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Editor: Judith Freedman

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THE IMAGE OF THE KARAITES IN NAZI AND VICHY FRANCE DOCUMENTS

Emanuela Trevisan Semi

THERE have been, and there still are, many different theories about the ethnic origins of the Karaites as well as about the origins and the development of their religious beliefs and practices. It must be stressed that even among the Karaites themselves there has been no unanimity about their own origins. According to some (especially those from Eastern Europe — Lithuania, Volhynia, Galicia, and the Crimea — and a segment of those from Turkey), the Karaites are descended from the Khazars and other groups of Central Asia who were converted in the eighth century by a missionary who wished to propagate an independent religion which resembled Christianity or Islam.[1]

Other traditions, generally believed by the Karaite communities of Jersusalem, Egypt (nowadays the Egyptian Karaites have settled mainly in Israel), and Turkey, trace back the origins of Karaism to the first century before the Common Era, or to the schism during the reign of Jeroboam the First, or to the ten lost tribes of Israel.[2] However, all the Karaite communities are agreed on giving a place of outstanding pre-eminence to Anan ben David, the Jewish leader who flourished in the eighth century and who set out the Karaite code in his *Sepher ha-Mitzvot*, which excluded the Talmud and the Oral Law and decreed that the sole and direct source of religious law was the Jewish Bible.[3]

However, there is no unanimity about the character of the Karaite religion. Some Karaites assert that Karaism is a quite independent creed, totally distinct from Judaism, and that it must be recognized as a fourth monotheistic religion — since it had its origins in Judaism, just as do Christianity and Islam. Others claim that Karaism is the true — or rather, the purer — continuation of the Jewish tradition.

Nevertheless, there are no internal serious conflicts among Karaites about the different versions of their origins; they all co-exist. While one group may favour one version rather than another, this does not cause any profound dissension and does not restrict the choice of marriage partner: a Karaite from one group can take a spouse from any other

Karaite community. They all also use the same lunar calendar for their religious festivals.[4]

A basic tenet of Karaism is to reject the rabbinic interpretations in the written law codified in the Talmud: the text of the Bible must be understood literally and its injunctions adhered to faithfully. The Karaites also differ from Rabbinic Jews in that they do not use the latter's ritual objects: they do not fix a *mezuzah* on their doorposts and their men do not lay on *tephillin* (philacteries). Nor do they make use of a *mikveh* (ritual bath). But they do have synagogues and special dietary regulations. However, their *kashrut* differs markedly from that of Rabbinic Jews and allows them a range of foods which the latter are forbidden to eat. For example, they interpret literally the verse in Deuteronomy (14.21: 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk') to mean that the milk and the flesh of the *same* animal must not be cooked together or mixed together, but they do not carry the interdiction further: they do not forbid the mixture of milk from any animal with the flesh of a different species of animal.

The Karaites who lived in Russian and Austrian lands were allowed to engage in occupations which were forbidden to Rabbinic Jews while by the Russian 'decrees of 5 November 1881 and 8 February 1893 they were exempted from the discriminatory anti-Jewish laws and put on a par with Christian citizens of Russia'.[5] Since their communities were usually small in size, the Karaites could usually appear to merge within the host society by developing mechanisms of cultural adaptation which served them well during the period of Nazi domination in Europe. This ability to take on the colouring of the wider society[6] was evident when they described themselves as Jews if they lived among Jews, as Turks when in Turkey, as Russians when in Russia, as Poles when in Poland, and as Nazis when among Nazis (in the Lvov ghetto they were described as 'Semitic Nazis').[7] Thus, although they were a distinct sect, they could not all be said to belong to a specific people.

The picture they presented to the host society, with their assimilatory tendencies (somewhat similar to the case of the Marranos, the Spanish and Portuguese descendants of Jewish converts) created a serious problem for the Nazis and the Vichy French fascists when they sought to implement their racist and antisemitic legislation. The aim of the present paper is to discover, with the help of Nazi and Vichy French documents, how the Karaites were envisaged in Germany and in France.[8] The relevant period is from 1938 until the end of the Second World War and the documents show that the proverbial German meticulous attention to details had to take account of practical or political considerations, so that the problem was never resolved by the Nazis.

