
Review Essay

Jewish Settlement In Argentina: A View from Jersusalem

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Avni, Haim *Argentina & the Jews: A History of Jewish Immigration*. Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1991 xii, 268 pp.

Together with other writers in Latin America, the US, Israel and Europe, Haim Avni has been instrumental in putting Latin American Jews on the Judaica and Latin American studies map. That this is a relatively recent development goes some way to explain why English readers have long been deprived of this volume. More than others, Avni deserves warm acknowledgement for his pioneering academic work on Jewish agricultural colonization in Argentina, which spurred scholars in Israel to research other Latin American Jewries, or to delve into specific aspects of Argentine Jewry. Avni's *Argentine "the Promised Land": Baron de Hirsch's Colonization Project in the Argentine Republic*, which appeared in Hebrew in 1973, followed by the Buenos Aires Jewish community (AMIA)-sponsored *Argentina y la historia de la inmigración judía (1810—1950)* a decade later, have rightly stood as the first comprehensive studies of the Jewish influx into that country. With American Jewish Archives (AJA) backing this long overdue English edition, an engrossing panorama stretching from Argentine independence into the late 1980s, is 'an abridged and updated version' (p. xii). In this context, the AJA, publishers of various materials on the region, as well as Alabama's Judaic studies series, should be applauded for taking an active interest in furthering the English speaking public's knowledge of Latin American Jewry.¹

Easily accessible to the scholar and non-academic alike, Avni's book has been beautifully translated from the Hebrew by Gila Brand, thereby adding to the volume's appeal. However, there are

rare exceptions (which may have nothing to do with the translator's skills): the jarring references to Hipólito Yrigoyen, the Radical (UCR) party leader who was first elected head of state at the age of 64, as elderly in 1916 as well as more than a decade later (pp. 94 120) carry the unfortunate implication that he had aged so much by the time he first wore the presidential sash that he was above ageing thereafter. In contrast with Avni's text, other authors have referred to the veteran Yrigoyen as 'aged' or 'senile' when he was voted president for the second time in 1928. Moreover, Spanish being in all likelihood, beyond Brand's remit, responsibility for failing to retranslate into that language some of the important Argentine Jewish leaders' first names - e.g. Moshe Goldman in the text, instead of Moisés Goldman in reality; Jedidia (rather than Jedidio) Efron in the bibliography - must be pinned elsewhere.

In tune with Avni's doctoral work on Jewish agriculture in Argentina, this book's main archival source, like those of the above mentioned titles, are the papers of the London-registered Jewish Colonization Association (JCA); in addition to this, there are other records, as well as a long list of published materials. Not surprisingly, the English volume is largely devoted to the beneficiaries of JCA's endeavors, members of the country's Ashkenazi majority. Unlike the Spanish language edition, though, this book incorporates findings of the research project 'Latin America and the Jewish people during the Holocaust era.' Undertaken by the Latin American division of the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry (ICJ), under Avni's stewardship, the project has already yielded important articles, as well as an in-depth book on Argentina and an edited version of a collection of lifestories on Uruguay.²

Immigration since the last decades of the nineteenth century turned Argentina, albeit unwittingly, into Latin America's largest recipient of Jews, and also laid the foundations for the region's weightiest Jewish community, nowadays estimated at 225,000 souls. To be sure, Jews *qua* Jews, like the nationals of Eastern Europe, as well as the Middle East and North Africa (whence most of the Jewish arrivals hailed), in general were neither among the Argentine élites' most awaited nor as absolutely rejected as blacks. As Avni cogently shows in the chapters devoted to developments

prior to 1933, the book's best, preference for northern Europeans, and later for Catholics from southern Europe's Latin countries, did not prevent successive Argentine governments from turning a deaf ear to those wishing to slam the door on other less desirable entrants. Thus, with ups and downs, according to the vagaries of the Argentine and world situations, almost unimpeded landings by Jews proceeded until the 1920s, with some authors prepared to argue that such Jewish immigrants encountered 'a climate of racial tolerance [in Argentina] that was higher than in the countries they had left behind.'³ Here, a small though important correction is called for: Avni's statement that in the first decade of this century 'Jews constituted the only body of non-Christian immigrants' (p. 88) is negated by contemporary calls in the Argentine Congress (and even earlier ones in the press) to curb Syro-Lebanese entries due to Muslim arrivals, in fact several thousand of them by 1909, among other reasons.⁴ This said, Argentina's immigration policy became increasingly restrictive towards Jews and other 'exotic' groups after the big economic crash of the late 1920s, with the unwillingness to consider a larger intake of European Jews and others affecting those most desperate to leave, and the Cold War-related ban on entries from Eastern Europe affecting all except numbers of those favored by the Anglo-American allies and the Holy See, the war time collaborationist past of a proportion of these aside.

Of course, settlement in Argentina has always been problematic for those seeking to channel Jews exclusively towards Palestine first and Israel later, a fact which is important for an understanding of various writers' excessively pessimistic, if not always entirely illegitimate, portrayal of conditions in Argentina and other Latin American destinations for yesteryear's Jewish migrants.⁵ Not surprisingly, therefore, in the early days of Jewish statehood some Israeli decision makers even toyed with the notion of encouraging a transatlantic exchange of populations. Indeed, with their sights set on deflating the Palestinian question and propping up Israel's Jewish population, they embarked upon a feasibility study about the transfer of Palestinian peasants in one direction and simultaneous contraflow of Argentina-based Jewish agricultural-

ists in the Jewish state's direction. Though never implemented, such a chimerical idea was consistent with the Zionist view that "Jewish colonization in Argentina was a byproduct of Jewish love and yearning for the land of Israel," given the initial desire to settle in Palestine, not South America, of some of the early Russians Jews arriving in Buenos Aires.⁶ Clearly some have yet to forgive Baron Maurice de Hirsch for helping Jews sink roots in Argentina, which in their view took manpower from the Zionist enterprise. In Avni's own words, more than once 'immigration to Argentina was in direct conflict with immigration to Palestine' (p. 59). Hardly a coincidence, Avni describes Baron Hirsch's vast colonization scheme, accounting for some 30,000 Jews in farming settlements by 1922, as creating 'the infrastructure for a new, major diaspora' (p. 42). Echoing similar comparisons since the 1930s, whether in Arthur Ruppin's *Los judios en América del Sur* or the Argentina v. Palestine section in Avni's own Hebrew edition, he draws readers' attention to Hirsch's JCA and the Zionist movement's Jewish National Fund (p. 52), the latter at the outset nowhere as richly endowed as the association; he also charts the initial progression of Jewish immigration to Argentina and Palestine. Before long one can justly infer from Avni that the fruits of JCA's endeavors became a poor match to Zionist achievements. Without forgetting the important attention drawn by other authors to the risks involved in exclusive (or even heavy) reliance on the official histories of any ethnic group's institutions,⁷ the English language reader naturally stands to benefit from meshing Avni's analysis with the perfectly sober evaluation of JCA's unattained objectives in Argentina in the association's well-documented, though little-noticed official history.⁸

Despite an otherwise coolly confident style Avni's treatment of the period after Adolf Hitler won office, when Argentine governments made it increasingly difficult for the Jewish victims of Nazi-fascism to land in Buenos Aires, is naturally laced with strong emotions. Argentine neutrality during most of the war quite rightly prompts him to compare the country's potential for rescuing Jews with its performance. Avni is spot on when he advances the conclusion that the country could have done much more.

Unquestionably, though, this could also be said of the leading nations in the anti-Nazi struggle and their Latin American associates, but Avni does not do so.

The rich irony, however, is that just as a larger proportion of Dutch Jews perished as a result of the Nazi occupation (in contradistinction to those in Western European countries that were more unfriendly to Jews than the Netherlands),⁹ so most of the European Jews who found a Latin American haven did so in Argentina, notwithstanding the closer alignment with the US of nearly all other countries south of the Rio Grande. In fact, while Avni prefers to leave this undisclosed, the divide between neutrality and association with the Allies does not afford the best yardstick to measure and classify the comportment towards Jews of Latin American and other countries: for example, whereas Avni admits that once in neutral Argentina Jewish refugees lived relatively unmolested, in Australia, a pro-Allied belligerent nation, other authors have remarked that such Jews had to report regularly to their local police station and were forbidden from owning a radio.¹⁰ Following the calculations of JCA's Simón Weill, Avni says that some 40,000 Jews entered Argentina during 1933-45. Those unwilling to take anything for granted will find a useful reference to various estimates on Argentina's intake of Jewish and other German speaking refugees, Weill's excluded, in Carlota Jackisch's valuable study. Suffice it to say here that Avni's figure is not the highest. This said, less conservative estimates confirm that Argentina, like other countries in the Americas and elsewhere, took in fewer Jews than would have been required to spare the lives of the millions who died on account of the Third Reich's genocidal policies. Far from being the lowest, Avni's estimate is certainly lower than the unmentioned 45,000 German speaking Jews (i.e. German, Austrian, Czech, etc.) until 1943 publicized by the Buenos Aires-based Asociación Filantrópica Israelita (AFI), which assisted Central European Jews. It is also below another figure based on 'the statistics of local Jewish aid committees.' Indeed, Olga Rojer has written that that number is somewhere in between the estimates of Weill and AFI. In Rojer's favor is Jackisch's unimprovised calculation of nearly 31,000 German refugees (mostly, though not

only, Jewish) who entered Argentina legally in 1933-45; the more than 12,000 Jews who, according to Polish emigration statistics, moved to Argentina during 1933-38; and those who still succeeded in leaving Poland before the war broke out in September 1939 also the unquantified newcomers from other countries, as well as the Jews from all provenances who filtered in despite Argentina's increasingly tighter mesh of official restrictions.¹¹

As in other Latin American states, or in Argentina since the 1920s, a number of Jews arrived by stealth. If Avni has got it right, and he is not alone on this, those forced to sneak in only numbered in the hundreds (p. 157), at the very most a few thousand. Hence, the wide gap between the nearly 25,000 Jewish immigrants recorded by the Argentine authorities and the almost 40,000 publicized by Avni is largely attributed, albeit unexplicitly, to legal arrivals by first, second and third-class passengers, whether candid or economical with the truth in respect of their Jewish identity and/or future intentions, rather than to landings of those en route to landlocked Bolivia and Paraguay who stayed in Argentina unauthorizedly, or to illegal crossings from neighboring countries (p. 170). It bears stressing though, that this is not the picture that emerges from Elena Levín's study on the pre-war influx of German speaking Jews. In effect, if her 41 interviewees are representative of the whole, some 20 per cent of those who ended up in Argentina arrived in transit to other countries and stayed on, or were part of the human contraband from Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. Should such representativity be confirmed, their total would have been more than a few thousand, certainly not hundreds. Bearing in mind the Achilles heels of other works largely based on oral accounts, it is important to stress that a measure of support for this conclusion is lent by an American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee estimate which put at 3,000 those among the 5,000-15,000 Jews who reportedly entered Bolivia during 1933-43 who crossed into Argentina during part of 1940-41 alone. Suggestive of the same is the fact that according to official statistics for 1947 some 85 per cent of the 520 foreigners arriving by rail in La Quiaca, a crossing point on the Argentine-Bolivian border, still sought to enter the country without meeting Argentine official requirements.¹²

While acknowledging the tremendous impact on Argentina and

other Latin American states of the US Quota and Johnson acts of the 1920s, with all their racist connotations (p. 100), Avni sidesteps consideration of the probably just as crucial link between Anglo-American and Argentine attitudes towards Jewish refugees, i.e. the former's reluctance to do more for the actual and potential victims of Nazism as a negative influence on the Latin Americans in general and Argentines in particular. Avni also avoids making use of other studies to compare the record of various neutrals; this casts Argentina in a worse light in some respects than countries like Switzerland (responsible for the Third Reich's stamping of a stigmatizing 'J' on Jewish passports).¹³ In fact, if Raul Hilberg has put an accurate finger, the number of Jews who settled in neutral Spain, Sweden, Switzerland or Turkey was smaller than Avni's estimate for those who squeezed their way into Argentina.¹⁴ As with the neutrals, Avni does not draw on other works to offer a second badly needed comparison, that of Argentina's performance vis-a-vis the Latin American states aligned with the US. Elements for such an exercise had already been variously sketched by Herbert Strauss, Leonardo Senkman and Carlota Jackisch; indirectly, Alfredo Schwarcz's fine study of the German speaking Jews in Argentina also provided some unnoticed food for thought on the subject: the existence of few critics of the country's restrictive immigration policy among his 80 informants and 357 questionnaire respondents, many of them victims of Nazism, implies that Argentina's limitations either did not compare unfavorably with those of other countries, or were simply not as harsh as the latter.¹⁵

It is to be regreted that a limited bibliographic update, especially when this volume's incubating period is considered, coupled with other factors, have taken their toll on equanimity and accuracy in chapters five and six. Here, one might cite Avni's infelicitous assertion about the conservative Castillo administration remaining neutral 'when the US uncovered a broad German spy network' in 1942, and his claims for Argentina's full diplomatic and economic ties with Nazi Germany during 1942-44 (p. 159). Another telling example of this is Avni's reiteration that Castillo's interior minister, Miguel Culaciati, was 'a German supporter' (p. 169), as mentioned in a Third Reich document.

In their award-winning volume Leslie Rout and John Bratzel

shed more light than any of their predecessors on the activities of Axis agents in Argentina and raise some notable points. Crucially, they wrote that the report on German military espionage which the US handed to Culaciati in November 1942 was, 'to an uncomfortable extent, an exercise in misinformation,' a 'tissue of fiction, innuendo and occasional fact' aimed at provoking an Argentine break with the Axis.¹⁶ And yet, without yielding the top prize, i.e. the severance of relations, the exercise led to Captain Dietrich Niebuhr, the German military intelligence (Abwehr) chief in Buenos Aires and his country's naval attache to Argentina, Brazil and Chile since 1936, being declared persona non grata. Put differently, while bilateral links were not severed until a year later, Niebuhr's departure in disgrace in January 1943, like the earlier recall of ambassador Edmund *Freiherr* von Thermann and Berlin's lack of choice but to leave representation of the Third Reich in the hands of a chargé d'affaires, confirms that the implications of Argentina's neutrality and the claim for fullness of diplomatic ties are in need of qualification. The same must be said of economic relations as early on the war dramatically dislocated trade links with Nazi Germany. To be sure, this was not the fate of German investments in the country. Nevertheless, in sharp contrast with the iron ore and other commodities freely secured from European neutrals, including Swiss weapons and machinery until October 1944,¹⁷ the Third Reich had to rely on its agents in Argentina to smuggle out small quantities of strategic minerals. Commerce having been such a salient component of bilateral economic links, with Argentina placed among the countries where even the severest critics of such relations had to admit that Berlin had hitherto fulfilled its pledge to meet Latin American needs through barter arrangements, Avni's claim is somehow not quite borne out by the facts.¹⁸

As for Culaciati's support for Germany, the unguarded quotation from a single document would lend credence to the intensity of his alleged Germanophilia, were it not for the compelling evidence to the contrary in other reports. Indeed, the German chargé d'affaires in Buenos Aires catalogued the same Culaciati as a saboteur of Castillo's policy of neutrality due to his 'US Jewish-masonic orientation.' Clearly, US ambassador Norman Armour's

undiplomatic conduct in having the 1942 report on Abwehr activities delivered directly to the alleged German supporter, rather than through Argentine foreign ministry channels, had not been a gaffe: as recommended by the American embassy, Culaciati agreed to entrust the job of detaining some of those working for Niebuhr to provincial policemen, with detentions taking place in areas outside their jurisdiction. For understandable reasons, Culaciati, whose sheltering of Emilio Troise could also be used to inaccurately label the then interior minister as a Communist or fellow-traveller, was reviled by local nationalists as having links to Argentina's foreign exploiters; this was already highlighted half a century ago in Adolfo Lanús' valuable chronicle of the anti-Nazi struggle in the country. Giving credit to a similar pro-Allied slant, the memoirs of the then British press attache in Buenos Aires, Sidney Robertson, also dating from the 1940s, portray the interior minister as a helpful friend of his country.¹⁹

Usually, the availability of relevant raw material largely dictates the shape of the finished historiographical product. However, despite the suggested link between the country's immigration policy and international relations Avni's updated analysis of the Peronist era's attitude to Jews does not benefit from the relevant works of Carlos Escudé, Robin Humphreys, Callum MacDonald, Ronald Newton, Ryszard Stemplowski, Joseph Tulchin, Bryce Wood and most others who have helped advance the state of knowledge on Argentine foreign affairs during the world conflagration and early post-war years.²⁰ Whereas his two previously mentioned books were issued when most such contributions had yet to be written, or had only recently seen the light of day, this volume's readers will come away puzzled by Avni's decision not to take advantage of such historiography.

The consequences of this, some might argue the reasons for this, are not entirely surprising. Avni is quite certain that US assistant secretary of state Spruille Braden's Blue Book 'attests to Perón's close ties with the Axis' (p. 177). Undeniably, Perón was among the admirers of Italian fascist methods, and was defined by a prominent Third Reich intelligence analyst as initially pro-German. Moreover, notwithstanding the inconclusiveness of Nazi docu-

ments, he had an important part, at least according to some historians, in Argentina's improvised efforts to acquire from the Third Reich the weapons which the US was denying his country. Also, without putting the worst possible gloss on Perón's links with the Nazis, it would be manifestly incorrect to pretend that he did not seek to attract scientists, technicians and other Germans to Argentina, as did many Latin American and world leaders of different political stripes after the war. However, Avni's certainty on the Blue Book bears little resemblance to the fruits of recent historiography.²¹ Avni also hazards an opinion on US ambassador George Messersmith's not improbable role in Peralta's departure from the Immigration Directorate without actually having seen the relevant documents at US archival repositories. Peralta's exit, though, can be seen as part of the weeding out of several fiercely nationalist and anti-Jewish office-holders, when the Truman administration decided to open a new page in US-Argentine relations, with the Washington envoy at the forefront of those prodding Perón into taking the necessary measures to facilitate this process.

