives, laws, and institutions.

24. William Ernest Hocking, *Congregationalist* August 16, 1917, pp. 202–203: “One of the most versatile minds of his generation [for whom] religion has been the great concern. . . . Much of Mr. Balfour’s power as a religious thinker comes from the fact that he gives masterful expression to the still prevalent quality of common sense, which has not parted company with reverence.”

25. William Ernest Hocking, “Is Israel a ‘Natural Ally’?” *Christian Century* 68 (September 19, 1951): 1072–1074.

26. William Ernest Hocking, “The Time Bomb of the Palestine Fait Accompli,” *American Mercury* 86 (January 1958): 58–59. The entire article runs from page 47–59. The editor’s introduction of Hocking is on page 46. The subtitle is “How and why our State Department lost the respect and alliance of the Arab World for the U.S.”

*Ibid.*, p. 59. The article includes sidebars with quotations from Rabbi Stephen S. Wise on Colonel House’s help in the Wilson administration (p. 50), from a letter of Lord Sydenham to Winston Churchill (p. 51), and Dr. Chaim Weizmann (p. 56). Other sidebars include Sir Mark Sykes stating to Lloyd George on September 2, 1918, “We have . . . Zionist agents scattered all over the world” (p. 52), and a lengthy excerpt from Winston Churchill’s answer to Lord Passfield’s White Paper on Palestine (p. 53). The article is followed by an *American Mercury* news release entitled, “Aid to Israel to be Increased by \$3,525,000 for Educational Cultural, and Scientific Activities under Educational-Exchange Program” (pp. 59–61). Listing forty “Israel Projects” the editors conclude: “The wide variety of projects in Israel being supported with American tax dollars makes one wonder if we have not really set Uncle Sam up as the principal donor to a national community chest in Israel.

27. “Gabriel Courier Interprets the News,” *Christian Herald* 71 (November 1948): 13. Cf. Robert Lindsey’s “Christianity’s Chance in Palestine,” *Christian Herald* 72 (February 1949): 26–28. Lindsey talks of psychological and spiritual “emancipation,” and says that the claims of both the Arabs and the Jews are valid. He believes that partition is the only way.

28. Note for example “Which Group Composes Zionism?” (pp. 220–222) and “The Middle East” (pp. 223 ff.) in “Current Events in the Light of the Bible,” *Our Hope* 64 (October 1957). It is interesting that the last item in the December 1957 issue before the merger deals with religion in Israeli schools. Cf. “Religion in Schools” in the “Current Events in the Light of the Bible” section, *Our Hope* 64 (December 1957): 360–361.

29. “Furtive Crescent” in “Gabriel Courier Interprets the News,” *Christian Herald* 81 (April 1958): 11. Compare “Lebanon” in his July 1958 column (p. 14), and the excerpt “Scopus” explains the “tension point” between Israel and Jordan over the Mount Scopus “enclave” and the intervention of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Commission of the United Nations.

30. Wilbur M. Smith, *World Crises and the Prophetic Scriptures* (1950), p. 171. Smith's statement at the end of his study, i.e., "How strange and yet how remarkable a confirmation of the Holy Scriptures that Israel is re-established and a government is set up in Jerusalem just at this time" (p. 276), is indicative of the Fundamentalist-Evangelical movement throughout the 1950s. It is of interest that Dr. Wilbur Smith recognizes the historic heritage of this prophetic interpretation when he writes on the dedication page: "GRATEFULLY DEDICATED to that noble group of interpreters of the oracles of God, C. I. SCOFIELD, R. A. TORREY, JAMES M. GRAY, A. C. GAEBELEIN who, not slow to believe all that the prophets have said, so clearly foresaw the day in which we are now living, and faithfully proclaimed the Blessed Hope."

Wilbur M. Smith, "Jerusalem in Prophecy," *Moody Monthly* 61 (October 1960): 39-40. Cf. Smith's autobiography, *Before I Forget* (1971).

31. John E. Walvoord, "The Amazing Rise of Israel!," *Moody Monthly* 68 (October 1967): 22-25. A sidebar on pp. 24-25 by Richard Wolff is entitled, "Why Did God Choose Israel?" It underscores the fact that the Bible stresses that God's choice is the Jews and that their covenant with God has not been nullified. Hal Lindsey, the director of Campus Crusade for Christ at UCLA, who would become a millionaire through his book, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, in the 1970s, also has an article entitled "The Pieces Fall Together" (pp. 26-28) in this issue. "For centuries Christians have pondered over the prophetic puzzle," the caption to his article asserts. "Now in this mid-twentieth century they are seeing the pieces fall together."

32. Raymond Cox, "Eyewitness: Israel," *Eternity* 18 (July 1967): 6-8.

33. William Sanford LaSor, "Have the 'Times of the Gentiles' Been Fulfilled?" *Eternity* 18 (August 1967): 32. Cf. the editorial, "Prophetic Overtones in the Middle East," pp. 6 and 7 in the same issue.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 34, "... and above all," LaSor ended, "to equip the nations of the Middle East with instruments of peace instead of weapons of war."

35. G. Douglas Young, "Lessons We Can Learn from Judaism," *Eternity* 18 (August 1967): 22. Dr. Young insisted that the world should awaken to "see the values that God enabled Jews to perpetuate, the values He intends to keep on using." While most conservative Protestants may not yet be clear on this part of Judaism, Dr. Young declared that "it is inescapable to those who live in Israel. . . . In Israel we are being faced with the realization that God has been and remains in Jewry, and that everything points (as Biblical prophecy should lead us to expect) to the time when once again 'the law shall go forth from Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.' " He then listed nine specific values among Jewish people.

Cf. David A. Rausch, "Evangelical Protestant Americans," in *With Eyes Toward Zion—II*, edited by Moshe Davis (1986), pp. 327-329.

This article appeared in a special supplement to the *Jerusalem Post* (December 24, 1969). Some of Dr. Young's letters to the editor of the *Jerusalem Post* include the following: "Al Aksa—A Christian Accuses the Churches" (August 27, 1969); "Fulbright and Middle East Realities" (December 11, 1973, Overseas Edition); "Murdering of Jews" (May 17, 1974); "Misconceptions About Refugee Problem" (September 22, 1970); "The Church and Terror" (January 21, 1973); "Arab Riots" (June 9, 1976). In his letter published October 31, 1975, and titled "Christian Zionists," G. Douglas Young began: "I have been accused of being a Zionist—a Christian Zionist—by some of my coreligionists in Israel and in the administered areas. I would like to take this means of thanking them for this compliment."

36. Bert De Vries, "The Palestinian Issue," *Reformed Journal* 21 (April 1971): 10-11; and "His Land' and History," *Reformed Journal* 21 (November 1971): 13.

37. Note "Mideast: Weighing the Effects," *Christianity Today* 11 (July 7, 1967): 31. Cf. "Middle East Crisis: A Biblical Backdrop," *Christianity Today* 11 (June 9, 1967): 38-40; and

"Jews in Old Jerusalem!—A Historic Re-Entry," *Christianity Today* 11 (June 23, 1967): 37–38. On the magazine's history and turmoil, see Carl F. H. Henry, *Confessions of a Theologian: An Autobiography* (1986).

38. Rev. James L. Kelso's "interpretive appraisal of the Arab-Jewish conflict" follows the special news report of Dr. Dwight L. Baker, "Jerusalem: A Third Temple?" *Christianity Today* 11 (July 21, 1967): 34. The quotation from Kelso is on p. 35.

*Ibid.*, pp. 35–36.

39. "Perspectives on Arab-Israeli Tensions," *Christianity Today* 12 (June 7, 1968): 7. Dr. William Culbertson's views are found on pp. 6 and 8. Before becoming president of Moody Bible Institute, he was bishop of the New York and Philadelphia synod of the Reformed Episcopal Church. A graduate of Temple University and of the Reformed Episcopal Seminary, Culbertson mentioned the Arab refugee problem at the end of his article, his "heart" going out to them. But, in face of the fact that "Israel has incorporated hundreds of thousands of refugees" into its economic and social life, he asks: "Why have not Arab countries (especially those rich in oil) done more to help their own?" (p. 8). Cf. "Letters to the Editor" August 18, 1967 (p. 24) and Benad Avital's letter, September 29, 1967 (pp. 18–19).

40. *Christianity Today* even reports these views in its editorial, "Casting Lots for Jerusalem," 11 (August 18, 1967): 29–30.

41. Father John T. Pawlikowski, professor of social ethics at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, singled out Dr. Ruether in his September 1986 address to the delegates of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) in Baltimore as one of his colleagues who, while sensitive to the pain suffered by Jews for centuries from anti-Semitism, apparently "considers Zionism roughly equivalent to Fascism." "This reaction by a scholar who has spoken out so strongly against anti-Semitism in all its other forms," Father Pawlikowski underscored, "shows how urgent is the need for a serious, *sustained* and comprehensive conversation between Zionists and Christians." See *Christianity and Zionism: A Necessary Dialogue*, a booklet of speeches sponsored by the Jacob Goodman Institute of ZOA. (1986), pp. 10–14.

42. Father Edward H. Flannery, "Israel, Jerusalem, and the Middle East," in *Twenty Years of Jewish-Catholic Relations*, edited by Eugene J. Fisher, A. James Rudin, and Marc H. Tanenbaum (1986), p. 79. The following quote is on page 82.

43. "A good example of increasing animosity is found in the American Friends Service Committee founded by the Quakers in 1917 to enable conscientious objectors to engage in relief work. By the 1970s, the A.F.S.C.'s hostility toward the State of Israel was amply evidenced resulting in a national conference, 'The New Imperative for Israeli-Palestinian Peace: A Learning and Organizational Conference,' held in Chevy Chase, Maryland in February 1977. Speakers at this conference compared the Israelis to the Nazis, and vowed to organize a nationwide pressure group to oppose Zionist policy. So volatile has been the anti-Zionist rhetoric of the A.F.S.C., that it sometimes appears to be anti-Semitic."



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# Backing the “Good Guys”: American Governmental Policy, “Jewish Influence,” and the Sinai Campaign of 1956

*Moshe Fox*

*Israel has no greater strength than that which flows from these abundant sources of Jewish fraternity.*

—Abba Eban

## *Reacting to the Surprise*

The Sinai Campaign, in which Israel unexpectedly launched a major attack on Egypt after enduring a long period of harassment, caught the world (and the Egyptians) napping. Hostilities began on October 29, 1956, when Israeli paratroopers dropped from the sky to secure the strategic Mitla Pass in anticipation of a speedy advance by Israeli armored columns. When the news reached America five hours later, it came as a complete surprise to the Eisenhower administration, the Jewish community, and even the Israeli embassy. The situation became even more complicated a few days later when it was learned that Britain and France were acting against Egypt in concert with Israel. Even though Israel's grievances against Egypt were well known and of long standing—persistent terrorist attacks by Egyptian-backed *fedayeen* operating from the Gaza Strip, the Egyptian blockade of the Straits of Tiran and denial of the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping—no one had imagined that Israel might use force to rectify the situation.

President Dwight Eisenhower's understanding of the problem is perhaps best explicated by a long, unusually candid letter he wrote on November 2, 1956:

It does not seem to me that there is present in the case anything that justifies the action that Britain, France, and Israel apparently concerted among themselves and have initiated. . . . The real point is that Britain, France and Israel had come to believe—perhaps correctly—that Nasser was their worst enemy in the Mid East and that until he was removed or deflated, they would have no peace. I do not quarrel with the idea that there is justification for such fears, but I have insisted long and earnestly that you cannot resort to force in international relationships because of your fear of what might happen in the future. . . . [Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion] might think he could take advantage of this country because of the approaching election and because of the importance that so many politicians in the past have attached to our Jewish vote. I gave strict orders to the State Department that they should inform Israel that we would handle our affairs exactly as though we didn't have a Jew in America. The welfare and best interests of our own country were to be the sole criteria on which we operated.<sup>1</sup>

With these views already in mind, but with the intelligence picture distorted in many ways (most especially as yet unaware that Britain and France were involved in the developing military action), Eisenhower convened a meeting of his key advisers soon after the news reached Washington. According to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who was present at the meeting, “the President thought that in these circumstances perhaps we cannot be bound by our traditional alliance, but must instead face the question how to make good on our pledge.”<sup>2</sup> By “pledge” Eisenhower meant the third clause in the Tripartite Declaration Regarding Security in the Near East of May 25, 1950, in which the United States, Britain, and France had declared that they would take action against states violating frontiers or armistice lines,<sup>3</sup> and Israel, of necessity, had crossed the 1949 armistice lines in order to attack Egypt. Eisenhower’s desires to honor this pledge became U.S. policy during the Suez crisis, as was clearly indicated by a White House statement issued after the meeting, which read: “The United States, under this and prior administrations, has pledged itself to assist the victim of any aggression in the Middle East.”<sup>4</sup>

For Dulles, assisting the “victim” meant punishing the “culprit.” On the morning of October 30, in the midst of the mounting crisis, he took steps to ensure that Israel would be unable to obtain money from what he called “Jewish banks,” namely, Chase Manhattan, Bank of America/New York, Hanover Bank, and Manufacturers Bank, all institutions where the Israeli government had accounts and credit lines.<sup>5</sup> Although Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey told Dulles that there was only \$8 million in the “Jewish banks,” and \$5 million to

\$6 million in other New York banks ("it is just peanuts," he said, "and in such small amounts we really do not dare go to the banks"),<sup>6</sup> he and Dulles agreed to prevent a visit to Israel by a team from the Export-Import Bank, which was expected to recommend a new loan to the Israelis of \$75 million. That same day Dulles suggested to Eisenhower that the flow of charitable contributions to Israel should be stopped.<sup>7</sup>

Facing formidable opposition, as this indicated, Israel and her supporters faced a tough battle if they were to win over American public opinion. The Israeli ambassador, Abba Eban, pointed out that there were three main difficulties. First, Israel had not established political grounds for its surprise attack on Egypt. Second, there had been no overt act of aggression by Egypt that would make it possible to describe the attack as a legitimate defensive measure.<sup>8</sup> Third, there was a widespread feeling that Israel had timed the attack to take place during the American election campaign, when Eisenhower's hands would be tied by political considerations.<sup>9</sup> Eban felt that the campaign to win public opinion had three urgent goals: to present the Israeli view to the media, to strengthen Jewish solidarity, and to solicit support in Congress.<sup>10</sup>

Eban acknowledged that the Israeli embassy could not offer an adequate response to the questions posed by the media and American Jewish leaders.<sup>11</sup> He commented dryly, "We tried to explain our motives but we could say very little about the targets and the goals of the Sinai operation."<sup>12</sup> On October 29, 1956, Israeli diplomats received instructions to describe the Sinai operation as a defensive measure and to emphasize that it had no connection to the British and French dispute with Egypt over the Suez Canal.<sup>13</sup>

America's perplexed Jewish leaders convened a meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations on October 30. Eban's deputy, Reuven Shiloach, attended. He subsequently commented, "For the first time in our memory there was reluctance to justify Israel's action without reserve."<sup>14</sup> There were other reasons, as well, to be concerned about a possible rift between American Jewry and Israel: the problem of forcing the American Jewish community to oppose their own government, and the objection of American Jewish leaders to a war with Egypt.

Even worse than the disagreement among Jewish leaders was their readiness to make it public. However, after two days of deliberations, the Presidents' Conference issued a statement which neither con-

demned Israel nor supported the Eisenhower administration. The statement, representing the unified stand of the organized American Jewish community and endorsed by sixteen Zionist and non-Zionist organizations, urged the U.S. government to make a “fresh appraisal” of the Middle East conflict. It asserted that

the conflict in the Middle East is not simply between Egypt and Israel, but between democracy and an expansionist dictatorship, between the free world and Nasserism backed by Moscow. . . . Events have also demonstrated the basic identity of interest of Israel and the Free World. It is in our own national interest to recognize this truth and to act upon it. We therefore call upon our government to shape its policies and chart its course in the light of these facts and this challenge.<sup>15</sup>

### *Exerting Pressure Through “Jewish Channels”*

The U.S. government, meanwhile, in an effort to win the support of the Jewish community, tried to use prominent American Jews to influence Israel’s leaders. On October 30, Sherman Adams, the White House chief of staff, phoned Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, the former chairman of the Zionist Organization of America, who had close ties with the Republican party. Adams asked Silver to tell Ben-Gurion that Eisenhower was planning to make a coast-to-coast speech the next day, and since he wanted to avoid criticizing Israel, he wanted Ben-Gurion to pledge that Israel would not retain the territory it had conquered. If Ben-Gurion made such a pledge, Adams told Silver, Eisenhower would express deep appreciation and friendship for Israel in his speech.

Silver passed Eisenhower’s request directly to Ben-Gurion. The prime minister responded that he was willing to promise an Israeli withdrawal, but only if Egypt agreed to a peace treaty guaranteeing the cessation of hostile acts against Israel.

Ben-Gurion’s reply, the first authoritative statement of the goals of the Sinai operation, made it clear that Israel was not interested in making territorial acquisitions.<sup>16</sup> Silver’s possible influence on Ben-Gurion’s reply or on the text of Eisenhower’s October 31 speech cannot be determined, but it seems unlikely that the use of unofficial channels to transmit Eisenhower’s message did anything to “soften” Ben-Gurion’s response. In all probability, the initiator of this attempt

to bypass Eban was unaware of the long-standing animosity between Silver and Ben-Gurion.

*The Battle Moves to the United Nations*

By November 1, 1956, when the United Nations General Assembly held an emergency session, Israeli forces had taken most of Sinai and the Gaza Strip. Dulles was scheduled to appear before the General Assembly at 5 p.m. At 8:40 that morning, he phoned the president, and Eisenhower told him "not [to] do anything that makes us look as if we are trying to get an excuse to pick on Israel."<sup>17</sup>

Later that same morning, though, the president changed course, telling Dulles, "It would be a complete mistake for this country to continue with any kind of aid to Israel which was an aggressor." Eisenhower thought "the sanctions outlined seemed a little mild."<sup>18</sup> He told Dulles "to avoid condemning any nation, but to put his stress on the need for a quick cease-fire."<sup>19</sup>

On November 2, 1956 the General Assembly adopted a resolution introduced by Dulles which called for an immediate cease-fire and prompt withdrawal of all forces behind the 1949 armistice lines.<sup>20</sup>

Eban's speech at the United Nations, which was broadcast nationwide, apparently did much to win understanding and sympathy for Israel's military action. Eban indicated that Israeli acceptance of a cease-fire would depend on Egyptian reciprocity, expressed reservations about troop withdrawals, and suggested direct peace negotiations between Israel and Egypt.

Israel stalled for the next two days, but after Britain and France launched an airborne attack on Port Said on the morning of November 5, Israel submitted its unconditional acceptance of the cease-fire to Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld. Israel's acceptance of the cease-fire did not relieve the mounting pressure. The Soviet Union questioned "the very existence of Israel as a state" if it did not immediately withdraw all forces from the Sinai.<sup>21</sup> Aware of the Soviet threat, Ben-Gurion told the Knesset on November 7 that the armistice agreement with Egypt was dead, but that Israel was ready to enter negotiations with Egypt without any prior conditions. He added that Israel would not permit foreign forces to be stationed on its territory or in the areas it had occupied.<sup>22</sup>

*The Threat of Sanctions*

The United States was sharply critical of Ben-Gurion's statement, perceiving it as a veiled policy to annex the occupied territories. On November 7 Eisenhower told acting Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr., that Ben-Gurion's statement was "terrible,"<sup>23</sup> but he softened his tone somewhat in a letter to Ben-Gurion: "It would be a matter of the greatest regret to all my countrymen if Israeli policy on a matter of such grave concern to the world should in any way impair the friendly cooperation between our two countries."<sup>24</sup> When Hoover gave the president's letter to Shiloach, he told him (after having cleared this with Eisenhower)<sup>25</sup> that "Israel's attitude will inevitably lead to most serious measures, such as the termination of all United States governmental and private aid, U.N. sanctions and eventual expulsion from the United Nations."<sup>26</sup>

On November 7 Nachum Goldmann, the president of the World Zionist Organization, sent a cable to Ben-Gurion warning that the American Jewish community had reservations about Israel's actions and could give Israel only limited support. He said that American Jews understood completely that Israel could not return to the status quo ante and also supported Israel's demand that Egypt renounce the state of war, remove its threat to Israel's existence, and guarantee freedom of passage for Israeli vessels in the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. On the other hand, he continued, it would be impossible to mobilize American Jewry to support an Israeli refusal to withdraw from the Sinai or accept an international peace-keeping force. Moreover, if there was an open dispute between Israel and the U.S. government on this point, there would be no possibility of rallying American Jewry to take Israel's side. What was needed, Goldmann said, was a step that would prevent an open split between Ben-Gurion and Eisenhower. He also warned "that if the U.S. takes steps against us, Germany will stop reparations."<sup>27</sup> To make sure that Ben-Gurion took his advice seriously, Goldmann concluded with another warning: the Presidents' Conference would not endorse a series of planned activities in support of the prime minister's Knesset speech until "the situation will be clarified."<sup>28</sup>

That same day, November 7, the General Assembly adopted a second resolution calling for immediate Israeli withdrawal. Twenty-four

hours later, after Eban assured him of the feasibility of a qualified formula of withdrawal, Ben-Gurion capitulated.

*The Election Campaign Factor*

As was mentioned earlier, Eisenhower had the American election campaign on his mind throughout these events. On October 15, even before the Sinai Campaign began, he told Dulles that "he would not under any circumstances permit the fact of forthcoming elections to influence his judgment. If any votes were lost as a result of this attitude, that was a situation which would have to be confronted, but any other attitude would not permit us to live with our conscience."<sup>29</sup>

On the night of October 29, Eisenhower later recalled, "some prominent Republicans called on me to say that for the only time in the political campaign they thought I might not win the election. Their reasoning was simple. . . . Perhaps it would be necessary for the U.S., as a member of the U.N., to employ our armed forces in strength to drive them [the Israelis] back within their borders. If this turned out to be the case, much of the responsibility would be laid at my door. With many of our citizens on the eastern seaboard emotionally involved in the Zionist cause, this, it was believed, could possibly bring political defeat. None of them, however, urged me to abandon my position."<sup>30</sup>

Eisenhower, however, failed to identify the "prominent Republicans," nor does the phone call memorandum series for October 29 reveal any predictions of doom by members of the Republican establishment. Indeed, that same night Vice President Richard Nixon called Dulles to tell him that "he felt that no domestic political factors ought to stand in the way of our taking a firm position against the Israelis' aggression."<sup>31</sup>

The president's firm assurances to his associates that he would do "the right thing" and not bow to political pressure did not prevent him from participating in the political ritual of courting the Jews. In New York, Republican Jacob Javits, a Jew, was running for the Senate against a Democratic incumbent, Robert F. Wagner. As the Javits campaign moved into high gear, Eisenhower invited him to the Oval Office, and after their meeting joined with him in a ritual photo opportunity and press release.<sup>32</sup> Javits received a final boost from Eisenhower and Nixon on November 5, two days before the election. Eisenhower

phoned to wish him success, saying, "I think you are going to win and win handsomely."<sup>33</sup>

Between October 30 and November 6 (Election Day), two Republican senators, four Republican representatives, and three Democratic representatives wrote or wired the White House about the Sinai Campaign.<sup>34</sup> Only one of them, Congressman Curtis of Massachusetts, a Republican, indicated that his constituents were opposed to the United States taking drastic action against Israel.<sup>35</sup> Altogether, then, the pressure on the White House from Congress and voters does not seem to have been very strong.