Germany and Nazi-occupied Europe

Nazi Germany's first provisional decision about the status of the Karaites was taken on 22 December 1938 and communicated to a Karaite leader in Berlin on 5 January 1939; it stated: 'The Karaite sect must not be considered to be a Jewish religious community'.[9] In fact, however, the Nazis continued to be tormented by doubts: they never concluded that the matter was settled and they continued to undertake enquiries and to study the results of research on the subject. Letters, memoranda, dissertations, and special pleas were submitted by various Nazi specialists: Robert Wetzel, an anatomist and palaeontologist, who had become one of the experts on racial matters and on Jews and Karaites; Waldemar Holtz, a jurist who commissioned 'scientific' and racial research about the Karaites of Vilna, Troki, Riga, and Berlin in 1942; Karl Georg Kuhn, a Semitist who was a professor at Tubingen University[10] and who was trusted by the authorities; and Baumgärtel, a government adviser.

According to the documentation produced by these investigations, there were two different views of the Karaites, while a third image of the group was presented by the Nazi writer Mara (or Dagmar) Krueger (née Brandt). There is discussion of blood types, of the relationship between race and religion, and of devising tests of racial psychology. Moreover, the 'scientific specialists' did not limit themselves to their own specialist field — so that the Semitist gives his opinion about 'Karaite blood' and the racial biologist deals with the Karaite language. The peculiar logic and search of the Nazis went so far as to compel famous Jewish scholars, who were living in ghettos during the Nazi occupation, to disclose what they knew about the Karaites and to translate from the Hebrew any relevant texts; Meir Balaban and Ignaz Schipper, who were confined to the Warsaw ghetto, were given that task. For most of his life, Balaban had demonstrated that the Karaites were a branch of Jewry; but he told the Nazis the exact opposite, declaring that they were not Jews, since he knew what the consequences of his true opinion would have been.[11] Zelig Kalmanovitch, in his 'A Diary of the Nazi Ghetto in Vilna'[12] refers several times to the task he had been given and to the debate which occurred, in the presence of the Nazis, between himself and the Karaite *Hakham* (religious leader) of Vilna, Seraja Szapszal; he commented later that the *Hakham* had a better knowledge of horses and of weapons than of religion.[13] Finally, a historian in the Lvov ghetto, Jacob Schall, was ordered to present a study on the origins of the Karaites in Poland. Philip Friedman had been first approached but he had asked that the task be given to some other specialist. Friedman, the only one of all these experts to have survived the Holocaust, commented later that 'a completely objective and scholarly study, indicating the probabilities of the Karaites' Jewish origin, might endanger their lives. Besides,

everything in me revolted against writing a memorandum for the use of the Nazis . . .'.[14]

At first, then, the Nazis appeared to accept that the Karaites were not Jewish but Turco-Tartars who were converted to a branch of Judaism: they had no 'Jewish blood'. This was a view whose consequences were to save the Karaites from a Nazi sentence of death since for these racists it was 'race' or 'blood' — biological criteria — which mattered, not religion. Later, however, the Karaites were seen as an ethnic group which was not easily classifiable but which had a Jewish 'strain' (*einschlag*) and was therefore of doubtful blood. But whether they had no Jewish blood or whether they were of doubtful blood, in both cases these Karaites were considered to be of impure blood (*artfremd*) and were therefore forbidden to marry German Aryans. They were also not to be allowed to settle in any of the territories of the Reich.[15]

According to the government adviser Baumgärtel, the Karaites were certainly not a Jewish group and he was instrumental in securing for *Hakham* Szapszal a higher income than he had hitherto received from the government authorities as a religious dignitary and as the director of the Karaite museum. Baumgärtel supported the cause of the Vilna Karaites and recommended that one of their properties near Vilna, which had been commandeered by the Russians, should be restored to the community. In a letter dated 30 July 1942, addressed to the authorities, he asserted that the Karaites, and especially the Karaites of Crimean origin who lived in the Vilna district, were not to be considered as Jews; they had never belonged to the Mosaic religion or to a Jewish synagogue. Even anthropological investigations could not determine with any objectivity that the Vilna Karaites were Jews, since there is no single criterion for a racial definition of Jewishness. He added that on the basis of present-day knowledge, it could be said with some certainty that the Vilna Karaites were of Tartar origin, that theirs was a syncretic religion which happened to adopt the Mosaic creed as a base for their beliefs and that it was therefore inadmissible to look upon the Karaites as Jews.[16] Baumgärtel was told in reply that the property would not be returned to the Vilna Karaites because they were adherents to a cult of 'impure blood'.[17]