Significantly, Avni's earlier treatment of the years 1946-55 did not posit that 'Perón and his supporters were not discriminating as it were, against "undesirable" immigrants; they were only granting priority to the desirables' (p. 184). To all intents and purposes, such an unequivocal affirmation, hedged in the Spanish version by the less assertive term 'seemingly,' is a bonus for the reader of the English version. As in the past, Avni accurately points out that such a policy, which kept out of Argentina larger numbers of Jews, was equally acceptable to many of Perón's 'political opponents' (p. 184). Unmentioned, however, is the fact that Argentine priorities affected other non-Catholics as much as Jews, if not more so. While a *Diario Arabe* appears in the bibliography of the Spanish and English versions among the papers Avni monitored,²² he does not discuss the implications of Argentina's exclusionary policies for ethnic and religious groups from the Middle East, in particular their consequences for Levantine Christians, Muslims and Jews since 1928. On the Arabic speakers' little-studied immigration he, nonetheless, has an unqualified reference to Arabs as 'desirable immigrants' when Perón was around (p. 180). That things are not

as black and white as this has been shown elsewhere. Indeed, a careful review of Argentine immigration policy during Perón's incumbency tends to give the claimed desirability of Arab newcomers the aura of an overstatement.²³

Additionally, haziness in respect of the date of commencement of the short stint of Santiago Peralta at the immigration directorate, which he headed during the first of Perón's nine years of elected rule, obscures the fact that the Judeophobic Peralta accepted such a directorship in November 1945, a month after Perón had left General Edelmiro Farrell's unelected government. A precise date here is important as the ambiguous 'when the war was over' risks pointing the less well-informed in the wrong direction, i.e. of Peralta taking office earlier, when Perón was still the country's vice-president and acting president. This said, even if Peralta was hired when Perón was out of office, his appointment raises questions as to whether this was primarily the result of a deal cut by Perón with civilian nationalists, or at least some of them, to win their backing for his presidential bid, as can be deduced from Félix Luna's influential reconstruction of events during 1945,²⁴ a gesture by a military government which had been faced with requests for Perón's head by nationalist army officers in October 1945, or something else. Needless to say, such queries, and ultimately the question of whether Peralta was the president's man after Perón's inauguration and/or a carryover from the previous *de facto* government, are among those awaiting conclusive answers. In looking for well-informed answers, the British ambassador's awareness of Perón as one who did not like Jewish immigrants all that much, yet at the same time was not markedly anti-Jewish, can not be swept under the carpet. *En passant*, it is as well to keep in mind that such a combination was not uncommon among enthusiastic pro-Allied politicians in Latin America and elsewhere. If looking with disfavor at Jewish immigrants would have been more uncommon among democrats with pristine Alliedophile credentials, Rómulo Betancourt would not have had to admit that he had been the architect of Venezuela's ban on Jewish immigrants and visitors during 1945-48, and Australia perhaps would not have waited until 1953 to delete from immigration applications an item direct-

ing candidates to confirm or deny their Jewishness.²⁵ By the same token, the favorable measures which a pragmatic Peronist government adopted despite Perón's reported absence of appreciation for Jewish arrivals must not be forgotten. Unlike Avni's delicately balanced contrast between the attitude towards Jews of Tomás Le Bretón, the agriculture minister of President Marcelo Torcuato de Alvear (1922—1928), and his subordinate Juan Ramos, the then immigration director (pp. 102-3), there is, in short, an unrecognized scintilla of difference, if not more, between the rabidly anti-Jewish Peralta and the pragmatic, some will say opportunistic, Perón. Truth be told, admitting the latter is not necessarily weighing the dice in favour of Perón, whose rule included elements at odds with a liberal vision of democracy, and was not devoid of anti-democratic connotations as well.

On a different tack, Avni's choice of words when referring to surreptitious arrivals in the post-war's first quinquennium and earlier, when the urgency was greatest, seems to play down the record of Argentina's non-Peronist governments of 1933-43. Indeed, Avni points to the illegal entry of 3,300 Jews, out of a total of 4,800 Jewish immigrants in 1945-49 (p. 193). This, in contrast with the already mentioned hundreds of 1933-45, and to some 10,000 Jews who normalized their situation due to an amnesty of 1948.²⁶ Assuming that the amnesty's Jewish beneficiaries numbered no more, although at the time the American Jewish Committee and the Peronist Organización Israelita Argentina (OIA) spoke of at least three times as many illegal Jews, what evidence is there to support the conclusion that most of the 10,000 reached Argentina before 1933? By the way, if confirmed, Holger Meding's estimated 30,000-40,000 German-born and ethnic German immigrants in post-war Argentina - including 300-800 seriously tainted by Nazism, and a minimum of 50 war criminals among them - suggests that by design or accident the Perón government amnesty may have benefited many more Jews than ethnic and other German Nazis.²⁷ This, however, remains to be verified. Above all, a comparative perspective on Jewish immigration during the early post-war years is patently missing. Avni's postponement of such instructive comparisons, whether for the period after

Hitler's rise to power or as soon as peace broke out in Europe, tends to work here against Argentina.

Interestingly, Avni would have us believe that Perón unequivocally promised to throw Argentine support behind the partition of Palestine (p. 189). While the paragraph in question is unsourced, the Spanish version reveals that far from stemming from a combination of Argentine and other records of the day, oral histories, memoirs, etc, the evidence in support of such a pledge is a single anonymous report of 1950 at the Central Zionist Archives. Penned by someone with an indubitable axe to grind against Perón and his small Jewish following, the report in question claims that the president offered such a pledge to the OIA. While Perón's knack for charming an audience with agreeable statements is beyond doubt, recourse to such a report confirms that the extensive oral history which the ICJ's Latin American division recorded with Moshe Tov, like his memoirs, offers nothing as conclusive in support of Perón's alleged commitment to OIA. As head of the Jewish Agency's Latin American department would the then Moisés Toff, an indefatigable campaigner to secure Argentine backing for Jewish statehood, not have known of such a pledge? Instead, a look at the instructions repeatedly given to Argentina's UN representative in 1947 indisputably shows that Perón was prepared to countenance a Jewish home in Palestine so long as this was not irreconcilable with a hitherto fruitful relationship with the Arab world. Therefore, Argentina, like the other regional heavyweights, Brazil excluded, abstained in November 1947 when asked to take a stand on an undivided federal state in Palestine (a plan inimical to Zionist aspirations), as well as on partition, which paved the way to Jewish statehood.²⁸ Strictu sensu, none of this is imperative for a history of Jewish immigration to Argentina; nevertheless, the view of an alleged Perón commitment to support Israel's creation standing on such feet is a bit of an eyesore. Paradoxically, by the time the 1950 report was drafted, Argentina had supported Israeli entry to the UN and recognized the Jewish state *de jure*. It had also opened the first Latin American diplomatic representation in Tel Aviv and had signed a bilateral trade accord, which the Israeli signatory deemed economically advantageous to the Jewish state.²⁹

Unfortunately, the Perón government's liberalization of naturalization procedures, like war minister Perón's earlier elimination of the formal requirements preventing the admission of non-Catholics to the military institute (*Colegio Militar*) and the effects, positive and/or negative, both measures had among Jews, has no place in Avni's study.³⁰ Voting being restricted to Argentine citizens, however, Eugene Sofer has contended that 'Jewish participation in Argentine politics increased after Perón came to power.' Sofer also noted that successive previous regimes had 'placed obstacles in the paths of those foreigners who were willing to assume the responsibilities and privileges of Argentine citizenship.' Instead, Avni passes over in silence the gains reaped by the country's Jewish population, the amnesty for illegal immigrants aside, during Perón's two consecutive terms in office. The progressive fall in Judeophobia during 1946-55, part of what Richard Walter rightly describes as Perón's reaching out 'to the Jews with a mixture of conciliatory rhetoric and concrete benefits,' is not spelled out.³¹ It is a fact, though, that under Perón management his supporters within the Alianza Libertadora Nacionalista (ALN), whose anti-Jewish outrages had made headlines throughout the Jewish world in 1945, were weaned away from Judeophobia by 1953.³² Seen in this light, it is not so astounding that when Perón was ousted and the ALN headquarters were flattened by those who deposed him one of the main local Jewish worries was, according to a confidential report distributed by the Political Department of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), whether records showing Jewish contributions to a tame ALN had not fallen into the wrong hands.

Given Avni's survey of the post-1955 scene - with its reference to 'the first Jew appointed to a cabinet position' during Arturo Frondizi's incumbency, and to two others elected governors (pp. 206-7) - his silence on the Peronist era's first Jews in vice-ministerial, ambassadorial and magistrate positions, as well as to earlier entrants in the Argentine foreign service and armed forces, are not insignificant omissions. Available since the 1980s (if not earlier) at the Israel State Archives, other countries' repositories, as well as among the papers of the WJC, some of the historical nuggets that

are not part of Avni's cuisine have to be savored elsewhere, whether among the writings of other historians or in the highly enjoyable memoirs of Benno Weiser Varon, a former New York-based director of the Jewish Agency's Latin American department and later Israeli diplomat.³³ Evidently no closet Peronist, Weiser commented that Perón's incumbency was the first occasion when, 'in anti-Semitic Argentina, manifestations of anti-Semitism would not be tolerated. For the first time ever, Jews were appointed ambassadors, there was a Jewish cabinet minister, and I would play host in New York to a Jewish under secretary.' And unlike earlier ones, Perón's most prominent Jewish appointee was not of the self-effacing variety. Fortunately, Weiser's reminiscences also include an account of the ALN's conversion; this helps fill in some of the blanks left by the intriguing reference to a 'Baron Ben Weiser' in the useful though anecdotal recollections of then Alianza leader Guillermo Patricio Kelly.³⁴

Inasmuch as the deep passions aroused by Peronism have not yet been universally overcome, it is no coincidence that many remain more hostile to Perón than to other Argentine rulers. In the case of Jews, this is partly explained by Perón's rise in the company of Judeophobes; his longstanding reluctance to make a clean break with such elements, as opposed to simply striving to contain them, as well as his late 1960s inclusion of Zionism among the five internationals seeking to dominate the Third World.³⁵ Needless to say, all this has been absorbed into Jewish historiography much better than other things. Hence, it is uncharacteristic to find references to Irving Louis Horowitz's accurate observation that under Perón 'Jews fared exceptionally well economically,' with the 'occasional outbursts against Jewish financial interests' becoming 'increasingly muted after the defeat of Nazism in World War II.'³⁶ Most scholars have also shied away from Robert Weisbrot's notably more comprehensive conclusion that despite everything, Perón 'evolved [in the 1940s and 1950s] into a president who was one of the most benevolent toward the Jewish community in modern Argentine history.' Even more exceptional have been those readily agreeing with Sofer's later appraisal that 'Peronism had an enormous and largely beneficial impact on the Jewish community,'

or with David Rock's most recent contribution that despite the Perón-led military lodge's 'heavy clerical accent,' Perón himself 'did not voice any support for the extreme xenophobes and anti-Semites' within that lodge, the GOU.³⁷

Worthy of note is the fact that the intensity of Jewish dislike for all things Peronist is in some cases apparently greater than that generated by Argentina's military regime of 1976-83. Under that junta, not less than 195 Jews (among the nearly 9,000 documented disappearances) were murdered by the security forces.³⁸ Without producing figures, Avni's reference to 'an inordinate number of Jews' (p. 207) among those who disappeared prevents the less well-informed reader from taking in the sheer enormity of what had happened (not excluding of course, the controversial aspects of the respective records of the then leadership of the Argentine Jewish umbrella organization and Israeli government³⁹): even the above mentioned lowest of ceilings surpasses the number of Jews murdered in the tragic bombing of the Buenos Aires Jewish community headquarters in July 1994, and indicates that the military regime's Jewish victims, largely killed during the latter part of the 1970s, were more numerous than those assassinated on political grounds by officially tolerated groups at all other times since Argentine independence, the *Semana Trágica* possibly excepted. With sights set on the whole world outside the Middle East, it is not an overstatement to say that all the disappeared Jews also represent one of the single largest losses of life by affiliated and unaffiliated individual Jews since 1945.

Returning to chapter six, for whatever reason, there is a considerable gap between this and what might otherwise be a more complete account of Perón and the Jews. One can only agree with the fairness of Ronald Newton's inclusion of Avni's work, listed in the bibliography of his superbly documented debunker of the Nazi threat to Argentina as being among those deemed important to gain an insight on Jews in that country, while cautioning readers that 'a full study' on Perón and the Jews 'still remains to be written.'⁴⁰ Such a study, like any other on Latin America and the Jewish people during the war and early post-war periods, would not avoid a thorough look into Anglo-American as well as Latin

American diplomatic and other papers, in addition to Jewish sources, or neglect most of the patient reconstruction of the country in question's foreign relations during that complex period. Equally, a definitive study of Jewish immigration needs to include more than incidental references to Maghrebi and Levantine Jews so as to overcome what has been aptly described (certainly not in relation to Avni's work) as 'the small interest Ashkenazis generally had for developments among the Sephardi communities.'⁴¹ Moreover, despite its unique features the Jewish influx was part of the larger migration of Bulgarians, Czechs, Italians, Poles, Russians, Spaniards, Syro-Lebanese, etc; as knowledge on such groups has been advancing scouring the literature on their immigration has become a must: it could help determine, for instance, whether certain restrictions were particularly aimed at Jews, or if Jews were among those most adversely affected.⁴² Inescapably, a definitive study on Jewish immigration to Argentina will have to translate the degree of interconnection between Argentine immigration and foreign policy into a careful and thorough exploration of the country's consular, diplomatic and immigration documents (as well as literature) for the entire period considered. In the final analysis, a fair and balanced reconstruction of the Jewish people's Argentine or other chapters can not but hinge on the history of the chosen country being treated with the same care and sensitivity accorded to Jewish history, a treatment which need neither be excuseful nor uncritical of the country in question's record vis-à-vis Jews.

Towards the end, Avni returns to an early Zionist leader's *fin-de-siècle* prognosis that just as A leads to Z, 'so Argentina will lead to Zion,' and proclaims that 'for tens of thousands of Argentine Jews' such words turned out to be prophetic. Surprisingly, though, the reader is left in the dark on the fiction and non-fiction literature on the Latin Americans, namely Argentinians, in Israel.⁴³ As for the remaining Argentine Jews, a vast majority, Avni posits that 'a large proportion have personal, family ties with the State of Israel, perhaps more than any other Jewish community in the West' (p. 210). These statements, like an earlier one laying claim on the 'organizational ties with world Jewry, particularly through the Zionist

Organization' (p. 203) of Argentine Jewry's umbrella body (DAIA), are meant to underline the potency of Zionism;⁴⁴ the same conclusion is afforded by Argentine Jewish donations to the Zionist cause - larger than the meagre funds to dispense aid to Jewish immigrants in the 1920s (p. 113), or to the Nazi era's Jewish refugees in Argentina (pp. 131ff) and the post-war displaced Jews striving to land there.

A second look at what is implied or spelled out in these affirmations shows that just as the pro-Zionist DAIA's links with the Jewish people result from its affiliation to the WJC, not the World Zionist Organization (WZO), with which DAIA has never had organizational ties, a more definitive evaluation of Argentine Jewry's Zionism and pro-Zionist sentiments will have to wait until various parameters - eg. immigration to Israel and other countries; emigration from Israel; affiliation with the local Zionist federation; (OSA); contributions to Israel's main fundraising drive (CUJA), etc - are compared with those for other countries. Once gathered, such data may well validate Avni's argument. As things stand today, however, what is unarguable is that Argentine Jewry has contributed a total of 40,000 immigrants to Israel, less than 15,000 affiliates to OSA and about 9,000 yearly donors to CUJA. Moreover, among the country's tens of thousands of Jews with relatives and friends in Israel, some have shown that support for the Jewish state has not ruled out concealment of aspects of such an identification when their lives were placed at a disadvantage by their pro-Zionism.⁴⁵ Additionally, the book's Israel-centred finale begs a crucial question: What direct or indirect role, if any did the Zionist movement's desire not to lose any of the survivors of the Nazi genocide as immigrants for Palestine play in postwar Argentina's rather limited intake of Jews? Not addressed by Avni or other Israeli works on Argentina and the Jews, such a thorny issue is not meant to deny the importance of local and other factors opposed to a more substantial Jewish influx. Nevertheless, consideration of this issue seems entirely justified in view of the candid evaluations that other Israeli authors have been making of Zionism's performance during World War II. For instance, in a January 1936 letter which Rabbi Stephen S. Wise addressed to Albert Einstein, readily

available among the latter's papers, the pro Zionist leader of the American Jewish Congress reported that a prominent US Zionist supporter, Justice Louis Brandeis, was "opposed to transfer [of victims of Nazism] to any other country because it means diversion from Palestine, " making it absolutely clear that by no other country he meant "the USA, Biro-Bidjan, South America." Moreover, on the strength of Zionist documents, one Israeli historian has written that the possibility of Jewish survivors of Nazism choosing to rehabilitate themselves on European soil was seen by the Zionist leadership 'as a move which should be categorically negated, a potential nightmare,' while rehabilitation outside Europe, but not in Palestine, was also viewed 'as an intolerable situation.'⁴⁶ Hardly a cause promoted by Argentina's governments since World War II, Jewish immigration to the Plate was apparently more than an undesirable scenario for the Zionists, whether in 1936 (when the Nazis were interested in encouraging Jewish departures from Germany) or after the Wannsee Conference.

Finally, if it can be confidently affirmed that we are far from a first draft on Argentina and the Jews this is certainly due in part to Avni's relentless and unswerving efforts. There is no question that this relevant book inches forward towards a final version on the subject too. Hence, for the time being, it is certainly premature to write off Avni's contribution as little more than a starting point, as others have already suggested. In fact, reading Avni is quite an education, especially for the uninitiated. Moreover, accretions to a none too lengthy list of titles on Latin American Jewry open Israelocentric and other vistas on aspects of this far from extensively mined subject, as well as promote further study. Sparking many further questions, this volume, like others, belongs on more than one reading list. However instructive, though, Spanish-speaking immigration and ethnic studies' specialists, Argentinists, as well as scholars interested in Judaica, will unquestionably find the English volume less detailed than its uncompressed predecessor and not as updated as might have been expected.⁴⁷

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Notes

1. See, for instance, Isaac S. Emmanuel and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles* (Cincinnati: AJA, 1970), 2 vols; Jerry W. Knudson, 'The Bolivian Immigration Bill of 1942,' *AJA*, vol. xxii no. 2, 1970, Donald Herman, 'Israel's Latin American Immigrants,' *AJA*, vol. xxxvi no. 1, 1984; Dan La Botz, 'Roberto Haberman and the Origins of Modern Mexico's Jewish Community,' *AJA* vol. xliii no. 1, 1991. See also a collection of articles by members of the US-based Latin American Jewish Studies Association in *AJA*, vol. xxxiv no. 2, 1982.