More significant, however, was the criticism of Eisenhower's policies by Adlai Stevenson, his opponent in the presidential race. The Democratic candidate, challenging Eisenhower's policy toward Israel, insisted that Israel had to be given the arms needed to guarantee her territorial integrity. Stevenson's stance apparently did not gain him many votes, however, since Eisenhower won a landslide victory on November 6. The Democrats retained control of Congress, though, and this meant that Eisenhower had not been given an unlimited mandate.

### *The Public Relations Campaign*

While Israel began a phased withdrawal of its troops from the Sinai, Eban and his associates launched a massive public relations campaign in the hope that popular pressure might induce Eisenhower to change his position.<sup>36</sup> In his briefing cable of November 12, 1956, Ben-Gurion described Israel's objectives as follows: the Egyptian army should not be allowed to return to the Sinai, an international force should be stationed in the Suez Canal Zone to guarantee free passage, the 1949 armistice agreement should be replaced by peace negotiations between Israel and Egypt, and Israel should retain the Tiran Straits.<sup>37</sup>

All of this was in sharp contrast to American policy, which was based on preserving peace and avoiding the use of force to solve international disputes. From this standpoint, nothing could possibly justify the combined Israeli-British-French operation against Egypt. American policy had another fundamental goal as well: the buttressing of the United Nations as an instrument for achieving peace and as a forum for opposing the Soviets.

Thus American policy-makers preferred that the Middle East crisis be handled by the United Nations without American involvement. Israel's goal was to change U.S. Middle East policy and to obtain American assurances that the eastern part of the Sinai would be demilitarized, that the Egyptians would not regain the Gaza Strip, and that Israel would be permitted to hold Sharem al-Sheikh until free passage in the Straits of Tiran was guaranteed.<sup>38</sup>

The American Jewish community was the object as well as the instrument of the Israeli public relations campaign. American Jews were to be briefed on the issues and then would disseminate views favorable to Israel in an effort to win wider support. The strategy was outlined at a meeting of the steering committee of the Presidents' Conference on November 7, 1956. A national education campaign would rally the Jewish community, using all the existing channels of communication—the United Jewish Appeal, Israel Bonds, trade unions, rabbinical groups, and various members of the Presidents' Conference. The strategy outline suggested that activities should stress the themes of a negotiated peace, Israel's opposition to communism, and acceptance of fair-play rules. These themes did not directly address the immediate issue in dispute but were intended to show that Israel was America's best friend in the Middle East, thus producing an atmosphere receptive to Israel's goals.

Since the education campaign was not directed against the Eisenhower administration, it skillfully avoided the explosive issue of "dual loyalty." In addition to local meetings, a conference to be held in New York was scheduled for the following week. The activity outline suggested that rabbinical leaders should discuss the issue of negotiated versus imposed peace on television and through ads in newspapers. Ads on the peace theme signed by an interfaith group of prominent individuals and television panels on the subject were also suggested.<sup>39</sup>

At the next meeting of the steering committee, on November 13, it was decided to convene a two-day conference in New York. The agenda included such issues as the communist threat to the Middle East, America's relationship to Palestine and Israel, U.S. interests in the Middle East, and the sequence of events that had led to the present crisis.<sup>40</sup> As before, the organizers were eager to avoid direct criticism of the administration. Instead they stressed the idea that Israel was a democratic society like the United States, an ally in the fight against

communism, and a land whose Western culture and values placed it in close affinity to America.

The New York conference took place on November 26–27, 1956. All of the speakers took up the themes suggested by the organizers. Dr. Maurice Eisendrath, the president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, spoke on the common values of Israel and America. Israel as a stronghold of anticommunism was the main point in the speech of Philip Klutznick, president of B'nai B'rith. The lack of a common foundation of moral values as an impediment to the cause of world peace and to a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict was the main theme of the speech by Donald Harvey Tippet, the Methodist bishop of San Francisco.<sup>41</sup> Bernard Trager, chairman of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, emphasized the opportunity “to contribute toward the building of an American public opinion that will not merely support but impel our government toward a positive policy of seeking permanent peace through a freely negotiated treaty between Israel and Egypt.”<sup>42</sup>

The 250 participants from twenty-four states concluded the two-day conference by adopting two resolutions. The first was a short one, made up of pro-Israel clichés that could easily win the support of any Jewish organization. The second resolution condemned Egypt for terrorism against Israel and for imposing a blockade and boycott. Emphasizing that Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, was implacably hostile to the Western democracies and had opened the door to Soviet penetration of the Near East, it called upon the United States to recognize the fundamental identity of interests between Israel and the free world and to play a greater role in Middle Eastern affairs.

The conference concluded with a demand for an end to “conditions that would restore Egyptian domination over . . . the Straits of Tiran.”<sup>43</sup> It stated, further, that Gaza was not and had never been an Egyptian territory, adding that “a simple withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza opens up the dangerous possibility of its reoccupation by Egyptian military forces.”<sup>44</sup> Finally, the statement deplored the biased attitude of the United States in implementing the November 2 General Assembly resolution.

Jewish community leaders were asked to reissue this statement in their local media as a press release or as an ad endorsed by the local

heads of Jewish organizations.<sup>45</sup> In addition to urging such local activities, the Presidents' Conference arranged six regional conferences to take place in Providence, Atlanta, Baltimore, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and Chicago, with members of the Presidents' Conference participating.<sup>46</sup> These regional meetings took place in January and early February 1957, "to place before the American Jewish leadership the facts on the current crisis in the Middle East as it affects America's basic interests and Israel's survival."<sup>47</sup>

While representatives of various Jewish organizations routinely called on State Department officials, only the Presidents' Conference met with Secretary Dulles in an official capacity. On January 17, during a 45-minute meeting with Dulles held at the request of the Presidents' Conference, Dr. Nachum Goldmann raised the question of the Tiran Straits and Gaza. Dulles, in response, referred to his speech to the General Assembly on November 1, 1956, when he had expressed the U.S. commitment to a permanent solution in the Middle East, and said "he would not commit himself on the timetable on withdrawal."<sup>48</sup> Dulles then delivered what Rabbi Philip Bernstein, the president of the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, described as a "sermon" questioning Israel's long-range policy for coping with Arab hostility. He "reiterated that the U.S. is committed to the integrity and preservation of Israel and will not do anything contrary to that position."<sup>49</sup> Sticking to his broad policy statements, Dulles told the delegation that "the U.S. is working completely through the United Nations."<sup>50</sup>

### *Renewed Warnings of Sanctions*

On February 2, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, told the General Assembly that "I cannot predict the consequences which will ensue if Israel fails to comply with the will of the General Assembly as expressed in the pending resolution."<sup>51</sup> This was the first of three warnings to Israel that were issued within the next three days. The second was included in President Eisenhower's letter of February 3 to Ben-Gurion. The third came from Dulles at his press conference on February 5, when he said, "If there was action by the U.N. calling for sanctions, we would have, of course, to give them

very serious consideration.”<sup>52</sup> Later, in a conversation with Senator Smith of New Jersey, he specified that sanctions against Israel would mean cutting off financial aid and business transactions.<sup>53</sup>

Dulles’s reference to sanctions triggered a stormy reaction on Capitol Hill. Senator Knowland of California, the Republican leader, issued a sharply critical statement,<sup>54</sup> while Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic majority leader, sent Dulles a letter opposing sanctions in which he argued that “the U.N. cannot apply one rule for the strong and another for the weak.”<sup>55</sup>

Johnson’s support had been obtained by I.L. Kenen, executive director of the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, and Nathaniel Goodrich, the Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee. Kenen and other Jewish leaders approached several other senators as well.<sup>56</sup> As a result of their efforts, the use of sanctions was denounced on the Senate floor by Sparkman of Alabama and Humphrey of Minnesota (both Democrats) and by Smith of Maine, Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Kuchel of California, and Bridges of New Hampshire (all Republicans).<sup>57</sup> In addition, Senators Douglas of Illinois, Javits of New York, and Ives of New York (also all Republicans) publicly condemned the sanctions policy in other forums.

Public Affairs to gain support in the House of Representatives also proved fruitful.<sup>58</sup> Led by Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, forty-one Republican congressmen urged the administration not to require an Israeli withdrawal until Egypt agreed to begin negotiations, while on the Democratic side of the aisle, Emanuel Celler of New York, on behalf of seventy-five Democratic congressmen, demanded that Israel be guaranteed free passage through the Suez Canal and Tiran Straits before withdrawing from Sinai.

The seventeen member organizations of the Presidents’ Conference endorsed an appeal to Eisenhower that said, in part, “To apply sanctions on Israel for non-compliance would stand out in striking contrast to the failure of the U.N. to impose or even to suggest the imposition of sanctions on Egypt for her six years defiance of the Security Council resolution on Suez or against the Soviet Union for its inhuman and ruthless suppression of the Hungarian struggle for freedom.”<sup>59</sup> The appeal was wired to the White House, and the text was published in a full-page ad in the *New York Times* on February 11.

*American Policy Changes Course*

Subjected to so much pressure from Congress, unions, and the media, the Eisenhower administration decided to soft-pedal the threat of sanctions. Instead, on February 11, Dulles handed Eban an aide-memoire reiterating the U.S. position "that Israeli withdrawal from Gaza should be prompt and unconditional, leaving the future of the Gaza Strip to be worked out through the efforts and good offices of the United Nations."<sup>60</sup> While the United States would not give any assurances that the restoration of Egyptian control over Gaza would be prevented,<sup>61</sup> the aide-memoire confirmed—and this represented a shift in American policy—that the Gulf of Aqaba constituted international waters and therefore "no nation has the right forcibly to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the Straits giving access thereto";<sup>62</sup> moreover, the United States "is prepared to exercise the right of free and innocent passage and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right."<sup>63</sup> This commitment, however, was conditional upon the prior withdrawal of Israeli forces.

Doubtful that Israel would be satisfied with these assurances, Dulles told Eisenhower that if Israel did not withdraw after receiving the aide-memoire, the United States would have to deal with a sanctions resolution in the United Nations and "it will be tough."<sup>64</sup> He warned the president that congressional pressure was rapidly increasing. Eisenhower realized once again how hard it was to carry out foreign policy without congressional backing.

Dulles, however, did not think congressional backing would be enough. He told Henry Luce, the media mogul, that he now understood, as George C. Marshall, his predecessor as secretary of state, had learned from experience, that it was nearly impossible to conduct a foreign policy not approved of by the Jews—but nonetheless, Dulles said, he was going to try it. Dulles insisted that he was not anti-Jewish, but was merely acting in accord with what George Washington had said in his Farewell Address—an emotional attachment to another country should not be permitted to interfere in foreign policy.<sup>65</sup>

Around the same time Dulles also commented to Ambassador Lodge about "the terrific control the Jews had over the media and the barrage which the Jews have built up on congressmen."<sup>66</sup> Eisenhower himself was fearful that "if congressional sentiment is as solid, Eban

knows it and tells his government, they laugh at the secretary and the president.”<sup>67</sup>

Threatened by the anti-sanctions pressure from Congress, Dulles “did not want the Israelis to know we were weak . . . at all,”<sup>68</sup> so he instructed Lodge to forestall the General Assembly deliberations on sanctions with a resolution in the Security Council. He and Lodge reasoned that the time-consuming procedural switch from the Assembly to the Council would provide room for maneuvering on the language of the Security Council resolution. They also discussed the possibility of introducing a resolution that would cut off new aid and the impact of a formula limited to government-to-government sanctions. Dulles suggested that congressional pressure would be reduced if Lodge said something to the effect that the United States was trying very hard to find a solution acceptable to both sides.

As a *Washington Post* editorial indicated, now that Israel had received assurances about free passage through the Straits of Tiran, it was generally felt that “it is now Israel’s turn to be reasonable.” Meanwhile, Eban was pushing hard to obtain Israel’s assent in principle to the aide-memoir of February 11 while seeking clarification of the U.S. assurances.<sup>69</sup> Ben-Gurion understood the advantages of the U.S. offer, but was reluctant to accept. Thus Israel welcomed the principles set forth in the aide-memoire but called for discussions between the two states to work out arrangements for implementing the American commitment to guarantee free passage in the Straits and to find a solution for Gaza that could be presented to the United Nations.<sup>70</sup>

This was not the response Dulles wanted. He told Eban that bilateral negotiations leading to a solution that Israel and the United States would then impose on the United Nations were out of the question. So was an American guarantee of free passage through the Straits, since it would involve the deployment of U.S. forces and therefore would have to be ratified by Congress.

### *Eisenhower Returns to Sanctions*

On February 16 Dulles and Lodge met with Eisenhower in Thomasville, Georgia. In general, they felt “that the strongly emotional attitude of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and of Foreign Minister Meir

made it unlikely that there would be any important change of position."<sup>71</sup> Dulles maintained that the United States had gone as far as possible to make withdrawal acceptable and easy for Israel, warning that "to go further would . . . make it almost certain that virtually all the Middle East countries would feel that the U.S. policy toward the area was in the last analysis controlled by the Jewish influence."<sup>72</sup> If this happened, he concluded, the Arab countries would go over to the Soviet Union.

In light of all this, Eisenhower decided to support a General Assembly resolution to suspend governmental assistance and private aid to Israel and to begin to prepare for sanctions. He hoped that Jewish endorsement of this policy could be obtained by contacting "leading Jewish personalities" sympathetic to the administration and asking them to "help to organize some Jewish sentiment in support of what might be the President's final position."<sup>73</sup>

On February 17 the White House released the text of the aide-memoire of February 11, accompanied by a presidential statement asserting that the aide-memoire and the U.N. resolution of February 2 "provide Israel with the maximum assurance that it can reasonably expect at this juncture, or that can be reconciled with fairness to others."<sup>74</sup>

The next day Ben-Gurion instructed Eban to be firm on two key issues: (1) no evacuation without effective guarantees of free passage through the Straits of Tiran, and (2) no Egyptian reoccupation of Gaza. The Israeli people, Ben-Gurion said, were prepared to endure sanctions; and if necessary, Israel's security had to come before the satisfying of public opinion abroad.<sup>75</sup>

Meanwhile, when Senator Knowland learned, on February 16, that the administration was again promoting sanctions, he threatened to resign from the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. Dulles later commented that "the pressure of the Jews largely accounts for Knowland's attitude."<sup>76</sup>

Dulles advised Eisenhower to meet with congressional leaders before the sanctions vote at the United Nations, for he felt it was essential to gain broader public support and to share the responsibility for such a critical decision.<sup>77</sup> Sherman Adams, the White House chief of staff, and James Hagerty, the presidential press secretary, agreed that congressional support and consent were necessary if Eisenhower was to pursue so unpopular a policy. Sanctions alone, however unpopular,

were not the only issue, they warned; the Eisenhower Doctrine itself might be at stake.

On February 20 Eisenhower met with a bipartisan group of twelve senators and fourteen congressmen to discuss the sanctions question. Unless Israel was held in check, he warned, guerilla warfare would spread, oil supplies might be interrupted, Russia would gain influence in the Middle East, and the whole world order would break down. The U.S. decision about sanctions was subject to the United Nations resolution, he claimed, implying that the United States had no influence over the United Nations. Furthermore, Dulles added, "the firmness of the U.S. position constituted . . . the crucial issue, particularly since much of the world, including the Israeli government, believed Israel could in crucial moments control U.S. policy. Should the Arab nations see any confirmation of this belief, they would [be] compelled to turn to Russia."<sup>78</sup>

Unconvinced by these arguments, the majority of the congressional leaders at the meeting made it clear that in their view the imposition of sanctions on Israel would reflect a double standard. Thus Eisenhower, Dulles, and Lodge failed to win unanimous support for a statement calling on Israel to withdraw and threatening to impose sanctions if Israel refused. An alternative proposal calling for a congressional resolution expressing unity with the administration was also rejected.

One White House staffer later described the meeting as a "bag of worms."<sup>79</sup> Eisenhower himself said that it was disheartening to know that political considerations played so large a role in the decisions taken by such high-ranking leaders. In his memoirs he blamed the "Jewish vote" for influencing the bipartisan meeting. Although only one participant, Congressman Taber of New York, came from a district where the Jewish vote was significant, Eisenhower nonetheless was convinced that Jewish influence was paramount and labeled Senators Knowland and Johnson as particularly obstructionist.

With congressional leaders reluctant to share the responsibility for imposing sanctions on Israel, Eisenhower decided to take his case to the people. He did so the same night in a nationwide television and radio address. In it he repeated the arguments he had made to the congressional leaders earlier that day, but without mentioning the word "sanctions."

*Ethnic and Religious Politics Applied to Gain Support*

The Eisenhower administration had plenty of solid information indicating that the American Jewish community was hostile to its Middle East policy. An analysis of the telegrams sent to the White House on February 20, the day following the president's speech, showed that almost 90 percent came from Jews. Moreover, only 10 percent of them supported the president, while 90 percent were in opposition.<sup>80</sup> Clearly, the Jewish community was overwhelmingly and outspokenly against the administration's policy.

Following up on the decision made at Thomasville to reach out to sympathetic Jews, Eisenhower, on February 18, had called Barney Balaban, the president of Paramount Pictures, and asked for a list of Jewish leaders he could meet with.<sup>81</sup> In addition to naming himself, Balaban suggested Louis Novins, one of his associates at Paramount, Samuel D. Leidesdorf, treasurer of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York, Jacob Blaustein, former president of the American Jewish Committee, William Rosenwald, general chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, Philip N. Klutznick, president of B'nai B'rith, Mendel Silverberg, a lawyer and Republican activist in Los Angeles,<sup>82</sup> and Irving Engel, president of the American Jewish Committee.<sup>83</sup> With the exception of Blaustein and Klutznick, none of these men had been active in Jewish organizations concerned with the political aspects of U.S.-Israel relations. Most of them had been involved in fund-raising, and none were formally associated with the Zionist movement.

A meeting with Dulles was scheduled for February 21, to be followed by a possible meeting with Eisenhower, but after the president's speech on February 20, the group decided that they would not meet with him.<sup>84</sup> According to Klutznick, the eight participants at the meeting with Dulles expressed their views forcefully in response to the secretary's directness, pleading for time to allow influence to work. Dulles doubted that any influence would "shake that fellow" Ben-Gurion.<sup>85</sup> One member of the group expressed the general mood by telling Dulles that "to try to bludgeon Israel against its own vital interests is morally wrong."<sup>86</sup>

Meanwhile, press reports about administration efforts to pressure Israel through non-Zionist Jews caused a storm among Zionists and a

flat denial by the Jewish conferees. Balaban said, "It is my personal conviction that in matters involving justice and morality in the present crisis there can be no such distinctions between Zionists and non-Zionists."<sup>87</sup>

In addition to its unsuccessful effort to win over the American Jewish community, the administration also tried to coax Christian leaders to speak up in support of its Middle East policy. Christian support, it was felt, would balance the perceived "Jewish influence."

In mid-February, as the storm against sanctions was building, Dulles expressed concern that "the views of the Protestant church groups never get reflected . . . in Washington in any way."<sup>88</sup> Instead, he told Roswell Barnes, associate general secretary of the National Council of Churches, the "Jewish influence" was "completely dominating the scene." Dulles particularly criticized the Israeli embassy for "dictating to the Congress through influential Jewish people in the country." Referring to the myth of the Elders of Zion, he told Barnes that "a great deal depends on whether Ben-Gurion can control our government's policies through the Jewish pressure here."<sup>89</sup> The "non-Jewish elements," he said, would have to roll up their sleeves. "We need very badly to get some more vocal support from people other than the Jews and those very much influenced by Jews."<sup>90</sup>

Dulles was well aware that he was playing with dynamite. As he told Congressman Vorys of Ohio, a fellow Republican who was anxious for the Christian churches to respond, "the great trouble is [that] those who are ready to be alerted are extreme anti-Semites."<sup>91</sup>

Since the gentleman from Foggy Bottom did not want to compound his difficulties by becoming involved with anti-Semites, he concentrated on the mainstream Protestant establishment. Contacting both Barnes and Edward Elson, pastor of the National Presbyterian Church, he urged that the clergy use their pulpits to solicit support for the administration's Middle East policy. The two church officials assured the secretary of state that some of the ministers in New York would include "something" in their Sunday sermons.<sup>92</sup> James Hagerty, the press secretary, also showed some interest, and met with Dulles to discuss how they might garner the support of Catholics, Presbyterians, and Methodists.<sup>93</sup>

In the event, however, massive Christian support was not forthcoming. When Dulles pressed for a statement by the president of the World

Council of Churches, he was told that it could only be issued by the Council's general board.<sup>94</sup> All in all, non-Jewish groups seemed to have little interest in the administration's Middle East policy.<sup>95</sup>

*Israel's Readiness to Withdraw*

The first cracks in Israel's firm stand on Gaza and the Tiran Straits surfaced during a brief visit by Eban to Jerusalem.<sup>96</sup> On his return, Eban presented Dulles with a "softened" Israeli position especially in respect to Gaza. Israel would no longer insist on keeping troops or a civil administration in Gaza, and stipulated only one condition for withdrawal: that the United Nations, and not Egypt, control Gaza's civil administration.<sup>97</sup> As for the issue of free passage through the Straits, Israel was now willing to drop its demand for an American guarantee, if the United States would formally recognize Israel's right, under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, to protect its ships as an exercise of the inherent right of self-defense.

Dulles agreed to issue a statement accepting Israel's new proposals, and on the night of February 24 prospects for a settlement seemed promising. But ultimately Eban's effort to separate the issue of the future regime in Gaza from that of free passage through the Straits failed, because Secretary General Hammarskjöld rejected Israel's request that a naval unit be included in the United Nations Emergency Force to ensure free passage through the Straits. In addition, he reaffirmed Egypt's rights in the Gaza Strip under the 1949 armistice agreement, insisting that a U.N. administration could only be established there under Egyptian jurisdiction.<sup>98</sup>

At this point Dulles referred Eban to the French leaders Guy Mollet and Christian Pineau, who were in the United States on an official visit.<sup>99</sup> The two French leaders suggested a formula providing international sanction for Israel's right of self-defense in case its security in the Gaza vicinity was violated after withdrawal. Pineau also suggested a procedure for bypassing the antagonistic General Assembly. The United States, France, and Israel would state their views in respect to the international and legal situation in Gaza, and would get the General Assembly to acquiesce passively.

Ben-Gurion responded favorably to the French proposal. On March 1, 1957, Golda Meir, the Israeli foreign minister, told the Gen-

eral Assembly that Israel would withdraw on the assumption of free passage in the Straits of Tiran and the establishment of exclusive U.N. control in Gaza. If these expectations and assumptions were shattered by Egyptian aggression, Israel would exercise its right of self-defense, and its doing so would be supported by the United States and France.

On March 2, 1957, Eisenhower sent Ben-Gurion a letter stating that the United States would see that the hopes and expectations expressed by Mrs. Meir "prove not to be vain."<sup>100</sup> Israel's struggle to secure the political goals of the Sinai Campaign was now practically over. The restoration of Egyptian control over the Gaza Strip was a violation of all the assurances Israel had been given, and assumptions could not turn back the clock.

### *Summary*

The preparations for the Sinai operation were handled with maximum secrecy to prevent both enemies and friends from deciphering Israel's goals and objectives.<sup>101</sup> This clandestine policy, which entailed collusion with two colonial powers, Britain and France, had a political cost. Since the military operation against Egypt was top-secret, public opinion supporting it, in Israel and in the United States, could not be rallied before it began.

In Israel Ben-Gurion was able to muster a political consensus on the first day of the operation. The Israeli people saw the war as justified because of the numerous terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians and because of the Egyptian blockade of Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran.