Holtz, in a five-page memorandum dated 13 June 1942 and entitled 'Provisional Standpoint Concerning the Problem of the Karaites',[18] put forward his own opinion and that of the Karaites. On the basis of a deposition given to him by a Karaite writer, Szymon Firkowicz (who was an assistant of *Hakham* Szapszal in Vilna),[19] and of other sources (which he did not specify), Holtz argued that the Karaites, and particularly those of the Crimea from whom the members of the Lithuanian community were descended, were of non-Jewish origin and

considered themselves to be 'members of the ethnic Turkish group of Azerbaijan, who had been converted by Karaite missionaries from Byzanthium'. Holtz declared that he himself was convinced on this point but that, in order to be 'scientifically' rigorous, he would wait for the anthropological findings of the appointed special research team of racial biologists and for those of the historical and philological studies being carried out by the Semitist Kuhn. Kuhn had taken over the research which had been directed by the famous Bonn Orientalist, Paul E. Kahle. Kahle had been asked to go to Leningrad in order to investigate the Karaite question and he had expressed the opinion that the Karaites were not part of the Jewish people, before secretly leaving Germany in March 1939; but he was known to be a non-Nazi and his conclusion was therefore considered suspect.[20]

Holtz was familiar with the research carried out by the Italian geneticist Corrado Gini in 1934; Gini had reached no firm conclusions about the racial origins of the Karaites and had stated that they were members of the Ugrian race, with a 'not negligible portion of Turco-Tartar blood'. But Gini had also stated that there was some Jewish infiltration and that the Karaites of Egypt belonged to the Jewish world, while the Karaites of Luck and Halicz were very closely related to Sephardi and Oriental Jews. Holtz commented that he could not altogether exclude the Jewish factor in the community of the Karaites of Crimea. On the other hand, since the fourteenth century, at the time when the Karaites became historically identified as a group, they had not intermarried with Jews. There were, however, some individual cases of such unions among the Karaites of Luck and of Halicz; and when there were marriages between Karaites originating from the Crimea or from Lithuania and their correligionists from the Middle East, in particular from Egypt, Jewish blood had entered into the Karaite community of Eastern Europe. But these were isolated cases, which required further research.

Holtz believed that it was reasonable to conclude that on the basis of present-day knowledge, the Karaites of Eastern Europe were almost exclusively a non-Jewish group whose national character was Turco-Tartar. He had reached that conclusion on the grounds of 'racial psychology': the evidence provided by those characteristics which the Karaites themselves had so wisely stressed in their arguments with the Nazi authorities — the importance of the military tradition and of agricultural labour in the Karaite pattern of living. Holtz pointed out that it was inconceivable to picture a Jewish population which maintained a marked military tradition. Moreover, the fact that the Karaites of Lithuania were primarily engaged in agriculture and horticulture did not predispose one to believe in their alleged Judaism. He was perplexed about the origins of the Karaites and their later

relations with Jews, but from the point of view of cultural characteristics, such as their military and agricultural traditions, there seemed to be no doubt about reaching the conclusion that they were a group separate from Jewry.[21]

In truth, this five-page memorandum by Holtz threw light on all the contradictions inherent in a simplified and simplistic view of ethnic or 'racial' groups. Holtz attached greater importance to a specific mentality and to racial psychology than he did to racial-genetic factors. His document reveals an interesting line of reasoning concerning the religious and national evolution of Karaism. He sought to explain the fact that Karaism became differentiated from Judaism only after some time not because of 'opportunistic motives' but rather as a result of the process of distinguishing between religious and national phenomena which occurred in the nineteenth century. During the period when Judaism had been seen only as a religion, the Karaites might have considered themselves as part of Jewry, but as soon as the ethnic criterion arose in the context of the nationalism of the nineteenth century, the Karaites — who were aware that they belonged to a separate ethnic group — began to set themselves apart. (One must wonder whether that line of argument was supplied to Holtz by the Karaites themselves.[22])

