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BOOK REVIEWS

MORTON ROSENSTOCK

Book Review Editor

Israelis and Jews: The Continuity of an Identity. By SIMON N. HERMAN. New York: Random House, 1970. viii+331 pp. \$8.95.

Between 1964-65, with the cooperation of the Israel Ministry of Education, Simon N. Herman and his associates in Jerusalem sent out a questionnaire to a cross-section of Israeli eleventh-graders, some 3,679 students enrolled in 117 schools. The purpose of the survey was to determine whether Israeli youth regarded themselves as part of the continuity of Jewish history, and to measure the strength of the bonds linking them to the Diaspora. The cross-section was an accurate one, testing the views of youngsters from religious backgrounds (and often enrolled in religious schools) and from secular backgrounds, of Ashkenazic and Oriental children alike. In several introductory chapters, the author describes the painstaking efforts taken to balance the questionnaire fairly, laying appropriate emphasis on such factors as “continuity” in the Jewish tradition, the “salience” of Jewishness in the students’ consciousness, the “potency” and “valence” of Jewishness as an attractive goal-object of the students’ activity.

The questionnaire was a lengthy one, including more than a hundred and a quarter tables of alternative choices. These ranged from the general: “Do you feel more Jewish, and less Israeli?” to the specific: “When an overseas journal insults the Jewish people, do you feel as if it were insulting you?” A full span of the Jewish experience was covered, including attitudes to the role of church and state in Israel, anti-Semitism abroad, emigration to and immigration from the Diaspora, even attitudes towards phases of Jewish history. When the results of the questionnaire were evaluated, they appeared to confirm the greater “valence” and “potency” of the Jewish factor among children in religious schools, but the subordination of this factor to a sense of distinctive “Israeliness” among children enrolled in secular institutions. Inasmuch as the secular enrollment outnumbers the religious enrollment in Israel, a superficial tabulation of the answers appeared to buttress the view that the Israelis are indeed on the threshold of becoming a new people, increasingly differentiated in mentality and outlook from Jewish communities abroad.

Professor Herman, however, interprets the results differently, particularly on the basis of later selected personal interviews. He discerns amidst the answers a marked sense of interdependence between the homeland and the hinterland. Thus, the author emphasizes that over 80 percent of the students admitted that their fate was indeed tightly linked with the circumstances of Jews throughout the world (wisely, Professor Herman makes no attempt to equate a sense of Jewishness with Jewish religiosity alone). This sense of interdependence becomes notably evident in the commitment virtually all the youngsters seemed to feel to the Jews of Soviet Russia, and to a lesser extent to Jews elsewhere, in the role they envisaged for Israel as sanctuary and inspiration for American Jewry, and not least of all in the intensity of emotion evoked among traditionalists and non-traditionalists alike by the Eichmann trial and the capture of the Western Wall of Jerusalem in the Six-Day War. Professor Herman shrewdly observes, too, that if the Oriental Jewish majority of Israel's population is gradually abandoning the religious ritualism of its forebears, by the same token the secularism of the Ashkenazic non-religionists is rarely as doctrinaire or dogmatic as in the days of the early Socialist *aliyot* to Palestine.

It will not, of course, be difficult for critics to find fault with a monograph that draws far-reaching, near-philosophic conclusions on the basis of a questionnaire sent to 3600 youngsters. Despite two or three introductory chapters that elaborately — some cynics of the diffuseness of sociological jargon may even say tediously — define and defend the conceptual framework of the questionnaire, one may wonder how thoughtful or authentic the answers of eleventh graders can be to broadly generalized queries about the “relationship between feeling Jewish and feeling Israeli.” Or whether the author may not be revealing a loaded, if estimable, value judgment of his own in favor of Jewish continuity by deploring the assimilationism of American Jewish youth without having exposed them to, or citing, a similar questionnaire sent to them, or indeed alluding to any evidence whatever for such far-reaching observations as: “In every meeting with a stranger a Jew in the Diaspora automatically asks himself the question: ‘Is this person a Jew or a non-Jew?’” or — conversely — “the demand for Black studies [in the U. S.] has stimulated a demand for Jewish studies on the part of Jewish students.”

For this reviewer, the most serious caveat against the statistical weight of Professor Herman's conclusion of Jewish and Israeli interrelatedness, can be illustrated in the response of Israeli children to Tables 7 and 8. In the first of these, the question was: “If you were to be born all over again, would you wish to be born a Jew?” A bare 54 percent of students in secular schools (who constitute, one reiterates, a majority in Israel) replied in the affirmative; 43 percent stated that it was a matter of indifference. In Table 8 the question was: “If you were to live abroad, would you wish to be born a Jew?” The answers, from the same group, were 37 percent yes, 34 percent indifferent, 29 percent no. To his credit,

Professor Herman takes these responses with full seriousness, and in a final chapter on "The Future of Jewish Identity," he makes an effective plea for a more intensive and purposeful infusion of Jewish values among the Jewries both of Israel and the Diaspora. Without these values, he insists, the staying power and "mission" of the Israeli republic will be seriously undermined. Perhaps more even than the broader conclusions adduced from the survey, this eloquent, moving appeal reaches the conscience of the reader. Recalling Tolstoy's dictum that literature must project either a message or an honest reflection of the author, one must add that Professor Herman's challenge, and those data of his questionnaire that sustain it, authentically reflect the personality of a gently modest South African who forsook outstanding career opportunities in the land of his birth and in the United States to devote his life to the cause of Jewish peoplehood at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

HOWARD M. SACHAR

George Washington University

Letters of Louis D. Brandeis. Vol. I: 1870-1907: Urban Reformer. Edited by MELVIN I. UROFSKY and DAVID W. LEVY. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1971. xlii-f 610 pp. illustrations. \$20.00.

Letters of Louis D. Brandeis. Vol. II: 1907-1912: People's Attorney. Edited by MELVIN I. UROFSKY and DAVID W. LEVY. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1972. xxiv+750 pp. \$20.00.

A Mind of One Piece: Brandeis and American Reform. By Melvin I. Urofsky. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971. xiii+210 pp. \$10.00.

The two volumes of selected letters of Louis D. Brandeis are an important contribution to students of modern American History. Brandeis was, as the editors claim, one of America's major figures and his voluminous correspondence greatly contributes to our understanding of his thinking and his actions. Most commendable are the editors' notes which are added to the letters. This well presented and invaluable information has made the letters more comprehensible and the volumes more usable. In these notes, the editors identify every name and every occurrence that Brandeis mentioned and explain the problems with which he was concerned. They also call our attention to other letters in the collection which might shed light upon the letter in question and in some cases even note recent studies of the issues with which Brandeis dealt. Their information is, on occasion, colored by their opinions and evaluations on the issues raised in the letters. This occurs only rarely, however, and we must all be grateful to the editors for their endeavor to make the volumes so useful and readable.