The situation was different in America, however. Many Americans, both Jews and Gentiles, were sympathetic to Israel, but the Eisenhower administration regarded the use of force to solve international disputes as abhorrent. Eisenhower and Dulles held firmly to this conviction even though Egypt's president, Nasser, had aligned himself with the Soviet bloc; and because they adhered to this line, American diplomatic efforts during the Suez crisis had the effect of frustrating the victory won by Israel on the battlefield.

The Jewish community became a linchpin in the contest to sway American public opinion. Jewish leaders took arguments justifying Israel's right of self-defense and skillfully shifted their focus to suit

American political considerations. The Presidents' Conference statement of October 31, 1956, is a case in point. It simply ignored Israel's reasons for launching the massive military operation against Egypt. Instead, it asserted that "the conflict in the Middle East is . . . between democracy and an expansionist dictatorship, between the Free World and Nasserism backed by Moscow."<sup>102</sup> This argument complemented the administration's prime objective of containing international communism and the Soviet Union, and played on the Cold War theme of the time.<sup>103</sup>

The new focus brought about by such efforts helped to reshape and rephrase the political agenda in the United States. The war in the Middle East was not treated as the outcome of regional differences; instead, it was described as part of a global conflict in which the United States and Israel belonged to the same camp. Shifting the Arab-Israeli dispute into a different context made it much easier to identify the "good guys" and the "bad guys." Once the two sides were so labeled, it was only logical for the American Jewish community to claim that it was in America's national interest to support the "good guys," and this was exactly what the various speakers did at the conference in New York on November 26-27, 1956.

The resolution adopted by the conference included another element that had great appeal for opinion-makers. It called for fair-play rules of negotiation. Later, when the threat of sanctions against Israel surfaced, the denial of fair-play rules became a major issue for congressional critics of the administration.

The effectiveness of American Jewry's influence in American politics can be measured by its ability to build alliances around issues about which it is concerned. "Mom and apple pie" themes introduced into the public relations campaign by the Jewish community played a crucial role in rallying support for the Israeli cause. The coalition supporting Israel was made up of a wide range of groups. Included in its ranks were isolationists who resented the United Nations in general and its double standard in particular; Christians concerned about the status of Christianity in Africa and Asia, and eager to see fundamentalist Islam contained; cotton growers worried about falling cotton prices in the commodities markets and out to weaken Egyptian competition; shipping companies that wanted to teach Egypt a lesson for impeding the right of free passage through the Suez Canal; Democrats

opposed to the Republican administration's impartiality in the Arab-Israeli dispute;<sup>104</sup> unions that advocated "fair play" rules in labor as well as international disputes;<sup>105</sup> and the media, which were accustomed to granting equal time to opposing sides on any major controversy.<sup>106</sup> It was the extremely broad range of this coalition that made the Jewish community so effective an interest group.

Jewish influence was further enhanced by the unified stand and cohesive position that American Jews displayed throughout the Sinai crisis.<sup>107</sup> By 1956 the centrality of Israel had become a major factor in consolidating the commitment of American Jewry to political support of Israel. Apparently the Eisenhower administration was not aware of the depth of Jewish feelings for Israel when it attempted to lure "non-Zionists" into supporting its proposed sanctions policy. Pro-Israel sentiment was so pervasive that critical views by Zionist leaders like Nachum Goldmann were suppressed long after the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai,<sup>108</sup> while open criticism was confined to fringe groups like the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism and had no impact.

Jewish influence was even more effective because the president and his close aides perceived it as a menace. Ample records of phone calls from the Oval Office and the secretary of state's office indicate that Eisenhower and Dulles genuinely believed that American Jews exercised overwhelming political power over U.S. Middle East policy. The president and his secretary of state spoke of this supposed Jewish influence so often that they might be seen as obsessed with the notion. Thus it was only natural for Sherman Adams, the White House chief of staff, to follow the line set by his boss, concluding in his memoirs: "Consideration for the great body of private opinion in the United States favoring Israel was a large factor in every government decision on the Middle East issues, especially in the crisis that arose later when the Israelis, deliberately rejecting our pleas against their use of force, moved into the Sinai Peninsula and gave the British and French their excuse for attacking the Egyptians at Suez."<sup>109</sup>

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# From Beth Emet in Israel: American Jewish Reactions to the Yom Kippur War (1973)

*Introduced by David Polish*

The collection of letters in this article contains correspondence from Israel written during the Yom Kippur War by members and friends of Congregation Beth Emet in Evanston, Illinois. They have been transcribed as written, and reflect the observations and feelings of the people involved.

The letter-writers include some of the five families from the congregation who had made aliyah as of 1973, three students who were spending a half-year at the Leo Baeck School in Haifa, some of the five young people who went on Sherut La'Am, as well as friends. At the time of writing, Sandy and Neale Katz, together with their children, were living in Jerusalem, and Earle Brody and his family were living in Beit Yanai. Neale Katz had been a member of the congregational board, and Earle Brody was a former president of the youth group. Myra Levine and her husband William were spending the year in Israel on a teaching assignment. Steve Rhodes, Stuart Rosenberg, and Alan May were on Sherut La'Am. Daniel Dunn, the son of Dr. Arthur Dunn of the congregation, was living in Israel. Edie Golden, Cary Ehrenberg, and Ben Kanter were Leo Baeck students in Haifa. Inge Golden is the mother of Edie Golden. Bracha Katz had made aliyah and had recently been married to David ben Avraham. Mayta Paul was a member of the congregation and a graduate of its high school department. Les Polonsky had been youth leader at the congregation and was a student at the Hebrew Union College. Iris Wachs is a sister of Sharlene Coleman, a member of the congregation. Dr. Irwin Siegel was a former member of Beth Emet, and Orna was a friend of David Kornfeld, a student in the congregation.

I wish to thank Dorothy and Samuel Barliant and William Valentino for graciously making possible the publication of these letters.

DAVID POLISH

*Sandy Katz*

Dear Rabbi, Aviva & all Beth Emet:

Thank you so much for your letters, thoughts, concern and love. Believe me they were needed. This has been a very bad month, watching the pain all around us. During the war Jerusalem was unbelievable. It must have been like this in London during W. W. II. It was so strange to see our beautiful city in total blackout. The streets were eerie, somehow we all felt more secure if we could somehow get home before nightfall.

The children took it pretty well in comparison to others. Richie was nervous and talked incessantly. On the second day he felt a little better because he could see something visible. We had tanks driving by all day and night on their way to the Jordan border to protect Jerusalem in case of action on that border. However at night he took a glass of wine before he went to bed. The first week he drank 1/2 bottle of wine just by himself, but he slept all night. Nancy was frightened by the sound of the air raid siren. She wanted me to be at home all the time in case it went off. Luckily we only had to go to the miklat (shelter) twice, once on Yom Kippur and once on the following Shabbat. Amy and David have little understanding of the whole thing other than some of their friends whose fathers went to the milchamah (war).

Neale and I were busy giving moral support to our friends whose husbands were called up. Shortly after the cease-fire, Neale went to do guard duty at Kibbutz Bar-Am, which is on the Lebanese border. As for myself, I am now working in Kupat Cholem as a nurse. I tried to volunteer at Shaarei Zedek but they said they had enough nurses so I did the next best thing, work for money.

Now, I'll tell you about morale as I see it. I feel a depression, not only myself but others as well. We feel uneasy with the political and diplomatic situation. It was hard to watch the African states leave us, when we all feel that Western Europe would do the same if it came to that. Now we don't know what we will be compelled to do. Many feel that war will break out again.

The two hardest things to face were the terrible loss of young boys. Many of those boys were single and hadn't yet had a chance to start another generation. Hundreds of Jews lost to us. The numbers of killed was enough to cause one to reel back from the magnitude, and

still the numbers grow. They are getting to those burned-out tanks in Sinai, some of them the fiery graves of 1 or 2 or 3 brave young men. Not one family remained untouched. We have friends who have lost sons and I have a cousin who lost a son-in-law leaving a 21-year-old widow, and there are many. There are instances of young girls widowed in '67, married again, and again widows in '73. I am firmly convinced that the strength of this country is the women. To be able to give and give again. The justice of it all is the fact that we will survive!! Am Yisrael Chai! (The people Israel lives).

The other is those poor souls who are in the hands of the Syrians. We don't know who is there and who still lives. And if we see them again, what tortures they have endured? The terrible sadness is seen in the eyes of those who survived the initial attack of the Syrians . . . and they just don't speak, only their eyes. It's enough to say only "Hayiti b'hermon." (I was at Hermon). It's understood.

These are some of my thoughts since Yom Kippur. Thank you for being there and caring, we are one family. Please come soon . . . Neale and I know there are 6 million Jews who care in the U.S.A., but not all the others do. When they hear how much you care, they feel stronger!

Shalom to all of you, we are looking forward to your visit soon.

L'hitraot,  
SANDY KATZ

*Neale Katz*

November 15, 1973

Dear Rabbi and Aviva,

Just adding a few comments to Sandy's letter. As you can see, I've found an English secretary (and, she says, how to misuse her—it was a question of whether the Director General got his letter done, or I got to write mine!)

First, some thoughts that you've probably heard already. The people here are proud of what the Jews have done in America and the rest of the world, for bonds and UJA. However, we still need tourism and I would encourage anyone who is thinking of it, to make their trip now. The country is safe and the tourism industry really needs a shot in the arm. As to the man in the street, we've had a great flip-flop. Those that were hawks are now doves and vice versa. Unfortunately, there is no

real choice in the next election as the only opposition is Begin and Company, and the people are afraid that he is nothing but a demagogue. The Labour Party and its allies are split and it appears to me that right now there is no effective leadership in the Party. The doves and hawks are fighting more and more. From all I can hear, the actual combat soldier talks both ways—one says “give ‘em back everything, including Jerusalem” and the other says “don’t give ‘em an inch.” I went with a UJA Young Leadership Group to hear Dayan last week, and I think he had two important points: (1) he is not unhappy about the fact that this war was a test case and the shock of the war revealed basic facts that were covered before (like the image of the invincible Israeli army and finding out who our friends were politically); and (2) Dayan said at this point he would rather face negotiations now than sit where we are. He also felt that this is the opportunity to negotiate as both the Russians and the Arabs do not want a repeat of what happened after 1967, where the situation was frozen.

As to my personal feelings, I have mixed emotions as I do not know how much the United States will support us. The Russians appear to give the Arabs one hundred percent in both arms and political support. We appear to be getting something less than one hundred percent.

As you know, I work in the Ministry of Labour and life seems to be getting back to normal, although many of the men are still away. It was—and still is—very frustrating to be a newcomer and not be able to really help in the war effort. I sometimes wish that I was still in the United States, just for the fact that I could at least have raised money for Israel.

We still have the same problems regarding permanent housing and a permanent job, but I don’t think now is the time to go into that.

Regards to all, and tell anyone that if they write, we will answer.

Shalom,  
NEALE

*Bracha Katz*

11/6/73

Dear Rabbi:

The last three weeks have been very trying for all of us here, and I can imagine how much so they have been for you who are far away

also. Life is beginning to get back to normal, but I doubt after this that things will ever be quite the same, at least not for a while. I can well imagine the frustration and anxiety of being in America and not knowing exactly what is going on. I experienced the same frustration during the Six Day War and during the year that I was back.

My fiance and I spent the time of the war at a Kibbutz near the Lebanese border in Western Galil. We have since taken candidacy for membership and decided to make this our home. It was a very difficult time for us all there and in a way it brought us all together very much. Since the Kibbutz is near the border most of the men were staying there but we all had much work and responsibility to fulfill, which people succeeded in doing as best they could. The first few hours were very tense for us—we knew the hostilities had broken out but the news was slow in coming and the reserves were still being called up. It took a long time for me to believe that it was really happening. We were listening to the news and preparing food and things for the shelters and even when the shooting started it was still like watching a movie or imagining it was happening somewhere else. It was realizing how many lives were being lost which really made me realize how intense the whole thing was and that more than anything else was what was the most upsetting.

There has been much talk of what will be now, and the war seems to have accomplished nothing for either side. I only hope that the Arabs will now realize that they can never defeat us and will not try again. I also think the Israelis must try and convince themselves that we must compromise, otherwise we will end up with the same stalemate situation which we had after the Six Day War.

We were shocked by the reactions of the press—they seemed to be praising the Arabs for surprising us and testing our invincibility. I'm sure if they were to realize how sensitive people are here to loss of life they would not speak of our being here to test our invincibility every five years. I only hope this will be the last time.

Of happier matters, David and I are, as I think you know, to be married at the Kibbutz in December. I wish that there was some way for you to be able to marry us—it would be much more meaningful to have you perform the ceremony than someone who has never known me. We have a tentative date for the Tuesday which falls during Chanukah when my family will be here.

I kept a sort of journal during the war of what happened at our Kibbutz and our feelings at the time. I am in the process of translating it and copying it for my parents, and I will ask them to share it with you.

BRACHA KATZ

Yom Kippur, 6 October, 1973

On Saturday afternoon we were sitting in the moadon playing chess when someone came in and said that we had received an order to clean out the shelters. This was the first hint that something was not in order. We thought nothing of it until the radio began broadcasting news on the quarter hour. Egypt had succeeded in crossing the Suez Canal with a large artillery force and the Syrians were advancing with a tank force in the Golan. There were three bridge heads along the canal and the Syrians were attacking the entire length of the Golan. In the middle of the newscast they began to call out code words of the various units being called up. The announcer said that any sirens were real and that preparations of shelters and emergency supplies were to begin in all places. We left the moadon and began to move the children's beds down to the shelter. It began to get dark and because of the blackout we lit candles and sat in the moadon. The news kept repeating itself except that there were more and more calls for mobilization. It was terribly frustrating—there was no news from the front for several hours. The evening passed—we ate by candlelight and sat in the moadon and listened to the radio. They asked for volunteers to help make food for the guys who were on guard. I went to help just to do something and fight the tension. We were cooking in the dark and everyone kept bumping into each other—we couldn't see if the eggs were done or not. At midnight two Egged busses pulled into the Kibbutz—they had come to get several of the guys who had been called up. To see them in uniform leaving suddenly brought the whole thing closer and the joking that had been going on to relieve the tension suddenly stopped. I was terribly tired and hungry and was eating with one hand and preparing food with the other. I was afraid to go to sleep—I wondered what would be on the news in another six hours or what we would wake up to. I finally went to bed at one only to be awakened at five by Alan and Louise—they had stayed in the moadon and fallen asleep. We had to go down to the shelter. We felt in the dark

for clothes and went down. People were sitting on the floor looking for a place to lie down, it was very confusing. All over were mattresses, boxes of things from the kibbutz store which had been located in the shelter when it was not in use, and crates of food and containers of water. Between newscasts and the noise of the communication device, everyone tried to sleep. It was six in the morning. We passed out bread, tomatoes, cucumbers and made coffee for breakfast. The same news was being broadcast over and over. Battles on both fronts in the air and by artillery. The morning passed and we ate some sandwiches for lunch. At two there was an explosion, the communicator went on and someone was yelling for everyone to go down to the shelters immediately. We didn't know if we had been hit or not, but in a half hour we got permission to go home. We all jumped up and ran up the stairs. We hardly managed to get to sleep when there was a siren and we had to go down again. They announced that evening that the guys could sleep upstairs but girls should sleep in shelter. I went down but it was a cross between a henhouse and a pajama party, so I went up to the baby house to sleep. At eleven they made us go down anyway—there were terrorists in the area and the army was planning a maneuver. The next day we tried to get some sleep. The news was a bit more encouraging but still tense. We have the upper hand on both fronts and the Syrians have begun to retreat. There were Katusha rockets fired in our area but we were able to sleep upstairs the whole time.

Tuesday—We went out to work within the kibbutz. Louise and I began weeding the garden outside the moadon. Suddenly we heard shooting. We looked across the wadi, the valley which runs below the kibbutz into Lebanon, where the noise was coming from. In a few minutes there was a small battle going on. Everyone was running out of the moadon to look. The soldiers tried unsuccessfully to get us inside again—chevre, this is not a football game, we stepped back a couple of paces and then ran out onto the roof of the moadon which overlooks the wadi. The soldiers told us if they went crazy out there we had better get inside, but finally they gave up—after a quarter hour the whole thing was over. We were later told that there were about two dozen terrorists who had tried to penetrate to our area.

That evening we sat by candlelight in the moadon. The atmosphere was a bit spooky—Outside it was very light from a full moon—if this blackout continues it is liable to get very dark in a few days.

Wednesday—We were able to sleep up again! This has already become a luxury. I think I will be sleeping with a pile of clothes by the bed for a long time though. Yesterday was the first day of Succot. We were able to fix up a succah outside the dining room but all we could do to celebrate was to have a candlelight dinner, the candlelight seems to lack atmosphere by now . . . After dinner we watched the news. Golda Meir and General Herzog gave press conferences. Golda said that she is not ashamed to be sentimental and say that every life matters to us and she wished the Arabs would be a bit more sentimental too. Herzog predicted that this war would last a lot longer than six days. Fighting was very intense on both fronts. There was a lot of talk about what would have happened if we had relented and given the territories back. I think I won't argue about them anymore. It's obvious that it would not have been good at all.

Some parts of normal life still seem to penetrate. Rina had a baby boy yesterday and a wedding was held on Mount Manara near us where a group of soldiers was stationed on the border. Louise and Alan were asked to stay and photograph it and I came to play the guitar. The groom wanted a day off but was denied because of movement of terrorists in the area, so they brought the bride up to the kibbutz and we all loaded everything into a jeep and drove out. When we got there they put up an impromptu Chuppah from four rifles and a talith. We were all trying to sing the wedding march and the bride and groom stood under the Chuppah with the soldiers all around. They were all wearing their helmets and guns and in the middle was this bride in a white dress. Between the communicator blaring and the planes going over we could hardly hear the rabbi but everyone was very happy and I'm sure it gave the soldiers a boost in morale which lasted a week.

Friday—It's funny to say Shabbat Shalom. There is no shalom and no shabbat. We went out to work in the orchard and rushed to pick all the apples which were falling off the trees from being ripe. We had another "romantic" candlelight dinner and had to go down to the shelters to sleep early because of activity in the area. It was by far one of the worst nights—it was impossible to sleep. On shabbat we had to go out and work in the orchard again while we were able. We got back from work and were half asleep when our siren went off and there was a loud boom. Everyone grabbed their mattresses and ran down, but

they soon let us out. It turned out that an unidentified plane had gone over and had broken the sound barrier.

Sunday—I am amazed at how rapidly people can get used to situations and adapt to them. We have tried to settle down to what has become some absurd version of normalcy. You learn to ignore the noise that goes on all the time and to sit in the moadon with soldiers and guns all around. Certain things like that which I would have been sensitive to before this I now ignore. An army officer came and gave us a lecture on the last week in general and on the security situation. He explained that this front might warm up as the Syrians retreat and the terrorists try to carry out more activities. He told us about the various kinds of weapons they used and it didn't help to bring up people's hopes very much. The worst part is that we have to sleep in the shelters all the time now. We are making a list of who will sleep where—couples in security rooms and everyone else in the shelters.

At seven that evening came the most depressing thing that had happened so far. The announcer came on in a monotone and said an army spokesman reports that in the first week of fighting we have lost (pause) six hundred and fifty-three soldiers and close to two thousand wounded, along with others who are missing or taken prisoner. They were playing classical music and nobody talked. There was really nothing to say—everyone knew that the announcement was coming but it finally brought it home to us. I was terribly upset thinking of everyone I knew who was at the front. Worst of all, for the first time I really felt angry. I felt like I really wanted to take a gun and kill someone just to stop my anger of hearing we had lost so many people. I realized this was a childish reaction and the kind of one that starts wars in the first place, and I was frightened that I felt that way.

People are sitting in the moadon and beginning to talk. Some are a bit frightened. If this keeps up how many more will we lose? People began to ask, what will we do if they succeed in getting up here. I didn't want to think about it. Everyone is talking about it. What if they get a whole bunch together and get up here? I went outside to get away. I don't feel afraid of all the shelling and Katushas and all—it's the frustration of not having a gun or being able to do anything. It's worse for a lot of the guys who have not had training and can't do anything either. Mark and David taught me to fire an Uzzi (empty) and take it apart and put it together again. It was terribly confusing at first but

I'm glad I know how and hope we never have to use it. Afterward I thought about it and was frightened at the prospect of ever having to do anything. I very much doubt that as a girl I'll ever be in that situation but it seems that knowing how to use a gun you are no longer innocent of the whole thing.

Monday—We have begun to sleep permanently in the shelters. There are ten of us together and it's not too crowded. We had to go down at nine already. There was shooting in the wadi. Our shelter was right in back of it and the explosion came right down through the door. I thought my ears would never be the same . . . One of the soldiers came down and everyone sat up. What's going on? He said, there are about twenty terrorists trying to get up to your kibbutz. After that the noise didn't bother us so much. Someone came down and said they had another five rounds left and would fly in more by helicopter if it kept up. We all counted the last five shots and then it was quiet. Evidently those had been enough.

Thursday—Yesterday evening we were sitting in the security room playing scrabble when we heard machine guns firing very close. We sat in silence and waited. It seemed to be coming closer and to be either at our gate or closer. Nobody was outside. We sat and waited. Louise suggested we unscrew the lights in case someone tried to turn them on. We were 'all a bit nervous and were just starting to make off-color jokes of climbing out the window when the shooting stopped and we heard voices outside. Alan asked what language they were speaking and we heard it was one of the guards. We all got up and went out.

Friday—We made the news it seemed. "On the northern border three terrorists were killed outside of the kibbutz who had attempted to penetrate there." I know they were coming to do something to us but it still didn't make me happy at all to hear that they had been killed. The news said that one had had explosives with him which had gone off. It was awful thinking about it.

We tried to buy flashlights and batteries in Kiryat Shmonah. There are none to be found. It's getting terribly dark at the Kibbutz at night. I think we will have to forget one Phantom and ask the Americans for three million flashlights and six million batteries.

I am really getting tired of this whole thing. It seems whoever is not fighting us on the battlefield has been doing so in the UN or cutting off relations with us. North Korea and North Vietnam are flying planes

for Syria. We tried to get back to the Kibbutz by the northern road and got turned back at every crossroad. No one seemed to know exactly if it was permissible to pass or not. We got stopped at a roadblock and when we told them we had an Uzzi with us he said we could go through but drive fast, and get there as fast as we could. We were the only car on the road and we looked out at the wadi all the way. It was a quiet drive and if we had not been in such a hurry we might have enjoyed the view.

Monday—Today a cease-fire was called for seven this evening. Another army spokesman came to talk to us again. He predicted that Egypt and Syria would never agree to a cease-fire under the circumstances we are in now. We took the Hermon. We are 70 kilometers from Cairo and the armies in Suez are all turned around. We are on the west bank and the Egyptian third army is on the east side trapped without supplies. Still we are hoping this will hold and that the war will end tonight. I don't care if we have to give up the west bank of the canal—I just hope nobody else gets killed. I've had enough of this. Our government has ordered the army to stop shooting at 6:56 this evening. I'm sure that Yassir Arafat will not pay attention to the cease-fire and perhaps for us this may not be the end, but I hope so.

Tuesday—Early this morning I went into the moadon for a cup of coffee before work. One of the soldiers was talking to me. He said one of the terrorists who had attacked us last Thursday night was found hurt by our road last night. He had been there for four days without any food or water, and when the soldiers found him he just asked them not to kill him and for water. They told him he had come to kill us, but of course gave him water and brought him back up to the Kibbutz where he was taken by the security police to the hospital. Somehow this was one of the more human things I had heard in a while and I really thought about it. I felt sorry for the guy just thinking how he had lasted for that long. He told the soldiers he was from Gaza and had a wife and five children. I wonder how miserable you would have to be to leave a large family and volunteer to fight in an unorganized force and attack a Kibbutz. I am afraid we may have to live with another generation of these desperate people and we may not be able to solve this problem for a while.