In another document, dated 3 July 1942,[23] Holtz declared, after he had met Kuhn, that according to that famous Semitist, the Karaites were 'non-Jews converted to a branch of Judaism by Jewish missionaries' but that the blood of these missionaries probably did not flow in the veins of the Karaites. But even if there had been rare cases of such admixture, the percentage of Jewish blood was very limited. Karaites did not marry Jews, but they did marry Tartars. Kuhn, who was perhaps more interested in genetics than in philology, expressed his opinions in somewhat confusing and self-contradictory terms, in the same way as all the others who had been engaged in considering the 'Karaite question' — using involved circumlocutions and double negatives.

In May 1943, the long-awaited results of the 'racial enquiries' which were to determine the fate of the Karaites were revealed. That group was variously referred to as *Karaimen*, *Karaim*, *Krim-Karaer*, *Karaiten*, and in the report by Firkovitch they were *Karaime* and in Arabic *Karain*. Of course, the Germans were always very interested in philological precisions. In that report of the findings of the racial enquiries — copies of which were sent to the office of the Nazi Party, to the Minister of the Interior, to the Office of Public Security of the Reich, and to the supreme command headquarters of the Wehrmacht[24] — there were dissertations about the Karaite language. (Had not the Semitist, for his part, been concerned with genetics?) The Karaite language was classified as an ancient Turkish language. As for customs, it was noted

that the practice of circumcision — which might have given the Nazis cause for concern — was common among all Oriental peoples. The physiological data showed that the Karaites 'were remarkably close to the Tartars of the Crimea in the matter of blood grouping' and that they showed clear evidence of Mongolian admixture. It also seemed that there had been very little miscegenation between the Karaites and the people of Lithuania, or Poland, or White Ruthenia, or the Jews. There were no known instances of Karaite and Jewish admixture, apart from a few cases in Luck and in Halicz.

Holtz, who had been in charge of these enquiries, also noted that the Karaites had fought with the Wrangler army in 1919 and that such a stand 'was in contrast to the lines of thought and the values of the Jewish people'. One had also to take into account the Karaite propensity for agricultural labour, their culture which was superior to that of the Jews living in the same territory, and the Karaite fame for honesty and loyalty wherever they lived, in obvious contrast with the reputation of the Jews. Holtz added that the propensity for trade and for 'parasitical activities' which the Jews exhibited was not present among the Karaites. This was another instance where Holtz showed that he was particulary attentive to what were, in fact, socio-economic (rather than 'racial') factors.

Only two days after that apparently definitive conclusion was reached, an article appeared in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*[25] which confirmed that view of the Karaites. But then this newspaper received a letter from 'a well-known author', Mara Krueger (née Brandt); she enclosed an article rebutting the arguments in favour of the Karaites. Earlier, on 11 May 1943, she had sent a letter about the same subject to Adolf Hitler and his office had forwarded it to the Bureau dealing with racial policy. (A copy of that letter has survived.) On the instructions of that Bureau, dated 31 May 1943, the newspaper published neither her letter nor her article.

Mara Krueger was a sixty-year-old woman of Baltic origin 'educated as a good German of the Reich' who had lived in Moscow — according to her letter to Hitler. She had been concerned for years (apparently with the encouragement of the Nazi geneticist Rosenberg) with the subject of the Karaites and had dedicated her last book (then in press) to him; the title of the book was not indicated.[26] She claimed that the Karaites were 'the most fanatical Jews of the world' and she believed that they were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. She described the relations between Jews and Karaites as those between 'feuding brothers who fight one another'.[27] The fact that the Karaites rejected the Talmud did not mean that they were not Jews; it was similar to the case of a Lutheran who rejected Catholicism but was not any the less of a Christian on that account. Therefore, according to this Nazi author, from the religious point of view one had to conclude that the Karaites

were Jews, especially since they were the most fanatical believers in the coming of the Messiah and in world domination. From the racial point of view, she maintained that since the Karaites were descended from the Khazars, and since the Khazars themselves were of Jewish descent, this meant that the Karaites were Jews. She interpreted the Nuremberg laws as not being concerned with the type of 'blood' but only with 'the genealogy of religious adherence'. There was the old Jewish trick of interweaving faith and race to as great an extent as circumstances required. Sometimes one was of the Jewish race while at other times one was only of the Jewish faith.