2. See, for example, Elvira Rissech, 'Inmigración judía a la Argentina 1938—1942: Entre la aceptación y el rechazo,' *Rumbos* (Jerusalem), 15 (1986), Leonardo Senkman, 'Argentinien und der Holocaust: Die Einwanderungspolitik und die Frage der Flüchtlinge 1933—1945,' in Achim Schrader and Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, eds. *Europäische Juden in Lateinamerika* (Münster: Werner J. Röhrig Verlag 1989); Leonardo Senkman, 'Argentina's Immigration Policy during the Holocaust (1938—1945),' *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem), 21 (1991); Leonardo Senkman, *Argentina, la Segunda Guerra Mundial y los refugiados indeseables. 1933—1945* (Buenos Aires: GEL, 1991); Haim Avni and Rosa Perla Ralcher, eds., *Memorias del Uruguay: Holocausto y lucha por la fundación del Estado de Israel*, ICJ, Jerusalem, 1986.

3. Edgardo Bilsky, 'Etnicidad y clase obrera: La presencia judía en el movimiento obrero argentino,' *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, April 1989, p. 29. All-encompassingly, another author reminds readers that 'Cuba and the New World were far more tolerant and welcoming than the countries from which the [Jewish] emigrants had fled.' See Robert M. Levine, *Tropical Diaspora: The Jewish Experience in Cuba* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), p. 293.

4. Ignacio Klich, 'Criollos and Arabic Speakers in Argentina: An Uneasy *Pas de Deux* 1888—1914,' in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1992), pp. 261, 263-64. Similarly Avni has argued that since the 1910s the promotion of 'clerical Catholicism as the new Argentinean nationalism' undermined 'the legitimacy of the Jews even more so than that of other non-Catholic Argentines.' Proof to the contrary, however, are the conversions to Argentina's predominant religion of a large number of Muslims and Druze, president Carlos Saúl Menem and the cashiered colonel Mohamed Alí Seineldín among the most notable cases. See Avni's review of Victor A. Mirelman, *Jewish Buenos Aires. 1890—1930: In Search of an Identity* (Detroit Wayne State University Press, 1990), in *AJA* vol. XLIV no. 2, 1992, p. 648.

5. On the legitimate reactions such pictures can lead to, see, for example, Dora Schwarzstein's lucid observations in her review of Senkman's documented *Argentina y los refugiados indeseables*, op. cit. in *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. Emilio Ravignani"* (Buenos Aires), Third Series, no. 7, 1993, p. 160.

6. The quote belongs to Israeli diplomat Aba Gefen, see his *Defying the Holocaust: A Diplomat's Report* (San Bernardino: Borgo Press, 1993), pp. 168-69. On the proposed transfer of Palestinians to Argentina, see Ignacio Klich, 'La posibilidad del asentamiento de palestinos en la Argentina (1948-1952): una perspectiva comparada,' *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires), April 1994, pp. 115-33.

7. Hilda Sábato, 'El pluralismo cultural en la Argentina: Un balance crítico,' Paper presented at the II Jornadas del Comité Internacional de Ciencias Históricas/Comité Argentino, Paraná, October 1988, p. 24.

8. Theodore Norman, *An Outstretched Arm: A History of the Jewish Colonization Association* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), pp. 240-41.

9. Whereas some 75 per cent of Dutch Jewry perished as a consequence of Nazi policies,

in unfriendlier France and Norway the proportion of Jews who did not survive World War II was 25 and 40 percent respectively. J.C.H. Blom, 'The Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands: A Comparative Western European Perspective, *European History Quarterly* (London), July 1989, p. 333.

10. Rodney Gouttman, 'A Jew, and Coloured Too! Immigration of "Jews of Middle East Origin" to Australia, 1949-58,' *Immigrants and Minorities* (London), March 1993, p. 77.

11. Olga Elaine Rojer, *Exile in Argentina 1933-1945: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (New York/ Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989), p. 81; Cartota Jackisch, *El nazismo y los refugiados alemanes en la Argentina 1933-1945* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano, 1989) pp. 149-58; Jacob Lestschinsky, 'National Groups in Polish Emigration,' *Jewish Social Studies* (JSS) (New York), April 1943, p. 110, Marta Kowalska, 'La emigración judía de Polonia a la Argentina en los años 1918-1939,' *Estudios Latinoamericanos* (EL) (Warsaw), 1989, p. 259. The figure of 45,000 Jewish arrivals is also mentioned by Werner Hoffmann, 'Die Deutschen in Argentinien,' in Harmut Fröschle, ed., *Die Deutschen in Lateinamerika: Schicksal und Leistung* (Tübingen/Basel: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1979), p. 143.

12. Elena Levin, *Historias de una emigración (1933-1939): Alernanes judíos en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Manrique Zago ediciones, 1991), pp. 39-54; Sherry Mangan, 'Storm Clouds over the Bolivian Refuge,' *Commentary* (New York), August 1952, p. 100; Knudson, p. 149.

13. Daniel Bourgeois, 'La porte se ferme: la Suisse et le problème de l'immigration juive en 1938,' *Relations internationales* (RI) (Paris), Summer 1988, pp. 197-204.

14. Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators Victims Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945* (London: Lime Tree, 1993) pp. 257-58. In the Swiss case, refugees were allowed in until 1938, as well as after 1942, with the Helvetic authorities insisting since 1936 that theirs could be no more than a country of transit. André Lasserre, 'La politique d'asile en Suisse de 1933 à 1945,' *RI*, Summer 1993, p. 210.

15. Herbert A. Strauss, 'Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (ii),' in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (London), vol. xxvi, 1981; Leonardo Senkman, 'La política inmigratoria argentina durante la década del treinta,' in *Primeras Jornadas Nacionales de Estudios sobre Inmigración en Argentina*. Ministerio de Educación y Justicia, Buenos Aires, 1985, pp. 600-603; Herbert A. Strauss, *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period in the U.S.A.* (New York/ Munich: K.G. Saur Verlag 1987), vol. 6, pp. 210-25; Jackisch, pp. 84-87, 140-42, 150; Alfredo José Schwarcz, *Y a pesar de todo...: Los judíos de habla alemana en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: GEL, 1991), p. 110.

16. Leslie B. Rout, Jr. and John F. Bratzel, *The Shadow War: German Espionage and US Counterespionage in Latin America during World War II* (Frederick: University Presses of America, 1986) pp. 339-40.

17. Daniel Lewis, 'Internal and External Convergence,' in David Rock, ed., *Latin America in the 1940s: War and Postwar Transitions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 209.

18. Ryszard Stemplowski, 'Castillo's Argentina and World War II: Economic Aspects of the Argentine-British-United States-German Quadrangle,' *Beitrage zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 8 (1981); Salvatore Prisco, 'Vampire Diplomacy: Nazi Economic Nationalism in Latin America, 1934-40,' *Diplomacy & Statecraft* (London), March 1991, pp. 176-77; Andrés Musacchio, 'La Alemania nazi y la Argentina en los años '30: crisis económica, bilateralismo y grupos de interés,' *Ciclos*, Second Semester 1992; Ronald C. Newton, *The 'Nazi Menace' in Argentina. 1931-1947* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp 88-107.

19. Erich von Meynen to German foreign office, 1 October and 26 November 1942, in *Akten zur Deutschen Auswärtiges Politik 1918-1945* (Göttingen, 1979), vols. E-III and E-IV.

Hetvio I. Botana, *Memorias: Tras los dientes del perro* (Buenos Aires: Peña Lillo editor, 1985), p. 318; Adolfo Lanús, *Campo minado* (Buenos Aires, 1942), pp 80-81; S. R. Robertson, *Making Friends for Britain* (Buenos Aires: Guillermo Kraft, 1948), p. 72.

20. Other than those mentioned elsewhere in this essay see, for example, Ryszard Stemplowski, 'Las potencias anglosajonas y el neutralismo argentino (1939-1945),' *EL* 1976; Callum A. MacDonald, 'The Politics of Intervention: The United States and Argentina, 1941-1946,' *Journal of Latin American Studies* (Cambridge), November 1980; R. A. Humphreys, *Latin America and the Second World War* (London: Athlone Press, 1981-82), 2 vols.; Ronald C. Newton, 'Indifferent Sanctuary: German-Speaking Refugees and Exiles in Argentina, 1933-1945,' *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* (Coral Gables) November 1982; Carlos Escudé, *Gran Bretaña, Estados Unidos y la declinación argentina, 1942-1949* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano, 1983) Ronald C. Newton, 'The United States, the German-Argentines and the Myth of the Fourth Reich,' *Hispanic American Historical Review* (Chapell Hill), vol. 64 no. 1, 1984; Bryce Wood, *The Dismantling of the Good Neighbor Policy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); Ryszard Stemplowski, 'Allies and Rivals: Latin American Aspects of US-British Relations and World War II,' *Hemispheres* (Wroclaw), 4 (1987); Guido di Tella and D. Cameron Watt, eds., *Argentina and the Great Powers, 1939-46* (London: St. Antony's/ Macmillan, 1989); Joseph Tulchin, *La Argentina y los Estados Unidos: Historia de una desconfianza* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 1990).

21. Ignacio Klich, 'A Background to Perón's Discovery of Jewish National Aspirations,' in AMLAT, eds., *Judaica latinoamericana: Estudios histórico-sociales* (JL)(Jerusalem: Magnes/ Hebrew University Press, 1988), p. 194; Ignacio Klich, 'Failure in Argentina: The Jewish Agency's Search for Congressional Backing for Zionist Aims in Palestine (1946),' in AMLAT, eds., *Judaica latinoamericana: Estudios histórico-sociales II* (Jerusalem: Magnes/Hebrew University Press, 1993), pp. 260-61, n. 10.

22. Histories of the Middle Easterners in Argentina and other Latin American states, or of the Arab press in general, fail to mention any such *Diario Arabe*, whether in the Plate or other countries covered by these studies. Unless the *Diario* appeared elsewhere, this is probably an undetected mistranslation in regard to Argentina's *Diario Siriolibanés* or *La Gaceta Arabe*. See, for instance, Philip di Tarrazi, *A History of the Arab Press* (Beirut, 1933) (Arabic) Mohamed Yassine Abderrahmán, *Adalid Ríoplatense* (Buenos Aires, 1954); Elie Safa, *L'Emigration libanaise* (Beirut: Université St. Joseph, 1960).

23. Leonardo Senkman, 'Etnicidad e inmigración durante el primer peronismo,' *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* (Tel Aviv), July-December 1992, p. 23; Klich, 'La posibilidad del asentamiento de palestinos,' *art cit*, pp. 128-29. See also Leonardo Senkman, 'Etnicidad e inmigración durante el primer peronismo,' *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* (Tel Aviv), July-December 1992, p. 23.

24. Félix Luna, *El 45: Crónica de un año decisivo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1986, fourteenth edition) pp. 399-400. See also David Rock, *Authoritarian Argentina: The Nationalist Movement. Its History and Its Impact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) p. 155. While other authors have read Luna's data as meaning that Perón reached out to all nationalists in 1945, Rock interpreted this as an approach to some nationalists instead. Hence, the legitimacy of viewing Peralta's appointment as resulting from a Perón entente with some nationalists needs to be substantiated in evidence, rather than deduced from Perón's utilization of the nationalists.

25. P. R. Bartrop, 'The Jewish Race Clause in Australian Immigration Forms,' *Journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*, vol. 11 part 1, 1990, pp. 69-78; Benno Weiser Varon, *Professions of a Lucky Jew* (New York/ London: Cornwall Books, 1992), pp. 165-67; Gouttman, p. 86.

26. Either a typesetting error or factual inaccuracy, some writers appear as dating this amnesty back to 1946. Jack Twiss Quarles van Ufford and Joep Merckx, 'Ich Hab' Noch einen Koffer in Berlin: German-Jewish Identity in Argentina, 1933—1985,' *JSS*, 1988/ 1992, p. 100.

27. Holger M. Meding, 'Refugio seguro: La emigración alemana de posguerra al Río de la Plata,' paper presented at the conference 'El genocidio ante la historia y la naturaleza humana,' Universidad Torcuato di Tella, Buenos Aires, 8-10 September 1993.

28. ICJ, Hebrew University, Oral history interview with Moshe Tov. Moshé A. Tov, *El murmullo de Israel. Historial diplomático* (Jerusalem: Semana, 1983). Analysis based on Argentine and other records on the country's attitude on Jewish statehood, can be found, for example, in Juan Archibaldo Lanús, *De Chapultepec al Beagle: Política exterior argentina, 1945—1980* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1984), pp. 354-55; Ignacio Klich 'Argentina, the Arab World and the Partition of Palestine,' in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986); vol. iii, pp. 271-77.

29. Ignacio Klich, 'The First Argentine-Israeli Trade Accord: Political and Economic Considerations,' Paper presented at the XVII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Los Angeles, 24-27 September 1992.

30. Following a DAIA presentation to Perón in April 1945, the military institute's entry requirement discriminating against non-Catholic aspirants and others unable to produce a baptism certificate was removed. Unlike the potential impact of the liberalization of naturalization, this calculated kindness did not excite Jewish interest in a military career, an indication perhaps that the measure was not meant to open the *Colegio Militar* to Jews. *Diario de Sesiones, Cámara de Diputados*, 31 July 1946.

31. Eugene F. Sofer, *From Pale to Pampa: A Social History of the Jews of Buenos Aires* (New York/ London: Holmes & Meier, 1982), pp. 129-30; Richard J. Walter, 'The Right and the Peronists, 1943—1955,' in Sandra McGee Deutsch and Ronald H. Dolkart, eds., *The Argentine Right: Its History and Intellectual Origins: 1910 to the Present* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Books, 1993), p. 112.

32. Prior to this change, some ALN rank and filers had argued in favor of a Jewish state on grounds that this would confirm the foreign character of Argentine Jewry and lead to a *judenrein* Argentina. A variation on the theme of Israel's future pull on diaspora Jews was articulated by a prominent Jesuit intellectual and later unsuccessful ALN parliamentary candidate in 1946; he implied that a Jewish state would make it easier to rid the country of inassimilable Jews as well as suggested that Jewish concentration in Israel would afford the possibility of eventually achieving a Catholic church expectation, Jewish conversions *en masse* to Christianity. See Leonardo Castellani, *Decíamos ayer...* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudestada, 1968), pp. 328-29.

33. Benno Weiser Varon 'Dictators, Democracy and Latin American Jewry,' *Commentary*, December 1953; Leonardo Senknan, 'El peronismo visto desde la legación israelí de Buenos Aires: Sus relaciones con la OIA (1949—1954),' in *JL II*.

34. While US envoys and others erroneously assumed that Perón's interior minister was Jewish this was certainly the case of Angel Borlenghi's wife, Clara Maguidovich, and of his ministry's No. 2 man, under secretary of the interior Abraham Krislavin, a vice-minister in the hierarchy of other countries. The same can be said of judge Liberto Rabovich. Though not in the same league as Pablo Manguel, Enrique Aaron Reznick was the Perón government's first labor attaché in Rumania. Not uncommon for a memoir written nearly forty years after the events, Weiser does not recall the exact year of Kelly's takeover of the ALN and of the visit the new Alianza leader paid him in New York, which took place in 1953 and 1955 respectively. Horacio de Dios, *Kelly cuenta todo* (Buenos Aires: Gente, 1984) pp. 26-27; Weiser, pp. 133, 206-8.

35. Robert A. Potash, *Perón y el G.O.U.: Los documentos de una logia secreta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1984) pp. 145, 246 and 252; Juan D. Perón, *La hora de los pueblos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Norte, 1968), p. 32; Enrique Pavón Pereyra, *Coloquios con Perón* (Madrid: Editores Internacionales Técnicos Reunidos 1973), pp. 9 and 146; Enrique Pavón Pereyra, *Perón tal como es* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Macacha Güemes, 1973), pp. 220 and 224

36. Irving Louis Horowitz, 'Jewish Ethnicity and Latin American Nationalism,' in Abdul Said and Luiz R. Simmons eds, *Ethnicity in an International Context* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1976), p. 97.

37. Robert Weisbrot, *The Jews of Argentina: From the Inquisition to Perón* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), p. 240; Rock, pp. 134, 139. For those alluding to Weisbrot's conclusion, see Sofer, p. 125; Allan Metz, 'Reluctant Partners: Juan Perón and the Jews of Argentina, 1946–1955,' *Judaism* (New York), Fall 1992, p. 394; Walter, p. 112. This said, Weisbrot's references to OIA as a Perón-created alternative to DAIA, an accurate reflection of the apprehensions of mainstream Jews, have since been found questionable by those scrutinizing the Argentine president's attitude to DAIA and that Peronist Jewish outfit (see note 33).