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It is not surprising that one of the editors was so inspired by this work that he used the material he collected and edited to add another work to the considerable number of books already available on this remarkable personality. His aim is "to show how seamless life and thought were in this man, how closely action and philosophy could be related in a single personality." Urofsky does succeed in presenting Brandeis as a remarkable intellectual who devoted his great talent and energies to the development of his political and social ideals and acted upon his beliefs both in his political and personal life. This, truly, was a remarkable achievement for a leader of a political movement, the Progressive movement, who was active in public life for half a century.

We do feel, however, that Urofsky overstates his case somewhat. After reading his book, one is left in doubt whether such a perfect man with hardly any doubts, contradictions and inner conflicts really existed. His insistence that "Brandeis's truthfulness and integrity have never seriously been questioned," is a statement which even Alpheus T. Mason, his most sympathetic biographer, would not have written. His description of the perfectly harmonious relations between Brandeis, the ideologue and teacher, and President Wilson, his student and follower, glosses over a number of disagreements and misunderstandings to which Arthur Link and other writers have already directed our attention.

This occasional preference for myth over reality is even more noticeable in Urofsky's treatment of Brandeis the Jew and the Zionist leader. Urofsky presents a good case for his hypothesis that Brandeisian Zionism can only be understood in the light of the Progressive American reform politics with which Brandeis was associated. But, in passing, he also makes assertions on other aspects of Brandeis' Zionism, not warranted by the facts he presents in his book or in the letters he edited. Take, for example, the question of Brandeis' motives for joining Zionism. This point is still disputed by historians. Some relate it to his frustration after his failure to join Wilson's cabinet in early 1913. Others insist that he became a Zionist out of conviction at an earlier period. Urofsky supports the latter version and accepts their arguments uncritically. He argues that Brandeis' contact with the Jewish garment workers in New York during an arbitration case between them and their Jewish employers in 1910, moved him emotionally in the direction of Zionism. But Brandeis' vast correspondence on the arbitration case, which is presented in the second volume of the letters, gives no indication of such a move. On what ground, then, does Urofsky accept this claim? Again, in a letter from Brandeis to an official of the Federation of American Zionists, dated April 16, 1912, he declined an invitation to attend their annual convention. Instead, he transmitted a donation of 25 dollars as his contribution to the cause. In a note of explanation to the letter, the editors write that "the announcement of LDB's joining the Federation of American Zionists was received by the convention as a minor event." But this reading into the letter that he became a member of the F.A.Z. is incorrect. The donation ex-

pressed his sympathies only and this was recognized and acknowledged by the convention which in a special resolution thanked him for these sympathies.

To sum up, it seems to us that the evidence presented by Urofsky in his book and in the letters published and those which will hopefully still be published in the near future, supports his main theses and justifies his admiration for the man. But his attempt to present Brandeis as an almost perfect and infallible human being whose actions were always dictated by his preconceived abstract intellectual premises, is not supported by the evidence. We probably find it still a little difficult, when engaged in Jewish history and the activity of its major figures, to maintain consistently the rigorous examination of facts and critical evaluation required. So much more the pity since so often the reality is more inspiring than the myth.

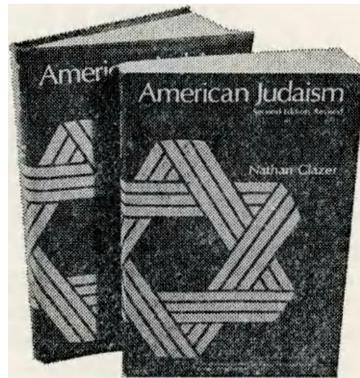
YONATHAN SHAPIRO

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The Teaching of Judaica in American Universities: The Proceedings of a Colloquium. Edited by LEON A. JICK. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1970. 152 pp.

Jews are wont to say that it is difficult to be a Jew. Everything they achieve requires more thought and effort than must be exercised by other peoples. From this interesting volume it appears that the introduction of Jewish studies into American universities is another such instance. More problems are emerging with regard to methods and goals than one is ever likely to encounter in connection with the addition of any other academic discipline to the curriculum of either a graduate or undergraduate school.

The volume consists of a brief introduction by the editor and thirteen papers on the teaching of Judaica in American universities, most of which were presented in September, 1969 at Brandeis University. Among the authors of the papers are many of America's most respected Jewish scholars. And the range of their concerns is great. They deal with the very meaning of the term, "Jewish Studies"; the manpower needs and the diverse backgrounds of the students who will be interested in the subject; and, above all, with the Jewish existential situation which makes Jewish Studies not only an area for legitimate academic development but also an instrument for Jewish survival. It is this last point that was of greatest interest to this reviewer. More than any other problem with which the book deals, this one pinpoints how different is the matter of introducing Jewish studies to American universities from the introduction of any other subject. The introduction of Hellenistic studies is of little interest even to present day Greeks. Certainly it will not affect Greek politics. But the introduction of Jewish studies is of vital concern to a vibrant Jewish community not only in America but also all over the world.

The leadership of the Association of Jewish Studies, which sponsored the colloquium, has heretofore maintained one stand vis-a-vis the Jewish community. They insist that the American Jewish community should give financial and moral support to the cause but, in order to safeguard the academic integrity of the programs, the American Jewish community shall keep hands off faculty appointments, the subject-matter of the courses, the priorities in course offerings, etc. However, if — as so many of the published essays reveal — the survival of the Jewish community is also a legitimate goal of the program, by what right does one estop the community from expressing its needs and its priorities? In that area it is at least as competent as the cloistered academicians.

In this connection, the brilliant essay of Professor Irving Greenberg is relevant, but the equally brilliant essay of Professor Marshall Sklare is virtually a lamentation. He writes on the unique situation of "Contemporary Jewish Studies" not only vis-a-vis the academic family as a whole but also vis-a-vis what has always been deemed the proper scope of Jewish scholarship. Yet who but the Jewish community will be able

to promote the very activities which will result in a highly respected goal of the time-honored academic discipline called philosophy — to “know itself”! And this the Jewish community has a right to achieve.