That view of the Karaites was not what the Nazis wished to endorse when they needed to protect the Karaites for political considerations. The Germans knew that the Tartars looked upon the Karaites as part of their own group, and since they required the support of the Tartars in their anti-Russian operations, they feared the repercussions on their Eastern front if they exterminated the Karaites. Indeed, the censorship which prevented the publication of Mara Krueger's article confirms that that woman's opinion could not have been well received by the specialists in Karaite affairs such as Holtz and Wetzel. Her arguments were found to be flawed; it was said in a letter dated 31 May 1943 that 'according to Mrs Krueger, a person of German blood but of the Jewish faith is a Jew' but this ran counter to the racial principles on which the Nuremberg laws were based, according to which such a person must be considered to be German.[28]

After Lithuania was liberated by the Russians and the Karaites of the Crimea and of Lithuania were probably fleeing towards the West, Wetzel noted in a document dated 20 July 1944 that 'since the new exacerbation of the Karaite question, with the appearance of the book by Dagmar Brandt [clearly published by then] one section of public opinion could not understand why the Karaites had been allowed to settle in the territory of the Reich'. He believed that the Karaite problem had not been solved, especially in view of the matters raised by that author, and that it was still to be decided whether the Karaites must be considered to be Jewish or non-Jewish. It was a matter of *artfremd* and one could not absolve the group of the suspicion that it had a Jewish strain.[29]

In the pictures which Baumgärtel, Holtz, Kuhn, Wetzel, and others painted of the Karaites, their contradictory arguments could be either favourable or unfavourable to the group, according to the prevailing circumstances — for example, when it was necessary to secure the support of the Tartars, the Karaites were not of the Jewish race. In this context, it must be noted that the Karaites constituted a source of conflict between the necessity to implement the Nuremberg racial laws and political opportunism. They were fortunate that matters were decided in their favour.

Vichy France

In France the Karaites found themselves in a very difficult situation since *Le Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives* had ruled that the Karaites were part of Jewry and had requested them (their community consisted of 270 persons) to register as Jews and to be subjected to the *Statut des Juifs* which had been promulgated on 2 June 1941. Xavier Vallat, the director of the *Commissariat*, indeed maintained that the only differences between the Karaites and the Jews were in the realm of religious tenets and therefore irrelevant as far as racial classification was concerned.[30] It was only in January 1943 that the Karaites living in France succeeded in their efforts to be recognized as non-Jews.

In the racial laws of Vichy France, the lines of demarcation between racial and religio-cultural criteria were less clear than was the case in the Nuremberg laws. As Léon Poliakov has noted,[31] the men of Vichy, and Xavier Vallat above all, when they spoke about 'race' tended to think of 'religion'. For instance, a Vichy document concerned with 'Karaites, Georgians and others'[32] noted that there were very serious difficulties about making too much use of the criterion of religion in order to distinguish Jews from non-Jews. The *Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives* would risk becoming involved in irresoluble situations if it had to determine what constituted the Jewish religion. That might not be too difficult in the case of French Jews, who had cultural associations and who were regulated according to the Great Sanhedrin. But what of the adulterated religion of the Karaites or of the Georgians? 'Would it be necessary for the Commissariat to establish a faculty of theology or a chair in the history of religions? . . . To give precedence to religion over the racial criterion would result in conflict . . . with the occupying authorities'.

The Karaites and other Jewish groups of Central and Eastern Asia had therefore burdened France with the most enormous contradictions in the laws which were alleged to be rational and based on clear and irrefutable principles of discrimination.[33] The expert who was consulted in France — the famous racist anthropologist George Montandon, whose ideology has recently been analysed by Marc Knobel[34] — was referred to as '*l'expert ethno-racial du Commissariat Général*'. He, like the other German experts mentioned above, was much exercised about which 'scientific' criteria to adopt. In an article which was published in the first issue of *L'Ethnie française*, Montandon had written that the Karaites had been converted by Ashkenazi Jews in the Crimea to a non-Talmudic Judaism, said to be '*ananitique*' — that is, following Anan ben David.[35] Later, in another article (entitled 'Racisme et juifs') which was published in the January 1943 issue of that same periodical, he argued that the people who had adopted Judaism, such as the Khazars and the Karaites of the Crimea, 'had thus annexed themselves to the Jewish ethnic entity.'[36] He was of the opinion that any person

who had only one of the following five characteristics — Jewish physical type, accent, religion, customs, or mentality — must be deemed to be Jewish.[37]