38. This is the lowest documented number of disappearances, those on whose behalf the Argentine Jewish umbrella organization claims to have made representations, as documented in 'Informe Especial sobre Detenidos y Desaparecidos Judíos 1976–1983,' DAIA, Buenos Aires, January 1984. In sharp contrast with DAIA, the New York-based Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) compiled a list of some 1,200 names. Clearly, the first figure is but a reflection of the cases directly reported to DAIA, rather than an approximation to the much larger universe of disappeared Jews, while the number arising from ADL's Argentine prisoner project could be flawed because of the inclusion of people whose names sounded Jewish, some Jews who had vanished prior to the military takeover, as well as duplications stemming from different spellings of the same surname. Even when taking cognizance of the latter detractions, there are enough reasons to consider that the number of Jews killed by the security forces during 1976–83 is well in excess of 195. For the first documentary and analytical works on the subject, after the DAIA report, see 'Réplica al Informe Especial sobre Detenidos y Desaparecidos Judíos 1976–1983 publicado por la Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA),' Buenos Aires, n.d.; Judith Laikin Elkin, 'We Knew but Didn't Want to Know' *Jewish Frontier* (New York), February 1985; Ignacio Klich, 'Communal Policy under the Argentine Junta,' *Jewish Quarterly* (London), 118 (1985); Javier Simonovich, 'Desaparecidos y antisemitismo en la Argentina (1976–1983),' *Nueva Sión* (Buenos Aires), 19 October 1985. See also Marguerite Feitlowitz, "Life Here is Normal," Colloquium Series, Bunting Institute, Radcliffe College, Boston, 18 November 1992, p. 29. See also Ronald C. Newton's review of Leonardo Senkman, comp., *El antisemitismo en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1989, Second edition), in *Latin American Jewish Studies Newsletter* (Ann Arbor) 1 (1994).

39. See Yehuda Bauer's address to the Ninth Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress (Jerusalem, 5–9 May 1991), and to the British Friends of the Hebrew University (London, 16 May 1991); Marcel Zohar, *Let my People Go to Hell* (Tel Aviv: Citrin Publishing House, 1990) (Hebrew); Ignacio Klich, 'Challenges to Jewish Life in Latin America: Argentina,' in William Frankel, ed., *Survey of Jewish Affairs 1991* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), pp. 216, 220, 229.

40. Newton, *The Nazi Menace*, p. 481.

41. Margalit Bacchi de Bejarano, 'Fuentes para la historia de los sefáradies en la Argentina,' *Sefárdica*, May 1986, p. 99. Recent additions to the bibliography on the immigration to Argentina of Jews from the Middle East and North Africa includes: Margalit

Bejarano, 'L'intégration des sefaradim en Amérique latine: Le cas des communautés de Buenos Aires et de La Havane,' Paper presented at the Colloque International Mémoires juives d'Espagne et du Portugal, Université de Paris IV, 14-16 December 1992; Victor C. Mirelman, 'Sephardim in Latin America after Independence,' *AJA*, vol. xLiv no. 1, 1992; Margalit Bejarano, 'From Turkey to Latin America: Immigration and Sephardic Jews to Argentina and Cuba,' Paper presented at the Seventh International Research Conference of the Latin American Jewish Studies Association (LAJSA), Philadelphia, 6-8 November 1993; Diana L. Epstein, 'Aspectos generales de la inmigración judeo-marroquí a la Argentina 1875-1930,' *Temas de Africa y Asia* (Buenos Aires), no. 2, 1993; Juan Bta. Vilar, 'La emigración judeo-marroquí a la América Latina en la fase pre-estadística (1850-1880),' Paper presented at the Seventh International Research Conference of LAJSA; Diana Lía Epstein, 'Los marroquíes en Buenos Aires 1875-1910,' Paper presented at the XVIII International Congress of LASA, Atlanta, 10-12 March 1994.

42. Stemplowski, for instance, cites Polish diplomatic papers attesting to the fact that Argentina's immigration restrictions of October 1938 affected Christian Poles as well. However, the reference in such documents to Argentina granting no more visas to Poles afterwards is not supported by Argentine immigration statistics. Transcribed by Senkman, the latter show that some overseas Poles either gained legal entry into Argentina or secured the right to do so during 1939-45: 1,399 (1939); 87 (1940); 77 (1941); 31 (1944) and 60 (1945). Needless to say the aforementioned figures do not include all Polish re-migrants from the neighboring countries. See Ryszard Stemplowski, 'Los esclavos en Misiones: Consideraciones en torno al número y la distribución geográfica de los campesinos polacos y ucranianos (1897-1938),' *Jarbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* (Cologne), vol. 19, 1982, p. 386; Senkman, *Argentina y los refugiados indeseables*, *op. cit.*, pp. 210ff.

43. Among those which appeared before the volume under review see, for instance, Fernando Peñalosa, 'Pre-Migration Background and Assimilation of Latin American Immigrants in Israel,' *JSS*, vol. xxiv no. 2, 1972; Iehoshúa Faigón, *Los tiempos de Avot* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Pardés, 1984) Donald Herman, *The Latin American Community of Israel* (New York: Praeger, 1984); José A. Itzigsohn and Sara Minuchin Itzigsohn, 'Inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Israel: Problemas de identidad,' *Dispersión y Unidad* (Jerusalem), Second Era 3 (1986); Florinda Goldberg and Josef Rozen, eds., *Los latinoamericanos en Israel: Antología de una alidá* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Contexto, 1988); José A. Itzigsohn, 'Los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en Israel: Aspectos clínicos,' in *JL*; Luis Roniger, 'The Latin American Community of Israel: Some Notes on Latin American Jews and Latin American Israelis,' *Israel Social Science Research*, vol. 6 no. 1, 1988/9.

44. Despite a Zionist presence among the DAIA leadership, the inexistence of an organizational link with the WZO, as opposed to the pro-Zionist WJC, is confirmed by the foremost historian of Argentine Zionism. See Silvia Schenkolewski-Kroll, 'The Influence of the Zionist Movement on the Organization of the Argentinian Jewish Community: The Case of the DAIA 1933-1946,' *Studies in Zionism* (Indiana), vol. 12 no. 1, 1991, pp. 17-27. Schenkolewski's description of the Argentine political background, however, is not past friendly correction or nuance, especially (though not only) as regards the identity of the second Yrigoyen presidency's military successor, General José Félix Uriburu, rather than Evaristo or any other Uriburu.

45. With disarming frankness and honesty an Argentine Jewish physician's reminiscences on his Zionism include the remarkable, some will say repugnant, admission that having discovered that his police file stigmatized him as a Zionist, he seized on the venali-

ty of some policemen to pursue, apparently successfully, the sanitization of such records. See Alberto D. Kaplan, *Memoria de un médico* (Buenos Aires: GEL, 1993), pp. 55-56.

46. Yechiam Weitz, 'Jewish Refugees and Zionist Policy during the Holocaust,' *Middle Eastern Studies* (London), vol. 30 no. 2, 1994, p. 358. See also Monty Noam Penkower, 'American Jewry and the Holocaust: From Biltmore to the American Jewish Conference,' *JSS*, vol. xLvii, no. 2, 1985, pp. 108-9.

47. That important Argentinists have been unenthused by *Argentina & the Jews* is not only highlighted by Newton's gentle reference to Avni's book (see n. 40) but also by a review essay in the Latin American Studies Association journal. The latter described this volume as lacking 'a critical thrust,' and, as such, dismissed it as being 'more a chronicle than a work of interpretative history.' Peeling away the notion that Avni's work is based on Argentine and US diplomatic documents, and unimpressed by the fruits of his use of some British, French, German and Spanish diplomatic papers, the reviewer also assessed Avni's knowledge of Argentina somewhat harshly when describing it as 'at best rudimentary.' See David Rock, 'Ideas, Immigrants et Alia in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Argentina,' *Latin American Research Review* (New Mexico), vol. 29 no. 1, 1994, pp. 178-79.

Book Reviews

Klingenstein, Susanne *Jews in the American Academy 1900—1940: The Dynamics of Intellectual Assimilation* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991. xxii, 248 pp.

"I am reminded of the Talmudic story of the Four that entered the Garden [of secular learning]," wrote Harvard business school professor Nathan Issacs in 1929. "One died, one lost his mind, one became a heretic, and only one entered in peace and departed again in peace. The same general proposition obtains today among bechurim who gain admittance to American graduate schools."¹ Susanne Klingenstein's history of the Jewish presence in humanities departments of early twentieth century American universities confirms Issacs's observation. The success of an encounter, Klingenstein argues, was largely determined by the scholar's ability to create a *modus vivendi* between "descent" and "consent" cultures, the "bondage," or alternatively "obligation," of the Law, common to the Judaic and Jewish worlds from which the scholar emerged, and the "freedom" of the humanistic, secularizing world to which they aspired. Within the humanistic disciplines prior to World War II, there were only a handful of successful encounters.

Jewish participation in American higher education began with the colonial colleges, but sustained interaction occurred in the late nineteenth century when a normative shift from Protestant denominationalism to a *wissenschaft* ethos heightened Jewish interest in an apparently more "neutral" academic enterprise. Scholars often associate this Jewish presence with the physical and social sciences. English offered greater resistance, perhaps because its advocates were conducting their own insurgency against the domination of the nineteenth century college curriculum by Greek and Latin, heretofore idealized for their purported ability to discipline and furnish the mind. A Jewish presence in the midst of the first generation of humanistic Gentile professors might help to undermine the assault on the classicists, based as it was on a "cultural defender" mentality that continued to dominate thinking about the humanities for decades after the battle was won.

Jews in the American Academy, noting the nearly non-existent Jewish presence in pre-World War II English departments, selectively examines Jewish professorial appointments in cognate departments. The survey begins with Leo Wiener's 1896 Harvard appointment in Slavic philology. The narrative proceeds to Harvard-educated philosophers Harry Wolfson, Horace Kallen, and Morris R. Cohen. A chapter on "men of letters" emphasizes Ludwig Lewisohn, with nods to Felix Adler (Cornell, 1874—1877) — save for this mention, the book does not examine the 16 or more Jewish academics clustered in Semitic philology departments — Joel Spingarn (Comparative Literature, Columbia, 1899—1911), and to Jacob Zeitlin (University of Illinois, 1907—1937), the only Jew to obtain an English department professorship between 1860, when Yale awarded the first American Ph. D., and 1939. The book culminates in a detailed analysis of a "success" story — Lionel Trilling's Columbia 1939 appointment to a Columbia professorship in English. Harry Levin's simultaneous Harvard appointment receives attention in a coda that also alludes to the next generation of professors of English, especially Daniel Aaron (Smith College), and Meyer Abrams (Cornell).

Jews in the Academy discusses the intellectual evolution and the institutional environment of each scholar. The book contributes to our understanding of these oft-studied academics by adding Judaism, its problematics, texts, and methods, to the list of intellectual influences. Adherence to variant religious and cultural patterns within Judaism, Klingenstein suggests, affected the degree of intellectual assimilation and acculturation experienced by these scholars. The backgrounds ranged from

German-tinged bourgeois Russian culture (Leo Weiner), from the Haskala-touched world of the Lithuanian yeshivot (Harry Wolfson), from the impoverished world of the traditional shtetl (Morris Cohen), from German Orthodoxy (Horace Kallen) from German Reform Judaism (Felix Adler), and from the post-Romantic Prussian-German bourgeoisie (Ludwig Lewisohn) . . . [Lionel] Trilling's father came from the city of Bialystock, which Leo Wiener had left in his youth.

Klingenstein shows how each scholar attempted to reconcile the tension between *harut* (bondage) and the *herut* (freedom) of American culture. Despite the subtitle, "The Dynamics of

Intellectual Assimilation," the book foregoes a simplistic "from-to" approach in favor of delineating nuances along a continuum. Focussing on early twentieth century Columbia and Harvard, at a time when anti-Semitic presidents replaced philo-Semitic predecessors, Klingenstein also attempts to show how institutional realities affected intellectual aspirations. Intellectual assimilation to the "consent" culture and personal circumspection, her evidence suggests, best predicted receipt of a permanent university appointment.

Trilling, Weiner, Wolfson, and Zeitlin received these appointments. Weiner remained rooted in universalist philological scholarship, less controversial than criticism within humanities departments, and deemphasized his Jewishness. Harry Wolfson's "scholarship established an interfaith community of thought in which the common problems of philosophy overrode theological or dogmatic differences." Jacob Zeitlin, "steeped in a cult of gratitude" towards American universities, (113) studied and edited the works of the anti-Semitic critic Stuart P. Sherman. Trilling, a generation younger, succeeded in spite of a position nearer to the continuum's center, though Klingenstein's complex analysis defies easy categorization. He reverted to his ordinarily genteel demeanor after a pivotal desk-pounding episode, in which he charged that anti-Semitism motivated Columbia English department members to consider terminating his appointment.

By the same criterion, Adler (Cornell tenure), Kallen, Cohen, Lewisohn, and Spingarn failed. Felix Adler left Cornell in 1877, not quite of his own free will, and remained out of academia for a quarter century, during which time he evolved the principles of the Ethical Culture movement.

Whereas for Harry Wolfson a oneness emerged out of the philosophical writings of medieval Jews, Christians, and Muslims, for Kallen, reality was found in multiplicity. Forsaking traditional Judaism, Horace Kallen gravitated towards a pluralist conception of democracy as "'the inalienable right' to be different" — a right that included advocacy of Zionism as "the attempt at self-realization of his own ethnic group." (35) He left a Princeton instructorship in English literature in 1905 when his contract was not renewed. "It was intimated," writes Klingenstein, "that he would

not have been appointed in the first place had the administration [Woodrow Wilson was Princeton's president] known that Kallen was Jewish." He later became an instructor of philosophy and psychology at Wisconsin, but resigned over an academic freedom issue in 1918. The next year, he helped to found the New School for Social Research, and taught there until his retirement in 1970.

Morris Cohen attributed his failure to obtain an appointment to the Columbia philosophy department to anti-Semitism and, like Kallen, settled for an off-Broadway career. But Cohen rejected Kallen's pluralist response to the harut-herut dichotomy in favor of a universalism — Klingenstein is ambivalent about "assimilationism" (78 and 80) — and a cosmopolitanism that acknowledged the enduring nature of polarities, denied the ultimate validity of any "ism," and celebrated instead rationalism — derived in part from his work with Felix Adler — logic, and scientific method.

Ludwig Lewisohn, Klingenstein continues, "became a champion of the subjective and individual, whereas Cohen remained firmly committed to the objective and communal." (86) She attributes Lewisohn's decline as a literary and social critic to a transmutation of subjectivism into narcissism. In any case, Lewisohn's life was full of transmutations — marital, nationalistic, and religious. He embraced Judaism and Zionism in the 1920s, after years of gyration between forms of Christianity. Lewisohn had left graduate studies on Morningside Heights in 1905 when Columbia English professor Brander Matthews told him that Jews had little hope for an academic appointment, and returned to academe in 1910 to the German departments at Wisconsin and then Ohio State. His Germanic sympathies prompted him to depart from Columbus at the onset of World War I; his next academic appointment came in 1948, when Brandeis University appointed him to a comparative literature professorship. Lewisohn's intellectual flamboyance and self-image as perpetual victim complemented his "not entirely genteel" demeanor. These characteristics bode poorly for a aspirant to a humanities faculty post at an elite university.

Joel Spingarn, taught in Columbia's Comparative Literature department — an entity created to reduce tension between Matthews and George Woodbury, Spingarn's mentor — until his

role in an academic dispute and his refusal to administer the comparative literature department led Columbia to release him in 1911. Applied to Spingarn, the term Jewish refers to an "accidental detail of his descent," Klingenstein notes. She adds, however, that "the sharp dichotomies dominating his life resemble so strongly the intellectual grammar and structures found in other 'alienated' Jewish academies [sic] of the time." (104)

These scholars, too intellectually venturesome, too visible — too Jewish — at best obtained consolation prize appointments. Klingenstein identifies barriers resembling Peter Novick's evidence for history. "Concern with lowering the status of the profession," Novick wrote, "merged into concern with who should be entrusted with the guardianship of the Geist, and with reservations about the allegedly aggressive intellectual and personal style of Jews; a concern that discourse and social life within the profession would become less genteel if it became less gentele."²

Harry Wolfson's story illustrates the strengths and limitations of Jews in the Academy. "Wolfson's intellectual recreation of their [Crescas, Philo, Saadia, Maimonides, and Spinoza's] philosophical worlds," Klingenstein asserts, "was at first graciously acknowledged and later honestly respected by Harvard's academic community." (32) She suggests that Wolfson was "socially paralyzed outside the world of the yeshivot," and attributes his circumspection at Harvard to "the continuation of the traditional respect of the talmudist for the institution that shelters his teaming." (22)

Klingenstein's comment that Wolfson had "thrown in his lot" with Harvard (29) suggests a considerable degree of control over his early career, thereby permitting her to attribute his circumspection to a yeshiva background. But the evidence for control is questionable, as Klingenstein herself acknowledges in a footnote (215, n. 32). Harvard's refusal to pay Wolfson's salary out of unrestricted funds reflects the icy treatment continually meted out by president Abbott L. Lowell. Neither Wolfson's Jewish nor Gentile friends could alleviate a decade of marginality as a decent in the Semitics — not the philosophy — department, symbolized by frequent reappointments, an inability to secure a subvention for the publication of *Crescas*, and residence in out-of-the-way Divinity Hall at a time

when heightened anti-Semitism pervaded Harvard Yard.

Harvard's George Foote Moore, author of the three-volume *Judaism*, recognized the contribution Wolfson achieved in *Crescas*, and persuaded Lowell to renew Wolfson's contract for three years in 1921, contingent upon continued communal funding. But the two also agreed that, unless an endowment miraculously appeared, the renewal would be Wolfson's last. Wolfson gained half a loaf in 1923 when he accepted Stephen Wise's offer to join the new Jewish Institute of Religion, which then agreed to tender half his time back to Harvard for as long as the university wished to continue the arrangement. Lucius Littauer's 1925 endowment of the Nathan Littauer professorship finally ended Wolfson's dependence on hostile Harvard administrators. Perhaps greater use of archival materials that graphically reveal the constraints imposed by Harvard might have led Klingenstein to attribute Wolfson's circumspection to the harut of both Harvard and the yeshiva. In any case, academic recognition and a permanent appointment did not extend to personal acceptance, and Wolfson remained institutionally and socially marginal.

Intellectual assimilation and personal circumspection, Klingenstein's evidence further suggests, were necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for academic success since anti-Semitism could thwart the careers of even the most creative, circumspect, and assimilated scholars. Klingenstein shows that Brander Matthews's cautionary advice to Lewisohn, oft-echoed by other Gentile mentors throughout the humanities, was not incorrect. But, the lack of archival evidence leads us to wonder whether paternalistic "cooling-out" of graduate students substituted for — or complemented — doing battle against one's colleagues, and perhaps for confronting oneself.