The tension of the Jewish scholar himself, as he is ambivalent about his objectivity in scholarly enterprise and his personal loyalty to his ancestral heritage, is beautifully described by Professor Samuel Sandmel. And Professor William Hallo, in his approach to Biblical Studies, is very much aware of what Biblical scholarship can do to the religious commitment of many students who will opt that particular field. To what extent must faculty members be sensitive to the possibility that they will alienate students from, rather than inspire them to, Jewish loyalty? This is a responsibility professors of a new natural or social science hardly have. Here again, we have a unique element associated with the introduction of Jewish studies to American universities. Even Professor Nahum Sarna, in dealing with the same subject, cautions against iconoclasm.

With regard to the teaching of Talmud, it is unfortunate that the prejudices of the Professors of Talmud against the Roshei Yeshiva (teachers of Talmud in Yeshivos) are not only explicit in the essays but also adversely affect their reasoning. Thus, Professor Baruch A. Levine makes a specious distinction between the study of Talmud as a religious and as a secular discipline (p. 52). If your objective is to ascertain what the Halacha demands of you or the community, you are pursuing a religious discipline, but if you want to penetrate the thought world of the Sages without regard to its practical applicability, you are pursuing an academic discipline! If, as a political scientist, I study and teach the duties of public officials and/or citizens, have I thereby become a teacher of religion? Or, if I teach law — its norms and its mandates, do I move from the law school to the seminary? As one who teaches Talmud in a state and city supported university, I am ever mindful of the limitations on me. No matter how enthusiastic I am about my subject, I must not indoctrinate. However, a session in Talmud given by Dr. Joseph B. Soloveichik in a university would be at least as legitimate an intellectual undertaking as any I can conceive. Professors of Jewish studies need not denigrate their own mentors. They admit that they have a long way to go before they can even define their own subject. And they need the Jewish community as the Jewish community needs them. There must be less professional pride and exclusiveness. In working together with all interested people and organizations lies the hope for greatest achievement.

Professor Jick's volume is a “first fruit” and a very heartwarming one. The experiences of the next few years will yield many more interesting analyses and self-studies. We may be on the threshold of a new era in Jewish scholarship. But we must proceed with humility and as few pre-conceptions as possible.

EMANUEL RACKMAN

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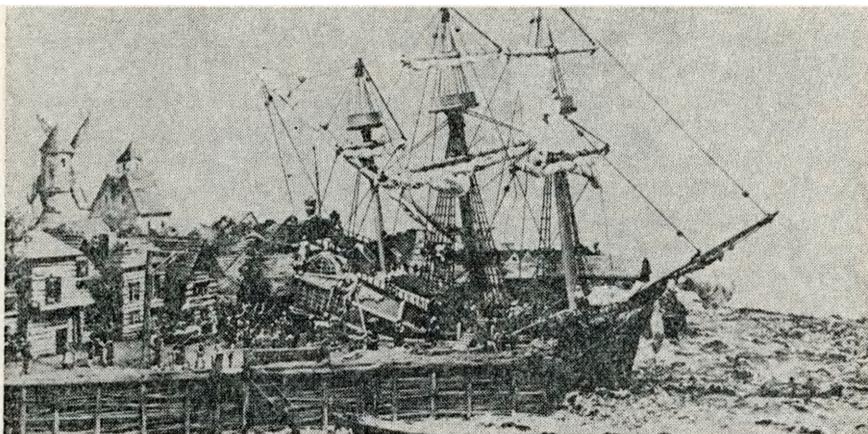
Poor Cousins. By ANDE MANNERS. New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1972. 318 pp. illustrations. \$8.95.

It would be sheer conjecture to imagine that *Poor Cousins* was originally conceived as a gleam in an editor's eye. Yet everything about it, its intense preoccupation with personal interest stories together with its coy, ingratiating insertions of presumably sharp Yiddishisms, somehow gives the impression that this was a production keyed to its selling appeal and to capturing the market for America's fastest selling commodity today — a concern for ethnicity. In short, if originally the book might not have been intended as a potboiler, its contents and style proclaim it so.

There may, indeed, be much to be said for the need to popularize a vital aspect of Jewish immigration to America — the clash between German Jewish immigrants and later arrivals from Eastern Europe. It is true that the bibliography in this field is now legion; even a quick overview of that material would indicate that the conflict involved takes on not only social, but political and religious coloration as well, not to mention the personal, deep human interest stories which frequently arose peripherally to the larger issues in that tension between two groups of Jews. But throughout this book, in a sort of frenzied appeal to capture the minds and hearts of America's reading public, there are human interest stories, incidents, jokes, quips, asides, and exceedingly irritating interruptions of bits of home-spun philosophy, which serve only to hinder the easy flow of the material.

This, of course, does not deny that some of the vignettes do achieve their primary purpose; they entertain and amuse and would make first rate feature articles in witty, chatty magazines. Particularly illuminating is the sketch of the business career of a Rumanian Jewish banana peddler, who, by his commercial and financial wizardry managed to engineer a revolution in Honduras, took over the control of the United Fruit Company and finally restored it to solvency. Exciting, too, is the recounting of that story book romance between a poor Jewish immigrant girl, earning her way as a sewing machine operator, and an American millionaire motivated by Edward Bellamy's dreams of Utopia. Similarly, the racy sensationalism which prompted the inclusion of an outlying Canadian Jewish community's desperate attempt to retain a rabbi who was both a bootlegger and a procurer might have made for a whopping good tale; even the references here are intriguing. But in its search for popularity, *Poor Cousins* has had to sacrifice both the inclusion of valid content and certain principles of good writing.

The repetiton of trivia, the constant inclusions of Yiddishisms to sum up the author's point of view (summations which themselves are sometimes of doubtful merit), and the endless insertion of irrelevancies joined by only the most tenuous of associations make for haphazard construction and sloppy writing. Before we even reach the business of the German-Russian Jewish confrontation, much unnecessary information is presented on the Romanov dynasty. Though such background should ostensibly



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clarify the rationale for Russian anti-Semitic persecution, its longwindedness, coupled (it seems forever) with the author's witticisms, serve only to delay the impact of the material.