After that we heard the news—disappointment. The Egyptians did not stop shooting. They are still attacking our forces trying to get their

third army back through to the west bank of the canal. The Kibbutz where we are was listed on the news again—we had some more katushas fired at us which hit the orchard and some other stuff that landed outside the fence. I have no patience today for anything and they are trying another cease-fire tonight. People are cynical as to whether it will hold or not.

Wednesday—The war is over! I hope. The cease-fire seems to be holding, the Golan is quiet, and except for occasional fire the Suez front seems quiet also. Negotiations were called for by the UN and the third army of Egypt is stuck on the other side of the Suez. They have been reading the temperatures for the Hermon again—after we lost it they had stopped. We saw Rabbi Goren with a Torah dancing on top of the Hermon after they had restored the synagogue there. I wonder if he was taking into consideration how many soldiers we lost getting back up there again and all those who got taken prisoner or killed when we lost it at the beginning. I'm glad they can dance—I'm not in the mood for it.

We are still sleeping in shelters, but the lights are on! We did chicken deliveries last night. Everyone was in the shelters but it is O.K. to go down to the chicken house at twelve at night under the searchlights and take all the chickens out of the house and load them onto the truck for market. The change back to normalcy will be slow here. The people at Gonen were complaining about the army being there, taking room and all. As far as I am concerned, they can mess up our moadon, drink all the coffee they want, sit in the front seats at television and movies, and throw all their guns and blankets wherever they please. There were several nights when I was very grateful they were here.

Saturday—The first real shabbat we have had in a long time. Another speaker came up to talk to us. During the past few days things have been getting shaky again—the cease-fire is very delicate. Russia mobilized its troops and the U.S. as a “diplomatic maneuver,” did the same. The speaker claimed that Russia had planned this war and proceeded to give a lot of paranoid talk about if we stayed at the old borders and relented and given back Sinai and Golan we would not be sitting here. Perhaps it would have been true to some degree but talking about it that way does not seem to do much good. I'd rather think about what we can do now than prove our mistrust of the Arabs in the past. This war seems to have accomplished nothing for either side, and the status

quo is obviously not more than a temporary situation. Negotiations are being held to get the third army supplies and get them out of the Sinai and the UN peace-keeping force (even that name contradicts itself) is being brought in. Peace seems no closer than it ever did, but maybe this is a beginning.

*Earl Brody*

November 22, 1973

Dear Rabbi Polish,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of greetings and prayer. I only returned from the service yesterday and I discovered your letter on my desk.

My family is in good health and spirits, and maintain unwavering confidence that things will work out well for Israel. The inexplicable feeling of *mishpochah echad* (one family) that is so evident on the home front and in the military, must be seen to be appreciated.

All of us are gratefully aware of the moral and financial support that has been forthcoming from congregations like Beth Emet and other Jewish organizations in America and around the world. Without this support we would have indeed been hard-pressed to continue with this seemingly unending struggle for our existence. Be that as it may, the economic ruin that has beset our young nation will be a difficult obstacle to overcome in the near future, but hope springs eternal.

I will be returning within the next days to my small role in the I.D.F., but wanted to quickly convey my thanks to you and my old friends at Beth Emet that I am still remembered after all these years.

Trusting that this note finds you and your family in the best of health, I remain faithfully yours.

EARL BRODY

L'hitraot—hakol yiyeh b'seder! (See you soon—everything will be okay!)

*Myra Levine*

Oct. 28, 1973

Shalom, Rabbi:

We were so happy to have your letter of October 17. We had no mail for almost three weeks, but this was a good day—we had nine, and it was so good to hear from everybody! We were able to talk to our family by phone and so we were not worried about them and we were just as satisfied that the cargo space was bringing weapons instead of letters. This war, however, proved in the most costly way—in human life—how important the defensible borders are for Israel. Those of us who remained at home could be safely there, and beyond the minor annoyance of a blackout, we knew we were safe from harm. We had no physical or material discomforts, but we share with our Israeli neighbors the terrible frustrations of wanting to help, and still being unable to do so. There were many volunteers—it became a local joke that one needed “protethsia” to get a volunteer job. So that for a while, contributing to the War Loan was all one could do. I finally, however, managed to get work as a nurse at Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikvah. And, of course, here the war goes on—as it will for months to come, because there are many wounded and many of them seriously. They are, however, given a measure of love and dedication which compensates to some degree for the lack of modern equipment. I suppose no hospital could be equipped sufficiently to handle so many severely injured, but the degree of personal devotion has made miracles there, just as it did on the battlefield. It is remarkable that a people who have war so much could gird themselves to face it with calm courage. Except for the first day when the housewives mounted an assault on the supermarkets, there has been the most magnificent sense of purpose—quietly and without any commotion, the mobilization went on. We had arranged to go to Kedem Synagogue for the Yom Kippur Services. After Kol Nidre Services, we walked home—down the broad avenues in utter quiet—now and then we would hear some Orthodox congregations still davening—but nothing moved. As we neared Yad Eliahu, however, we saw several Egged buses racing down Rehov Yitzak Zadeh. It was the first hint that something was terribly wrong, but not until the air raid warning the next day, did we realize how wrong it was. All day on Yom Kippur and the Sunday following,

we watched the young men come to the tank corps mobilization point next door—and then accompanied by our fervent prayers, busload after busload left for War. The Israeli communiques were restrained, and as reassuring as they could be in the first days. We often heard Radio Cairo and Damascus, and that well-known Arab network, the BBA—and in contrast to the Israeli position, they were filled with hatred and recrimination. The Jews did not hate, Rabbi—they sought strength out of their own will, fortified with God's promises—and we never heard one word of hostile opinion. There was neither hate nor love of their enemies, but spent, instead, all of their energy on the task—the frightful task—they had to perform.

We have come to love the land—the ancient stones of Jerusalem have a special excitement—but the most marvelous of all is the forests, clinging to the Judean Hills and growing there as a testimony to life, to now and to a future that will be living and peaceful. In many ways, the Israelis were like those trees. Each one “planted” here, clinging defiantly and precariously to life on the rocky slopes of Jerusalem. Thus Israel clung to life in the past few weeks, even in the face of death, and I know the choice they made will assure their survival. There is much to mourn—and that must come, but there is also much to celebrate.

Best wishes to you and our friends.

Fondly,  
MYRA LEVINE

*Steve Rhodes*

November 19, 1973

Dear Rabbi Polish:

I want to thank you and express my appreciation for writing to me. As our friend Eliezer would say, Chesed.

I'm very grateful to my parents for having allowed me to make my own decision in regard to leaving Brandeis to work here. At the airport in New York, we witnessed a very tragic scene—a total lack of understanding between a highly immature boy desiring to volunteer and an equally immature father refusing to allow him to go. They shouted at each other for the better part of four hours, and it became apparent that the son was more concerned with escaping than with going to Israel. I think this tragedy made everyone in our group, and myself in

particular, appreciate our ability to make our own decisions and our parents' trust in these decisions.

The group of people that did go represented a wide scope of Jewish and even non-Jewish life, and for many, the trip meant more than just leaving a year of college. The religious backgrounds covered almost the entire spectrum of Jewish life—from very observant, to non-religious Zionists, to even a few Christians. Approximately half of the 100 that went had been to Israel before and 15 had dual citizenship. Twenty percent knew no Hebrew, and another 30 percent knew very little. Possibly, most interesting, are the circumstances under which many came. Many, like myself, were interrupting their undergraduate studies. For some, it meant leaving graduate schools. Here on Nirim, several of us left undergraduate schools, one deferred entrance to law school, another to business school, one left a job as an editor of a national magazine, one left an executive position with a large Canadian textiles company, still another left his job as vice-president of an import-export firm. One fellow Chicagoan sold his car and most of his personal belongings to get here. One girl is the daughter of the Swedish ambassador to Israel. But through all this diversity, we all share a deep concern for Israel and we're all working very hard.

The work we are doing covers all parts of life at Nirim. Many of us are picking oranges, many are plowing the fields, moving, irrigation pipes, working in the dining hall, and on. One job that everyone does at least once is catching chickens at 3:00 in the morning to be sent to market, something I did this morning. The important thing is that we are working. I get the distinct feeling that if we weren't doing the work, it wouldn't get done.

The mood on the Kibbutz is best typified by what occurred today. It was 30 days ago today that a member of Nirim fell. This afternoon a group of people went to the cemetery for a memorial service. The mood was very solemn. But at the same time, there was a very joyous atmosphere. Three days ago, a Kibbutz member who was wounded and captured by the Egyptians in the early days of the war, was among the first prisoners to return. To term the mood jubilant would be to use an understatement. Now all are eagerly awaiting his return from the hospital in Tel Ha'Shomer, which could be any day now.

This seeming emotional schizophrenia is something that seems prevalent throughout the country. No one is sure whether to rejoice or to mourn. Israel's losses have never been so high since the War of

Independence and no one has gone untouched. I just heard an amazing story that a roommate of mine told me. He was talking with several kibbutzniks and one said that it was too bad the country is so small that everyone knows each other. Another American asked the obvious "Why?" The response was quick and appalling "I personally know 100 people that fell." Yet, in spite of the heavy losses, everyone is very thankful and happy too, that friends are alright, that the prisoners are returning, that maybe this time we will have peace.

As for my own mood, I've never been a very constant person and it varies. I'm sure that I, and all other volunteers, are making an important contribution to Israel. I'm sure that I made the right decision. My real doubts and even moments of self-despising, arise occasionally prompted by the seeming indifference of many Israelis toward what they've just gone through. I think I may be able to express this feeling better by relating a story.

When I went to Haifa to visit the Israeli family that I lived with while at Leo Baeck, my Israeli brother Raffi was given a four-day leave from the Sinai for that same weekend. I arrived in Haifa at about 11:00 a.m. and took the bus up to the Carmel to our apartment, thrilled to be looking out over the nof again. As it turned out, I arrived before Raffi, so my sister Rachel and I played cards while waiting. At 12:00, we heard someone at the door. I ran, opened it, and Raffi walked in in khaki, and an Uzi slung casually over his shoulder. I was really excited to see him and somewhat awed. But with all that military show, he was the same Raffi I had know two years before. Our mother arrived home soon after, and I've never seen anyone so happy in my life. That Raffi was home and safe was terrific. Soon she started asking, "How was it? Did they get near you? How was it?" And always Raffi smiled uncomfortably, shrugged, and said, "Nu, leave me alone," and it was apparent that the Egyptians had approached him.

The whole point is that I had already started thinking, "What would really be the best thing for me to do?" And I had already been very upset by all of the fuss made over me, both by my friends at school and by my friends here. I wished they would just leave me to work and make a fuss over the thousands of Raffi's. Every now and then I come to the conclusion that if I had any real guts I would make aliyah tomorrow and enlist ten minutes later. I really despise myself at times for not taking this course. But I know that I won't. I know what I'm doing is important and I know that when I'm done here, I'm going to return

home and finish my studies. I feel very good about helping Israel, but I don't want to be treated as a hero. The heroes are the people of Israel, students, teachers, truck drivers, kibbutzniks, janitors, lawyers. These are the heroes, but they are all too busy being heroes to congratulate one another. So it's up to us, the Jews of the Galut (Diaspora), to congratulate, to support, and to love them.

These are a few of my feelings and observations about what I've been experiencing.

Once again, I'd like to thank you for writing and want to extend my best to all at Beth Emet.

Shalom, and everything good,  
STEVE RHODES

*Stuart Rosenberg*

November 28, 1973

Dear Folks,

I realize I haven't been what you'd call an angel about writing, so I'll try to make it up with this. If it runs longer than this aerogramme, I'll send two. Whatever.

The situation here is baaad. I've been very lucky so far in that my friends and co-workers were not affected by deaths, but the mobilization is still in full swing and it looks as if it will be that way for quite a while.

I re-read *Catcher in the Rye*, and once again I am convinced that I am Holden Caulfield.

Anyway, I am certainly not going to be back at Earlham in time for the second semester. To tell you the honest to God naked truth, I don't even know if I am going to be back for the third semester. The point is, (and maybe you won't like this too much) I have become a very necessary person on the kibbutz. Since our last communication, I changed jobs. It seems that one of the people at the factory was called up into the reserves, and they needed someone to take over the job. (The kibbutz factory, I should mention, is a food-type factory, grossing over two and one-half million dollars a year.) I am about the only volunteer here who speaks Hebrew with a semblance of fluency, so I was chosen. So every day I get up at 3:30 a.m., get to work at 4, and turn 500,000 liters of orange juice into 100,000 liters of orange juice syrup, to which

other people then add pulp and sugar and put it in cans and send it all over the world.

The machine is incredible—it's 4 stories high, has 23 switches, 84 valves, and 26 dials which are already a part of me. It costs about 1/2 million dollars. And I am the only person who knows how to operate it. I work till about 1:30, 2:00 p.m. It's good work. It requires a knowledge of chem. and phys., because the water is drawn off the juice bit by bit through pressure and temperature changes, all of which must be constantly monitored. I use a slide rule a lot, and PU NrT and Brix PU/2it and P1 Brix [T-2/-1/. It's incredible how easy all this is to learn when I have to apply it to something. The way I see it, the method of teaching I'm used to getting for physics is like receiving step by step instructions to prepare Duck a l'orange and not being able to taste it when you're done. Whatever.

About school, me and Rhodes have tentatively decided to start our freshman year over again with all the other freshmen. It's not so bad, really—Mom, tell dad to stop crying—and as far as I'm concerned, it's perfectly worthwhile. A year late does not mean a whole lot in the big picture. I'm sure I can handle it.

Oh yes—the reason I have found the time to write to you is that I have that great Jewish disease—bronchitis—really, though, doesn't it *sound* Jewish? *Bronchitis*. I wish it was something with a little more class, like leprosy. Whatever, I'm in the infirmary and getting better by the minute. It's been 3 days so far, and the factory has been canning regular juice in the meantime, but orders are starting to pile up so if they don't release me I'll have to call the gang and will dig a tunnel out to the main gate and then, lawd almighty, free at last.

By the time you get this I'll be just dandy, anyway, so don't worry at all.

Love and orange-juice concentrate,  
SHLOIMY

*Alan May*

Dear Rabbi Polish,

I'm writing to you from a small wooden "tzarif" in Kibbutz Amir, Israel—the temperature is terribly cold, why, before I sat down to write this letter I actually had to *put my shirt on!!* Tsk—oh, well . . .

The Israelis are an amazing people—some of the people here have lived with war half their lives; most of the children have (and still do) slept in shelters two and three nights out of every week. Yet they are all very unaffected by the very big threat of war. We (the volunteers) came over to help, knowing that there were war conditions. We came expecting to work eight, maybe ten, hours daily to replace the work being missed by the kibbutzniks who have been drafted. The heads of the kibbutz, however, don't see any need to work us even six hours (which is what we do work) even though at our present rate neither the apple orchard nor the grapefruit orchard will be finished being picked *this year!* It also seems that the American and other volunteers are more “gung ho” on Israel than the Israelis—naturally they want Israel to survive because they are living here and don't want to suffer the inconvenience of losing the war. But they don't care if Israel gives back the Sinai, or Jerusalem, (the people in my area don't want to give back Golan for obvious reasons). It seems as though the Israelis think of Israel as most Americans of the U.S., while the Americans consider Israel as much more of an ideal! A Jewish state—something so important that many of us gave up good jobs and positions to help defend it. I have been told on two occasions by Israelis that had they been in my position, they never would have come to help!

My father writes me that he has seen bumper stickers saying “Save oil—Burn Jews”—whatever happened to that Christian saying—“Peace on earth, *goodwill* toward men?” Or does that only apply to certain men?

I understand that the fuel shortage is getting very bad! Ellanna writes me that she gave my father ten gallons of gas for his birthday (I wonder if it's the right size).

You may be interested to know that this is not a religious kibbutz—we don't even have a synagogue. Our entire Chanukah program was only . . . lighting candles—I don't know if you saw the movie “The Fixer” or not. I hope you did . . . it's by Bernard Malamud. It's about a non-religious Jew who with more and more pressure to become NON-Jewish only realized how very important it was to him being Jewish! That's very similar to the situation here. When I arrived at Lod airport I said, “Well, here I am in Israel, I wonder if I should take my shoes off before I touch the ground . . . ?” But to the stewardess and the other airport employees it was just like we had landed in Pittsburgh, Penn.!

I find Israel awe-inspiring and, even more exciting, I find myself talking to someone who I'm not even sure is listening or even there!!—God. Yes, sir, that's right . . . I find myself having one-sided conversations with God—I'm not sure if I do it just to shock non-religious Israelis or what! But maybe someday they'll be two-sided conversations.

Your friend,  
ALAN MAY

*Daniel Dunn*

November 5, 1973 B"H

Dear Dad and Elaine:

I have been so involved with the situation that I have not kept up with your trips around the states. Nevertheless, from reading your letters and the letters that I have received from many other people, everybody is interested in my battle-scene analysis of the present situation.

Firstly, much like the states, but then much different, Israel is experiencing a political struggle within the government. It has stayed quite internal, and the politicians have been fairly successful in masking the situation from the public and world opinion. The government is in a big bind, and has to get out of it. It had to accept the tremendous resupplies from the States, and because of this, it had to listen to their ideas of peace talks. Dayan is near a mental and physical breakdown since he was a day or two away from the complete destruction of the countries of Syria and Egypt, before the ceasefire was forced into effect. Meanwhile, the national elections were supposed to have been this week, until the war started, and now they have been postponed until December 31. The opposition party is becoming very strong within the country especially since the resentment of the initial losses of the army during the first days of the war. Mrs. Meir has to come out of the situation with the Arabs within the next few weeks in a very good position, or start fighting away, and finish them off, or she and her party might lose in the coming election.

The situation is very severe with the POW's in Syria; please do everything within your power, like writing and telegrams, etc. to impor-

tant people, and talk with your patients about the situation. The Syrians have a history of torture to the Israelis. In '67, a pilot was shot down over the Golan Heights. He was captured in the town near Madjal Shams, in a small Arab village. The people of the village had so much propaganda about the Israelis, they literally tortured the pilot alive. It was filmed live on the Syrian television. I know this story well, as this village was the place where I worked in '69, when I worked at the ski settlement. Even though that I have continued my learning full time, as the hospital where I was working is back to normal conditions. My mind and heart is with the idea of trying to do as much as I can. It is published each day in the papers, to get as much pressure as possible to get the immediate release of the POW's.

It is a very difficult situation still in Israel. The rumors are such that Israel is under tremendous pressure to finish what was not finished on Oct. 23. The feeling is resentment to the government. The people want a solution, and not one that was like the first week of the war. Israel did have its reputation destroyed to an extent. Besides that, it wants to have the situation of no war, not like it is now.

One of the most interesting things about the war is the way it affected the people in Israel, and from this I can only speculate on the effect in the states, from the news reports, the papers, and *Time*. It seems that life for the Jews in Israel and in the states, and for that matter in most every part of the world was a bit too easy during these last six years since the last war. In the last war, it was a live or die situation, and Israel was successful. This war was different. It affected the prosperity of the society. Things were a little too comfortable, and the emphasis was on the wrong energies. This war has begun to place many people in Israel back into the realities of the Jews throughout the centuries, and in the world today. It is really something that when I talked to you on your birthday, Sept. 23, neither of us had the idea that the situation in the Middle East would be such as it is. Nor would we have the feeling that the situation in the U.S. would be as it is with Nixon, and what happened with Agnew. The people that are fighting and that will be affected most from both of these changes, in the Government, in the society, in the stresses and the successes, is what is important. The people most affected in Israel have been those who have had somebody die in their families. Many people have also given tremendous sums of money to the State because of the tremendous cost of the war.

The luxuries will be long coming from many people, for many years, people will feel this war. And I think the same is true for the Jews in America. They too have and will have to make sacrifices to keep the country alive. And the country will not die at the wealth of the American Jews. They too will suffer.

The religious Jews still have their Torah, that part of tradition that has never failed to stay alive throughout any crisis in world history. But those Jews without the Torah, will lose their material wealth, their mental health, and their feeling of a secure Israel. The religious Jews, no matter how bitter it may be, know that the war was meant to be, and that the best will prevail. I say this with the knowledge that the Bar Lev line was armed with only religious Jews on the first day of the war, those who were the first to be called up in the reserves on Friday, Oct. 5. I say this knowing that many Yeshiva boys were on the front lines in the bunkers with the soldiers leading the prayer, in the Golan and on the Canal. In the first three days of fighting, 75% of those who died, were Yeshiva people. They were on the front lines because they are known to be the best fighters.

It is a little over a month since I talked to you on your birthday, and the world almost had a world war in between that time. And the situation is still very bad. I hope that you believe me. But at least I know that my perception of good and bad may be only a mirage, like a thirsty man in the desert. I don't know what will be the next time I write a letter like this to you.

All my love to the family, and hope that you pass my message and regards to the family.

Love,  
DANIEL

*Edi Golden*

November 22, 1973

Dear Rabbi Polish and Beth Emet:

First of all I want to thank you for your tapes and letters in reference to your concern for us in the midst of our war. I have heard that Beth

Emet has been actively helping out financially and sticking together collectively in the community.

I must tell you—I was proud when Steve Rhodes and Shlomo Rosenberg showed up at Leo Baeck. I was glad to say I was from Beth Emet. It is quite evident that we leave as good an impression on Leo Baeck, as we receive from Israel.

Though all the Americans here are deeply affected by this shocking occurrence, our experiences and reactions differ considerably.

The first of my war experiences started at approximately 2:15, October 6th, Yom Kippur. The entire family was sleeping. At 2:30, I was suddenly awakened to a disturbing shuffle of feet outside my room. As I became more awake, I realized the running and shouting outside my window. I then heard my Emma yelling from below

War! War! Children!

It wasn't until then that I became aware of the blasting siren, signifying for us to get to a bomb shelter. From then on our lives were scheduled around radios and televisions. Our ears alert for the sound of the siren, and our legs ready to run.

The nights were much more dramatic—we could only use candles, the streets were silent and bare. The air was filled with noise and the sea with the sounds of shelling.

It seemed as if every Israeli knew what to do, and did it. There were no questions and the cooperation and the consideration within the people made it seem as if we were living in peace instead of war. If our borders were not fighting, this country would give the impression of being utopian.

It took a while for the idea of war to sink in—the results of the war did it,—results, meaning casualties.

Things began to take different perspective, things that were once important, no longer mattered. The only things that came to mind were the soldiers, the situation, and how to help.

Everyone helped—the kids didn't go to school, but worked at Post Offices and Mosharim, and anywhere else that was lacking workers. Women were knitting hats and sweaters, and little kids drawing pictures to send to the soldiers. I delivered “arrived safe” notes from the soldiers to the hands of their families.

Being here during the war showed me Israel at its best. To see a country rise to the occasion successfully is something quite rare. I

consider myself lucky to be able to observe and now feel a part of this country.

Much love,  
EDI GOLDEN

*Cary Ehrenberg*

Dear Mr. Glustoff:

I waited all summer to write you before I got the army beret you requested. I have not been able to find it but my Israeli brother is a soldier and maybe he can clue me in.

Anyway, school has been in session 3 weeks. I must admit that it is a real challenge. I take English, History, Citizenship, Literature, Art, Music, Biology, Algebra, gym, Talmud, Tanach, and Gadna (Army Training). I think that the Talmud and Literature are the hardest, each for their obvious reasons.

English should be interesting because I play part-time teacher, tutor and student. One day a week I lead a class discussion,—the other day I have a conversation with a student, and every two weeks I turn in a critical analysis of short stories I read.