The Jewish scholars admitted to the pre-World War II American academic pantheon in the humanities encountered a "consent" culture that might be as restrictive as the "descent" culture. For other early twentieth century Jewish aspirants, full intellectual efflorescence drew upon — but could also require release from — both Judaic and disciplinary traditions. Susanne Klingenstein, though more at home with intellectual than institutional history,

insightfully adds to our knowledge of some influential scholars. *Jews in the Academy* should motivate scholars to investigate the Judaic roots of other university - based Jewish humanists and social scientists.

Harold S. Wechsler

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Notes

1. Nathan Isaacs to Henry Hurwitz, February 6, 1929, Henry Hurwitz Menorah Association Memorial Collection, American Jewish Archives, Box 2722, "1927—1932" file.

2 Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, U. K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 172.

Goldsmith, Emanuel S., Scult, Mel, and Robert M. Seltzer, Edited by. *The American Judaism of Mordecai Kaplan*. New York: New York University Press, 1990, xviii, 460 pp.

What is distinctive about Reconstructionism is its emphasis on rationality. Yet the movement also possesses a reverence for its founder which often borders on cultism. This book at whose core is a collection of papers delivered at a conference of the same title at the Graduate Center of the City University in 1986, exemplifies both tendencies. In it Mordecai Kaplan is allowed to cross swords with the Jewish intellectual luminaries of his day. Kaplan emerges larger than life. What his Reconstructionism intended was nothing less than to rejoin Jewishness and Judaism which had been torn apart by modernity. From the outset the movement was intended to be more than merely a way station between Conservatism and Reform. It was *sui generis* and far more radical a departure than perhaps even Kaplan realized.

We are reminded in these essays that Mordecai Kaplan was not the only Jewish thinker to confront the crisis of faith posed by modernity. The sense of crisis was "in the air." There are remarkable parallels in Kaplan's conceptualizations with the thinking of Israel Friedlander, Achad Ha-Am and others. But Kaplan was virtually alone in his willingness to restructure Judaism to enhance its potential for survival. The solution he proposed was very American, the optimistic Americanism of the Progressive period and the New Deal which placed much confidence in social engineering. He proposed to intrude deeply into the religion with new reshaping mechanisms so that the old vehicle could travel on new highways.

In his introductory essay Robert Seltzer calls him "the Americanizer of Dubnovism," because of the emphasis Kaplan gives to the use of culture as a communal cement. "Before we can have Judaism," Kaplan concludes, "we must have Jewishness." That communalism offered an answer was also a common notion among the Progressive reformers who viewed it as requisite for the proper functioning of democracy. The emphasis on community also made Zionism desirable if only for its peoplehood element. Like Kaplan, Solomon Shechter viewed Zionism as a reinforcing cement and Cyrus Adler who opposed political Zionism through-

out his life was eventually able to reconcile himself to cultural Zionism for the same reason. The Jewish Center was hardly a new idea when Kaplan conceived as a vehicle to carry Jewish religious culture forward. But the weave of Reconstructionism and its willingness to address the problems of faith in a modern secular setting was new. Seventy years later the faith placed in culture and community seems strange. How could such confidence have been mustered when the symptoms of decline in the Yiddish theater and press, synagogue attendance and even the Zionist movement in America were so apparent?

Mordecai Kaplan's conceptions have not withstood the ravages of time. The crisis of survival of American Jewry is sharper than ever and decline is still in the air. But Reconstructionism was the first serious attempt by an American Jewish thinker to confront the new secular mind set whose primary commitment was to the development of self rather than the worship of God. The task he set himself, to construct out of the secular sensibility a Judaism which would survive in the American environment and bear some linkage to the traditional religious culture was difficult, perhaps impossible to fulfill. He emerges from these essays very much an engaged modern person and like so many moderns he is less intent on belief and faith and more on understanding and program. He proposed a radical departure from what Judaism was in order, he imagined, to save it. He was perhaps too pessimistic about orthodoxy which paradoxically also placed great stock in communalism. But it was not based on an abstract sociological conception but on communities of faithful. After World War II it was precisely such communities which displayed the greatest vitality.

Aside from an insightful introductory essay there are twenty articles in this collection organized in five categories. The first "Contexts" seeks out the Jewish intellectual nexus out of which Reconstructionism grew. The second "Stages in Life" is biographical. The third "Intellectual Contemporaries" compares Kaplan's thought with contemporaries like Dewey, Henry N. Wieman, Ahad Ha-Am, Joshua Heschel, Martin Buber and others. A fourth section "Reinterpreting Judaism," deals with Kaplan's theology and metaphysics. Finally the last and in some sense the most interesting section, deals with Kaplan's approach to modern secular

ideologies. It includes an instructive piece on Kaplan's Zionism by Jack Cohen, long associated with the Reconstructionist movement. Carol Kessner explores the role of women in Kaplan's life and does some merciless pop-psychologizing on the impact of his domineering mother. But ultimately the essay frees itself of its feminist stridency to become informative. Baila Shargel expends talent and energy in trying to find a bridge between Friedlander and Kaplan only to discover that although they were contemporaries and colleagues they transacted little intellectual or fraternal business. Simon Noveck observes, I think accurately, that in some sense Milton Steinberg, one of the coterie of students drawn to Kaplan and a founder of Reconstructionism in his own right, was perhaps more theologically profound than his mentor precisely because he was less spoiled by sociology and cultural anthropology. The most informative of these essays because it is focused on a single theme is Mel Scult's "Becoming Centered". What promises to be the most exciting essay of all, Eliezer Schweid's "The Reconstruction of Jewish Religion out of Secular Culture" looses something in translation from the Hebrew and is difficult to follow.

There is no single voice which emanates from this volume but the many things it touches upon informs us that Kaplan's thinking was broad. He shared the optimistic posture of the pre-Holocaust modernist of the twenties. He thought its value-free, amoral character could be altered and even used to save an ancient faith. Distressed by the crisis of faith he observed in his students at JTS he became convinced that an opening to such laundered modern values would allow Jews to have the best of both worlds. The Reconstructionist movement and all "modern" Jews still struggle with that solution. A contrived ethnically rooted religious culture can celebrate Judaic principles and precepts. It can enshrine its ceremonies. But it cannot sacralize them nor can it create faith where there is none. There can be no Jewishness without Judaism.

—Henry L Feingold

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Helmreich, William B.; *Against All Odds; Holocaust Survivors and the Successful Lives They Made* New York: Simon and Schuster 1992, 348 pp.

This book, which the author, a professor of Sociology and Judaic Studies, decided to write as "a popular work", is well researched and contains much valuable information regarding the post-war adjustment of Holocaust survivors.

The book is based on 170 interviews of survivors of the Holocaust who had come to the United States after W. W. II. The author describes these interviews as having been conducted "indepth". However, they were not designed to discover depth-psychological problems, rather, they focused on the survivors social *adjustment* in the United States. In view of this, one wonders why, in his summary, the author cites only psychological rather than social and economic factors that contributed to the survivors' successful adjustment in the United States.

One of the most praiseworthy features of the book is that the author was careful not to make broad generalizations. Instead, in order to underscore a particular observation, he had chosen verbatim descriptions by individual survivors from the 15,000 pages of data he collected over a six year period. This design also served to emphasize the uniqueness of each survivor's experience; the differences in their pre-Holocaust lives, their ages, the length and the severity of their camp experiences and the extent of their losses. However, in spite of this diversity, certain "Jewish values" became apparent in these interviews. For example, in the Displaced Persons camps, while waiting for immigration, survivors set up schools, organizations and published newspapers, indicating a capacity to resurrect a value system that "had been nurtured and developed in the families and communities in which they were raised prior to the war".

The "official reception" of the refugees, on the part of the American government, was highly disappointing. For the first three years after the war, until 1948, only 50,000 Jews entered the United States since immigration could occur only in keeping with the quota of the country of their origin. The majority of survivors entered after June 1948 when the first Displaced Persons Act was

passed which allowed 200,000 Jews and non-Jews to enter. This was still an extremely low number in terms of the actual need and was eventually expanded in 1950 to 415,744.

The book provides excellent insight into the efforts that the American Jewish agencies as well as individuals made in order to meet the special needs of the refugees: a cultural gap had to be bridged as right after the war little was known about the extent and the severity of the survivors' sufferings. The HIAS and the USNA (United Service for New Americans) provided a great deal of help in the form of job training, equipment for new enterprise, English language instructions and other needed social services. The *Landsmanschaften* (societies of natives of a particular town or region in Europe) on the other hand, provided a cultural network and a badly needed sense of belonging. Though much had changed in the survivors' social lives since those early days, most have emphasized that there remained a high degree of consciousness of their special status among Americans and that they felt "marginal" to American society at large.

Most survivors used the financial help from the various agencies as a stepping stone and soon struck out on their own. Some of the statistics in this respect are truly remarkable, such as that (according to USNA) by 1953 less than two percent required financial assistance, and, of these, nearly all were either aged, sick or physically disabled. A study in Cleveland found that while two thirds of the survivors had unskilled jobs upon arrival (only very few were professionals and most had to interrupt their schooling during the war), that percentage was reduced to one third five years later. They also earned the same amount of money as native Cleveland residents. Reading about the success of some of these men and women, is a heart-warming and uplifting experience. Though many of them became multi-millionaires, they considered raising "a nice family" as the most legitimate source of pride. The book is a welcome antidote to the image that was created of the Holocaust survivor by many psychological investigators which — based on the small sample of survivors who sought professional help — focused on the pathological consequences of the survivors

traumatic experiences. Random sampling, such as was done in this book, indicates that we know little about the "average" survivor's mental health.

Marriage and family life was of prime importance to the survivors: 83% were married in comparison to 62% American Jews in the same age bracket. Their children had excellent school records and "there was relatively little crime or juvenile delinquency among the survivors and their children". Once reasonably secure, they spent time, energy and money on causes related to Israel and other Jewish affairs. About 67% belonged to Jewish groups as compared to 48% American Jews — many of them assuming leadership in these organizations. More recently, survivors had become concerned with preserving the memory of, and the education related to, the Holocaust. This may be responsible for the proliferation of Holocaust museums and memorials in this country.

Though this is not a book on the psychological aspects of the survivors' adjustment, the chapter "Living with Memories" indicates that though their memories could easily be awakened (for example 72% agreed with the statement that "the sight of a uniform, a knock on the door, dogs barking, smoke from a chimney and hearing the German language, could provoke anxiety in them), only about 18% sought professional help because of persistent psychological problems. The author's admiration for the survivors' capacity to recover is obvious in this chapter and he concludes that "their ability to lead normal lives suggests that even conditions as horrible as those in Nazi-occupied Europe could not destroy the effects of positive socialization in the crucial years of infancy and childhood".

The book's value would have been greatly enhanced, had the author — in addition to the ten psychological factors which he cites — included in his explanation of the survivors' success, the economic conditions that existed in the United States following the war years: in the fifties and sixties, the United States enjoyed a tremendous economic boom and anyone with a workable idea for business or with the ambition "to make it" in the world of commerce had an excellent opportunity to do so. The other important factor in the success of the survivors that ought to have been

emphasized was the average age of survivors. In order to survive physically, they had to be between the ages of seventeen and somewhere in the mid-thirties or early forties. People in this age-group are most resilient physically and emotionally — and most importantly — as long as their reproductive organs remained intact, they could create new families which inspired and motivated them to work hard and provide their children with financial and educational benefits that they themselves were deprived of. Particularly fortunate were those survivors who, like this reviewer, were young enough to embark on postgraduate education and acquire an advanced degree. Universities, having had good experiences with earlier Jewish refugees from Europe, were particularly receptive and helpful to these new comers. Obviously, this too depended on the relative wealth that institutions of higher learning enjoyed in the two decades following the war.

This book will inspire equally those who are well informed about the Holocaust as well as those who have only meager knowledge about it and the adjustment that these severely traumatized people had made in the United States.

— Anna Ornstein

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Athans, Mary Christine *The Coughlin-Fahey Connection*. New York: Peter Lang, 1991. 265pp.

Long overdue, this research attempts to examine the theological roots of anti-Semitism in the United States in the second quarter of the twentieth century via Father Charles Coughlin, famous "radio priest."¹

Focusing on the notorious figure of Father Charles Coughlin, the author follows systematically his Sunday sermons and writings to prove that his crusade against the Jews operated within a religious framework, based upon ultraconservative European sources. It was the relationship between Coughlin and Denis Fahey, an Irish priest of the Holy Ghost Congregation, Professor of Philosophy and Church History at the Holy Ghost Missionary College, Kimmage, Dublin, that helped to justify Coughlin's anti-Semitic statements in the United States after 1938.

Whereas the object of this study is to explore the rise of religious anti-Semitism in the United States via Father Coughlin, a major part of the study examines Fahey's personality, writings and convictions. Fahey's role as a source of support to Father Coughlin's anti-Semitic agitation has never been denied. Father Coughlin himself referring to Fahey whenever he needed an authoritative source to prove his anti-Semitic arguments.² He cited repeatedly and extensively parts of Fahey's *Mistical Body of Christ and the Reorganization of Society*; he reprinted and publicized Fahey's works and confirmed the Irish priest's authority on many anti-Jewish arguments.

No doubt, the author's conclusion concerning Fahey's influence on Father Coughlin is well established. She rightly states that Coughlin used Fahey's rationale to promote his own anti-Semitism. Coughlin indeed made good use of Fahey's Catholic persuasion to give his anti-Semitism a respectable and more authoritative stance. He no doubt operated within a comfortable religious framework. Yet, it seems to me that his anti-Semitism was intermingled with all sorts of other prejudices in an overall nativism. Although the author handles well the comparison between the

two priests, (pp. 160-163) she could have perhaps gone deeper into Coughlin's theological convictions, before 1938 and after, in order to arrive at clear conclusions regarding religious anti-Semitism in the United States.

The author breaks new ground in her discussion of Fahey. The book is a distinct and significant contribution to the study of Irish Catholic anti-Semitism in the second quarter of the twentieth century. The chief virtue of the work is the (until now) unused primary source materials and their incisive analysis, especially when dealing with Fahey's intellectual perspectives. However it seems to me that it contributes less to the understanding of religious anti-Semitism in the United States.

The book is divided into unequal parts. Most of the chapters deal with Fahey's perspective on theology, economics, ecology and the Jewish question. With Fahey the author has indeed done pioneering work. However, if the object of the research was, as stated, to examine the theological roots of anti-Semitism in the United States via Father Coughlin, she could have done more. The two figures of the Irish and American priests are not dealt within proportion. Wider treatment is given to Fahey. (138 pages as against 60 pages devoted to Father Coughlin). Fahey's writings are analyzed thoughtfully whereas Coughlin is presented in one dimension. The author pays less attention to Coughlin's religious convictions and provides simplified explanations for his sudden move, in late 1938, towards anti-Semitism.

In order to show the wide influence Fahey's anti-Semitic writings had on the American scene the author reveals "a substantial group of Americans, both Catholic and Protestant, with a theological rationale for their anti-Semitic orientations." (p.211) Of the many Americans who, according to the author, corresponded with the priest only four are mentioned. The author herself is not sure if the American correspondents supported Fahey's anti-Semitic perspective. Some, she admits, may have approved of his theological concepts or his beliefs on economy and ecology. (p. 209) Although it might prove that the four mentioned were receptive to Fahey's anti-Semitic perspective it does not however establish the author's final conclusion, that Fahey "had indeed become a significant per-

son to a substantial number of Americans in the period 1938—1954 after his introduction to the United States by Coughlin." (p. 233) Apart from Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith who was indeed a notorious anti-Semite, the others were less known, if at all. Even with Reverend Smith, the correspondence cited (pp. 211-215) does not indicate that his views were influenced by Fahey's Catholic theological thinking. More so, Smith was often accused of anti-Catholicism. (pp. 214, 222.)

Notwithstanding the above criticism, the author has contributed significantly to the on going discussion of an important topic - anti-Semitism in the United States. Her emphasis throws new light on conservative ideas prominent in the Catholic church and its relationship to American anti-Semitism, popular bigotry and sophisticated anti-Jewish theology in the period between the two world wars.

—Bat Ami Zucker

Bat Ami Zucker is Professor of American History at the Bar-Ilan University, Israel. She is the author of numerous books and articles dealing with American Jewish history and life.

Notes

1. Previous scholars focused on Father Charles Coughlin mainly from a political and socio-cultural point of view. See for example: Ruth Mugglebee, *Father Coughlin of the Shrine of the Little Flower*. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1933; Charles J. Tull, *Father Coughlin and the New Deal*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1965; Sheldon Marcus, *Father Charles E. Coughlin: The Tumultuous Life of the Priest of the Little Flower*. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1973; Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin and The Great Depression*. New York: Random House, 1983; David H. Bennett, *Demagogues in the Depression: American Radicals and the Union Party, 1932—1936*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969; Louis B. Ward, *Father Charles E. Coughlin: An Authorized Biography*. Tower Publications, 1933; Gary Marx, *The Social Basis of the Support of a Depression Era Extremist: Father Coughlin*. (Survey Research Center, University of California, 1962; Gerald S. Brown, S. Brown, S.S. "The Reverend Charles S. Coughlin and the 1936 Election". M. A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1971.)

2. Coughlin's radio series (November 6, 1938 - June 1, 1939) published under the title "*Am I an Anti-Semite?: 9 Addresses on Various "ISM" Answering the Question*". Royal Oak, Michigan: Radio League of the Little Flower. 1939.

Schwartz, Shuly Rubin. *The Emergence of Jewish Scholarship in America: The Publication of the Jewish Encyclopedia*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1991. xii, 235 pp.

At a time when we are being treated to numerous Cassandra prophecies regarding the future of Jews and Judaism in the United States, Shuly Rubin Schwartz tells the inside story of the production of the Funk and Wagnalls *Jewish Encyclopedia* at the turn of the century, hailing the project as signifying a shift in the center of Jewish scholarship from Vienna, Berlin and Breslau to New York.