It is likewise frustrating that by the time the East European Jewish immigrants have reached the New World, the only outstanding vignettes are those dealing with crime and criminals, a short section on the anarchists Johann Most, Emma Goldman, and Alexander Berkman, and Dr. Judah Magnes' tie-in with Mayor Gaynor in an attempt via the Kehillah to control crime in New York City. Certainly there was much more to the Kehillah than the emphasis placed on its relationships to common criminals and cheap politicians. The author, of course, was justified in viewing the Kehillah as one rare example of attempted cooperation between the two groups of Jews, but to place the thrust of its development on the charismatic character of Dr. Magnes or on his ties by marriage to German Jews is again evidence of that attempt to sacrifice knowledge, background and material for some popular audience, whose nature tends to become more nebulous with every newly inserted Yiddish expression. Sometimes those expressions, in addition, make for spurious distinctions — mere summations on the part of the author with little validity to back up the contention. So, for example, when East-European Jewish immigrants were millionaires on the make, their purpose in amassing wealth carried "*tachlis*" (purpose) and "*nachas*" (a sense of achievement) in its wake. When German Jews, however, tried to make the Horatio Alger story come true, they allegedly operated within the context of a "*tsitterdike*" (tremulous?) syndrome, such unreasonable fear and trembling presumably motivated both by the Russian-Jewish immigrants' aversion to adopting American virtues and the German-Jewish immigrants' historic fear of German anti-Semitism. The author, perhaps, might have had her way, had she only resorted to terms like *tachlis*, *nachas*, *tsitterdik*, etc. But, in addition to false labels attaching to the motives of either German or Russian-Jewish millionaires, there are errors in the material. Thus, the German-Jewish *tsitterdik* syndrome is presumably derived from the notion that German Jews, unlike the Sephardim, were not on close terms with the religious and social non-Jewish communities, and, unlike the East-European Jews, were not part of the *shtetl*, but rather were exposed constantly to the open buffeting of German anti-Semites, and had to learn to act accordingly. Hadn't the author ever heard of German ghettos? And how secure were the Sephardim, other than in mid-seventeenth century England or Holland, or in late eighteenth century America?

Much more serious are the omissions in content that a work dealing with Russo-German interaction among Jews should have covered. To account for the entire issue of religio-cultural differences between the groups, and the efforts of scholars and rabbis in both groups to bridge the gap, with flip references to the *trefa* banquet served up at the first graduation of the Hebrew Union College hardly does justice to the chasm of ideas which at times separated the two ethnic entities. Nor is there any

mention, despite frequent attempts to include out-of-the-way bits of information, that in confrontations with the Federal Government in matters of immigration law, both Russian-Jewish and German-Jewish representatives of their respective groups made serious attempts at intra-Jewish cooperation. By reading this book, a person unfamiliar with the Jewish course of events in America from the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the early thirties would assume that the only Jewish culture of note was the socialism of Abe Cahan and his *Forward* group or the anarchism of Emma Goldman and her cohorts. The two or more pages devoted in *Poor Cousins* to Louis Marshall's attempt to establish a newspaper as a foil to the Yiddish press hardly encompass the ideological battles which held sway amongst Jews and in Judaism during those years.

This slap-dash manner of writing by association, of introducing an idea, but not following it to its conclusion because other tangential, but non-essential thoughts are appended, are the failings of this book. Equally irritating is the lack of source citations for direct quotations. That incomparable eighteenth century genius, Laurence Sterne, once succeeded in building a novel on digressions and humorous disquisitions, but such an approach is dangerous for even the most gifted of writers.

ESTHER PANITZ

Paterson, New Jersey

The Religion of the Republic. Edited by ELWYN A. SMITH. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971. viii+296 pp. \$8.95.

At least since the era of de Tocqueville, observers have been attempting to define the special characteristics of religious life in America. In the 1830's, clearly, it did not fit the presupposition that it must conform somehow into the Gelasian formula for the functional interrelationship between — if not church and state — at least secular power and religious behavior. Contrary to the dicta of men like de Maistre and Chateaubriand, it was working; no one today is likely to write a history of religious conflict in America, not anyway in the sense that the Reformation seemed to have established as a permanent genre for religiously diverse countries. It would seem frivolous, today, to detail in appropriate despair, the manifest dissidence of dissent; and equally captious to celebrate, except with carefully specified qualification, the obvious fact that America, though neither enjoying nor enforcing an establishment of religion, has so long endured.

Confronted with this predicament, American scholars have been game. One solution has been to describe American religion as "denominational," or "pluralistic," — thus incorporating some notion of diverseness with an insistence on a common substratum (or superordinate) level of agreement. This route is summarized neatly by Sidney Mead in this volume, when,

in arguing for a commonality of American religious belief, he cites “what philosopher A. N. Whitehead called ‘a general form of the forms of thought’ of an age and place; what anthropologist Ruth Benedict refers to as the constellation of ‘ideas and standards’ that define a culture and bind its people together; what economist Adolf A. Berle, Jr. defines as the ‘public consensus’; and what historian Ralph Gabriel calls ‘social ideas.’ ” Mead — in our judgment our most perceptive analyst of American religious life, — readily acknowledges that such concepts are of such a “high generality” that they amount to little more than a tautological affirmation that there is such a thing as American culture.

The other main route is that followed by writers like Charles Braden, Marcus Bach, and Vergilius Ferm, who positively luxuriate in the dazzling dissidence of dissent, and variation in thought and practice Americans have been free to call “religious.” They are sustained, no doubt, by a faith that a fundamental unity exists, though not by mortal eyes perceivable.

A new road is being blazed by volumes like that edited by William McLoughlin and Robert Bellah, *Religion in America* (1968). Elwyn Smith’s volume is in the van of this enterprise, attempting to improve on advance formulations — the lead essay here, by John Wilson, argues with considerable persuasiveness that Bellah’s notion of an over-arching civil religion is not new so far as it is true, and, where new, is not true. Smith also includes essays of a variety of types. There is an elegant historical argument by James Smylie which distinguishes between what the founding fathers meant to establish in their Constitution, and tolerated in the First Amendment which prohibited an “establishment” of religion, with what they regarded as normative in the interplay of religion and politics. There are essays dealing with special aspects of American experience; such as J. F. Maclear’s, clarifying the permutations of American millennialism, in all of which religion and politics were in one way or another intertwined; James Luther Adams writes on the voluntary, or associationist, element, — a central theme to which Mead and Smith also allude; Robert Michaelson contributes an essay on the convoluted secular-religious nature of the public school — if we found it the least persuasive, this was in part because of the compression of space imposed on Michaelson, and because it happens to be the subject we have ourselves studied most carefully. He’s right, but.....