The disciplinary techniques and some rules seem a bit ancient; however it will take awhile for them to loosen their stubborn pride and update the system.

The Reform synagogue and youth group is called Ohr-Chodosh. The youth group has parties every Friday night and so it hasn't been hard to get to know the "chevra" (group). They're a nice bunch of kids, some of which are in my class at Leo Baeck.

My family is really nice, also. My father just got a professorship at the Technion. They all spent 2 years in the U.S. so unfortunately they all speak English well. Tho I speak to the rest of the family in Hebrew, my Israeli sister and I sometimes find it hard to stick to Hebrew.

At Leo Baeck there are 11 Americans, which is less than last year. We have an Ulpan program 3 hours a week, with a really good teacher so we are all really plugging away at the Hebrew. Rosh Hashana was a beautiful holiday here and I really got to see how it should be celebrated. Yom Kippur was yesterday. The environment was unbelievably silent until 2:30. That's when the war started. This war experience is a

new, interesting, and a little frightening and I suppose you've heard what it's all about, so there is no real need to explain it.

There was no school today and we were in the cellar twice because of air raids.

Not much else is new. I hope everything around B. E. is O.K.

Love

CARY

11/9/73

I really did start this letter in Hebrew but if it is to Rabbi Polish and everyone at Beth Emet I decided it better be in English.

To tell you the truth the war did not hit us directly in Haifa. It did reach us in many indirect, but powerful ways.

October 6th at 2:30 I was asleep as the first air-raid siren went off signifying a possible war. My Israeli brother was home on leave that weekend and so of course he hurried to get his uniform in order. He was called the same night to report to Beer-Sheva. It was strange because this was the first time I had any real connection with a war. That night was probably the worst during the war. They started a blackout that evening and everything seemed to have a tense, eerie, silence. Because there were no lights in the streets, it seemed especially dark and foreboding. The anticipation of a time of war seemed to be more frightening than the days to follow.

The next day the children were ordered to stay home from school. There were two air-raid sirens that day. I became acquainted with the bomb shelter in our apartment building pretty fast, though I must admit that after that day there were not many more sirens.

We returned to school as normal the next day but a few teachers were missing as was everything else. The school was in utter chaos. There were only two days left until vacation, so we did not do too much learning during school. Kids brought their radios and news was listened to every hour on the hour. There were some air-raid sirens and between all this we were pasting special papers on windows to prevent shattering of glass.

Sukkot vacation began as not much of a vacation. No one went out too much, except to do something in order to keep the country running. Postmen, doctors, teachers and merchants were all in the reserves and off to war.

We received periodic phone calls and post-cards from my brother, and learned that he was in Sinai. The news that already many had been killed and that there were more to come was not too encouraging.

They sent us back to school a week early from vacation, but minus the teachers, and the country being in the state it was, school was still not back to normal.

The youth group here became involved in volunteer work like everyone else, and so after school one weekend, I worked at the post office.

The situation outside the city was perhaps worse. The Kibbutzes and Moshavs were finding it impossible to harvest their crops minus so many workers. So they came to our school and sent the 11th grade to a Moshav for a week.

I worked in the peanut fields and the chicken-coop, and lived with a family originally from Algeria.

I guess, though, the experience which has made a profound effect on us all is the statistic of dead soldiers. For us the statistic has ceased being a number and has become a real and personal tragedy. Already 4 kids in our youth group have a dead brother or cousin. The tense, giddy nervousness that filled the air is now over-shadowed by a dull, sad depression. In the youth group, no one feels like laughing. Everyone was mentally ready for the worst always, but once it hits personally it doesn't make things any less disillusioning. I mean it's something that was long ago accepted, but no one will ever understand it.

My Israeli brother was home on leave last weekend and had some gruesome stories to tell. We are still receiving letters from him.

So there is not much else to say. School, everything is back to normal though some of the teachers still aren't back.

I saw Steve Rhodes and Shlomo Rosenberg last Friday. Both are doing well and send their regards. I hope all is well with everyone there.

Love,  
CARY EHRENBERG

*Ben Kanter*

Dear Rabbi Polish,

Sorry for taking so long to write. School has settled down now and I'm starting up on my belated correspondences.

I had a fantastic summer with our group. I personally consider the Ben Shemen ulpan a big success. There was a little difference of opinion but over all I think that I learned a lot of Hebrew and that it provided me with an excellent basis for my family experience.

The archaeological dig was sort of a flop as you may have heard. While we were able to dig up a number of interesting things, the water system in Bet Shean was contaminated with dysentery. Over half of our group became sick which, to say the least, hampered our digging activities. My group was lucky, however, in Danny's (The head archaeologist) own words, it was a beautiful collapse! A wall had fallen in on to the floor and you could easily tell exactly how it happened.

I'm well into the Leo Baeck school year now and I am enjoying it immensely. Originally I was put into the 12th grade like I am in the U.S., but I have not studied trigonometry or physics to the extent that the seniors here have. I am now studying in 11th grade and it is where I belong. Surprisingly, I find myself able to understand what is going on in about half of my classes.

I am an active member of the Haifa youth group from Or Chadash. The kids are really great and many of them keep asking me "how is so and so from Evanston?" Apparently the temple has formed a well liked bunch. As of yet there have been no youth group trips, but a number are being planned and I intend to take full advantage of them.

I have a great family and all of us get along real well. My father is, as I call it, the number two fix-it man in the Sinai. All tanks, trucks, jeeps, etc. that break down are fixed by a company of his men.

My brother does not go to Leo Baeck, nor does he go to Or Chadash. However, due to this I am able to make my own friends at school, and still meet and get to know all of my brother's friends.

There is again this year, a special ulpan for us EIE kids. It is excellent and due to the totally Hebrew atmosphere, I find it easy to assimilate new words and ideas.

Not much else is going on. Every day I'm learning new things and am becoming more accustomed to the language and culture.

BEN KANTER

Dear Rabbi Polish:

Well, it looks like that for at least the time being, there is a kind of peace in the middle east. President Nixon's problems have been overshadowing the middle east conflict for the last week, and now Israelis are shifting their attention to the United States to wonder who will become president if Nixon is replaced. Mr. Nixon is well loved here and I think that in general, Israelis are very worried at the prospect of someone replacing a man as helpful as he has been. Every day I am buying newspapers and Time and Newsweek to keep up on what is happening back home.

My father as you may or may not know, is a major in the technical corps. He is the number two man in charge of the technicians that fix the tanks, half-tracks, and other vehicles in the Sinai. He is stationed at the front. He finds time to write postcards, that we have been receiving every day. He also telephones almost every night. Last week he obtained a one day leave and was here in Haifa with us.

During the war, there was a large labor shortage, as to be expected, so we helped fill in. I worked for four days in the post office delivering letters, but then school was reinstated and positions in places needing help, were assigned by school. Leo Baeck was not assigned any duties in Haifa. In fact, we had a government speaker that reported that there were too many people wanting to help!

Here in Haifa, we observed the regular, physical, characteristics of a country at war. The blackout was strictly observed, and we [had] over a dozen air raids. About two days before the cease-fire, I was sitting on a bench overlooking the port, on my way to Havdalah, when as I was listening to a BBC radio news broadcast, I heard that radio Damascus reported destroying the Haifa oil refineries. Needless to say, I was quite surprised to know that what I was looking at was not really there!

My house is one of the apartments across the street from Leo Baeck, so we have a beautiful view of the sea. As a result, all the practice boats

were seen, and the explosions from practice shots were felt and heard. Planes heading toward the Sinai fly down the coast, so we heard about 12 sonic booms a day. All of this has stopped now, with the exception of a high flying Phantom overhead a few times a day.

Our Ulpan classes were cancelled during the war, but have started up again. I am pleased with the speed of my Hebrew improvement. I can understand almost any normal conversation, though history, literature, and Bible in Hebrew are still posing problems.

Rabbi Samuels is in the reserves, serving in an anti-aircraft battery somewhere in Haifa. He has not been in school in a month, and we have only had contact once with the other rabbis (Skirball, Levin). We are hoping that he will return soon, because a number of us have problems with colleges and other things.

Rabbi Hoffman is teaching a course in Jewish Literature, in English, that meets once a week. We have been reading: Bialik, Mendel Mocher Sefarim, Yitzchak Peretz, and Sholom Aleichem.

I am having a fantastic time here, and the kids are great. (Israeli kids). The other people on EIE of which 8 besides Edi, Cary, and myself, are in Haifa, are one of the best put together, closest groups I have ever known. I know that the people I have met will remain close friends long after EIE is over. We are already planning where our first reunion will be held!

Please tell the youth group that they will be receiving a tape cassette letter from me.

BEN KANTER

*Inge Golden*

Monday, Oct. 8, 1973  
11 a.m. Chicago Time

SHALOM Rabbi and Aviva:

We are approximately two hours away from our destination and Harve and I have had quite an adventure already.

The airliner is filled to capacity with what seems like thousands, but is about 400 anxious passengers. There are few Americans—mostly Israelis who feel totally compelled to go home,—just to be there, to already attend funerals, or to join their companies in the service.

We've had some interesting discussions with a few friendly and intelligent Israelis. At present they feel like they were caught with their "pants down" but that will be rectified, they know, but the cost is their concern—the cost in lives, in friends.

A number of passengers are young Americans who are prepared to volunteer in whatever capacity necessary. Harvey, too, has decided that he would volunteer himself at one of the major hospitals.

For comic relief we laugh a little about the Israeli Chutzpah which is ever present. The food for breakfast was spoiled, the water has been dry, the bathrooms are out of commission. The other side of that coin is that the Israelis on the plane act like they are from one family. We have two babies on the plane—they have been held by one dutch aunt after the other.

We are both terribly weary but happy to be on our way to Israel and Edi. We could not get through to her (all lines were busy and no telegrams were guaranteed to arrive).

Thank you again for your concern, warmth and the tape to Edi. Please thank Irv for me.

Fond regards,  
INGE

*Mayta Paul*

October 28, 1973

Dear Rabbi Polish,

I've been wanting to write to you for so long, but it has been quite difficult for me to express my feelings as well as what I've been through. I came on a visit to Kibbutz Hatzor because I wanted to see family friends, as well as to get a close-up view of kibbutz life. I arrived September 15th intending to stay one month. I immediately became totally involved with my friends—my kibbutz family—Binnie, Yonatan and their two children, David—6 years old, and Mirit, 3<sup>1/2</sup>. After doing my morning work, which consisted of a variety of things from picking almonds to washing floors, I would spend the late afternoon and evening with my family. I would even join them in putting the children to bed. I actually became a part of their lives as they became a part of mine. Since the children were never taught English and my Hebrew is rather limited, we developed our own patterns of communi-

cation through sign language. That was quite an experience! I was enjoying life, meeting many people, and living a new and invigorating way of life.

Then it happened—October 6th—

I remained on the kibbutz for Yom Kippur fortunately. At 11:00 a.m. a siren went off at the air base which is located next to the kibbutz. Planes began taking off in great amounts. The planes never fly on Shabbos, let alone Yom Kippur, so we knew something was not right. Even the radios began broadcasting and soon we learned 1600 Syrian tanks were mobilized.

Yonatan was the first reservist called and I watched him pack his gear and kiss his family goodbye. What do you say to someone going off to war? I just said Shalom and resolved to be here when he returned. Little did I know it would be this long. Within the next 24 hours, 100 men, including the kibbutz boys in the regular army were gone. There were no males between the ages of 18 and 45 on the kibbutz except for 15 volunteers.

This was quite a loss of manpower so I figured there would be much work for everyone to do. Besides, the almonds and olives, the cotton, "white gold," had to be picked before the rains. However, the high school kids joined the work force so the volunteers still worked a six hour day. I felt really slighted because my afternoons were still open for relaxation while the country was in a state of crisis. Because of feeling useless, I asked, what can I do, there must be more? But the reply I received was "You're here and that's the most important thing." No one had left the kibbutz.

Day and night, hundreds of Phantoms, Mirages and Skyhawks would take off. I saw the American planes arrive. It was a proud feeling. Between the roaring planes and sonic booms, I was in a continuous frightening atmosphere. At night it changed to morbidity (if there's such a word) and depression. There was a statewide blackout and on the kibbutz it was extremely vital because of the proximity to the air base. Black curtains hung over the dining hall, windows were taped to avoid shattering,—the only light was from the moon. The telephone in the dining hall is covered 24 hours a day to receive calls from our soldiers directly (those who are lucky to get to a phone) or someone else calling to say, "I saw your husband (son or brother) and he sends his love." Binnie has received several messages from Yonatan,

as well as letters, thank G-d. Tension is quite high, but the morale is higher. I couldn't and still can't believe I am a part of this.

Three weeks ago I went to Tel Aviv (which is a ghost town at night) to change my flight from October 19th to "open." I could not leave Hatzor without saying goodbye to Yonatan. My daily schedule has not changed; I still spend the same time with Binnie and the children. Only now it is with half a heart because the agony she is going through has had a tremendous effect on me. The children are even nervous. David understands quite well what the situation means, but Mirit still cannot understand why people fight and kill one another. Who understands this? Binnie is extremely patient with them, answering the questions and I can only sit and watch. It is very frustrating for me.

Up to now the kibbutz has suffered one death and has two boys missing. There have been several wounded, only one seriously. We are quite lucky. Gilad, who was killed, was among the Golani attempting to recapture Mt. Hermon. His death was felt by all, including the volunteers who were not even personal friends of his—only 22 years old.

One afternoon, while working in the cotton fields (which I might add are practically on the runways of the airfield) a plane came in to land. But before doing so, it swooped down really low and did two somersaults in the air before landing. He was letting everyone know he shot down two Arab planes. This was one of my happier moments the past three weeks. The guys at the airfield were cheering as we were.

Presently, the cease-fire is in effect. The Syrian front is quiet, no one can tell really about the Suez. U.N. troops are here patrolling. The big fear is what will be between Russia and the U.S.

Negotiations began today between Israel and Egypt. It's a start, but it will be a long haul. The news is not that easy for me to get because English news only comes on several times a day. I get translations, but they are never complete. One by one kibbutz soldiers return, but they are only on 24 hour leave. The soldiers in the Suez, where Yonatan has been, are not allowed leave yet and won't be for awhile. It is so painful for Binnie to see others coming home, even for a short time, because she knows Yonatan is not among the lucky ones.

I am in an awful conflict. I want to come home very badly. My stay has been extended over a week now and I am lonesome for my boyfriend, family and friends. Marcy's Sweet Sixteen party is in Novem-

ber and she has asked me to please be there. Yet I want to just see Yonatan again to say goodbye and to know he is well and safe. I cannot tolerate the waiting much longer; that is the worst part. I feel selfish for saying this, yet I know I cannot do much more here. Several new volunteers have arrived and the high school kids have voted to continue working instead of studying. My two hands in the orange groves won't be missed!

Seeing Binnie and the children so emotionally drained has torn me apart inside. Even though the war is over and the blackout is lifted, there is still tension and frustration in the air. Negotiations are moving slowly and are painful to sit through—not just for me, but for the whole country. You can just feel it, not knowing what will be in the morning when you wake up.

I have packed and repacked my suitcase. Yet I want to see Yonatan once more along with other guys who I know. I want to be a part of the celebration when this is over since I was here when it all began. I really am a part of this war! But who can put my priorities in their proper perspective? I just can't decide what's more important.

Aside from my friends, the other factor that has kept me here is seeing how the Israelis have pulled together. Everyone is living for someone else—the hand is always extended. No one could do more for the other. The little children even took part in war preparations by helping to clean out the bomb shelters. They would not quit until it was completely finished. The elderly people on the kibbutz came out to fill in open places in the factory, the laundry and wherever else they could function. I have never seen anything so beautiful.

There is so much more to say. It is so difficult to put down on paper what has been going on in front of me and what's been in my mind for three weeks. I am confused, bewildered and emotionally exhausted. My eight weeks of European and Israeli travels for pleasure and having an opportunity to put my life in perspective has not only been extended, but has made me more aware of other's lives than I have ever known before.

Whoever thought this could happen to me?

Please extend my greetings to the Congregation. Thank you for the warm wishes and letter. I will be in touch with you when I return.

Shalom,  
MAYTA PAUL

Oct. 11, 1973

Dear Mom and Dad and Family,

I have received your letters. I want to wish you Happy Anniversary. With what's going on here I completely forgot. I hope you enjoyed yourself.

Life here is not too pleasant. I hope Ronald shared the letter with you about the War. The situation is very bad in the Suez, tho good in the Golan Heights, as long as the Iraqis stay out. Yonatan is supposed to be in the Sinai. Binnie is so depressed and in quite low spirits. It is so hard for me to be with her and the kids. Her son understands what has happened and was in tears when Yonatan left. Merrit (3<sup>1/2</sup> yrs.) doesn't understand, tho she knows that there is a war.

Kay and Joe have been here every evening. Joe is doing so much driving it is unbelievable. They were at Ellen's when the war broke and came here Sunday. Don isn't in the Army so Ellen is O.K.

Kibbutz life is proceeding per usual with all of the work going on. Because there are no males here between ages 18-45, except for Ulpan and Volunteers, the older men have pitched in everywhere they are able. Everyone has doubled the workload. The high school kids are not in school because they are needed in the fields. There is still a lot of work to do, especially in cotton, before the rains come.

At night it is like a morgue. It seems that everyone is sitting Shiva. The kibbutz is totally blacked out for safety precautions. Anyone driving somewhere at night in Israel must paint the headlights to dim them. Black curtains are hung in the windows of buildings where lights are needed, such as the dining hall, the club and the infirmary. All windows are taped up to avoid glass shattering from bombs and sonic booms.

Because the Kibbutz is right next to the airbase, we have the best location and protection. But it is like being in the middle of the war because the planes fly constantly. The Mirages and the Phantoms do not take off quietly and when they do they go in groups of at least six to 10. Working in the almonds again is a real trip. It is right off the strip where the planes take off. They are still quite low and when you look up you can see the bombs underneath. You also say a prayer that they return. So far one Kibbutz member, a 23 year old guy, had to bail out from his plane after being hit. He was missing for 3 days. He

finally got a message here that he only broke a leg and is in Egypt. No one knows whether he is a captive or not.

The biggest casualty known of is my friend Opir's brother-in-law who is dying. He was badly wounded, losing an arm and a lung wound. He is from our Kibbutz too. The only way you find out about the wounded is when a special person from the Kibbutz goes through the hospitals. To keep up the people and the country's morale, the deaths and the wounded are not reported until the war is over. The Kibbutz only finds out by people calling in and saying they have seen someone. It's good and bad. Binnie has not heard from Yonatan. Talk about gaining life experience . . . this is the place,—especially Saturday night being with Opir while he was waiting for his call. He is an old friend of Yonatan's who I met at a party Friday night. I was the only one not eating or drinking, cause I fasted. I saw him Saturday afternoon after the fighting began and he gave me a radio. Saturday night we were glued to it because they call up the reserve units over the air. There was so much tension in his face . . . you could just see it, but finally Sunday when he did get called, he looked relieved and proud to go. His parents haven't heard from him and I doubt if he knows about his brother-in-law.

Tonight I am going to Rishon with Kay and Joe and try to get in touch with the Spirz's friends to see if they are still coming. If so I'll get to see them over the weekend to get things you have sent. I have to get away from here for a couple of days. I have been so upset and tense. I've gone on a cookie binge. Any drug pusher could probably make a fortune here now with the people's anxieties and frustrations of not knowing.

Golda says it's going to be a long war. If they stopped playing politics the war wouldn't have gotten so bad. Israel knew Friday the Arabs were going to strike and they just did not prepare.

Despite the war the news of Agnew came across, tho I don't completely understand the whole situation except that a deal was made . . . typical.

As Ron probably told you I am not leaving until Yonatan returns. I just can't. I would never live in peace if I was home and didn't know whether he came through O.K. That goes for Opir and the other soldiers that I met. At wartime people always pulled together and this time I'm dragged in as well. I was at Binnie's when Yonatan packed up

and left and I was there when Opir left. G-d willing I'll be here when they return.

If the war ends soon I will fly to Boston to see Gary and pick up the car, if not I will fly directly back to Chicago.

I also have to stay because I haven't gotten pictures of Binnie's family. I should have taken them when I arrived cause as a New Year's present Yonatan shaved off his beard and moustache which I loved. It was only to stay off a week—then he he was going to grow them back. I was waiting for it to be back.

Please send my love to my Grandparents. Sorry I haven't written, but I'm just not in the mood. Take care . . . I miss all of you . . .

Love,  
MAYTA

*Les Polonsky*

Israel—October 16, 1973

This is your on-the-spot reporter from the Middle East. The war is continuing. Jerusalem is strongly adhering to the blackout procedures which start at 6 p.m. Everything stops—busses, shops close.

Since the war broke out, I have been paying a daily visit to the Jewish Volunteer Office to look for some sort of work. The first opportunity was at Berman's Bakery, in loading 50 kilogram sacks of sugar and salt for the making of bread. They were attempting a goal of 65,000 loaves: 30,000 for the army. Along with 30 Russian immigrants, we unload about 3-4 thousand sacks of sugar—until about 11-12 p.m. It took about 2 hours and reminded me of a movie scene where people were racing against time and circumstance—the circumstance being, that this was the emergency warehouse of food for Jerusalem, in case . . .

For the past week I have been working at the Wizo Baby Home in Beit Hakerem. We are working actually on 24 hour maintenance call in case of emergency. Luckily we were here last Saturday. The air raid sirens went off, the first time since Yom Kippur. We helped the nurses bring the 50 or so infants into the bomb shelters. To begin to realize and feel the war like this is scary, to feel that everyone has someone waiting in the front lines.

I have been here only 2 months, and I already know personally 3 people in Golan and one in Sinai. Fear and frustration shows clearly on the faces of Americans at HUC for we have never in our lifetime experienced war this close. But for the Israelis, although they seemed calm, moving about their daily business, they are old hands at this. They suppress their anger, fear, frustration. Yet, while watching TV news and newsreels of the front lines, their emotion rises to the surface and muscles tense. Somehow you want to hold and embrace them and assure them of a victory, but assuring them that their boyfriends, husbands, sons, relatives are well and safe, is something that even the God of Israel cannot confirm.

The question of how much longer can we, the Diaspora, and Israel exist through a war as this has no logical answer. We can only hope and pray and work.

Shalom      Dov-ra-cha      Am Yisrael Chai

LES POLONSKY, c/o H. U. C.

13 King David St., Jerusalem, ISRAEL

*Iris Wachs*

October 27, 1973

Dear Folks,

Have just finished blacking out the house, or the part of it that I can, and having heard today that the mail is starting to go through to the States, I'm writing. Up to now, no mail since before the war has been coming here, and as all the airlines except El Al have stopped coming in, the mail doesn't either, as much of our mail is brought in foreign carriers.

This is the night after the cease-fire was to have gone into effect, and was immediately broken. Golda talked on television to explain why the government accepted the cease-fire, as far as she could, without telling us the international political reasons that made us accept it, for militarily yesterday's cease-fire was not good for us, for most surely during the cease-fire the Russians would have and will, if we get another cease-fire, resupply the Arabs faster and in spite of any agreement to the contrary which she may have with the States, and the States won't, if their promise is not to. Afterward, the news from the

Security Council was that the Egyptians want us to go back to yesterday's cease-fire positions, which means that during the day we have made our position considerably stronger on the West Bank of the Canal, and started mopping up what's left on the East Side. We know the news. If the Russians and Egyptians are in a hurry for something, we know it's going well for us, and if they're not, things aren't.