The first encyclopedia in our history was the Talmud, that gigantic compendium of all that was connected with Jewish civilization for a thousand years.¹ It was the work of a body of scholars, reflecting diverse points of view. One of the reviews of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, when it first appeared, hailed it as follows: It "will become to the Jews of today what the Talmud and the Shulhan Arukh were to the Jews of former generations."

Such enthusiasm may be understood in view of the fact that the *JE* was indeed the first comprehensive Jewish encyclopedia. Ahad Ha-Am had thought of producing an "Otzar Yisrael," a vast compendium embracing every aspect of Jewish life and scholarship, but nothing ever came of the idea. At about the same time a beginning was made on a comprehensive encyclopedia in Hebrew, but it was never followed through to completion. Volume II of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* carries a detailed account of the many attempts to produce such compendiums. The *JE* itself contains a rather short survey of attempts by its predecessors, The Preface to Volume I provides a 15-page account of the birth of the *JE*, but it contains none of the fascinating details which Dr. Schwartz presents.

At the outset she pays tribute to that complex personality, Isidor Singer, scholars' visionary and entrepreneur who fathered the plan for the *JE* and saw it through to the end. Singer always thought big. In 1892 he had proposed an international Jewish loan of \$500,000,000 to finance Jewish emigration out of Eastern Europe, the annual interest presumably to be covered by contributions. Nothing came of it. In 1901 he was promoting a plan for establishment of a University of Jewish Learning. Unlike the rabbinical seminaries of the time, it was to be international and cosmopolitan

in nature. Later there were dozens of other grandiose plans for sets of books, motion pictures and radical revision of theologies among other dreams.

Yet his "confrontational personality and wild ideas" antagonized people and alienated him from many American Jewish leaders.

He first planned to produce the *JE* in Germany, then in France, but failing to obtain a publisher and financial backing, in New York. Here he met with opposition, in part because the CCAR (Central Conference of American Rabbis) had its own plans for an encyclopedia. Singer turned to the non-Jewish firm of Funk and Wagnalls. Funk, a Lutheran minister, was interested in religious works, but also saw commercial possibilities for the work among Jews. It was made clear to Singer that this could not be a one-man affair. He agreed to broaden the editorial direction, and obtained the cooperation of men like Richard Gottheil, Cyrus Adler, Morris Jastrow and later others. "The board was a fragile alliance of rabbis and laymen, traditionalists and reformers, Jews and Christians," leading to constant tensions and disagreements.

We are told of the conflicting ambitions and the personality clashes among the editors and scholarly contributors, with threats to resign. Many of the tensions were caused by differences between adherents of Reform Judaism and advocates of a more traditional point of view. Practical problems included the assignment of articles, which topics to include, their lengths and who was to give final approval of texts.

Volume I appeared in the spring of 1901. Only 6,000 subscribers had been obtained, and the costs were mounting, in part because of the habit of many writers of making last minute changes on the proofs.

The immediate financial crisis was solved when 17 wealthy Jews guaranteed the amount required, receiving copies of the encyclopedia in return. Despite obstacles and tensions, which are described in detail, all 12 volumes were completed by December 31, 1905, as targeted, a masterful accomplishment indeed. Dr. Schwartz tells that it was reprinted in 1909 and 1914, adding not too many new subscribers. My personal set of the *JE* is marked "Copyright, 1901 and 1912."

Several chapters in the volume under review are devoted to a

thoughtful analysis of the contents of the *JE*. Racism in those days did not have the same connotations as in our time, and many contributors sought to prove that Jews were indeed a race, even a pure one. Other articles strived to show that Jews were not a separate race, for this militated against the authors' desired goal — for full integration.

The editors tried to paint a positive image of Judaism, bearing in mind that many of the readers would be non-Jews. An aura of objectivity was obtained by including contributions from many non-Jewish scholars.

The review of Jewish life in America was almost apologetic in tone, seeking to prove that Jews were good Americans. The treatment of Eastern European Jewry, though it introduced much new materials was marked by an attitude of criticism and disdain, with many "unflattering characterizations". There is no entry under Yiddish; the heading is "Jargon - see Judaeo-German", where the subject is given about six pages. Compare with Judaeo-Persian, in the same volume, which is given almost eleven pages!

The entry on Jesus runs for about 13 pages. Compare with less than four pages in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

Antisemitism was treated in some articles as a "fundamental absurdity", while other articles sought to combat accusations with rational arguments. In the spirit of the times, perhaps, the longest article in the set which deals with one specific event, is that on the Dreyfus Case.

Dr. Schwartz makes her point quite clearly that publication of the *JE* marked the emergence of America as the center of Jewish scholarship from the early 1900s, citing the various institutions and manifestations of such learning. Yet, she adds, America "did not replace such endeavors elsewhere. Today the serious study of Judaism flourishes in many areas of the world, especially in the state of Israel."

This is faint praise indeed for Israel, and there are many in that country, and perhaps elsewhere as well, who find more than a few symptoms of the new transfer of the center of scholarship now from New York to Jerusalem. Our author takes only casual note of the publication of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* (1971) in Israel as "another English language encyclopedia completed on a scale large enough to supplant the original one."

There is no gainsaying that the production of the *JE* at the turn of the century was a stupendous achievement and we are indebted to Shuly Rubin Schwartz for bringing us the full inside story of its creation

One of the key figures on the editorial board was Prof. Richard Gottheil, first president of the Federation of American Zionists, and he was interested in having the Zionist movement adequately represented. The articles on Basel Congress and Basel Program are signed only with an asterisk, but the Guide to the *JE* lists Herzl as the author. Volume VI (published in 1904, the year of his death), contains his biography, written by Jacob deHaas, who had been "honorary secretary" to Herzl in Britain, and his spokesman there.

I can lift the veil from the mystery of Herzl's collaboration in the *JE*, citing from correspondence originally given to me by a member of the Gottheil family, and now on deposit with the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem.

There was a prolific correspondence between Gottheil and Herzl, and as early as March 34, 1900, Gottheil wrote to Herzl: "My letter to you today is of a somewhat peculiar nature. It does not deal with our current Zionist work, and yet it has some bearing on it. In looking over the thousands of topics which will enter into the Jewish Encyclopedia which we are now preparing, I see that naturally the article 'Zionism' comes at the very end of the alphabet, and will consequently not appear for four or five years. I have therefore gained the consent of my fellow editors to insert an article under the heading of "Basle Congress", which will bring it into the second volume, which we hope to have ready early next year. You can imagine that I do not want any one but yourself to sign that article, which ought to treat of the three Congresses which have already been held, and perhaps I may still have time to add a note in regard to the fourth. Any material which ought to be added to that which will naturally come in this articles can of course come in under the article 'Zionism'. The article can contain from 1500 to 2000 words and can be written in German as we have a force of translators in the office. One of your assistants can no doubt put together the figures and data which the article ought to contain, but we wish you to be responsible for it and sign it."

Gottheil returned to the subject again on May 4, 1900, asking

Herzl: "Will you not have some young men in Vienna put together an article on the "Basler Congresses" from your various writings, and send them to us? I do very much want to have your name in the first volume of our work."

The galley proof, which I have in my possessions is dated April 15, 1902, and carries the initials T.H. It contains essentially the same articles which were eventually published in Volume II under the headings of "Basel Congress" and "Basel Program", except for minor emendations which for the most part update them to 1904.

On April 28, 1902, Herzl wrote to Gottheil: "I return to you herewith proof of the Encyclopedia, and ask you to see that the letters T.H. are omitted, as I do not want to pose as collaborator on the congress."

Gottheil made one final attempt. In a letter to Frank Vizitelly, who was secretary of the editorial board, he wrote on May 14, 1902: "The Doctor returned the proof-sheets uncorrected to me, with a letter in which he absolutely refused to have his signature attached to it. I enclose his letter [quoted above]. I imagine that his reluctance to let us use his signature arises from the fact that his name is mentioned in the article. Perhaps if the publishing house writes to him he may change his view."

This apparently spelled the end of the effort to obtain Herzl's signature on the articles.

The 20-page comprehensive article on Zionism which appears in Volume XII was written and signed by Gottheil.

I close on a personal note. My own set of the *JE* contains a frontispiece, bound into Volume IV printed in elaborate and colorful calligraphy, reading as follows: "This set of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* has been especially prepared for Max L. Alpert, and presented by him to his beloved wife, Flora, on this Fourth day of August in the year Nineteen Hundred Twelve. Signed, Benjamin F. Funk."

It is an indication of the methods used at the time to promote the sale of the Encyclopedia. It also tells something about my father, then a struggling immigrant of less than ten years in the U. S., who made this his wedding gift to his young bride on their wedding day.

Thus, I was raised on the *JE*. As soon as I learned to read, the most available material in the house was the twelve volumes over which I pored from early childhood, I was raised on the *JE* in a lit-

eral sense as well, for when I was too small to reach the dining table, I am told, one of the thick volumes was placed on the chair so that I might be raised to the proper height.

—Carl Alpert

Carl Alpert was Associate Editor for Americana of the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia and a contributor to the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. He was for some years Managing Editor of *The New Palestine*, and since 1952 has been resident in Haifa, where he was associated with the Technion. He authors an internationally syndicated weekly column from Israel.

Note

1. Misha Louvish, "World Civilization in Hebrew", *Zionist Newsletter*, December 13, 1949, p. 20, This is an early book review of *Ha'entziklopedia Ha'ivrit*, Volume I.

Fishmah, Sylvia Barach. *A Breath of Life: Feminism in the American Jewish Community*. New York: Free Press, 1993 xii, 308 pp.

If there was ever a time when feminism could be dismissed as a passing fad, by the early 1970's most segments of the American Jewish community were taking it seriously. Bounded on one end by those who claimed that they had long ago acknowledged the full equality of women and on the other end by those who denied that feminism had anything to say to Judaism, most American Jewish institutions from the synagogue to the family were to be permanently altered by it.

Sylvia Barack Fishman's book charts the past twenty-five years of this transformation. It expands on her article, "The Impact of Feminism on American Jewish Life," first published in the 1989 volume of the *American Jewish Year Book*. From issues of marriage, parenthood, career and volunteer work, to gender roles, prayer and education, Fishman's thesis is that feminism has been a "breath of life" for the American Jewish community. Jewish feminists, she claims, are renewing and revitalizing American Jewish spiritual and intellectual life just as the Eastern European immigrants did in the late 19th and first half of the 20th centuries (p. 199). "Jewish feminism had made Judaism as a religion a matter of critical attention and importance to more Jews than any other recent movement in American Jewish life" (p. 244).

Her book draws primarily on a combination of personal interviews and Jewish demographic studies to demonstrate these sweeping changes. Interviews and oral history are favorite methodologies of feminist researchers as they try to balance analytic, "objective" data with more experiential personal accounts. While this statistical/anecdotal format works well most of the time, it can be confusing. Demographic data comes to life when buttressed by an example but we can never be sure how representative personal stories are.

The author is also successful when she corrects misperceptions and takes on those who point to feminism as the source of all evil, from the alarming rise in the Jewish divorce rate to the plunging

Jewish birth rate. She recalls some of the failed prophecies of doom such as the imminent demise of male participation in synagogue and Jewish communal life and disabuses those who labor under the misconception that the phenomenon of Jewish women in the work place is a contemporary innovation which has destroyed the tradition of communal volunteerism by women. Persuasively she argues that part-time women workers are the most likely to volunteer for Jewish causes and that the real "'enemy' of women's vibrant involvement in American Jewish communal life is not higher education or careerist aspirations. Rather, it is a weak Jewish life in other areas as well — social, cultural, and religious — regardless of educational or occupational profile (p. 76)." And Fishman credits Orthodoxy, contrary to popular belief, for being the first denomination to provide extensive Jewish education for women (p. 190).

Indeed, of all the denominational responses to Jewish feminism, those of the Orthodox seem the most interesting. First of all, though the Orthodox community may constitute less than 7% of the American Jewish community, it is comprised of many factions whose diversity of views is evident when discussing feminist issues no less than when discussing Zionism. The very idiom of the Orthodox discussion, however, is at issue in the debate. Feminism, it is often argued, is a secular movement whose values are foreign to Judaism and cannot be imposed on it from the outside. Orthodox Jewish women, whose primary allegiance is to *halakha* and to the rabbinic authorities (male) who interpret *halakha*, must struggle to define their goals without resorting to the modern liberal vocabulary of "rights" or "equality." They must function within the categories of traditional *halakha*. Fishman misses the significance of this dynamic when she concludes her extensive *halakhic* discussion of women reclining at the Passover Seder by claiming, "Not for legitimate Jewish legal reasons, therefore, but because he fears the supposedly irresistible effects of female sexuality, Karlinsky prohibits the reclining of women at the Seder table" (p. 176). And later she decries the fact that, "When rabbinical authorities cannot find a specific legal reason for preventing women from assuming a role that implies public status, they often

fall back on sexual innuendo — women may not participate in a given role because their participation may lead to sexual improprieties” (p. 204). Fishman doesn’t seem to understand that sexuality is in and of itself not only a valid traditional Jewish legal category, but perhaps the overriding female characteristic of concern to the rabbis.

Second, while non-Orthodox Jewish feminists may bemoan the lack of freedom and creativity available to their Orthodox sisters, it can also be argued that the proliferation of Jewish women’s prayer groups, described at length here, is primarily an Orthodox phenomenon and that together with the numbers of Orthodox women who are becoming proficient in rabbinic literature, it demonstrates a vitality and commitment among Orthodox women that must of necessity impact on the community at large. We are now witness, for example, to a new-found willingness on the part of primarily Orthodox women to organize and speak out on the issue of *agunahu*, something they were not prepared to do twenty years ago.

Lastly, Orthodoxy is of interest because the most vocal opponents of Jewish feminism — both male and female — can be found within its ranks. The vociferousness of this opposition is a good barometer of the impact that feminism has had on the American Jewish community. As Fishman notes, even those newly Orthodox women who overtly rejected feminism “used feminist rhetoric and emphases to describe their Orthodox lives” (p. 115).

On the other end of the spectrum, Fishman doesn’t hesitate to call to task both those who see the task of feminism as devolving solely upon females as well as those Jewish feminists who, in her view, would sacrifice values which constitute the “bedrock” of Judaism on the altar of radical feminism. Of course there is much disagreement within the Jewish community as to what constitutes authentic Judaism and that is as it should be.

Sylvia Barack Fishman has given us a well-organized, joyfully readable account of the past quarter century of American Jewish feminism. Its impact on the American Jewish community is evident on every page. But as Jews discovered in the latter part of the

19th century, the struggle doesn't end with emancipation. There is a post-equality agenda still to be carried out by Jewish feminism.

— Regina Stein

Regina Stein is completing her doctoral dissertation, a study of the role of gender in American synagogues and Jewish denominations, 1913—1963, at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Phillips, Bruce A. *Brookline: The Evolution of an American Jewish Suburb*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990. 146 pp.

From the mid-nineteenth century on, the city of Boston has been prominent as a center of American Jewish life. Famed for education, culture, and technology, the "Athens of America" has attracted and produced some of the most talented Jews in America, from Brandeis to Bernstein. Though more renowned for its Brahmin and Irish populations, the New England capital has fostered one of the most creative and productive Jewish communities in the U. S. Historically active in diverse fields of Jewish activity - from early Zionism to contemporary Orthodoxy - the Boston Jewish community is especially noteworthy for having given birth both to the first Jewish Federation (1895) and to the first Havurah (1968). Today, metropolitan Boston is home to the sixth largest Jewish population in America, and remains a leading Jewish center. And yet we know little about its past, as the scholarly literature is sorely lacking. Beyond some brief early portraits, there have been only two modern attempts to write a history of Boston Jewry. The first (Ehrenfried, 1963) is a lengthy but amateurish "chronicle" of the community to 1900; and the second (Fein, 1976), though written by an academic, is nearly as superficial as the first and far less informative. Beside these, there are only assorted articles and papers on early Boston Jews (e. g., Reznikoff, 1953), two fine institutional studies (Mann, 1954; Solomon, 1956), and several monographs on local Jewish communities of Boston such as the North End, Chelsea, Mattapan. and, most recently, Roxbury and Dorchester.

In this last category we may now include *Brookline: The Evolution of an American Jewish Suburb*, by Bruce Phillips, a welcome addition to the literature on Jewish Boston. Phillips, a sociologist at Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles, has updated (and abbreviated) his 1975 Ph. D. dissertation for the Garland Publishing series on "European Immigrants and American Society." Written under the direction of Marshall Sklare, the work was an early experiment in "historical sociology," an application of the sociological method to historical material (and a field which has come a long way since). Relying mainly on oral interviews and

synagogue records to analyze the structure of ethnic community, Phillips has sketched a portrait of a representative American Jewish neighborhood of the interwar period. With chapters on residential and occupational mobility, social and religious life, and interethnic relations, it is a standard sociological study. At the same time, Phillips offers a social history of a particular locale. Brookline, once an exclusive Yankee suburb called the "richest town in America," later was turned into "the cultural center of Boston Jewry" and "one of America's most vibrant Jewish communities." This remarkable transformation took place during the interwar years, 1915–1940; Phillips chooses to focus on this period to tell his story of Jewish acculturation and continuity.

The original sources are both the strength and the weakness of the book. Liberally sprinkling quotes from interviews throughout his narrative, Phillips draws us further inside the mindset of these second generation Jews than is usual in such studies. Whether the subject is Jewish-Gentile relations, occupational pursuits, or synagogue styles, we are treated to the uncensored comments and attitudes of the past generation. While uneven in his analysis, Phillips builds an impressionistic communal portrait from the cumulative personal testimonies. Yet, on their own, Phillips' elderly informants cannot possibly reconstruct the earlier history accurately and in its entirety. The reliance on oral sources thus yields some rather poor historical writing, which is regrettable since some of the most interesting questions raised by his study are left unanswered. We learn little about the Jewish pioneers of Brookline, the German Jews who left the relative security of the ethnic South End for the Protestant enclave at the turn of the century. What was their initial reception, and what relations developed between the natives and the newcomers? Similarly, we are left uninformed about the analogous relationship between the German-Jewish "oldtimers" and the first East European arrivals following World War I. Phillips may be forgiven for some of these oversights (Others, such as errors of geographical location, might have been avoided with more careful research), since his study is primarily concerned with the evolution of the community between the world wars.