Finally, there are essays by Earl Thompson on the white-racist pre-suppositions informing most Protestantism in America; two on American Catholicism, one by the late, lamented Thomas McAvoy noting the dubious blessings a sensitivity to passionate Americanization conveyed upon the Church, and one by Dorothy Dohen suggesting the bewilderment confronting American Catholics today, when to be either American or Catholic in a traditional sense is distasteful, at the same time it is to some degree necessary. And there is an essay by Rabbi Jacob Agus, bland but agonizingly uncertain about the present and future of American Judaism. “While American civilization,” he writes, “is largely secular, it also possesses a religious dimension which consists of the Judaeo-Christian

tradition and the secular humanist ideal.... Both Jewish and American loyalties are open-ended” No doubt. Rabbi Agus emancipates us from any easy equations: such as that Reform equals crypto-Protestantism; Orthodox equals the mentality of the European ghetto; and Conservatism equals a happy Americanization; all with, naturally, a heartfelt concern for the well-being of the state of Israel. He concludes his essay with the affirmation that what is emerging in American Judaism is a “multi-splendored vision.” Though the language is that of Hollywood, one hopes that he is correct — not only about Judaism, but about all American religious life. We are ourselves mired in agnosticism, but with a not totally eschatological hope. American civilization has posed a formidable challenge; can Americans, without a traditional establishment, without the plausible supports rendered by an establishment, with the forthright challenge of American secularism, realize the challenges and the consolations of our “peculiar” religious “institution?” Dr. Smith’s *The Religion of the Republic*, conceived intelligently and executed with sophistication and compassion, is, as Horace Bushnell might have put it, a gift to the imagination, rather than a definitive and constraining “solution.” For just this reason, it is most welcome.

ROBERT D. CROSS

University of Virginia

Migration and Settlement: Proceedings of the Anglo-American Jewish Historical Conference, July, 1970. DR. AUBREY NEWMAN, RAPPORTEUR. London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1971. xii+178 pp. illustrations. \$6.00.

Politically, the special relationship between the United States and Great Britain is quickly coming to an end. Both Mr. Heath and Mr. Nixon, while by no means hostile to each other or to each other’s nation, see little need to continue the firm unwritten pact of friendship which has guided the course of the two nations for generations. Fortunately, the people eagerly continue what the politicians so facilely surrender. The abundant mutual exchange of tourists continues unabated and, recently, prominent professional societies have been joining the trans-Atlantic migration. Within a year of each other, both the American Bar Association and the American Jewish Historical Society have met and exchanged knowledge with their colleagues in Britain. The work presently under review is the product of that latter gathering and proof of the wisdom of its originators.

It was pointed out by John M. Shaftesley of the Jewish Historical Society of England that since the holocaust of 1933-1945 the British and American Jewish historical societies are the only Jewish societies of their kind to survive and that since the vast majority of world Jewry is English speaking, almost all the knowledge they have derived and will derive in the foreseeable future about Jews and Judaism has been and must be

conveyed through the medium of English. This may be overstating the case somewhat, but bearing it in mind, and considering the historical connections and similarities between Jews in the two nations (for instance, only a year separates the first Jewish settlement in America and the *subsequent* Resettlement in England) one can only hope that such conferences will be held in the future on a regular basis.

Of the papers read at the conference, all deal to one degree or another with Jews moving to or from Britain and America, and most (six out of eight) are centered in the 18th century. Several of the papers complement each other by continuing accounts begun in preceding articles.

The Haham, Dr. Solomon Gaon, presented a paper entitled, "Some Aspects of the Relations Between Shaar Hashamayim of London and Shearith Israel of New York" which, although not in strict accordance with the rules of historical presentation, does successfully illustrate the dependence of the American synagogue on its British sister community both as to organization and religious leadership.

Mr. A. Schischa, in "Reb Salmen London, Immigrant, Emigrant, Migrant," fills some gaps in our knowledge about the undeservedly obscure 18th century peripatetic publisher of Jewish books. As he readily admits, however, much research is needed before it can be said that we fully know the life and wanderings of Reb Salmen.

Dr. V. D. Lipman, probably the best known of the British historians at the conference, has happily taken a step backward from his deservedly well received *Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950*. His paper, "Sephardi and other Jewish Immigrants in England in the Eighteenth Century," although somewhat inappropriately titled (nearly half of its length is devoted to Ashkenazi immigration), is a marvellous exercise in historical demography using as his sources aliens lists, death records, circumcision records, and marriage and remarriage certificates.

Dr. R. D. Barnett spoke on "Dr. Samuel Nunes Ribeiro and the Settlement of Georgia," in which three things are well accomplished: first, an interesting case study of the methods of the Portuguese Inquisition; second, a recounting of the achievements of the Ribeiro family in colonial Georgia; and third, the collation of oral history with subsequently examined archival material.

Dr. L. Hershkowitz's paper, "Some Aspects of the New York Jewish Merchant in Colonial Trade," is of interest for two reasons. The first is his comparison of the ease with which Jews residing in America received citizenship or the equivalent relative to the difficulties experienced by British Jews following the passage of the 1753 Jew Bill and its subsequent repeal. Secondly, the author very nicely illustrates the business acumen of some of his subjects, such as the merchant who very nearly cornered the mourning attire market following the death of Queen Caroline.

Dr. L. Gartner's paper, "North Atlantic Jewry," successfully attempts to show and in part account for the inter-relationship and differences between Jews of Canada, the United States and Britain.

The paper by Mr. I. Finestein, Q.C., "Jewish Immigration in British

Party Politics in the 1890's," is to our mind the most interesting of an altogether fine collection. Mr. Finestein challenges the belief that restrictionist agitation which culminated in the Aliens Order of 1905 was the product of anti-Semitism. Rather, he contends, the debate "was to a large extent political and dictated by social, economic and political conditions." More specifically, incorporation of a restrictionist plank was an attempt by the Conservatives and Unionists to win labor support at the polls.

In the last paper, by Professor Richard Morris on the "Jews, Minorities, and Dissent in the American Revolution," the author draws on his vast knowledge of Colonial history and Jewish history to illustrate the actions of representative Jews, most of whom were Patriots, although "a respectable minority" were Tories. His major generalization (offered somewhat reluctantly) is that Jews of Spanish and Portuguese extraction, the long term residents in the colonies, were enthusiastic Patriots, while the Ashkenazim were more evenly divided between Whig and Tory.

A couple of random notes: The editors are to be commended for including portions of the discussions which followed each paper but one, and for the inclusion of helpful appendices after several papers. One suggestion for the hoped-for future volumes is that the reader might be presented with capsule biographies of the major participants.

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The New Left and the Jews. Edited by MORDECAI S. CHERTOFF. New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1971. 322 pp. \$6.50.

Is the New Left implacably anti-Zionist? Is it anti-Semitic? Noam Chomsky says no. Each of the other seventeen contributors to this volume say yes (many include Chomsky in the indictment), except Saadia Gelb, who writes a short essay on "The Kibbutz as a Revolutionary Society," and Marie Syrkin, who contributes a superb piece on Palestinian Arabs, neither one of whom say anything about the New Left at all.