It's a small country, and everyone knows something. Every husband and son of fighting age is called up, and if they get four hours leave, like one friend, Motti, they tell some, not much, but enough for each wife to tell her friends, and so little by little we put together how close we were to being exterminated. Which supply base was empty of ammunition until restocking came, who was last seen jumping out of a burning tank a week ago, but not since, and you don't know if he's a prisoner, or looking for his unit, or dead. And the parents this morning sent him stockings of wool because it's terribly cold on Golan at night, and they don't know yet that he's missing.

You call your friends casually, to see how the kids are, because you are too afraid or ashamed to ask if they heard from their husband, and then, if they start talking about whether or not there are any eggs in your grocery store because theirs is out, you know that either they got a phone call from their husband, or someone else on four hours leave came with a list of all the boys in his group, to call his family for them, that at least four hours ago he had a chance to take a field shower. And someone else has just gotten a postcard from her husband which keeps repeating what the last three did, that the sand is driving him crazy, which means he is in Sinai, where the heavy fighting is, so she has days yet to worry because the kind of work he does does not provide with any cover, and he is on the front where the fighting is still heavy. And my friend Rahel comes back from visiting her husband each day at a hospital in Tel Aviv and says, "he'll have a little trouble walking, but it's O.K., he won't hear in one ear, but it's O.K.," because she is grateful he is wounded and alive, and she doesn't have to think of him maybe not coming back at all. All of the wives I know whose husband has been lightly wounded are grateful that their husband is not at the front, and hope the wounds will be just severe enough to keep them there—they don't know how long to wish for—a month, or two months?—because we don't know how long it will go on. That is, we know it will go on as long as the Russians keep airlifting supplies to

them, and they can find replacement crews to man the new arsenal. And we all know that this time they have tasted victory, even if it was not long lived, and they inflicted heavy losses on us, and they are thinking that they did much better this time, so next time, who knows.

I don't think we'll get an acknowledged cease-fire from the Syrians—they didn't even give one in 1967 when they were badly defeated, but they will for a time simply have to stop fighting, as will the Egyptians. As we will have to, from sheer exhaustion. And when it is over, and we stop reeling from the hard facts of our casualties, we are going to live through a long and intense period of anxiety, waiting for the next time. No one here believes that peace-signed formal documents which our Arab neighbors agree permits recognition of the State of Israel, and peace, will come out of it. And even if such a miracle occurred, we would still be nervous, because what good is the signed document of a government which is overthrown by a new regime two months later.

But it's been like this since the State was born, even long before it, before we had our own legitimate army; people here with longer memories of the country than I, lived through it with the same anxiety, and insecurity, and persisted for the same two reasons that we will live it through in the future—because they believe in a Jewish State, and because they have no choice.

And we all—even I, who detest Nixon, and in any other circumstance at all would wish him impeached—hope he stays in office, at least until—and there our mind again trails off, because we don't know how long to wish for, because we all know it's going to be a long time that we'll need arms, a very long time.

We have many, many more soldiers suffering from shock than last time. Shell-shock. Only it does not happen usually to soldiers who've been hit, badly. Nor to twenty-four year olds, more than forty year olds. Nor to cowards, usually frightenable people. On the contrary, it happens to men who were brave, who fought without thinking a moment about themselves, who were at the front, especially in the first days of the war when our forces were so badly out-gunned, who fought, until a shell hit their jeep, or their foxhole, or their tank, and all the men they fought with fell beside them except themselves. And they cannot bear the guilt that they should have survived while their comrades fell. Or to the many at the front who fought those first awful

weeks, and saw through the sight of their cannons how they destroyed one after another after another of the enemy tanks; and then our reinforcements finally joined them, and the battle finally stopped being a defensive one, and they finally moved in their tanks up to the enemy lines which they had seen from half a mile distance, and they see the bodies of the enemy soldiers—by the thousands, so thick that a tank cannot pass without grinding some human part under its treads, and a man, who fought without eating or sleeping for four or five days, suddenly sees the awfulness of what he wrought in his bravery, collapses because it is too awful to comprehend what his own hand has wrought. Amiram will be limping a little but taking his son down to the beach, or back to the kibbutz to see his Saba and Safta, before these men will look up one day at the nurse when she brings them their tray of food, and ask her if she is the same nurse they saw yesterday, though she is the same nurse who has brought them their food every day for a month.

Golda said in her speech last week that after the horror of having lost so many of her own sons, we cannot forgive them the horror of having had to kill so many of theirs. One has to know war to understand that she spoke it not as a sentimental gesture, not as a political gesture to world opinion, but as one who understands that war is the ultimate affliction to all who are in it.

The Golan is covered with dead animals and dead men. They asked Alberto today which they should bury first, for sanitary reasons. And he told them, bury the enemy first, so that our soldiers do not have to see them.

I must close now. I have to get up early tomorrow as usual to get Eval to Gan by eight. He likes it now, because he finally got to know the children, and no longer feels an outsider, and I am swamped with requests to have this one and that one come home to play at our house. And I do. I have a regular kindergarten at our house every afternoon, as much for the children as for their mothers, since their husbands are all away, and it is better for them to be in someone else's house than in their own, waiting for the telephone to ring, and feeling the emptiness. Sometimes I drive at night for the hospital, either taking discharged soldiers home, or bringing relatives who have visited the wounded back to their home. Not too many people are willing to drive at night in the blackout, but it doesn't bother me, as I have good night vision.

But I can't take the Contessa too far from Haifa as it is not sure. Sometimes I go with another driver in their car because it takes a long time at night, and in the blackout one gets lost quickly. Aviva and I were on Kvish Geha the other night and suddenly found ourselves driving down a deadend alley, which is like being on the Kennedy Expressway, and suddenly finding yourself on a small country road. Even Otto, who I enlisted and who is happy to be able to help (all the men who weren't mobilized are half mad trying to find something useful to do), got lost in the middle of Petah Tikva on one of his night driving runs. I wish I had a decent car so I could do more.

Goodnight. Tonight I sleep.

I haven't the energy to write more than one letter like this just now, so you'll please share it with the rest of the family.

Love,  
IRIS

*Irwin Siegel*

Hadassah Medical Organization  
Jerusalem—October 22, 1973

Shalom to all:

This evening a cease-fire was declared—nonetheless, the fighting continues in the South. But the casualties are a little lighter and I finally have a little time to rest, clean up and write a few letters. From the beginning, I knew the situation here was more serious than we were led to believe. It was so strange landing at Lod, the only plane except for the American transports. The drive to Jerusalem was eerie—very little traffic—all headlights painted blue—and my beautiful city of light—completely blacked out, silent, tense. Hadassah was grim. The fighting has been fierce and the wounded many and serious. They now estimate a total of well over 1000 dead and upward of 3000 wounded. We have 150 orthopaedic cases alone here and until now have been receiving 30 to 50 wounded of whom 10 to 15 are orthopaedic cases each day. They come in by helicopter and are triaged in the hospital lobby which has been converted to a giant 50 bed ER, complete with X-Ray, blood bank, crash carts, etc., and 50 teams of doctors and

nurses. The operating rooms have been going 24 hours around the clock. I have been working approximately 18 hours a day, sometimes more. Mostly I operate. It is so busy I haven't had a cool instrument in my hands, so quickly are they transferred from sterilization to use. We sleep when we can and where we can. Everything smells to me like blood. I could cry with rage to see such beautiful boys so seriously maimed. The Egyptians have been using shoulder-fired missiles. The wounds are anything but simple—single, double, even triple amputations, complicated by third degree burns, head, chest and abdominal injuries. In addition to the Israelis, there are 50 volunteers at Hadasah (150 in all of Israel) from all over the world. I have met and worked with some very fine doctors. The devotion of all to our wounded is remarkable. They are evaluated quickly, resuscitated well at a field hospital, and distributed to hospitals throughout Israel within 6 to 12 hours of injury. We have lost no lives and no limbs that could be saved—perhaps we have even saved some that should have been lost. Hippocrates said, "if you would be a surgeon, go to war." I have seen and treated almost every conceivable orthopaedic injury and complication; high-velocity missile wounds, multiple shrapnel injuries, transection of every major vessel. Since I have been here, I have operated over 40 compound fractures. All of our wounds are treated by primary wide debridement—packing—above and below pins and plaster. Four days later they are re-operated with delayed suture, definitive nerve suture, fracture realignment and fixation and skin graft, if indicated. At this time I get a chance to work with the plastic surgeons if flaps, etc., are necessary. I have not yet been away from the hospital, but everything is on a wartime status anyway. The shops close early, entertainment is scarce, and public transportation at a minimum. Nonetheless, the feeling of peoplehood, the mystique of common struggle, sacrifice, and need is strong indeed. It is a rich and meaningful feeling, and I am fulfilled to be where I am most needed at this time of my life. My Hebrew is improving each day. I saw Shoshanno Dilian last night. She has been working at a hospital in the Sinai. She looks better than ever. I guess she really needed to come home for awhile. I have found no time to visit friends (hopefully later), but have managed to contact most by phone. Everyone carries transistor radios, and listens to the news every hour—also messages to and from soldiers at the front. The spirits of the wounded have been high in spite

of the fact that for most of them the war will never end. Volunteers have filled the rooms with flowers. Food and drink are everywhere. Singers and other entertainers (today it was Danny Kaye) perform right on the wards. Last night we had a power failure. Emergency generators lit the OR and important offices, but the wards were dark. Suddenly, the wounded and their visitors (always crowds of visitors—parents, wives, girlfriends) began to sing and the song was taken up from ward to ward, from floor to floor, “Osah Shalom Oobrachah”—Bring us peace, bring us peace with a blessing.” I thought it is a great and noble people to which I belong—proud and sometimes “stiff-necked,” as they say, but nonetheless irrepressible and beautiful to behold. I sat there in the darkness, so far from home and yet at home, and I wept without shame.

Someone asked me the other day why I volunteered to help. It never occurred to me that I was volunteering. Rather I felt I was in some measure repaying the debt that all Jews in the Diaspora owe Israel, for sustaining us through her very existence. What sense would my life make were I not to come to her aid when that existence is threatened? And besides, I once had some relatives here. I believe their names were Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. There was simply no choice. I could not at this time belie their faith. I like most the sun, a laugh and love. I do not favor blackouts, and all war, even this one, is obscene. “MASH” is no longer funny to me. I have lived it and it stinks. There is nothing amusing about pain, blood-soaked stretchers, and working until you are too exhausted to stand anymore.

Yet with all, I simply must be here now. In the final analysis, it’s simply because on Yom Kippur they blew an air raid siren in Jerusalem instead of a Shofar. To a Jew the sound of the Shofar is a terrible and fearful sound—it warns him that on the Day of Awe he must look not to God, but to himself—that he must, whatever the price, live as he believes, else he will certainly come to believe as he has been forced to live. I guess that’s what the air raid siren warned. I guess that’s what I heard. I guess that’s why I’m here.

Peace to each of you,  
Peace . . . with a blessing  
DR. IRWIN SIEGEL

*Orna*

October 26, 1973

Dear Rabbi Polish,

I realize you are a very, very busy man, but I have enclosed a letter which I hope you will have time to read. This letter was written to my son David from a friend in Israel.

David spent seven weeks in Israel this past summer and returned home with many good friends in Israel. Orna, the girl who wrote the letter, is the same age as David, 17 years old. She started to write the letter when the war started and wrote a little more for three separate days.

I found the letter a masterpiece. Her feelings about the war and her life are so eloquently stated; her maturity far beyond her years.

Both David and I were so moved by her letter, we feel that others should be able to read it or hear it.

I am sending it to you to use in the bulletin, or from the pulpit, or whatever way you may feel to use it.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Clara Kornfeld

October 6, 1973

Hi, David.

I guess you would like to know about Israel now, to know what does it mean for us to be in a war.

We all knew that something is going to happen since yesterday. This morning we heard cars on the road—which is something extraordinary here. I live next to an army camp so we heard tanks too.

At noon my brother was called back to his camp. I helped him packing and my hands were shaking. Then when we started eating (we don't fast) we heard the first air raid alarm. David, you can't imagine how I felt. I remembered the Six Day War. I knew that it must be a serious thing. All the people gathered in the streets in little groups, everyone very, very excited. Then the army reserves were called. I changed my clothes and started moving in the streets from one group to the other. I went to my best friend's house, to Naomi. Her brother

was killed in the Six Day War. We went together to one family three of whose sons were called, all of the three are Paratroopers. (The father was drafted too.) Eddie, the younger, is in my hevra. I'm worrying about him and all of the other hevra. Yossi called me twice today and I was very, very glad to hear that he's still near. But he told me that tomorrow morning he'll be in the Golan Heights.

At the time of the S.D.W. (Six Day war) I was eleven years old, I didn't know what it was all about. I used to think that life stops. I thought we won't go to school and so on. And I was very surprised to see people trying to keep on living the usual way. But now it's quite different. I already know what the price for war is. I know what it means for a family to lose her *son*.

Today we went through the streets trying to keep ourselves busy, and not to think about it all. Not to be afraid. The last war wasn't the same, this time my friends are soldiers, and I'm not ashamed to admit that I'm excited, worried and afraid about them.

It's interesting to see how people feel better and close to each other when they are together. No one wants to be alone now. Today all the hevra which are not soldiers—including two kids 11 and 12 years old—gathered at my home—we drank coffee and listened to the radio. You should have looked at the little kids, they were so proud to stay with us—the older ones—to speak like grown-up people. I remember myself as an eleven year old girl—and I can understand them.

It's funny how people like to tell everybody about their feelings, but we all feel the same. That's why I wanted to write to you.

There is a blackout here. I prepared warm clothes next to my bed, and my mother prepared a bag with all the things we might need. The shelter is not so far away from my home. My mother has a job in a first-aid post. My father was not drafted because he is an army invalid. We listen to the radio all the time and we are very tense.

October 7, 1973

The second day passed. It was worse than yesterday. But we weren't so tense. I couldn't find my place. I moved with my bike from one place to another. I was very nervous and didn't know what to do with myself.

October 10, 1973

I didn't write for some days because it's very difficult for me to write in English and express my feelings. Yesterday Yossi came to visit me just for about three minutes. I can't describe it because I was so excited. When I saw him I started crying. I didn't cry for such a long time—but this time it was the first time in my life that I cried from joy. He came just after I heard some very bad news from the Golan. I prepared myself for the worst. Yossi told me about some of our friends—they were killed. I don't want to write about it because the worst is still in front of us.

When the fights will stop, we'll hear about all the casualties.

David—I don't think that I'll write to you in the next few days or weeks but—please—try to write to me. (long letters!!) There is much more to write about our life nowadays. But I'm too nervous to sit such a long time. Drishat shalom m'nurit. (Shalom from Nurit). I met her today. *Please write!!*

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David Polish is the founding rabbi of Beth Emet—The Free Synagogue in Evanston, Illinois. He is the author of, among other works, *Renew Our Days: The Zionist Issue in Reform Judaism*.



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Review Essay  
From Image To Presence:  
Literary Merit and Social Value in  
Twentieth-Century American Jewish  
Literature

Daniel Walden

Harap, Louis. *Creative Awakening: The Jewish Presence in Twentieth Century American Literature 1900–1940's*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, in cooperation with the American Jewish Archives, 1987.

Harap, Louis. *In the Mainstream: The Jewish Presence in Twentieth Century American Literature 1950's–1980*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, in cooperation with the American Jewish Archives, 1987.

Harap, Louis. *Dramatic Encounters: The Jewish Presence in Twentieth Century Drama, Poetry, and Humor and the Black-Jewish Literary Relationship*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, in cooperation with the American Jewish Archives, 1987.

For several generations American Jews have written about themselves, have written imaginatively of their acculturation to or assimilation into the American fabric. For most people the pursuit of truth in literature or in essays began in the late nineteenth century. In fact, as Louis Harap made clear in *The Image of the Jew in American Literature: From Early Republic to Mass Immigration* (Philadelphia, 1974), the very stuff of American Jewish history goes back to the early seventeenth century, while the analyses of ethnicity, religions, labor, socialism, proletarian literature, and literature date mainly from the 1920s and 1930s on. True, anti-Semitism is still a subject much studied, but the definitive work, the comprehensive and authoritative study, is still to be written. Thus it was a pleasure to receive Louis Harap's new books, a trilogy, under the rubric *The Jewish Presence in Twentieth*

*Century American Literature 1900–1940s*, the first volume titled *Creative Awakening*; the second volume, *In the Mainstream*, held the title with the dates now 1950s–1980s; the third volume is called *Dramatic Encounter: The Jewish Presence in Twentieth Century Drama, Poetry, and Humor, and the Black-Jewish Literary Relationship*.

We have here a trilogy with a shifting all-over title and shifting subtitles. No matter, the fact is that *The Image of the Jew in American Literature*, was so presciently presented by Harap in 1974, with a second edition in 1978, has blossomed into this extraordinary “trilogy.” An image, of course, can be a less than real apparition, a figure seen in a mirror, a vague and unformed figure. Or, as Louis Harap presented it, we had a full treatment of the still-to-be-formed Jewish presence as it appeared in literature from sources as diverse as Emma Lazarus, Adah Isaacs Menken, and Sidney Luska and from such an extraordinary talent as Abraham Cahan.

*The Jewish Presence*, on the other hand, chronicles the Jew in America, after the early years of the great immigration, within the context of literature viewed as a social manifestation whose meaning extends beyond the “literary” in the specialized sense, essential as this literary aspect is to the total grasp of the work. Thus, as Harap makes clear, the Jewish presence includes the material and social status of Jews as well as the mode of life in which Jews appear “within that expression by both Jews and non-Jews.” In short, the presence that Harap intends is “the literary rendering of the acculturation process, the making of the texture of American Jewish social life in the specific historical circumstances of this period of mass immigration and its aftermath.”

As is well known, the Jew in America at the turn of this century came out of an Eastern European background, and took part in the phenomenal expansion of industry at the same time as discrimination waxed and waned. A few Jews from Abraham Cahan on wrote about the processes of acculturation and assimilation while non-Jews and Jews argued about the Melting Pot and Cultural Pluralism. Cahan, a socialist who learned to adapt, wrote *The Rise of David Levinsky*, on the impact of the American Dream—of Success, as it was then being defined. Other novels less well known, like James Oppenheim’s *Dr. Rast* (1909) and *The Nine Tenths* (1911), and Arthur Bullard’s *Comrade Yetta* (1913), were insightfully but not persuasively written. Anzia Yezierska’s *Hungry Hearts* (1920), however, was a path-breaker,

because it began that long upward climb of stories and novelists, to include Edna Ferber and Fanny Hearst, who in the face of hostility to women writers created, to use Harap's words, "the new place of the Jewish woman" in radical and elitist and popular fiction. Just as much a break with the past arose when Samuel Ornitz published, at first anonymously, *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl* (1923), possibly the first attempt by a Jewish author to depict the dirty wash along with the clean. The story of a Jewish Tammany politician's rise from the Lower East Side gang, by hook or by crook, Meyer Hirsch's life was a microcosm of East Side life in the first decades of this century.

Most but not all acculturation took place on New York's Lower East Side, or in the boroughs. Myron Brinig's *Singermann* (1929), a departure, showed the growth and the internal conflicts of several generations of a Jewish family in "Silvery Bow" (Butte), Montana. In another departure, Ludwig Lewisohn's *The Island Within* (1928), preceded by and followed by several transparently autobiographical novels, pictured the growing up and maturing of a German Jew, brought up in Charleston, South Carolina, who was an academic and who suffered discrimination before it became possible for more than a token few to enter the professoriat, who thought of himself briefly as a Christian, who wrote his life again and again. The background, however, made up of the work of the celebrated T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land* (1922), of Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* (1925), and Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925), made for a fabric of literary anti-Semitism that reflected the enviroing culture. Possibly, as E. Digby Baltzell has written, this was the last decade of WASP hegemony in America, but it was also a decade of ferment, racism, and anti-Semitism that were central themes in much of the writing of the major authors. To their credit, Edmund Wilson and Sinclair Lewis did not resort to stereotypes.

In the 1930s, during the Great Depression, as the John Reed Clubs emerged and small magazines like the *Comrade*, the *New Masses* and *Liberation* came into being, American Jews read and joined, but also moved toward the *Partisan Review*, founded in 1934 but from 1937 on, under William Phillips and Philip Rahv, a non-communist, progressive journal. In 1934 Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep* was published, possibly the best acculturation novel of the 1930s, along with Daniel Fuchs's *Williamsburg Trilogy* and Meyer Levin's *The Old Bunch*

(1937). Meanwhile, in the novels by Faulkner, Dos Passos, and James T. Farrell, stereotypes abounded in about the same degree as they had in the 1920s. What was new was the frankness, the lack of ambivalence about anti-Semitic stereotypes that was now seen. What was also new was the appearance of Jewish anti-Semitism, the problem of self-hate—in Ben Hecht's *A Jew in Love* (1928), and in Jerome Weidman's *I Can Get It for You Wholesale* (1937). It seems to me that Nathanael West, included by Harap here, is a more complicated case, more that of a Jew manqué than a self-hater. On the other hand, it is clear that Budd Schulberg's *What Makes Sammy Run* (1941) and Jo Sinclair's *Wasteland* (1946) are excellent examples, specifically mentioned, of self-haters trying to find themselves, not gratuitous examples of an author's personality and attitude.

I have spent this much time and space on volume 1 of the trilogy so that it is possible to savor the detail, the research, and the variety of Harap's work. He has read and thought about almost everything. That he is by training an historian writing about the social manifestations of part of a society in literature is his preference. And, it seems to me, his strength. Unlike those who say at full voice that literature has nothing to do with a culture, or history, or a past or present, Harap—correctly, to me—proceeds from an assumption that what Jews and non-Jews write and think is a result of a process inextricably connected to an historical and cultural and religious context. In volume 2, for example, the explication of the threads of influence from *Menorah Journal* to the *Partisan Review* and *Commentary* makes up a tale of its extraordinary talents, like Elliot Cohen and Norman Podhoretz, editors; Lionel Trilling, Leslie Fiedler, Delmore Schwartz, Saul Bellow, Tess Slesinger, Kenneth Fearing, and so on, critics and writers, who shepherded the Jewish sensibilities in thought and literature from an image to a definite presence. In this context, Trilling, in 1966, wrote that the Jewish present was as respectable as any other group's present—but also as foolish, vulgar, complicated; in this context, Will Herberg wrote that Judaism was now one of the “three communions,” Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, and was equal in every way, with essentially the same “moral ideals” and “spiritual values.”

With the founding of *Commentary* in 1945 came a realization of Herberg's projections. As became clear in 1948 in a symposium on “The State of Jewish Writing,” the Jewish writer helped mediate for American literature the conflicting claims of an allegiance to Europe

and to the American scene. At the same time, as Irving Howe argued, most of the New York Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s abandoned their quest for a renewed basis for a socialist politics and joined in the "American celebration" of postwar prosperity. A new image of America emerged, as a *Partisan Review* symposium in 1952 showed, in its military-economic-protector-capitalist sense, that led many writers to reject alienation, rebellion, and exile as an artistic and intellectual imperative. In C. Wright Mills's words, "the leveling and the frenzy-effects of mass culture" were not due to the effects of democracy but to "capitalist commercialism which manipulates people into standardized tastes and then exploits those tastes and 'personal touches' as marketable brands," a sentence that still resonates in 1988.

Of course, there were some other dissenters—Mills did not stand alone! Mailer, Howe, Schwartz, for example. Yet it had to be said that by 1961, as Norman Podhoretz admitted, Jews had found a place in the establishment. What more ironic statement could one read than Elizabeth Hardwick's lament, in 1979, that when she was in college in the South, "my aim was to be a New York Jewish intellectual."