It therefore seemed that Montandon had accepted the criterion of religion. However, in an article on circumcision (in the very same January 1943 issue of *L'Ethnie française*) he came to the conclusion — in an extraordinary volte-face and in a peculiarly contorted line of reasoning — that the Karaites were not Jews, after all: they were of 'Irano-tataro-finno-slav' racial origin and they practised a very strict endogamy. Any male or female member of their community who took a spouse from another group was considered to be totally lost to them. Montandon — who had been appointed director of the Nazi-sponsored *Institut d'Etudes des Questions Juives et Ethno-raciales* — must have decided in the course of writing that article that it would be more politic for him to agree with the prevailing Nazi view that the Karaites were not Jews also because they did not have the 'Jewish mentality'. He dutifully noted that both 'Tsarist Russia and the present-day Reich' had classified the Karaites as non-Jews.[38]

A memorandum dated 8 February 1943 from the *Statut des Personnes* noted that French laws were harsher than the German legislation in the racial field and in the struggle against the Jews. It commented that the severity of these French laws affected some persons who were quite harmless and indeed rather deserving, and added:

> It does seem, and this is of capital importance, that the Karaites are not (biologically) of the Jewish race, since this is the opinion of the generality of scholars, and of German scholars in particular, who are hardly likely to have reached that decision lightly. According to them, the Karaites are only, as noted above, 'ethnic' Jews. Are they of the Jewish religion? There are arguments about it; but French antisemitism has always maintained that it did not engage in the fight against Jews on the grounds of religion, but because the Jews were a people who was alien and who had persevered in its traditional hostility to all that is not Jewish, . . .

The Karaites therefore did not seem to be part of the Jewish people, with whom they had distinctly hostile relations.[39]

The Jews were thus finally seen as a people quite distinct from other groups; they could not be integrated, in contrast to the case of the Karaites. This line of reasoning, which took into account the apparent assimilative tendencies of the Karaites, must have had a significant effect on the decision that they were not part of the Jewish people. The Karaites themselves stressed this quality. For example, Colonel Bogdanovitch, himself a Karaite, had written a long statement in order to clarify the issue. He stated that the Karaites 'were renowned for their patriarchal traditions, their humility, and their proverbial honesty. They lived among people of different religions . . . and they earned the full trust and friendship of the host society'. Their principal

occupations were horticulture, viniculture, and market gardening. He concluded by stating that his people hoped that the French government, in accordance with its inherent sense of justice, would be willing to confirm the fact that the Karaites were an autonomous racial and religious group, 'as has always been acknowledged in all the countries and by all the governments' wherever the Karaites had lived.[40]

Indeed, the picture presented to the Vichy authorities was in complete opposition to the contemporary Nazi and fascist stereotype of the Jews: the Karaites had been assimilated by the Tartars, the Russians, the Poles, and others; they had a 'mentality' which was quite different from that of Rabbinic Jews; they were engaged mainly in agricultural pursuits; they were loyal citizens; and they respected tradition — being strongly opposed to bolshevism.

Conclusion

The Karaites, by stressing their tendency to integrate with the host society, in whatever geographic area and whatever code of behaviour and of law obtained, managed during the Second World War to dissociate themselves completely from Judaism and indeed to achieve the rare distinction of being labelled 'Semitic Nazis'. It was fortunate for them that Jewish historians were prepared to assert (contrary to their real conviction, and in order to save lives) that the Karaites were not part of Jewry.