Despite the odds of fifteen to one, Chomsky almost wins the argument. But not quite! With the exception of an essay by Tom Milstein, Chomsky is the only contributor to attempt a systematic analysis of who the New Left is and what it says. He finds many of the so called "anti-Semites" or "anti-Zionists" of the New Left *not guilty*, including the men and women who write for the *New England Free Press*, *Ramparts*, Herbert Marcuse, I. F. Stone, and himself. His personal defense is reasonable and well documented, particularly against what appears to be a roundhouse attack by Seymour Lipset, a brilliant and unusually able scholar who seems to have gone for invective rather than fact in his duel with Chomsky, and by Yaacov Sharett, an Israeli writer whose facts are as wild as his

language abusive in his attack on the M.I.T. professor. Chomsky's defense of the Black Panthers is far less effective. He becomes disingenuous when analyzing allegations of Black anti-Semitism. "There is no doubt that an assiduous search would reveal anti-Semitic statements by Black militants, just as there is no doubt that Black movements have always welcomed support by the Jews and other whites." What can Chomsky mean by "assiduous?" Mordecai S. Chertoff, in the article which precedes Chomsky's, quotes liberally from Stokely Carmichael, *The Black Panther* magazine, and the Committee of Black Americans for Truth about the Middle East, and easily discovered a catalogue of vicious, hateful untruths about Jews and Israel and sweeping, uncritical praise of A1 Fatah. Lipset analyzes clearly and correctly some of the reasons for Black-anti-Semitism within the New Left and without, making what appears to be obvious sense out of the historical and economic situation in which Blacks attempt to free themselves from Jewish economic, bureaucratic and political guidance, not daring to admit how dependent they have been and may still be on Jews in their struggle for civil rights and group power.

But it is Jewish involvement in an allegedly anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic New Left which interests and depresses most of the contributors in this book. "Woe is me," runs the plaint! "How did so many nice Jewish boys and girls go so far astray?" The explanations tend to be heavily psychological. Lipset writes of "self-hatred" and picks up Kenneth Kenniston's phrase, "red diaper babies," children of parents who still talk a good radical game (and may have been Communists in their youth) but live in self-indulgent comfort. Tom Milstein repeats the theme of "red diapers" but does not see these children in revolt against their parents. Rather, their behavior is generally approved by mom and pop as an extension of their earlier Left politics. There are also, Milstein points out, the young Jews who move fairly quickly in and out of the New Left after mistaking the movement as genuinely progressive and those young Jewish men and women who find in the New Left the opportunity to surrender the tribal ethnocentrism foisted on them by their ancestors for the dominant American Protestant radical value of anarchic individualism. Self-hatred again! The young Israeli, Menachem S. Arnoni, who was founder and editor of the radical American journal, *Minority of One*, from 1959 to 1967, also sees aspects of the New Left as quintessentially American: "Lack of social responsibility, violence as a way of life, the beliefs that anything goes that can make itself prevail, orgiastic anarchism — all these are not only the properties of the Hippy-New Left, but also of the Wild West, the California gold rush, the Roaring Twenties." When his children saw that papa went to Synagogue on the High Holy Days to be a better American, not a better Jew, they may have reacted as, in Arnoni's phrase, "Leftist Bar Mitzvah Jews": Papa is a hypocrite; Jews are phonies; Americans are phonies; tear it all down! Or perhaps they reacted as hero Jews: I must seek out and denounce every element of reaction and oppression in Israel as I would have done if I had been a non-Jewish hero in Nazi Germany. Leonard Fein suggests a

fresher view. He sees scientific detachment combined with radical utopianism in politics as a way of achieving identity for non-Jewish Jews.

The main theme of the book as a whole can be found in Nathan Glazer's excellent argument on "Jewish Interests and the New Left." Glazer finds that "the New Left has an overwhelming and unbendable tendency to support the Arabs and to oppose Israel," and that "it is in the interests of Jews, not only as Jews, but men who prefer — as all rational men should — a humane and democratic society, to weaken and limit the power of the New Left." In what may prove to be the essay with the largest influence, Glazer leads the reader gently into his view — quite acceptable to this reviewer — that there are legitimate Jewish interests as such in American politics. There is the interest of Jews in surviving as Jews and New Left leaders usually consider anti-Semitism "a non-issue." There is the interest of Jews in a society organized around the principle of reward for hard work and merit, a principle which many on the New Left seem to believe non-existent in their call for quotas and preferential treatment for special groups. And then there is the interest of the Jews in genuine social justice for all, a goal which Glazer finds (and again we agree although Chomsky and others wouldn't) the New Left undermines with programs so incoherent and a style so offensive that they **wi**n votes for Reagan, Agnew and Nixon.

While any book of eighteen essays is bound to be uneven, most of the chapters in this volume are downright good. The book begins with a thoughtful piece by Robert Alter, who sweeps through Marcuse, Plato's *Republic*, and the utterances of youthful leaders of the New Left, concluding that none of them have an even barely adequate theory of man and his complexities. Then, in what some may find to be the most powerful and penetrating of the articles, Robert Nisbet writes of "The Twilight of Authority in America," finding in the New Left a revolt against reason which stems in part from the massive boredom that comes from the loss of authority in the social order. In possibly the most impressive sentence in the book, Nisbet writes that boredom is the most distinctive characteristic of the New Left — "boredom born of natural authority dissolved, of too long exposure to the void; boredom inherited from parents uneasy in their middle-class affluence and who mistake failure of parental nerve for liberality of rearing . . ."

Irving Howe's essay on political terrorism strikes a related psychological theme. Political terrorists, he argues, are "overwhelmed by loneliness." How Howe knows that is unclear; it is not evident that American political terrorists are lonelier than bank presidents or university professors. But Howe correctly points out the failure of many intellectuals to give sober criticism to young radicals.

Many on the New Left have come to the same conclusion as Howe that American politics can be revitalized from the Left without resorting to terror, as Tom Kahn points out in his essay on "From the Ashes of the New Left." Today, Kahn could write that even the Black Panthers appear to have turned from bullets to ballots. Certainly, the campuses of

America have recoiled from the terrorist acts performed by students two and three years ago. Senator George McGovern's campaign brought Black and White New Left leaders into alliance with Lyndon Johnson, Richard Daley, and more interestingly from the standpoint of this review, such staunch Zionists and committed Jews as Marie Syrkin and Leonard Fein, who served on a panel of foreign policy experts for McGovern. Which leads one to conclude that the American social and political system has much more resiliency and flexibility in it than either spokesmen for the radical Left or some of their Jewish critics in *The New Left and The Jews* acknowledge.