From the 1950s on, as the *London Times Literary Supplement* put it, American Jewish writing had emerged as a dominant force in American letters. As Harap's essays on Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, Philip Roth, and Norman Mailer show, the acculturation novel continued to be written but also the novel of critical realism. Paced by this trio of greats, Edward L. Wallant among others depicted, in *The Pawnbroker* (1961), Sol Nazerman's passage from a traumatized anesthetic relation with fellow human beings to the opening up of the possibilities of love for others; and I. B. Singer excelled in the mystical, neo-medieval tale; and, in the religious trend now so evident, Chaim Potok's *The Chosen* (1967) evoked the tension within Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox Judaistic society, in an American ambience, while Cynthia Ozick, in works from "The Pagan Rabbi" to *The Messiah of Stockholm* (1987), argued that the Jew must follow history, not nature, that is, Jewish historical practice rather than pagan naturalism. Literature for its own sake, says Ozick, is idolatry. In a break with the mostly secular American Jewish literary tradition, Ozick insists on authenticity, on the centrality of the moral and religious in literature.

Of course, as Harap explains in *Dramatic Encounters* it is not enough to look at how Jewish writers reflected their concerns; non-Jewish writers, especially Blacks, must also be studied. The special

literary relations between Blacks and Jews, beginning in the nineteenth century, but beginning to mature literarily in Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940), through James Baldwin's, Ralph Ellison's, and Lorraine Hansberry's works, and others, are a pioneering effort in exposition and literary history. As always, there was anti-Semitism, from Jews and from Blacks, even in Saul Bellow's late novels; but it seems clear that the special relationship enjoyed by Jews and Blacks in earlier decades, as Harap shows, has been impaired, though in some cases "the healing process has begun and some signs of return should appear in literature as they have in social life itself." Meanwhile, a rich Jewish tradition in drama vied with an anti-Semitic stereotype, especially from the nineteenth century on. In the twentieth century we celebrate the plays of Elmer Rice, George S. Kaufman, Lillian Hellman, Sidney Kingsley, Clifford Odets, Arthur Miller, Arthur Laurents, Herman Wouk, and Neil Simon—but don't forget Mark Medoff, Wendy Wasserstein, Harvey Feuerstein, and David Mamet. We also owe much to poets Karl Shapiro, Stanley Kunitz, Louis Simpson, Howard Nemerov, and Denise Levertov. True, many of the above, Jewish playwrights and poets, wrote out of a "distinctively Jewish manner of thought and feeling"; they did not all write about Jewish life past or present. As I explained when I wrote about Nathaniel West, it was inconceivable to me that he could have written as he did, including his occasional anti-Semitism, had he not been Jewish.

There is so much to Louis Harap's three volumes, this extraordinary trilogy, that a reviewer can only hint at the depth, penetrating intelligence, research, and insight of the author. This is a monumental work. Assuredly all major libraries will acquire the books. It is my fervent hope that some day in the not-too-distant future *The Jewish Presence in Twentieth Century Literature . . . Drama, Poetry, and Humor* will appear in a relatively inexpensive paperback. Harap's work is a significant contribution to American Jewish literary studies.

—Daniel Walden

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## Book Reviews

Feldman, Jacob S. *The Jewish Experience in Western Pennsylvania: A History 1755-1945*. Pittsburgh: Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, 1986. 331 pp.

This study of the emergence and development of Jewish communities in the city of Pittsburgh and in the small towns of Western Pennsylvania from the middle of the eighteenth century until the conclusion of World War II is an extension, in time as well as territory, of Jacob Feldman's earlier book, *Migration and Settlement of Jews in Pittsburgh, 1754-1894* (1959). As indicated by the table of contents and a brief preface, the aim of this work is to provide a comprehensive factual account as well as an interpretation of the demographic, economic, religious-cultural, and institutional processes that informed the historical evolution of Jewish communities in the region over two centuries. Thus, the fifteen chapters comprising the volume are arranged chronologically and, within this scheme, by recurrent topics. The opening two chapters identify the earliest Jewish residents in the area (mostly transient) from Colonial times until the Civil War, and depict the process, slow and impermanent during that initial period, of forging a Jewish community in Pittsburgh, composed at first mostly of immigrants from England, and then increasingly from Germany. Chapters 3 and 5 account for the changing "ethnic" composition and the religious affiliations of the emerging stable Jewish community in the city toward the end of the nineteenth century, transformations similar to those elsewhere in America where Jewish immigrants settled, and related to the arrival of growing numbers of Jews from different parts of Eastern Europe. The intermediate fourth chapter sketches the demographic and institutional development, and economic profile of the satellite Jewish communities in small towns throughout the region during the second half of the previous century, and chapter 11 follows up on the same theme in the four decades preceding the Second World War. Two separate chapters, 6 and 9, are devoted to the occupational pursuits of Pittsburgh Jewry, first in the nineteenth, and then in

the twentieth century; chapter 10 deals with their residential patterns in the city; and the remaining six chapters, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, and 15, reconstruct the most important and various other forms of religious and organizational activities and collective initiatives of the Jewish communities in Pittsburgh and the surrounding towns from the middle of the nineteenth century until 1945.

*The Jewish Experience in Western Pennsylvania* is certainly a welcome addition to the growing body of data in the history of American Jewry, as it takes up for study a region of the country which has not attracted much attention from Jewish historians, and—a particularly valuable contribution—because it investigates the situation in small towns where the research lacuna in American Jewish scholarship has been especially striking. The book is the result of twenty years of dedicated, painstaking labor in gathering facts and data, to the most detailed available in the newspaper reports, charter and deed books, synagogue and organizational records and personal accounts, on Jewish religious, community, and business leaders in the area, the founding and splintering of the congregations, the forming and institutional activities of Jewish societies and associations in Pittsburgh and the surrounding towns. A devoted (although not an academic) historian, Mr. Feldman is the real expert and probably the best authority in the area on the who, what, and when in local Jewish history, and I myself have more than once profited from his reliable consult in the course of my own parallel research on the Jewish communities in the region before World War II. It is indeed in the historiographic aspect that the volume achieves its best, and should be recommended as an exhaustive and informative sourcebook to all interested, for comparative or simply educational purposes, in the religious and institutional gestae of Western Pennsylvania Jewry and in the origins, pursuits, and careers of its most prominent members. (The only readily “eye-catching” errors here are the use of the term *Reformed* [Judaism] instead of *Reform* throughout the book, and the repeated misspellings of Chaim Weizmann’s last name.)

As for the concomitant purpose of the book, that of capturing and interpreting general processes resulting from individual undertakings and group activities, the study has rather set the groundwork for further research than actually fulfilled the promise. Especially in the chapters devoted to Jewish occupational patterns and organizational

developments, the author's clear preference, both in the use of sources and in the mode of presentation, for the reconstruction of particular cases over that of general characteristics and tendencies, has left "underused" a good part of the material evidently at his disposal. For instance, the discussion of the occupational profiles of Jewish immigrants in Pittsburgh and the surrounding towns during the last decades of the nineteenth century until and including 1900, would have significantly gained in "weight" and insight by providing summary statistical data calculated from the available population census schedules and business guides (as indicated in notes, both kinds of sources were used by the author, but only for individual illustrations). Instead, undocumented (although not necessarily erroneous) "perhaps"-guesses are given of shares of particular occupational groups within Jewish communities. The R. G. Dun business credit ratings, likewise and skillfully used in the study for illustrative purposes, could have been also presented in some generalized fashion in order to demonstrate the overall characteristics and the directions of changes in the economic well-being of Jewish merchant families in the area. Similarly, the account of Jewish educational accomplishments (discussed in parts of chapters 6 and 9), by and large limited to the enumeration of the most prominent members of professions, would have furnished broader knowledge and allowed for more in-depth interpretation were the sources—such as the alumni books of the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Institute—also utilized to provide more systematic comparative estimations, calculated at some selected intervals covering the period under investigation, of changing Jewish college enrollments (only two, for 1916 and 1920, are provided) and professional preferences.

Another, related direction of research which Mr. Feldman's study leaves marked rather than realized, is the question of the relation of Jewish and non-Jewish history. Concentrated predominantly on the internal group developments, with the exception of general statements in the introductions to particular chapters about the "demographic growth" and "industrial expansion" of the region, the book does not pay much attention to the broader contexts of the evolution of Jewish communities in Pittsburgh and surrounding towns, such as the changing ethno-religious composition, economic and occupational opportunity structures, political and cultural climates, and even less to the

collective Jewish "responses" to these conditions. Likewise, the issue of Jewish-Gentile relations is virtually absent: a few comments are devoted to the religious institutional contacts (pp. 133-135), followed by enumeration of persons active in larger community organizations and politics (pp. 245-255). The encounter of Jews with, and their reception by, the dominant Anglo-Saxon group and institutions, and its impact on Jewish adaptation in the area is not discussed, and neither are the relations of Jews with representatives of other ethnic groups present in Pittsburgh and vicinity beside whom they lived, conducting business with them as merchants and professionals, or working together in manufacturing and service establishments. Brief passing comments about the existence of anti-Semitism in the Christian churches (p. 134), in Gentile clubs and associations (p. 245), and in educational and professional institutions (pp. 175, 252), and, at the conclusion of the study, about the local Jewish organizations' special efforts to "confront problems among Jews and other groups" and to "better Jewish relations with other ethnic and religious groups" (p. 286), indicate that, as elsewhere in the country, mutual understanding and coexistence of Jews and Gentiles in Western Pennsylvania was indeed an issue before the Second World War, and as such should have been treated more extensively in a study dealing with "the Jewish experience" in the region.

Overall, while perhaps somewhat tiresome for a reader impatient with minute details and factual narration or looking for a more general, interpretative, and contextual exposition of the problems discussed, Mr. Feldman's book does provide a valuable source-base on the history of Western Pennsylvania Jewry. It should be profitably used both as a reference and as a "springboard" for further studies to fill-in "open spaces." Such use could be achieved either by focusing on particular problems left under- or uninvestigated, or by complementing the approach offered by other kinds of analysis, guided by differently posed questions and differently handled data.

—Ewa Morawska

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Ewa Morawska teaches sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. She is the author of *For Bread and Butter: Life Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1940* (1985) and is currently working on a volume dealing with Jews in small-town industrial America from 1880 to 1940.

Holzberg, Carol S. *Minorities and Power in a Black Society: The Jewish Community of Jamaica*. Lanham, Md.: North-South Publishing Co., 1987. xxx, 261 pp.

With the exception of the community in Curacao, the Jews that have inhabited the Caribbean islands since the arrival of Columbus have been largely ignored by historians and social scientists. The first volume of Jacob Marcus's *Colonial American Jew* and Stephen Fortune's more recent *Merchants and Jews* are the exceptions, and both concern themselves with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The modern era—a period of cultural assimilation and demographic decline—remains unexplored.

For this reason alone, Carol Holzberg's new work on Jamaican Jewry is most welcome. By the eighteenth century Jamaica was both the pearl of the British West Indies and the center of Jewish life in the region, a distinction that the few remaining "Jewmaicans" share to this day. In Barbados, Trinidad, and the rest of the Anglophone Caribbean, the Jew is extinct; but in Jamaica an endangered species survives, supports a synagogue, and participates actively in the economic life of this new nation. It is this first aspect, the role of the Jew in the political economy of Jamaica, that captures Holzberg's attention and will stimulate the interest of not only Caribbean scholars but also social scientists concerned with the economic activity of ethnic minorities in contemporary Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

*Minorities and Power in a Black Society* yields several rewarding results—essentially the same conclusions, however, that the author earlier formulated in her Boston University dissertation and in published articles. In contrast to "social marginality" and "status-gap" theorists, Holzberg offers a more three-dimensional model for Jewish entrepreneurial success in modern Jamaica. Self-help, phenotype, religious-based ethnicity, hard work, family bonds, and "economic integration as middlemen," we are reasonably told, account for Jewish upward social mobility (p. 121). Based upon the annual reports, directorates, and shareholder lists of over sixty-five leading Jamaican companies (primarily those quoted on the Jamaica Stock Exchange), Holzberg calculates that Jews, who account for a mere .025 percent of the island's population, comprise about 23 percent of the "national entrepreneurial elite" (defined as those individuals serving on at least three company directorates). The sections dealing with the

origin and development of several Jewish dynasties also make for interesting reading.

The author is far less successful in her other principal aim: the examination of “the history, religious separation, cultural traditions, social activities, occupational roles, and political behavior of Jamaica’s Jews” (p. 230). Holzberg’s historical account sheds no new light, and is, rather, a sketchy borrowing from the existing patchwork historiography. The reader catches glimmers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but is left in the dark thereafter. As for the cultural and social life of Jamaican Jewry, the author details the various self-help organizations and community institutions. Yet without historical context, thematic progression, or connection with the more significant and more scholarly chapters on the Jewish fraction of the national entrepreneurial elite, the first 115 pages appear tangential and at times pointless. Why does the reader, Jew or non-Jew, need to know how the festival of Chanukah or Pesach is celebrated? All the author need do is state that religious worship contributed to the cohesiveness of the community. Surely, if the reader wishes to find out about Jewish ritual, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* would better serve that purpose. Then too, why did the author and especially the editor consider important or noteworthy the decimalized donations netted from fashion shows sponsored by the Jamaican chapter of the Women’s International Zionist Organization? This sort of gossipy chronicle absorbs far too much of the book’s weight and undermines the serious work the author earlier accomplished in her dissertation.

It was the laudable intent of the author to demystify her subject—i.e., to free the Jew from stereotype. It is the common perception in Jamaica, as in many parts of the world, that all Jews are wealthy, shrewd, and good in business. More recently, Jews have been identified with the “Twenty-One Families” who allegedly rule Jamaica. While it is true that the Jews of Jamaica are disproportionately wealthier and more influential vis-a-vis the rest of the local population than in most other countries, it is important to recognize, as Holzberg does, that not all Jamaican Jews are wealthy. In fact, the author devotes several pages to the Jewish Home which cares for the elderly and indigent. She also notes (p. 117) that 10 percent of the Jewish population is lower middle class, though we are never told what it means to be lower middle class nor are we provided the evidence that would

warrant such a statement. A key weakness of the book is precisely this sort of ill-defined approach to social structure. That the Jewish community is wealthy *by Jamaican standards* is not at question. Rather the reader needs a more detailed picture of that community. What percentage qualifies as upper, upper middle, lower middle, and working class? On what basis is an individual associated with a particular class? These are questions that the author of such a study cannot ignore.

*Minorities and Power in a Black Society* lacks historical perspective. True, the author is not an historian but an anthropologist trying to explain the economic success of Jamaica's Jews in terms of group cohesiveness. The problem with that, however, is that group cohesiveness is historically determined. Surprisingly little is said about kinship, family structure, marriage patterns, rites of passage, assimilation, and acculturation—all themes one would expect a cultural anthropologist to deal with at considerable length. Reference is made to intermarriage, for example; but does not the reader need to know when in time this occurred, with whom, and how this phenomenon has evolved in time? Did Jews intermarry with all minorities comprising the national entrepreneurial elite? Are Jamaican Jews as likely to wed Chinese or Lebanese/Syrians as they are whites and browns? Do Jamaican Jews share the same private sphere with other ethnic groups? These are important issues to discuss in any study of an elite, which by definition is self-limiting.

Specific assertions by the author will raise objections. Holzberg argues (p. 64) that the rivalry between Sephardim and Ashkenazim was so great that the two communities needed separate places of worship but came together by the twentieth century. In actual fact what was historically unusual about these two communities was not their rivalry—separation after all was the norm—but rather that the two communities ultimately did unite. Or further on, the author asserts (p. 79) that “the Jewish community is always alert to any public manifestation of anti-Israeli, anti-Zionist, or anti-Jewish activity.” Later (p. 235), Holzberg seemingly contradicts herself: “The Jews believe that invisibility is security.” My own recollection supports the latter statement. When the noted anti-Semite Louis Farrakhan arrived in Jamaica in 1986 and addressed a large gathering at the National Arena, the Jewish community was both invisible and inaudible. When I asked a

director of the congregation why no statement had been issued condemning his visit or objecting to his past record, I was told that the community was too preoccupied with the burial of one of its more illustrious members.

Other examples of assertions made and later contradicted by the author's own evidence or opinion could be spotlighted. Criticism of this sort, however, would only detract from the real worth of Holzb erg's study: the Jewish fraction within the national entrepreneurial elite. Unfortunately, the initial part of her book only vaguely complements this truly valuable contribution. Had the material contained in the first three chapters been properly historicized, tightly compressed, and fully integrated into chapters 4 and 5, thereby emphasizing the group cohesiveness factor that explains Jewish economic prominence, this review would have been much shorter and, alas, more enthusiastic.

—Thomas G. August

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Thomas G. August teaches European history at the University of the West Indies—Mona in Jamaica. He is currently researching the Jews of Jamaica and the Caribbean.

Sandberg, Neil C. *Jewish Life in Los Angeles: A Window to Tomorrow*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1986. 211 pp.

As early as 1950, with 300,000 residents, Los Angeles Jewry emerged as an alternative population center to New York. Now with 500,000 persons, it has far surpassed Philadelphia and is the second largest Jewish enclave in the world. Yet this is its first published sociological study. As a document identifying major trends and suggesting human policies, the book succeeds. The author, the western regional director of the American Jewish Committee, displays a generous concern for segments of Jewry often ignored by institutional spokesmen. Dr. Sandberg's assertion that Jews, regardless of income, should have as their "birthright" membership in a religious assemblage, resurrects the communal vision of Mordecai Kaplan. But the book is less satisfactory when trying to explain the community's structure or the relationship of Jewishness to the other ideals and interests of its members. And

hovering over Dr. Sandberg's shoulder as an analyst of American Jewry is the specter of Charles Silberman's *A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today* (1985). Dr. Sandberg builds his study around problems identified by communal leaders everywhere—declining religious observance, disaffiliation from institutions, the revolution in family forms and in intermarriage, anti-Semitism, and the search for a proper relationship with Israel. He gathers data from a questionnaire administered to a representative sample of local Jews. He infers differential exposure to American influence by dividing the sample into “generations” and occasionally into age groups. Most of his conclusions verify the findings of recent communal studies from Philadelphia to Denver and Phoenix. Most Jews now define themselves as members of an “ethnic group,” not as practitioners of a religion, since ritual observance and knowledge of Hebrew have declined. Perhaps because of its large size and its attractiveness to new immigrants from Israel and the Soviet Union, Los Angeles, as compared to Phoenix or Denver (or even Philadelphia), retains a surprising concentration of Jews in the older Fairfax neighborhood. Nevertheless, intensively ethnic neighborhoods have largely disintegrated, with different generations dispersed to different sections of the region in familiar conformance to rapid upward social mobility. The new ethnic ties, Sandberg convincingly argues, depend not so much on neighborhood intensity as on familial and organizational networks. “Organizational programs constitute the ideologies of the community, and organizational culture becomes the embodiment of Jewish identity” (p. 64). The great majority of Jews still report that their closest friends are other Jews. And common interests like the defense of Israel and politicized responses to residual anti-Semitism provide the causes around which the community rallies.

Following Silberman's efforts to balance individual achievements and institutional strengths with the anxieties of communal leaders, Sandberg also notes social and ideological changes which seem to be pulling the community apart. Over half the individuals are unaffiliated with any Jewish institution, and only 25 percent of the families consist of the mythic norm—two parents and children under age eighteen. The birth rate is low, divorce and single-parenthood are common, and, of course, intermarriage has reached unprecedented proportions—43 percent among young people in the fourth genera-

tion. Sandberg here disagrees in part with Silberman and Steven M. Cohen, that most such people at least bring Jewish influence to their children. But he advises that to neglect the intermarried portends a demographic disaster. Equally disturbing, and unique to Sandberg's study, is the high proportion (31 percent) of Jewish families with low incomes. He portrays lonely, elderly people lacking the income and incentives to affiliate and who have been neglected by communal leaders. Sandberg's overall theme, that institutional leaders must reach out to the unaffiliated, sets his work apart from the maddeningly noncommittal reports for other cities.

Apart from sociological jargon and redundant and often contradictory references to outdated generalizations by Herbert Gans or Marshall Sklare, three analytical problems stand out. First, Sandberg has no theory and little data to explain what is unique about Los Angeles Jewry. Because his study follows standard lines of inquiry about "problems" faced by communal institutions, the reader is shown similar trends, not a community with a special history. More pointed comparisons with new Jewish enclaves like Denver and Phoenix (each one-tenth the size of Los Angeles Jewry), or an older rival community like San Francisco, would suggest whether a "western" way of being Jewish has evolved. The possibility of western differences can be shown in many ways. For example, Sandberg briefly compares Jews with other European immigrants, but Los Angeles was built by middle-class, middle western Protestants. For this city comparison should be made with them, not with Italians and Poles.

Second, Sandberg notes that Los Angeles Jews identify themselves "ethnically," but he offers only the vaguest notion of the concept. He fails to refer to recent scholarship, much of it by non-Jews, on how ethnicity functions as a cultural tool in the adjustment of migrants to new, usually industrial, locales. Often, he treats it as a set of activities that Jews perform with one another, a quite legitimate anthropological observation. But at other times he presents ethnicity as a "heritage" from which people illegitimately decline. No doubt the religious connotation of Jewish folk practices lends a special moral tone to any change in social habit. But in trying to placate institutional spokesmen, Sandberg abandons cultural anthropology to evoke noblesse oblige. The unaffiliated are not "bad Jews," we are told, and the elders must make allowances as they reach out to assist them.

Third, Sandberg creates a lineal picture of communal change based on a questionable theory of the “natural history” of generations. Relying on Mordecai Kaplan’s three realms of Jewish identity—religious, cultural, nationalistic—he suggests that the secularization of education, the integration of Jews at work, and indifference to ritual have spawned new generations with an “ethnic” rather than a “religious” mentality. But Sandberg then refers to Chaim Waxman’s view that common experiences in the 1960s affected *all* generations, a theory verified by the massive change in attitude among the middle-aged toward intermarriage compared with their own negative opinions as youths. Furthermore, Sandberg also notes that young people (what proportion we are not told) show renewed interest in religious ritual, again for unexplained reasons. Could it be that religion and ethnicity have a complex and continuing relationship across the generations? For example, while intermarriage has greatly increased, so has conversion to Judaism. As Silberman noted, born Gentiles see Judaism as a religion, and this group, especially converts attuned to the ethics and ritual of Judaism, confront a community which allegedly identifies itself “ethnically.” What are the dynamics of this interchange?

Modern Jews have separated dimensions of social and personal reality which their ancestors presumably saw as an integrated whole. Sandberg, like prior analysts of American Jews, reports only on the Jewish aspects of personality and not on those other dimensions which must also be catalogued if we are to see the Jews of Los Angeles “whole.” The sociologist Claude Fisher notes that the higher the level of education for *all* Americans, the more extensive the friendship network, which, however, is also segmented by function. For Jews, being Jewish is only that part of their reality shared with other Jews focusing on Jewish themes. Sandberg’s work provides useful data for one segment of individual personalities, but the integrated person and the full image of the community are missing.

—William Toll

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William Toll is the author of *The Making of an Ethnic Middle Class: Portland [Oregon] Jewry Over Four Generations* (1982) and is currently writing a biography of Horace M. Kallen.



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## Brief Notices

Brinner, William M., and Moses Rischin, Edited by. *Like All the Nations? The Life and Legacy of Judah L. Magnes*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987. 241 pp.

This volume grew out of an international symposium held at the University of California—Berkeley in 1982 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Judah L. Magnes Memorial Museum, one of the most important cultural institutions in American Jewish life.