Whereas documentary resources also have their limitations, the book's best chapters are based on synagogue records. Chapter 4 compares the two major congregations of Brookline, the moderate Reform Ohabei Shalom and the right-wing Conservative Kehillath Israel. By stressing their contrasting styles, or "institutional personalities" (Sklare), Phillips demonstrates the complementary social functions of the American synagogue. Ohabei Shalom, through its program of religious acculturation, provided Brookline Jews with the institutional means to find acceptance in the Gentile world. Kehillath Israel, on the other hand, enabled the creation of a Jewish world in Brookline. Both synagogues fulfilled important needs of the community and therefore coexisted in a symbiotic relationship. Such an arrangement - a left-of-center "temple" and a right-of-center "shul" jointly serving the community - is far more prevalent in American Jewish life than has been previously noted, and is an important alternative to the more familiar threefold division of congregational life. Likewise, Phillips case study of the Temple Brotherhood is an original and valuable contribution to the literature on Jewish communal life.

As a sociology of an American Jewish community, *Brookline: The Evolution of an American Jewish Suburb* warrants comparison with other communities and their studies. Here, the title is somewhat misleading: Brookline is not a suburb in the classical sense of a Levittown or a Lakeville. Rather, it is what Sam B. Warner, Jr. called a "streetcar suburb," an originally sub-urban town drawn into the ecological sphere of the city by public transportation and commercial development. Brookline is where city turns into suburb, it is both and neither. Phillips makes the point by emphasizing both the urban quality of Coolidge Corner, the epicenter of Jewish Brookline, and the more pastoral qualities of the formerly rural village. The duality explains the powerful pull of Brookline upon Boston's Jews: as Jewish urbanites, they gravitated to a familiar environment; and as rising Americans, they aspired to the country living of their Yankee predecessors. Like Brookline itself, they became both part of and separate from Boston - not suburban at all, but living in the mediating middle ground of a quintessential American-Jewish "neighborhood" (the more appropriate term).

Thus, the relevant comparison is not to Marshall Sklare's *Jewish*

Identity on the Suburban Frontier (1967), but to Deborah Dash Moore's *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews* (1981). In Brookline as in Brooklyn, a Jewish neighborhood was defined by its matrix of apartment houses and private homes, of synagogue centers and public schools. While Moore's is a far more richly detailed history and remains the standard work on the period, Phillips nonetheless fills in some gaps. In addition to his comparative approach to the neighborhood's synagogues, he offers statistical information on the occupational structure of Jewish Brookline as well as an interesting discussion of interethnic relations, both of which are topics missing from *At Home in America*. Phillips, unlike Moore, brings his subject up to date with a concluding chapter on contemporary Brookline; it is an interesting though all too brief excursus. (Neither book explores the roles of women and family, subjects that have gained greater currency of late.) Brookline - in whole or in part - might usefully be added to course syllabi as a companion to Moore's text. For the popular audience, however, Phillips' is sadly inadequate. Where Moore's book has many wonderful photographs and just the right number of tables, the Garland publication lacks any such appeal. Too many charts and graphs (the sociologist's delight) and no photographs at all combine to make this seem still a dreary dissertation (though the bibliography has been inexplicably omitted) rather than a readable community history. [Not that photographs are irrelevant to the scholar. Pictorial evidence of synagogue architecture to support the otherwise valuable congregational comparison would have been particularly welcome.]

Though imperfect in many respects, *Brookline: The Evolution of an American Jewish Suburb* as a whole offers an important corrective to the controversial thesis advanced in the recently published *Death of an American Jewish Community*, by Larry Harmon and Hillel Levine. Harmon and Levine assert that the demise of the Jewish neighborhoods of Roxbury and Dorchester was due less to the incremental socioeconomic rise and resulting residential shifts of the Jewish community than to the classist and racist policies of banking and real estate concerns, city authorities, and of the Jewish leadership itself. In their elaborate diatribe, they virtually ignore the lure of the nearby Jewish haven of Brookline, the "miss-

ing link" of their flawed argument. We now await a more comprehensive approach than either book, a study that might examine the links between the neighborhoods and the ties between the generations, and thus portray the greater panorama of the Jewish community of Boston. In the meantime, Bruce Phillips has provided a handy portrait of Boston's current "Jerusalem of America" - Brookline, U. S. A.

—David Kaufman

David Kaufman did his doctoral work, with a dissertation on the synagogue-center as institution and movement, at Brandies University.

Schwartz, I.J. *Kentucky* (translated from the Yiddish by Gertrude W. Dubrovsky). Tuscaloosa, Ala: University of Alabama Press, 1992. xvi, 238 pp.

When one thinks of Kentucky writers the names that come to mind first are those of Robert Penn Warren and Jesse Stuart. Up to now, hardly anyone would have had any reason to mention I. J. Schwartz (1885—1971) in the same breath. With the publication of Gertrude W. Dubrovsky's translation from the Yiddish of Schwartz's epic poem "Kentucky," Schwartz's name, however odd the association, must be inextricably linked to those of Warren and Stuart.

The association is odd because while Kentuckians and other Americans up to now have never heard of Schwartz, his "Kentucky" was well known to three generations of Yiddish readers throughout the world, many of whom subsequently immigrated to the United States. For them it was their first introduction to life in the great American hinterland, to the huge class of alien country beyond the familiar urban Jewish settlements of the East coast.

Sociologically, the translated poem is inordinately valuable, for it convincingly confirms the ubiquitous presence in the post-Civil War American Southland of Jewish settlements — there were Jewish settlers before the war too — a fact that sophisticated Jewish and non-Jewish urbanites outside the South continue to find curious and surprising. Because the Southern Jewish community has produced no national literary giants to tell its story as the Northeast and the Midwest have produced Philip Roth and Saul Bellow, for example, Jews living outside the South know little about the history and life-styles of Southern Jews.

I. J. Schwartz knew and lived that history for a time, and he was therefore well-qualified to write about it. He came from Lithuania to America in 1906 and settled in New York. Almost immediately, he was associated with *Di yunge* (the young ones) a coterie of immigrant Jewish poets, polemicists and intellectuals writing in Yiddish. In 1918, he moved with his wife and daughter to Lexington, Kentucky where his sister had settled in 1904. There he and his wife became dry goods, millinery and ready-to-wear merchants. They moved on in 1930, first to Florida and then to several

points west. "Kentucky" was composed in Lexington between 1918 and 1922. It appeared serially in the Yiddish journal *Zukunft* and was published in its entirety in 1925.

While "Kentucky's" sociological value is of phenomenal interest, its literary worth must be our major concern, for its permanent reputation must rest on its literary merits. The process of assessing the value of a translation of poetry is always fluid and chancey, and few of us know enough Yiddish to render substantive judgments. It is clear from Ms. Dubrovsky's introduction that she is competent, sensitive and professional, and that her translation, while it was a labor of love, made every attempt to render the text objectively and in terms closest to the author's intentions.

As a Southern Jew born in a coal-mining hamlet in Kentucky close to Lexington one year after the epic poem was published in book form, I find that its characterizations, depictions of non-Jewish community life and Jewish responses to it, and Jewish generational changes ring absolutely true. My father, who came from Lithuania to Kentucky just after the turn of the century, could easily have served as the model for Schwartz's protagonist, Joshua. Like Joshua, he started out as a peddler and then began to provide farmers with household goods and farm supplies, at the same time buying from them scrap metal, hides, wool and ginseng. Hence, the poem brought back my own past, and put it sharply in focus in the thematic terms of interfaith relations, Baptist fundamentalism, Jewish-black relationships, black poverty and exploitation (both internal and external), Jewish and Christian family dynamics separate and intertwined, the ambiguity of the juxtaposition of Puritan sexual inhibitions and unbridled lust, racial and gender intolerance, a value system that put the worth of horses and alcohol above the worth of human beings, the enchanting but deadly beauty of the landscape and the Southerners' propensity for violence. Schwartz didn't miss a thing; he got it all, and he got it right!

In an age that has all but eschewed serious poetry the epic poem is totally vulnerable. If it has a chance of being read at all, that option is dependent upon one or the other of two structural presences. One is a swiftly-moving captivating narrative; the other is lyrical beauty. If both are present, so much the better. Schwartz has the narrative

capability and it alone commands the reader's attention. While there are passages where the deft manipulation of adjectives provides for the embodiment and fleshing out of the imagery appropriate to the locale — in a few cases this is exceptionally well managed — on the whole it is clear that Schwartz's talent as a lyricist is limited. There are hardly any passages of sustained beauty. Perhaps they are there in the original Yiddish; they are nowhere to be found in translation. As a poet Schwartz is no Robert Penn Warren. However, if one compares Kentucky to Warren's enormously perceptive and appealing work *Wilderness*, his novel of a German-Jewish immigrant fighting with the Yankees during the Civil War, Schwartz's epic poem does not come up lacking. Whatever its shortcomings, it deserves to be widely read and studied.

—Joseph Cohen

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Kaufman, Menahem, *An Ambiguous Partnership: Non Zionists and Zionists in America, 1939—1948*. Detroit and Jerusalem: The Magnes Press-The Hebrew University and Wayne State University Press, 1991. 418 pp.

"I would prefer to be called a 'pro-Palestinian' than a nonZionist," Cyrus Adler once remarked.¹ The difference was more than mere semantics. During the years that Louis Brandeis led the American Zionist movement (1914—1921), Zionist ideology in the United States underwent a process of Americanization which all but eradicated the differences that had previously separated American Zionists from those American Jews who regarded themselves as "non-Zionists." Both factions were advocates of refugee-Zionism, or "Palestinianism," Yonathan Shapiro's unwieldy but incisive term for the approach that stressed the philanthropic aspect of helping Jewish refugees build a homeland in Palestine, while downplaying contentious European Zionist concepts such as the inevitability of anti-Semitism or the promotion of Jewish nationalism in the Diaspora.² This "Palestinianism" bridged the gap that formerly separated Adler and his friends from Brandeis and other leaders of the Zionist movement.

Nevertheless, the road to unity between American Zionists and non-Zionists was not always smooth. Some of the more outspoken Zionists were never comfortable with the alliance; consider Stephen Wise's colorful denunciation of Felix Warburg, leader of the non-Zionists during the 1930's, as someone who "would be a fine president for a *Chevra Kedisha* [Jewish burial society] in Hamburg in 1730, but he is not the man to dominate the living purpose of a reborn people."³ Tension between the two sides was exacerbated when the subject of Jewish statehood was thrust to the forefront by the Peel partition plan of 1937. Zionists who favored Peel's plan for the establishment of a Jewish State clashed with non-Zionists who feared that statehood for Jews in Palestine would raise questions about the loyalties of Jews in the Diaspora. This fundamental disagreement over whether the Jews should have a sovereign state, as most of the Zionists wanted, or some-

thing considerably less than that, as the non-Zionists preferred, intensified during the war years, which is where Menahem Kaufman's account begins. The plight of European Jewry convinced most American Zionists that statehood had become an absolute imperative, even if promoting that goal meant rupturing the Zionist movement's alliance with the non-Zionists.

The fragility of the alliance was illustrated by fate of the Cos Cob talks, which Kaufman describes in appropriate detail. These negotiations, initiated by David Ben Gurion in late 1941, were intended to renew cooperation between American Zionists and the non-Zionist leaders of the American Jewish Committee. The talks produced a draft text which backed Jewish immigration to Palestine and the creation of a Jewish commonwealth there, but the draft never made it off the drawing board. Kaufman, repeating the conventional explanation, ascribes the ultimate failure of the Cos Cob negotiations to the fact that a vociferous anti-Zionist faction within the American Jewish Committee (AJC) lobbied to prevent AJC president Maurice Wertheim from agreeing to the compromise formulae proposed by the Zionists. This explanation is correct — so far as it goes.

What Kaufman neglects to consider is the possibility that the Zionist negotiators, too, had to contend with pressure from political rivals. Just as Wertheim was faced with a challenge from his left, Stephen Wise and the other American Zionists involved in the negotiations were faced with a challenge from their right. Two militant Zionist groups had recently become increasingly active on the American scene: the New Zionist Organization, which was the official U. S. arm of the Revisionist Zionist movement; and the maverick Bergson Group, consisting of a handful of Revisionist sympathizers from Palestine whose flair for hard-hitting newspaper advertisements and other dramatic publicity techniques attracted considerable attention during the war years. Internal discussions among mainstream American Zionist leaders indicate that even as they were bargaining with Wertheim and the AJC, they were looking over their shoulders with apprehension at the rise of the Zionist right. Nahum Goldmann was worried about what he perceived as "the growing strength" of the Bergsonites;⁴

Hadassah's Bertha Schoolman cited the "increase in Revisionist strength in this country" as one of the factors necessitating a more aggressive Zionist posture in 1941;⁵ the ZOA's internal annual report for the year 1942 characterized it as a year of "Zionist political inadequacy" during which "the popularity of [the Bergson Group] zoomed."⁶

The activities of the Revisionists and the Bergsonites threatened to outflank the Zionist establishment in the competition for the sympathy of grassroots American Jews. The Zionist delegates who negotiated with Maurice Wertheim knew that making too many concessions to the non-Zionists could leave them vulnerable to the barbs of their rightwing rivals. This explains the refusal of the Zionists to accept a mid-1942 proposal by Wertheim that Kaufman describes as "quite similar in tone" to the Zionists' own Basle platform. As Kaufman puts it, "given the realities of 1942, [the proposal] was unacceptable to the Zionists." One of those realities' was the growing threat to the Zionist leadership from the Zionist right.

Alarmed by reports of the catastrophe in Europe and pestered by their rightwing Zionist rivals, American Zionist leaders decided, in late 1942, to dramatize their demand for a Jewish national home by convening an American Jewish Assembly that would serve as both a protest rally and an organizing conference. Billed as representative of American Jewish opinion, the Assembly was intended to demonstrate that only a tiny minority of Jews subscribed to the anti-Zionist views of the recently-established American Council for Judaism and the new president of the American Jewish Committee, Joseph Proskauer. Kaufman's detailed description of the pre-Assembly wrangling shows how the Zionists were willing to make cosmetic concessions, such as changing the name of the gathering from Assembly to Conference (Proskauer feared that an "Assembly" might be perceived by non-Jews as something akin to a Jewish parliament), but they would not compromise on the need for a resolution endorsing the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth. The handful of Zionist leaders who tried to soften the language of the Palestine resolution, in order to avoid antagonizing the non-Zionists, were easily outvoted by their more militant colleagues. When the resolution passed,

the AJCommittee angrily withdrew from the Conference. The feeling was mutual; as far as many of the Zionists were concerned, the AJC's exit was 'good riddance to bad rubbish'.

Kaufman offers a critical view of how the AJC behaved following its withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference. He notes that while AJC officials sought to convince the Jewish community of their active opposition to the British White Paper, they privately assured the State Department that they opposed Zionism, supported American policy in the Middle East, and did not expect any change in Britain's administration of Palestine. Kaufman concludes that the AJC's statements regarding the White Paper were merely "for internal consumption" and "were less calculated to achieve positive results than to mend fences within the Jewish community" in order to recoup some of the public support it had lost after the American Jewish Conference fiasco. Even that fence mending was made only grudgingly, according to Kaufman's account. He suggests that the AJC pretended to become more democratic in order to score points with grassroots Jewry, while most of the changes were actually superficial. Here Kaufman takes issue with Naomi Cohen, whose history of the American Jewish Committee, *Not Free to Desist* (1966), portrays the community outreach efforts by the AJC in 1943—1944 as having "concentrated on giving service to the community, rather than on 'selling' AJC."

While Cohen depicts the creation of new AJC departments during 1943—1944 as a response to events in Europe and the rise of anti-Semitism in the United States, Kaufman sees it as a response to the realization "that grassroots Jewry did not support the AJC or its policies." After visiting a number of Jewish communities around the country in the fall of 1943, AJC vice-president Morris Waldman reported back to his superiors that — in Kaufman's words — "American Jews think that the AJC is a New York clique of oligarchs." For Cohen, the establishment of the new departments and the creation of new chapters around the U. S. demonstrated that the AJC's days "as a tight-lipped organization controlled by a New York elite had officially ended."⁸ For Kaufman, they were merely gestures. He emphasizes that an attempt to gain representation for the out-of-town chapters on the AJC's Executive

Committee was "quashed"; those AJC leaders who were part of the 'New York elite' were given the power to name non-elected members to the AJC's governing bodies; and the New York branch safeguarded its control by insisting that delegates to the AJC's decision-making branches be selected according to the size of the Jewish population in each chapter's city, rather than according to the size of the chapter itself.

The postwar revelations about the full extent of the Holocaust moved many of the non-Zionists considerably closer to the Zionist camp. Newsreel footage of the liberated death camps was a powerful argument in favor of creating a Jewish homeland, and the continuing plight of Jewish refugees in Europe's Displaced Persons camps gave that argument a special urgency. Consider the case of Adele Levy, sister of Lessing Rosenwald, the leader of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism. Kaufman describes how Levy, who seems to have previously been sympathetic to her brother's point of view, returned from a visit to the DP camps in 1945, and announced at a convention of the United Jewish Appeal in Atlantic City: "Zionism or no Zionism, ideology or no ideology — that is not my concern. But if Palestine means that they will once more be able to laugh and sing, then we must help these Jews in all possible ways."⁹

The same Joseph Proskauer who had led the American Jewish Committee out of the American Jewish Conference in 1943 over its resolution endorsing a Jewish commonwealth, reversed his position in the summer of 1946 and endorsed the Jewish Agency's proposal to create a Jewish State in a partitioned Palestine. Kaufman's description of the Proskauer reversal is somewhat incomplete, in part because it is based too heavily on AJC sources (he also cites *Not Free to Desist*, which erroneously implies that the Truman administration decided in August 1946 to support partitions); a more comprehensive examination of this episode, based on a wider range of sources, is presented in Michael Cohen's recent study, *Truman and Israel* (1991).¹⁰ Nonetheless, the important point for this study of relations between Zionists and non-Zionists is that the two factions had at last arrived at a common platform, and Proskauer became — in Kaufman's astute observation — "a silent partner in Zionist

political efforts, much as Louis Marshall had been in the 1920's." Zionists and non-Zionists had indeed come full circle, except now, instead of uniting behind refugee-Zionism (or 'Palestinianism'), they joined hands in supporting Jewish statehood.