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Jewish Society Through the Ages. Edited by IJ. H. BEN-SASSON and S. ETTINGER. New York: Schocken Books, 1972. 352 pp. \$12.50.

Jewish history in the past has been written either as an intellectual history or as a history of endurance under pressure, but never, except in scattered monographs, as a social history. In the present volume, we have such an attempt before us, and this fact must be noted with satisfaction. At the same time, the volume reflects an Israeli point of view, inasmuch as all but one of the eighteen participating authors are or were residents of Israel; all but one of these are professors at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Half of the contributions, ranging from "Messianism in Jewish History" to "Dynamic Trends in Modern Jewish Thought and Society," are devoted to the Biblical and Talmudic periods and the other half to the history of the Diaspora. This seems fair enough although it would have been preferable to have the first and second halves treated in two different volumes. The history of a people in a clearly defined geographic locale and the histories of segments of the same people in a great variety of environments call for different treatments.

The entire volume is conceived in a competent manner and all the chapters are written in a clear style. Lacking expertise in the Biblical and Talmudic periods, detailed comments are here offered only on the essays dealing with the social history of the Diaspora. These chapters are highly selective, so much so that what they do not say would seem to be as important as what they say. There are chapters on Jewish society under Islam, in the Provence, in Spain, in Italy, in northern Europe during the Middle Ages and then again on the Hasidic movement, the Jewish national movement and the Jewish labor movement, and finally chapters on immigration to America and modern Israeli society.

The history of the Diaspora cannot be written as a self-contained history. The relations between the Jews and the various strata of Gentile society with whom they were in contact are not a matter that can be disposed of by casual remarks here and there: they are of the essence. And as these relations are chiefly of a socio-economic nature, a social

history of the Jews cannot skirt the problem of the usury privilege and of the participation of the Jews in the development of modern capitalistic societies. If these topics are omitted, all one can say is that the old apologetic eggshells of Jewish historiography are still discernible. This applies even to Goitein's chapter on Jewish society under Islam, in which the author is at pains to show that Jewish economic activities in the early Islamic period were insignificant while he avoids altogether dealing with the degraded socio-economic role of the Jews in the later period. To insist that the volume at hand deals only with the "infrastructure" of Jewish society will not do because the consequences for Jewish life and institutions of the position which the Jews occupied in the general social structure are too important to be overlooked. The replacement of a scholarly elite by men of means from the sixteenth century onward is a case in point.

Two other topics of crucial importance that are omitted are an analysis of Jewish society in eastern Europe and a comprehensive treatment of the impact of emancipation on the Jewries of the modern era. To be sure, the eastern European scene is scrutinized in Ettinger's chapter on the Hasidic movement, but only a very partial aspect is offered. Besides, Ettinger's approach precisely to the social aspects of Hasidism is unconvincing. Could it not be that Hasidism is an answer to the stress of life (Dubnow), a counter-establishment movement (Ben-Zion Dinur) and a matter of mysticism made intellectually respectable (Ettinger) simultaneously? And how is it possible to disregard the effect of the Chmielnicky pogroms and of the downfall of the Sabbatai Zvi movement on the development of mysticism? As far as emancipation is concerned, one can understand why Israeli scholars are disinclined to take it seriously in a scholarly way, that is, without any attempt at disparagement. But Jewish society in the last two centuries can hardly be discussed without consideration of the rise of the modern Jewish community, the congregational structure and the proliferation of Jewish organizational endeavor, from the rabbinical seminaries and varied social and charitable organizations to the civic defense agencies and their fundraising efforts. Ultimately, Israeli scholars will come to see what is positive in this vast development because without emancipation preceding it, the emergence of Zionism would not have been possible, neither ideologically nor in terms of organization.

Speaking of individual papers, those dealing with the Jewish labor movement and with Israeli society are somewhat thin, but those dealing with the Jewish national movement and the formation of American Jewry are excellent. Jacob Katz's treatment of the development of Jewish nationalism, both from collective memories and from incentives arising out of the environment, is a masterpiece of historical sociology and clear proof of the contention of this reviewer that Jewish society in the Diaspora must be understood both in terms of continuity within itself and as part and parcel of a general movement. My emphasis is somewhat different though from the one of Katz, inasmuch as I do not think that "the deeper sources of messianism" would have sufficed to initiate a potent movement

without the *vis a tergo* of pogroms in the east and public defamation in the west. To recognize one factor does not invalidate the other, especially in the absence of any proof that the omission of either would have brought about the same historical effect. Lloyd Gartner's chapter on the emergence of American Jewry out of the process of immigration and the interpenetration of influences stemming from various waves and strata of immigrants is remarkable for its factual solidity and for its freedom from any attempt at apologetics. It would have been most interesting to see Israeli society analyzed along comparable lines. Finally, Ben-Sasson's concluding chapter on modern Jewish thought and society raises, if only implicitly, the question which in various shapes and forms has confronted Jews in the wake of emancipation: to what extent are we Jews and to what extent are we citizens? For Israelis, if they are not Canaanites, the two aspects converge. For a Jew in the Diaspora, the problem is posed today not essentially differently from the way it was posed when Moses Mendelssohn wrote his *Jerusalem* and when the assembled Jewish notables of France tried to cope with Napoleon's incisive questions.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

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החוג לידיעת עם ישראל בתפוצות בבית נשיא המדינה. ירושלים: המכון ליהדות
זמננו, מדור שפרינצק, האוניברסיטה העברית, תש"ל—ליא.

סדרה רביעית.

1. תנועות המהאה באוניברסיטאות במערב והשלכותיהן על הקיבוצים היהודיים — שלמה אבינרי. 2. יהדות איראן, קיומה ובעיותיה — עזרא שפיין הנדלר. 3. הציבור היהודי נוכח האנטישמיות הכושית בארצות הברית — ארנסט סטוק. 4. מדעי היהדות בארצות הברית — יצחק טברסקי. 5. התחיקה החדשה ברומניה והשפעתה על הקיבוץ היהודי — ש. ז. פלר. 6. הנוער היהודי האוניברסיטאי בארגנטינה והציבור המאורגן — חיים אבני.

Study Circle on Diaspora Jewry in the Home of the President of Israel. Edited by MOSHE DAVIS. Jerusalem: The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Sprinzak Division, The Hebrew University, 1970-71. Fourth Series.