For the past forty years since his death in 1948, and even during his lifetime, Judah L. Magnes (1877–1948) remains, as Moses Rischin describes him, “the most enigmatic, original and controversial figure in American Jewish Life.” Many have felt that Magnes was the missing American Jewish leader who, if he had not left for Palestine in 1922, could have coalesced American Jewry into a community more able to help their European brothers and sisters caught in the Nazi vise. A distinguished group of scholars evaluate Magnes’s life and legacy and help us to understand more about this “giant” of American Jewish life.

Fierman, Floyd S. *Roots and Boots: From Crypto-Jew in New Spain to Community Leader in the American Southwest*. Hoboken, N.J. Ktav Publishing House, 1987. xiii, 241 pp.

This volume is a sequel to Dr. Fierman’s interesting and valuable *Guts and Ruts*, which dealt with early Jewish life in the American Southwest. In *Roots and Boots*, Fierman has not lost his “historian as detective” ability and presents new, fascinating, and important information on the history of the “Crypto-Jews” of Old Mexico as well as examining a number of important pioneering Jewish families in Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico.

Gitenstein, R. Barbara. *Apocalyptic Messianism and Contemporary Jewish-American Poetry*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986. xiv, 137 pp.

Barbara Gitenstein’s book is the first serious effort to examine the influence of apocalyptic messianism on contemporary American Jewish poetry. Gitenstein feels that the development of these Jewish messianic and apocalyptic influences must be understood in terms of the new American Jewish identity that has developed in post-Holocaust America as well as a serious interest in the lives of earlier Jewish mystics, such as Abraham Abulafia, Isaac Luria, Shabbati Zevi, and Jacob Frank and the Frankists. She discusses these influences in the works of such contemporary American Jewish poets as Jack Hirschman, Jerome Rothenberg, and John Hollander, among others.

Hutchison, William R. *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987. xii, 227 pp.

More and more research into the early history of American Jewish institutional life has shown that much of that organizational and institutional structure developed in response to the threat of the Christian missionary movement in early-nineteenth-century America. There is also a fairly large body of research that has demonstrated the link between the concept of an American “mission” idea in foreign policy operations, beginning with the notion of an American manifest destiny, and the underlying set of ideas which helped formulate the manner in

which American Jews sought to alleviate the suffering of their co-religionists in Europe and Asia. Finally, a small but important group of American Jewish historians has begun to examine the role of the "mainline" Protestant Christian missionaries in the history of Zionism, Palestine, and the State of Israel.

*Errand to the World* is thus a most welcome addition to the field of American Jewish history. William Hutchison's brilliant analysis of the complex set of identities which shaped the American missionary movement and the American Protestant thinking that served as the foundation stone for this movement will help to illuminate those areas of American Jewish history which deal with the mission concept and the role of the Protestant missionary movement.

Kabakoff, Jacob, Edited by. *Jewish Book Annual* (Volume 44). New York: JWB Jewish Book Council, 1986-87. 314 pp.

The latest volume of this distinguished publication is, as always, a literary delight. It includes important articles by Joseph Lowin on Herman Wouk, by Carole S. Kessner on Emma Lazarus, as well as bibliographic essays on American Jewish literature by Solomon Faber, Linda P. Lerman, and Nathan M. Kaganoff, among others.

Mendelsohn, Ezra, Edited by. *Studies in Contemporary Jewry III*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. 345 pp.

*Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, the scholarly annual of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has quickly established itself as one of the most important yearly publications in the world of Jewish scholarship. The present volume is devoted to the theme "Jews and Other Ethnic Groups in a Multi-Ethnic World" and includes articles by Yossi Lapid on "Ethnic Political Mobilization and U.S. Foreign Policy: Current Trends and Conflicting Assessments" as well as Peter Y. Medding on "Segmented Ethnicity and the New Jewish Politics." Also important are essays by Stephen J. Whitfield on "The American Jew as Journalist," and by Lloyd P. Gartner on "Paths to Jewish Social History."

Rischin, Moses, Edited and Introduced by. *The Jews of North America*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987. 279 pp.

For most American Jews, thinking about Canadian Jewry is not a major problem. Indeed, it is simple to subsume Canadian Jews and American Jewry under the term "the Jews of North America," and view the Canadian Jewish experience as indistinguishable from that in the United States. This volume is a step in revising such a simplistic and wrong-headed notion. A number of very distinguished American and Canadian Jewish historians present precise and carefully researched articles in this volume which are important contributions not only to understanding the comparative approaches to Canadian and American Jewish history but also to understanding the historical development of North American Jewry and its relationship to modern Jewish history.

Trolander, Judith Ann. *Professionalism and Social Change: From the Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centers, 1886 to the Present*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987. x, 300 pp.

In this very fine historical analysis of the American settlement house movement, which celebrated its centenary in 1986, Judith Ann Trolander traces the evolution of the settlement house of immigrant times into the contemporary neighborhood center.

Much has changed in the organizational and staffing structures of the settlement house movement. Male settlement workers have replaced females, minority workers have replaced whites, and more of the staffs have professional qualifications.

And the community which was served by the settlement house has changed as well. Where once immigrant Jews, Irish, and Italians looked upon the settlement house as a means by which to adjust to American life, today's neighborhood centers cater to the needs of a mostly Black and Hispanic clientele, a group which has historically not been allowed into the mainstream of Anglo-Saxon American life.

Critics of this program charge that the neighborhood center exerts a form of "social control" on those that it serves, stifling their efforts to express their indigenous cultural and social values, and attempting to change those values toward a more middle-class orientation. Such charges are not new. Poor East European Jews of the early twentieth century, too, felt that the native American settlement houses were patronizing at best and agents of linguistic and cultural genocide at worst.

Yet Professor Trolander finds that such indigenous neighborhood centers remain more responsive to the needs of the community than any other national social service organization, although it was "simply one social agency among many down in the slums."

Walden, Daniel. *Studies in American Jewish Literature* (Volume 6). Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1987. 180 pp.

This volume of *Studies in American Jewish Literature* is devoted to the American Jewish writer, Cynthia Ozick.

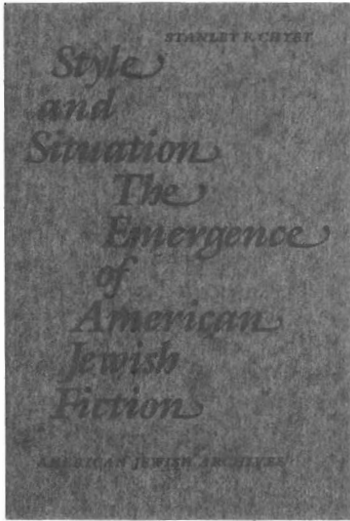
For nearly twenty years, Cynthia Ozick has invited the American reading public to join her in "Jewish dreaming." To share an Ozick dream is to plunge into the passion that possesses Cynthia Ozick, a passion that strives, in the words of Eve Ottenberg, "to struggle, suffer, perform bizarre feats, even go mad as a result of remaining or finding out what it means to remain—culturally and above all religiously—Jewish in a world that for most part is hostile."

A number of distinguished literary scholars, including Sanford Pinsker, Joseph Cohen, and Sarah Blacher Cohen, contribute interpretations of Ozick's work and her place in the field of American and American Jewish literature.

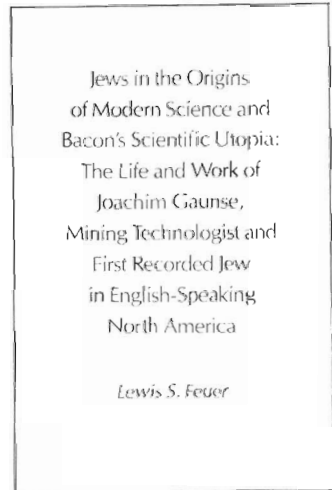
Weatherford, Doris. *Foreign and Female: Immigrant Women in America, 1840-1930*. New York: Schocken Books, 1986. xvi, 288 pp.

*Foreign and Female* is an important contribution to recreating the "World of Our Mothers," the story of the American immigrant woman and the social history which she created. Doris Weatherford has drawn her research from the diaries and correspondence of these immigrant women—among them a number of Jewish ones—and has given us a clearer understanding of the American immigrant experience as women perceived it and as they lived it.

The American Jewish Archives is pleased to announce the publication of two additions to its Brochure Series:



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# 1987 Selected Acquisitions

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## Congregational and Community Records and Histories

- Appleton, Wis. Temple Zion. Minute book, 1883-1922; Manuscript; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Dorothy F. Freschl, Appleton.)
- Birmingham, Ala. Temple Emanu-El. Minute books of the congregation, 1889-1923 and 1956-1962; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*; *Microfilm*  
(Received from Temple Emanu-El.)
- Camden, Ark. Beth El Emeth. A short history of the congregation written by Carolyn Gray LeMaster, 1987; *Typescript*  
(Received from Carolyn Gray LeMaster, Little Rock.)
- Chicago, Ill. Congregation Ohel Jacob. Dues books, 1910-1912, 1920-1925, 1920-1930 and 1944-1945; cash books, 1933-1935, 1934-1940, and 1942-1946; and three unidentified ledgers; *Manuscript*; *English* and *Yiddish*  
(Received from the Klau Library, Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati.)
- Erie, Pa. "The Early History of the Jewish Religion of the Synagogues in Erie," written by Rabbi Joseph Hirsch, 1987; *Transcript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Joseph Hirsch, Erie.)
- Haverhill, Mass. Temple Emanu-El. Cash book, 1939-1955; *Manuscript*  
(Received from Abraham I. Jacobson, Haverhill.)
- Houston, Tex. Congregation Beth Israel. Minutes of annual meeting, 1927; resolutions, 1922 and 1935; and miscellaneous items, 1907; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Alex S. Corman, Houston.)
- Jefferson, Tex. Hebrew Sinai Congregation. Constitution and by-laws of the congregation. 1872; *Manuscript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Mrs. Albert Bettelheim, Alameda, Cal.)
- Newport, Ky. United Hebrew Congregation. Records books, 1936-1942; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*  
(Received from George Camins, Newport.)
- Shreveport, La. B'nai Zion Congregation. Minutes of the Sisterhood, 1909-1986; *Typescript*; *Xerox copies*  
(Received from Temple B'nai Zion Sisterhood.)
- Massena, N.Y. News clippings, articles, and correspondence concerning the accusation of a blood libel during Yom Kippur, 1928; *Typescript*; *Xerox copies*  
(Received from S. L. Brennglass, New York.)
- Utah. Articles and newspaper clippings concerning the development and existence of the Clarion Jewish Agriculture and Colonization Colony, and the involvement of Rabbis Joseph Krauskopf and Isaac Landman, 1914-1983; and correspondence and certificates concerning the Kristol family's activities in the Colony, 1894-1984; *Typescript*; *Xerox copies*  
(Received from Mr. and Mrs. Ben Kristol, St. Augustine, Fla.)

Waco, Tex. Congregation Agudath Jacob. Correspondence, reports, documents, and newspaper clippings pertaining to their activities, 1904-1984; and constitution and by-laws, 1984; *Manuscript and Typescript; Original and Xerox copies*

(Received from Ima Joy Gandler, Waco.)

Waco, Tex. Temple Rodef Sholom. Miscellaneous receipts and correspondence, 1880-1882 and 1984-1985; *Manuscript and Typescript; Xerox copies*

(Received from Ima Joy Gandler, Waco.)

#### Records and Papers of Societies and Institutions

Brooklyn, N.Y. Chebra Benos Esther. Constitutions of the lodge, 1956, and n.d.; *Typescript*  
(Received from Mrs. Joseph Rose, Hollywood, Fla.)

Haverhill, Mass. Labori Lodge. Minutes, 1916-1917; *Manuscript; Yiddish*

(Received from Abraham I. Jacobson, Haverhill.)

Sao Paulo, Brazil. Jewish Colonization Association. Catalogue of JCA materials housed at the Brazilian Jewish Archive, 1986; *Manuscript; Xerox copy*

(Received from Jeff H. Lesser, New York.)

Los Angeles, Cal. Edward Kushner Progressive Association. Constitution, by-laws, and minutes, 1946-1974; *Manuscript and Typescript*

(Received from Stanley E. Chyet, Los Angeles.)

New York, N.Y. Nuchim Kliegman and Brothers Family Society, Inc. Constitution, 1934; and a chronicle of Kliegman by Sylvia Alster, 1986; *Printed; English and Yiddish*

(Received from Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, Los Angeles.)

Sherman, Tex. National Council of Jewish Women. Minutes, 1919-1924; *Manuscript; Xerox copies*

(Received from Michael Torop, Cincinnati.)

Waco, Tex. Hebrew Rest Association. Constitution and by-laws, 1935; articles of incorporation, 1968; articles of amendment to the articles of incorporation, 1970; and rededication ceremony news clippings, 1969; *Typescript; Xerox copies*

(Received from Ima Joy Gandler, Waco.)

#### Letters and Papers

Ackerman, Paula (Mrs. William); Meridian, Miss. Correspondence pertaining to the election of Mrs. Ackerman as "rabbi" of Congregation Beth Israel, 1950-1951; *Manuscript and Typescript*

(Taken from the Jacob D. Schwarz Collection housed at the American Jewish Archives.)

Adams, Arlin M.; Philadelphia, Pa. Letter to President Ronald Reagan resigning as judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, 1986; *Typescript; Xerox copy*

(Received from Arlin M. Adams.)

Alpert, Abraham; Boston, Mass. Correspondence, 1911-1937; *Manuscript and Typescript*

(Taken from the Samuel Broches Papers housed at the American Jewish Archives.)

Bachrach, Alice (Mrs. Alfred R.); New York, N.Y. Letter from Rabbi Samuel Schulman to Mrs. Bachrach congratulating her on her election to the Board of Governors of Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, N.Y., 1949; and a transcript of an interview with Mrs. Bachrach concerning her affiliation with the Jewish Welfare Board, 1980; *Manuscript and Typescript*

(Received from Alice Bachrach.)

Beckman, Joseph; San Diego, Cal. Letter to Dr Jacob R. Marcus containing biographical reminiscences, 1987; *Typescript*

(Received from Joseph Beckman.)

- Benderly, Samson; New York, N.Y. Letter from Rabbi Ely E. Pilchik to Dr. Jacob R. Marcus containing reminiscences of Benderly, 1987; *Manuscript*  
(Received from Ely E. Pilchik, West Orange, N.J.)
- Brickman, Samuel; Chicago, Ill. Letter to his parents, written while serving as an infantryman during World War I, 1918; *Manuscript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Jay R. Brickman, Milwaukee, Wis.)
- Einstein, Albert; Princeton, N.J. Letter to Frank L. Weil concerning efforts to assist European Jewish refugees, 1939; *Typescript*  
(Taken from the Frank L. Weil Papers housed at the American Jewish Archives.)
- Gottschalk, Alfred; Cincinnati. Correspondence and miscellaneous items pertaining to his activities as president of Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, his membership in numerous organizations, and his participation in the Miami, Florida, meeting of American Jewish leaders with Pope John Paul; also correspondence with prominent individuals in American and world Jewish life, 1987; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*  
(Received from Alfred Gottschalk.)
- Hays, Moses Michael; Boston, Mass. Notes, copies of documents, and information on Hays, compiled by Samuel Broches; and inventory of Hays possessions, n.d.; *Transcript*; *Photostat copies*  
(Received from Robert L. Katz.)
- Levine, Joseph; Bethesda, Md. "She Could Have Been My Daughter or Your Sister," an article on Sunnye Sherman, a Jewish AIDS patient; and other related materials, 1987; *Typescript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Joseph Levine.)
- Neusner, Jacob; Providence, R.I. Correspondence, book reviews, newspaper and magazine articles, and miscellaneous material concerning his numerous and varied activities, 1980–1987; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*  
(Received from Jacob Neusner.)
- Rothschild, Jacob M.; Atlanta, Ga. Inventory to the papers of Rothschild, housed at Emory University, 1986; *Transcript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Emory University Special Collections Department.)
- Schaver, Emma; Buenos Aires, Argentina. Two scrapbooks of Schaver, an American Jewish opera singer touring in South America, 1947; *Printed*; *Hebrew* and *Spanish*
- Shankman, Jacob K.; New Rochelle, N.Y. Correspondence concerning the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the World Union for Progressive Judaism, prayer in the public schools, and German refugees to the United States; plus writings and addresses, 1938–1981; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*  
(Received from Mrs. Jacob K. Shankman.)
- Singer, M. Myer; Cincinnati and New York. Correspondence pertaining to his work as production manager and book designer for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1951–1958; *Manuscript* and *Typescript*  
(Taken from the Celia Singer Papers housed at the American Jewish Archives.)

## Autobiographies, Biographies, Diaries, and Memoirs

- Amigo Family; New York. "The Amigo Family," term paper submitted by Sheri Fuchs to the State University of New York, 1986; *Typescript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Lance J. Sussman, Binghamton, N.Y.)
- Cohen, Henry; Galveston, Tex. "Henry Cohen of Galveston Reconsidered," written by his grandson, Rabbi Henry Cohen, 1987; *Typescript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Henry Cohen, Gladwyne, Pa.)

- DeNelsky, Minnie L.; Wyoming. Personal memoirs of a Russian Jewish immigrant, n.d.; *Typescript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Delaine Winkler, Los Angeles, Cal.)
- Elias, Lois Raeder; New York, N.Y. American Jewish Archives autobiographical questionnaire, 1987; *Typescript*  
(Received from Lois Raeder Elias.)
- Ellman Family; The Bronx, N.Y. "The History of the Ellmans," term paper submitted by Linda Ellman to the State University of New York, 1986; *Typescript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Lance J. Sussman, Binghamton, N.Y.)
- Family Life. Family histories written by students of the Louisville Hebrew School, 1987; *Typescript*; *Xerox copies*  
(Received from Stanley R. Miles, Louisville, Ky.)
- Saks, Julien D.; Houston, Tex. Memoir of his experiences as a soldier during World War II, 1986; *Typescript*; *Xerox copies*  
(Received from Julien D. Saks.)
- Schagrin, Elihu; Binghamton, N.Y. "The Biography of Rabbi Elihu Schagrin and His Impact on the Jewish Community of Binghamton," term paper, and oral history interview submitted by Lonnie Klein to the State University of New York, Dec. 8, 1986; *Typescript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Lance J. Sussman, Binghamton, N.Y.)

## Genealogies

- Dubinsky Family; Jupiter, Fla. Family genealogy, 1846-1985; *Typescript*  
(Received from Jeffrey B. Stiffman, St. Louis, Mo.)
- England Family; Pittsfield, Mass. and Washington, D.C. Family tree, 1810-1985, and correspondence containing genealogical information, and information on the Seiferth family of Mississippi, 1987; *Typescript*; *Xerox copies*  
(Received from Lois and Richard England, Washington, D.C.)
- Stern, Malcolm H.; New York. "Jewish Migration Through the Ages: A Framework for Jewish Genealogy," and "History of Jewish Surnaming," lectures delivered at the Fourth National Seminar on Jewish Genealogy, 1984; *Tape Recording*
- Greenebaum Family; Chicago. Memoir of Jacob Greenebaum, Sr., 1859; and family tree, 1800-1986, compiled by Susan E. King, 1986; *Transcript* and *Manuscript*; *Xerox copies*  
(Received from Susan E. King, Houston, Tex.)
- Offenbach Family; Houston, Tex. Family tree for the Offenbach, Maas, and Malevinsky families, 1779-1986; *Manuscript*; *Xerox copy*  
(Received from Alex S. Corman, Houston.)

## Oral History

- Klau, Sadie; New York. Oral history interview conducted by the Oral History Project of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, 1983; *Typescript*; *Xerox Copy*  
(Received from the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York.)
- Weiler, Moses Cyrus; Jerusalem, Israel. Oral history interview conducted by Dr. Jonathan D. Sarna, 1987; *Tape Recording*  
(Received from Jonathan D. Sarna, Cincinnati.)

## Theses

- Gordon, Morton L. "The History of the Jewish Farmer in Eastern Connecticut," Doctor of Hebrew Letters thesis submitted to Yeshiva University, 1974; *Typescript; Xerox copy*  
(Received from Morton L. Gordon, New York.)
- Nevel, Jill Suzanne. "Fiery Crosses and Tempers: The Ku Klux Klan in South Bend, Indiana, 1923-1926," senior thesis submitted to Princeton University, 1977; *Typescript; Xerox copy*  
(Taken from the Oscar Cohen Papers.)

## Miscellaneous

- August, Garry J.; Gary, Ind. Eulogy delivered by Mark J. Stern, 1985; *Typescript*  
(Received from Mark J. Stern, Gary.)
- Axelrad, Albert S.; Waltham, Mass. "Germany 1985, the Holocaust and the Jews—Notes on a Recent Visit," n.d.; *Typescript; Xerox copy*  
(Received from Albert S. Axelrad.)
- Blank, Sheldon H., Cincinnati. "Message of Israel" broadcast, "Is Reform Judaism 'Prophetic Judaism'?" 1953; *Tape Recording*  
(Received from Joseph Levine.)
- Brandeis, Louis Dembitz; Boston, Mass. Article, taken from an unidentified Boston newspaper, on Brandeis and his appointment to the United States Supreme Court; *Typescript; Photostat copy*  
(Taken from the Samuel Broches Papers.)
- Civil War. List of Jewish soldiers killed during the Civil War and buried at the National Cemetery in Chattanooga, Tennessee, compiled by Mel Young; *Typescript; Xerox copy*  
(Received from Mel Young, Chattanooga.)
- Einhorn, David; New York. Ordination certificate, 1834, and translation of the certificate by Mrs. Hilda Weltman, 1987; *Manuscript and Transcript; English and German; Xerox copy*  
(Received from Hilda Weltman, Cincinnati.)
- Eisendrath, Maurice N.; New York. Recordings of addresses and interviews with Rabbi Eisendrath, 1956-1961; *Tape Recording*  
(Received from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New York.)
- Goode, Alexander D. Citation of honor presented in memory of Rabbi Goode by the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights, 1945; *Printed*
- Hart, Walter; Valdosta, Ga. Superior Court records of charges brought by Hart against Jacob Cohen for illegal business dealings, 1881; *Manuscript*  
(Received from Louis Schmier, Valdosta.)
- Kanter, Kenneth Aaron; Chattanooga, Tenn. Video tape of Rabbi Kanter's installation as rabbi of Mizpah Congregation, plus some other congregational programs, 1983; *Video Tape*  
(Received from Kenneth Aaron Kanter.)
- Karff, Samuel E.; Houston, Tex. Address given at Harvard College on the occasion of the college's 350th anniversary, 1986; *Typescript; Xerox copy*  
(Received from Samuel E. Karff.)
- Lipset, Seymour M. "The Revolt Against Modernity," an article by Lipset, 1980; *Typescript; Xerox copy*  
(Taken from the Oscar Cohen Papers.)
- Peck, Abraham J.; Cincinnati. Appointment from Governor Richard F. Celeste, naming him to the Ohio Council on Holocaust Education, 1986, and interview on WGUC-FM discussing Henry Ford and his written apology to the United States Jewish community for the anti-

Semitic articles in the *Dearborn Independent*, 1987; *Typescript and Tape Recording*  
(Received from Abraham J. Peck.)

Rosenau, William; Baltimore, Md. "William Rosenau, 1865-1943: A Biographical Sketch,"  
*term paper submitted by David Feder to HUC-JIR, 1987; Typescript; Xerox copy*  
(Received from David Feder, Cincinnati.)

Yehudai, Moshe; Jerusalem, Israel. Video tape of the ordination of Rabbi Yehudai at the HUC-  
JIR Jerusalem, 1983; *Video Tape*  
(Received from Alfred Gottschalk.)