Despite its occasional lapses, *An Ambiguous Partnership*, is a valuable contribution to the historiography of American Zionism. Rich in detail and keen in analysis, this volume offers the first comprehensive look at an intra-Jewish struggle which has long eluded scholarly scrutiny. There may be no period in American Jewish history more complex and controversial than the early 1940's. Menahem Kaufman has contributed to our understanding of the dilemmas that American Jews faced during those tumultuous years and the disputes that kept them from uniting at a time of unprecedented crisis.

—Raphael Medoff

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Notes

1. *New Palestine*, October 26, 1928, 295.
2. Yonathan Shapiro, *Leadership of the American Zionist Organization, 1897—1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 248-261.
3. Wise to Gottheil, September 8, 1930, Folder 7, Box 3, Stephen Wise Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati.
4. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, May 5, 1942, p. 6, Hadassah Archives, New York [hereafter HA].
5. Minutes of Hadassah National Board Meeting, December 17, 1940, HA.
6. Annual Report to the Zionist Organization of America - 47th Annual Convention, October 14-17, 1944, Atlantic City, New Jersey, p.59, File 1753, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem.
7. Naomi W. Cohen, *Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee 1906* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America), 235.
8. Cohen, 261.
9. *Ibid.*, 299.
10. Michael J. Cohen, *Truman and Israel*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 137-143.

Langlais, Jacques and David Rome, translated by. *Jews and French Quebecers: Two Hundred Years of Shared History*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991. xxii, 187 pp.

During the 1980s, a small but significant stream of books on the Jews of Quebec began to appear in French. This spate of publications was inaugurated in 1981, with the 1,700-item bibliography, *Les Juifs du Quebec: bibliographic retrospective annotee*, one of whose compilers, the archivist and historian David Rome, is a co-author of the book under review here. The bibliography's 60 citations for books and articles by Rome are a measure of the large debt owed him by historians of Canadian Jewry. Rome's present collaborator, Jacques Langlais, is a Jesuit priest and founder of an intercultural community center in Montreal. Their personal friendship led them to write a book that seeks to lift the veil of ignorance about Jews that still prevails among French Quebecers.

The commonality of the two groups' experiences is repeatedly invoked by Rome and Laglais. In their words, "This book emerged from dialogue. It is a movement toward in-depth communication between two communities that are at once separated and united by sister traditions" (p. xxii). While the intended reader of the French edition (1986) was the educated Catholic Quebecer (it was brought out by the Catholic publisher Fides), the translation has a different audience in mind. Issued by a Canadian university press, it is aimed primarily at academic specialists in Jewish studies and Canadian studies.

Jews & French Quebecers is not a narrative history; its chapters deal instead with several major themes: the early history of Jews in Quebec, the mass immigration of Yiddishspeaking Jews, anti-semitism from 1880 to 1945, the economic and social adaptation of Jews to post-World War II society, and prospects for the future.

"By choosing Quebec as a refuge," Langlais and Rome assert, "Jews signalled their confidence in the laws and institutions of the land and the openness of its people" (p. xix). Remarks such as this sidestep British influences on Quebec society and politics, along with the profoundly Anglo-Canadian orientation of the Jewish community that was established there. Yet, it was not so much

Quebec that Jewish immigrants "chose," as Canada — or rather, America. Indeed, during the era of transatlantic mass migration, Montreal served as the fourth most important gateway for European immigrants to the *United States*. Geography, combined with the growth of the city's industrial economy, must not be overlooked in explaining the "choice" of Quebec by Jews. Similarly, the authors do not touch upon what Michael Brown (in *Jew or Juif? Jews, French Canadians and Anglo-Canadians, 1759–1914*) has labeled "the North American triangle," the broad network of familial and institutional relationships maintained by Canadian (and Quebec) Jews with British and American Jewry. These are serious omissions.

By contrast, the amply documented section on ultramontane Catholic antisemitism in Quebec from 1880 to 1940 represents the book's most compelling contribution to the literature on Jewish French Canadian relations. Langlais and Rome portray "the immense anti-Semitic shroud of the 1930s . . . as a fit of collective paranoia," which subsided "once the Nazi horrors and the reality of genocide were made known" (p. 107). Postwar Quebec society, they claim, was characterized by a "new openness toward the Jewish community" (p. 119). Even so, opinion polls taken as recently as 1991 have shown that antisemitic attitudes remain more common among French-speaking Quebecers than among other Canadians.

While *Jews & French Quebecers* deals primarily with historical events and attitudes, its authors also write with an eye to the present. As they note, groups such as Southeast Asians, Haitians, Italians, Greeks, and Sephardic Jews are now being channeled — not altogether voluntarily — into the linguistic mainstream of Quebec. This is being done through the province's language legislation, which mandates that French be the predominant language of the workplace and that children of immigrants attend French schools. One of the by-products of this experiment in social engineering has been a "shift of economic activity westward" from Montreal (mainly to Toronto), which Langlais and Rome view as a positive development, since "it also helped Montreal affirm its French personality and character, thus enriching the entire nation"

(p. 141). Nevertheless, the Quebec government's policy of *francisation* has resulted in the out-migration of tens of thousands of Jews, along with much of the province's English-speaking minority. While Langlais and Rome do acknowledge that "the Jews' future in Quebec is closely tied to Quebec's future in Canada" (p. 146), they do not, however, state flatly that the independence of Quebec would hasten the decline of its Jewish population.

Along with other observers of the Quebec scene, Langlais and Rome have taken note of the Jewish community's high level of bilingualism and biculturalism. The latter characteristic has been accentuated by the arrival, since the 1960s, of some 20,000 French-speaking, North African Sephardim, whose presence in Quebec, they posit, will facilitate French Canadian-Jewish rapprochement.

When the French edition of *Jews & French Quebecers* came out in 1986, it was already somewhat dated. The English translation has unfortunately not been significantly revised. Population statistics that are now twenty years old are cited as if they were the latest ones available, and the appended chronological table (pp. 153-160) stops in 1976. The text is marred by occasional typos and by frequent misspellings of personal names, some of these reflecting a rather casual approach toward translation (such as rendering the names of popes in French, e. g., Benoît XV, p. 93). It is unfortunate, too, that the publishers did not follow standard practice by providing an index.

Langlais and Rome conclude by quoting the French-Jewish philosopher Albert Memmi: "The future belongs to Quebecers and hinges on their action." While Memmi "was almost certainly referring to French Quebecers alone," Langlais and Rome observe, they add a cautionary note:

To be considered a home by everyone, Quebec must become a place where all communities work together. Otherwise, it will experience the setbacks that have torn so many other nations apart.

Still, in their optimistic assessment, French Quebec is turning its back on its earlier biological ethnocentrism . . . the Jewish community has left the Anglophone ghetto and . . . the language barrier is becoming blurred between Ashkenazim and the Sephardim as it is between Jewish and French Quebecers. (pp. 150-152)

In this reviewer's opinion, Langlais and Rome take too sanguine a view of the Quebec Jewish community's prospects and, indeed, of ethnic relations in Quebec as a whole. The exodus of Quebec Jewry continues, even as the increasingly multiethnic composition of French Quebec that is a side-effect of the provincial government's language legislation poses new challenges to French Canadian society, which has traditionally been subject to an inward-looking nationalism and a strong sense of ethnic homogeneity. It may still be too early to proclaim the passing of linguistic, ethnic, and religious "solitudes" in Quebec.

—Zachary M. Baker

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Brief Notices

Zietz, Robert J. *The Gates of Heaven (Congregation Sha'arai Shomayim): The First 150 Years. Mobile Alabama, 1844-1944*. Mobile, Ala.: Congregation Sha'arai Shomayim, 1994. 293 pp.

Southern Jews were different. This we are beginning to learn as the penchant to write and research the history of Jews in the South gains new adherents on a steady basis. Just how different is of course related to the questions of place and time, two very Southern concepts that continue to vie for ascendancy in the Southern psyche.

What was different for southern Jews was the stifling system of Jim Crow and the cultural and religious conformity which defined the region in the years before 1945. It took a special sense of survival to be a successful Jewish community in places like Natchez, Montgomery and Mobile, Alabama.

Robert J. Zietz has given us an understanding of the strategy in this well-researched synagogue history. Jews and Christians seemed to take to each other in Mobile in ways that were unknown in other parts of the South, let alone the nation. In New Orleans, the leading Jewish families often left town rather than face the embarrassment of having no major role in Mardi Gras. In Mobile, Jews have participated in Mardi Gras since the 1840s and one organization, conceived by a congregant of Gates of Heaven Congregation, Dave Levi, has been a part of the Mobile Mardi Gras since 1884.

We also learn much about the congregation's road to Reform Judaism and about the personalities and leadership of its rabbis, some of them legendary names in the American rabbinate.

We learn all of this from the author, Robert J. Zeitz, the part-time archivist of the congregation and a devout Roman Catholic. Southern Jews *are* different.

Friedman, Murray, Edited by. *When Philadelphia Was the Capital of Jewish America*. Philadelphia: The Balch Institute Press, 1993. 191 pp.

Philadelphia Jewry has a deep and passionate attachment to its communal history. Within that historical pride lies a smattering of resentment, a feeling that Jewish Philadelphia has always had to play "second fiddle" to New York. That "second city" imagery has perhaps added a bit more passion to Philadelphia's pride.

Now, thanks to the hard work of Murray Friedman, director of both the Philadelphia chapter of the American Jewish Committee and the Center for American Jewish History at Temple University, Philadelphia Jewry can look with even greater pride upon a time when, as the title of this collection of essays states, Philadelphia was the capital of Jewish America.

The essays in this volume, by some of the finest scholars working in American Jewish history, concentrate upon the "Philadelphia Group," an extraordinary group of nineteenth and early twentieth century Jewish Philadelphians who no doubt shaped the institutional framework of American Jewish life in a manner unparalleled before or since. From Isaac Leeser and Rebecca Gratz to Mayer Sulzberger, Cyrus Adler, Sabato Morais and Solomon Solis — Cohen, among others, the "Philadelphia Group" shaped Orthodox and Conservative Judaism in this country, the role of Sunday School education, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the Jewish Publication Society, The American Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Historical Society, among other institutions. This first-rate collection of essays provides an excellent and comprehensive view of this exceptional yet relatively little known group of American Jewish leaders.

Waskow, Howard and Arthur Waskow. *Becoming Brothers*. New York: The Free Press, 1993. 218pp.

Arthur Waskow was easy to remember. During the 1960s and early 1970s he was a frequent visitor to university campuses, especially in the Washington, DC area, and quite visible as a media per-

sonality who was filmed and interviewed as one of the important strategists of the New Left and the anti-Vietnam movement. But his flowing black beard and his bear-like build made him look more like a secular member of a hasidic sect than Che Guevara. At the same time that Waskow was seeking peace abroad, he was on his way to discovering how little *shalom beit* (peace at home) existed in his own family life. His brother Howard, younger, slower of speech and gait, had harbored an intense resentment of his older sibling and ultimately it would explode into an even more intense hatred with threats of bodily harm. "Be close to your brother above all! Some day you'll need each other!" their mother would tell them in their youth. This admonition was given by a woman whose own mother had not spoken to a sister for twenty years, and who herself had been separated from a sister for a number of years. The warning was not heeded. The story of the collision course upon which the brothers were headed and their reconciliation at middle age is a remarkable tale of Jewish familial hate and love.

Dalin, David D., Edited by. *American Jews and the Separationist Faith*. Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1993. 169pp.

If one could strip away all that Jews have earned in their struggle to feel "at home" in this country, the effort to maintain a strong separation between church and state would stand exposed as the foundation stone of their place in the American sun. Nothing arouses the folk memory of Jewish life like the recounting of church inspired persecutions of Jewish communities over the ages. Nothing has frightened American Jews more than various Christian "Great Awakenings" over the past two centuries and related efforts to "baptize the Constitution," by amending the document to state that America is a Christian nation. But in the history of Jewish life in this country, there have been Jews who felt that prayer in the classroom was not an evil thing, that praying to a Creator was the perfect way to start a school morning. Advocated at first primarily by ultra-Orthodox elements, the idea that the state and religion may find a certain unity of positive purpose has

found favor with more "modern" American Jewish thinkers. In this volume, over three dozen American Jewish intellectuals debate the notion of church-state separation in the decade before the year 2000.

Marrus, Michael R. *Samuel Bronfman. The Life and Times of Seagram's Mr. Sam*. Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1991. 551 pp.

A respected scholar of the Holocaust, Michael Marrus has also written on French Jewry at the time of the Dreyfus affair and on European refugees in the twentieth century. It is thus somewhat peculiar to find that his latest project is a biography of Seagram whisky founder, Samuel Bronfman. But a first-rate historian will make any project a worthwhile one, and this Marrus has done in portraying Bronfman as a legend who was only as large as life and not larger. He dismisses the notion that Bronfman, whose family came to Canada from possibly Bessarabia at the end of the nineteenth century, made his millions running bootleg whiskey between Canada and Prohibition America. He paints him as a social and business outsider, a man worth millions and the most important Canadian Jew for over three decades, who commuted between French-speaking Montreal and his office in New York but hurried home to his family on weekends. He also places Bronfman, who became president of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1939, within the context of the free world response to the Holocaust, especially the Canadian government's stated policy that, regarding the immigration of European Jewish refugees into the nation, "none is too many." Suddenly Michael Marrus's previous scholarly interests seem to converge in this well-written and researched biography.

Rabinowitz, Stanley. *The Assembly. A Century in the Life of the Adas Israel Hebrew congregation of Washington, D.C.* Hoboken: Ktav Publishing House Inc., 1993. 592pp.

On December 31, 1869, nearly forty members of the Washington Hebrew Congregation, Washington, D.C.'s first, officially with-

drew to form the Adas Israel Hebrew Congregation, the city's second. Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz, Adas Israel's spiritual leader for over a quarter century (1960–1986) has written a first-rate synagogue history about the first century (1869–1969) of a distinguished Conservative congregation. Rabinowitz is clearly aware that the history of a synagogue is influenced by many factors, both internal and external. He is careful to balance his assessment of each of these factors, always framing the internal development of the synagogue within the broader picture of American Jewish life. That, in itself, makes this study so different from most synagogue histories and clearly an outstanding work.

Bauman, Mark K. *Harry H. Epstein and the Rabbinate as Conduit for Change*. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994. 160pp.

Mark K. Bauman is one of the finest historians at work in the history of the Southern Jewish experience. His special emphasis is upon Judaism in the South and especially the southern rabbinate. He is particularly intimate with the great rabbinic leadership of Atlanta's Reform rabbi David Marx, Orthodox rabbi Tobias Geffen, and now with this book, Conservative rabbi Harry H. Epstein.

Bauman's portrait is one which allows the reader to understand Epstein and his congregation's, Ahavath Achim, evolution from an orthodox shul into the largest Conservative congregation in the South. In Epstein's fifty plus years as AA's (as it is popularly known) spiritual leader, he played perfectly the role that defined the modern American Conservative rabbinical experience. He maintained tradition but initiated change. He was not a "power broker" and ambassador to the Gentiles as was David Marx, but he participated in interfaith work. He advocated civil rights for African Americans but not to the point of having his synagogue bombed as did Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Marx's successor. Through Rabbi Epstein, Bauman seeks to create a composite of the denominational rabbinate of the twentieth century altered somewhat by the fact that Epstein served a congregation which for the first four

decades of his leadership existed in an environment shaped by Jim Crow racism and the peculiar nature of Jewish existence in the South.

Tenenbaum, Shelly. *A Credit to Their Community. Jewish Loan Societies in the United States, 1880–1945*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993. 204pp.

We know the scenario well: American Jewish business was built upon the back of the peddler who walked his wares, obtained a horse and wagon and graduated to the retail store. But the scenario can never be seen in quite the same way after the appearance of Shelly Tenenbaum's *A Credit to Their Community*. In many respects this is one of the most important volumes to appear on the American Jewish experience in a very long time. Beyond the importance of the sources it employs and the light that it sheds on an underresearched aspect of the growth and success of American Jewish business, it is marked by a sophisticated theoretical and cultural approach rarely seen in volumes dealing with American Jewish history. Tenenbaum highlights the extensiveness of Jewish loan societies in this country, defines the different approaches to Jewish credit, discovers the existence of women's loan societies and measures the influence of old world cultural traits and responses to the new environment upon ethnic institutions. In a discipline such as American Jewish Studies, eager to gain acceptance from the wider field of American Studies and History, such a book can only strengthen the potential for a positive response.

Bard, Mitchell G. *Forgotten Victims. The Abandonment of Americans in Hitler's Camps*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994. 171pp.

Holocaust survivors have always feared the assault upon truth that marks the real danger of Holocaust deniers and denial. The survivors have been grateful that at least one other group with impeccable and impenetrable qualifications has been there to support their tales of the horrors of the concentration camps— those liberators who stumbled upon the terrible scenes that accompa-

nied the liberation in the spring of 1945. Until Mitchell Bard's volume, we did not know that a second group of American soldiers and civilians knew even more about the suffering of concentration camp prisoners, for they, too, were prisoners in many of those same camps, including Buchenwald. American Jewish POWs were singled out by their German captors and some were sent to slave labor and concentration camps and forced to participate in the notorious death marches in the spring of 1945. But non-Jewish GIs were also imprisoned in the camps. The response of the American government was zero although it apparently knew what had happened to the American prisoners of war. Above all, those American soldiers who survived, did not and could not fully recover from their experiences, both physically and psychologically. As long as they continue to live, they will be a front-line of defense against the assault on truth, even though the truth of their suffering was repressed or denied and the American soldiers kept their suffering mostly to themselves. One of the American POWs, a Greek American named Costa Katimaris, explained it well: "I think I became a Jew since I was in Berga[slave labor camp]."