1. University Protest Movements and Their Implications for the Jewish Communities, by Shlomo Avineri. 2. Contemporary Iranian Jewry, by Ezra Spicandler. 3. American Jewry Confronts Black Anti-Semitism, by Ernest Stock. 4. Jewish Studies in American Universities, by Isadore Twersky. 5. Recent Rumanian Legislation and Its Influence on the Jewish Community, by S. Z. Feller. 6. Jewish Students and the Argentinian Jewish Community, by Haim Avni.

A series of six pamphlets. No price indicated.

Pioneering societies engaged in defining themselves have seldom been characterized by a clear vision of other societies. The myopia which nation-building necessarily demands frequently inspires a distorted picture

of the world outside, one emphasizing the shortcomings and minimizing the attractions. Early — and not so early — American writing about Europe painted an unflattering and not always fair picture. Israeli and earlier Zionist ideologues and observers of the Diaspora, European, eastern and even American, have similarly painted an almost universally bleak portrait.

Although vestiges of this pattern of thinking recur in it, the series of booklets published jointly by the Hebrew University's Institute for Contemporary Jewry and the President's Study Circle on Diaspora Jewry is rather different. This series, perhaps already familiar to many, consists of lectures originally delivered at the Circle by distinguished scholars, many of them from the Diaspora, to equally distinguished Israeli audiences. Also included in each booklet is a resume of the discussions which followed the lecture.

The current group of booklets, the fourth in the series, ranges in concern from Iran, perhaps the oldest Diaspora settlement, to Argentina and the United States. The booklets are all interesting and informative, although they are of uneven sophistication. This reviewer knows very little about either Iran or Rumania. It is obvious, however, that S. Z. Feller's study of recent Rumanian legislation is careful and detailed, while Ezra Spicehandler's historical-sociological sketch of Iran is no more than a sketchy introduction to what is apparently *terra incognita* even to the experts.

Unquestionably the most erudite booklet in the group, and one not lacking in gentle humor, is Isadore Twersky's discourse on Jewish Studies in American universities. With an urbane ambience, Twersky moves from the rabbis to Zunz to Thorstein Veblen, making for delightful reading and elevating the whole series above its competent but at times pedestrian level. Salo Baron has said (in *Steeled in Adversity*, Philadelphia, 1971), that twenty years ago anyone speaking a literary Hebrew in Tel Aviv would have been accused of being a teacher. Today, according to Baron, he would immediately be marked as a tourist. Twersky's "tourist" Hebrew is a rare pleasure to encounter, and it immediately labels him as a teacher as well as a tourist. But it is not style and erudition alone which make Twersky's essay valuable reading, even for the non-Israeli. The Harvard professor's well-documented thesis that in Western universities, his own included, Jewish learning exists as the handmaiden of other fields of study, unable to acquire a legitimacy of its own, is one which is important to the Diaspora scholar's understanding of himself. Moreover, despite the distortion which this approach causes, Twersky sees it continuing, even in Jewish institutions of higher learning in the Diaspora, because of the demands of the present-day academic atmosphere. The overzealous self-consciousness of the Jewish professor of Judaica about his own objectivity, a concern seldom shared by his colleagues regarding their own endeavors, Twersky sees as further strengthening this tendency. What Israelis would doubtless characterize as "exile mentality," Twersky readily discerns in his contemporary American

colleagues, whom one might have thought to have overcome it. He cites with irony the case of the rabbi teaching in a university who is fearful of allowing his students to call him "rabbi," lest the title somehow impugn his academic objectivity. What Twersky suggests, and it is a suggestion readily appreciated by the discussants, is that Jewish scholarship can only really come into its own in Israel.

The remaining three booklets, those of Ernest Stock, Haim Avni and Shlomo Avineri, form a distinct unit. What ties them together, at least according to the reading which this reviewer has given them, is their implicit theme, one which not surprisingly also crops up occasionally in the other discussions. That is, the undiminishing need of *all* Diaspora Jews for a haven in Israel, in other words, the validation of the traditional Zionist analysis of the Diaspora condition.

Read in this light one understands Ernest Stock's picture of American Jews as completely innocent victims, absolutely absolved of any historic complicity in the current American racial crisis. As Daniel Elazar points out in the same booklet, many Jews have indeed stood side by side with the blacks in their long struggle. Other Jews, of course, behaved like many gentile American whites. There were Jewish slaveholders, and even some Jews, like Aaron Lopez, who included slaves among the various commodities they bought and sold. American Jews, like Jews elsewhere in modern times, have frequently accepted the mores of the society in which they lived, and they are hardly more or less culpable than other members of that society for its shortcomings. As Elazar perspicaciously notes, it was the Jews who taught the blacks the lessons of Zionism, of auto-emancipation, and who are now unable to come to terms with the consequences of their own teachings. To be sure the American racial picture is grim. But is it quite so grim as some of the discussants in this booklet picture it? There is something of an air of unreality and of wishful thinking in Haim Yehil's statement that the current black-Jewish crisis calls for nothing so much as "a renewed Zionism" as "the most urgent objective of Zionist thought and of Jewish sociology today." In fact, what Haim Avni shows conclusively, in his lecture on Argentinian students, is that Zionism no less than traditional Judaism and Yiddishism has failed to offer an alternative to young Jews faced with rising anti-Semitism.

Of all six booklets, it is Shlomo Avineri's discussion of student protest in the West which deals most explicitly and most incisively with the Israelis' reaction to Diaspora reality. Avineri's brief analysis of student discontent is superb. Moreover, he refuses to draw succor from what he sees. He plainly states that student revolt in Europe and the Americas, much of it involving Jewish students, calls for change in Israeli thinking and approach no less than in those of the European and American establishments. Avineri feels that Israel really does offer an alternative, that her revolutionary past and even present do offer an alternative to those who are discontent with the Western establishment. But he warns his Israeli audience that their present reliance upon the discredited Jewish

establishments in Europe and America and upon the American government, as well as a refusal to budge on certain relatively non-sensitive aspects of the Palestinian question, may lose for Israel not only the potential good will of the disaffected young, but also any chance of attracting these potentially invaluable immigrants. She may even make of them her enemies. This is a bitter pill to Avineri's fellow Israelis, as the uncomprehending reactions of Raphael Posner and other discussants show. Still, it is this kind of clear analysis of the outside world, coupled with probing self-criticism in the light of that analysis, that mark the best of these attempts to present an accurate, objective picture of important aspects of contemporary Diaspora life to an Israeli academic audience.

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