However, the Karaites would not have succeeded in saving themselves from the fate of the Jews who perished in the Holocaust if the Nazis had not done their best, in the face of conflicting evidence, to conclude that the Karaites were not truly Jewish since Germany feared adverse political repercussions on its Eastern front if they were treated as Jews. Vichy France reluctantly had to follow the occupying power's example and therefore to exempt the Karaites from the strictures of the *Statut des Juifs*.*

* This paper is based on a lecture delivered in February 1989 in Paris to the Société des Etudes Juives. The translation is by Judith Freedman.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

CDJC Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (Paris)
No CDJC Nuremberg Archives (Rosenberg Archives)

[1] This was the opinion, for example, of Simon Szyszman, *Le Karaïsme*, Lausanne, 1980, p. 71, and of Ananias Zajaczkowski, *Karaims in Poland. History, Language, Folklore, Science*, Warsaw, the Hague, and Paris, 1961, p. 19.

[2] See Yosef El Gamil, *History of Karaite Jewry. Sources on the Life of the Karaite Community in the Diaspora and in Israel* (in Hebrew), vol. 1, Ramle, Israel, 1979, p. 43.

[3] For an overview about the origins of Karaism and a bibliography on the subject, see Bruno Chiesa, *Creazione e caduta dell'uomo nell esegesi giudeo-araba medievale*, Brescia, 1989, pp. 13–47.

[4] Avraham Beker states that the position which the Karaites of Eastern Europe took during the Nazi occupation created an irremediable breach between them and the Karaite community of Egypt (now in Israel): Avraham Beker, 'The Fate of the Karaites during the Nazi domination' (in Hebrew), in *Yeda-Am*, vol. 24, no. 55–56, 1988, p. 66. I do not agree with Beker. Nowadays, both Karaite groups follow the same lunar calendar and there is nothing to prevent marriage between members of these two communities.

[5] See Philip Friedman, 'The Karaites Under Nazi Rule' in Max Beloff, ed., *On the Track of Tyranny*, London, 1960, p. 98.

[6] See Emanuela Trevisan Semi, *Gli ebrei caraiti tra etnia e religione*, Rome, 1984, pp. 23–81. For the use of that cultural mechanism during the Nazi occupation, see by the same author, 'L'oscillation ethnique: le cas des Caraïtes pendant la seconde guerre mondiale' in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vol. 206, no. 4, 1989, pp. 377–98.

[7] This is according to a survivor of the Luck ghetto, Yaakov Elibert, quoted by Warren P. Green in 'The Nazi Racial Policy toward the Karaites', *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1978, p. 41, and by Shmuel Spector, 'The Karaites in Nazi-occupied Europe seen through German documents' (in Hebrew), in *Peamim*, no. 19, 1986, p. 106, on the basis of documents available in *Yad Vashem* in Israel.

[8] These documents are all available at the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC) in Paris.

[9] No CDJC CXLVa–16. According to Philip Friedman, op. cit. in Note 5 above, p. 99, the letter was dated 9 January 1939.

[10] See M. Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors. The Part of Scholarship in Hitler's Crimes Against the Jewish People*, New York, 1946, pp. 40, 48, 50, 51, 56.

[11] See Friedman, op. cit. in Note 5 above, p. 110.

[12] See Zelig Kalmanovitch, 'A Diary of the Nazi Ghetto in Vilna' in *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, vol. 8, 1953, pp. 23, 29, 37, 50, 52.

[13] Ibid., p. 37.

[14] See Friedman, op. cit. in Note 5 above, pp. 110–11.

[15] No CDJC CXXXIII, 12.

[16] No CDJC CXLVa–16.

[17] No CDJC CXLV–16, 11 August 1942.

[18] No CDJC CXLV–16.

[19] See Szymon Firkowicz, *Die Karaïmen in Polen*, Berlin, 1941, p. 11; this is a German version of Harald Cosack, *Karaimach w Polsce*, Troki, 1938.

[20] See Friedman, op. cit. in Note 5 above, p. 99.

[21] In the context of the stress put by both the Nazis and the Karaites on the latter's military tradition, in order to show the difference between 'a Karaite mentality' and 'a Jewish mentality', see Carlo Magnino, *Il complesso etnico dei Carpazi*, Rome, 1933, p. 131. Magnino stated that there were two special Karaite regiments, in which the Karaites were not only the soldiers but also the officers. He commented: 'This serves to point out the contrast between them and the Jews, a contrast which is evident in the most intimate expressions of life'. Here it should be noted that Magnino was an ethnologist

who is said by Friedman (op. cit. in Note 5 above, p. 100) to have been a member of Corrado Gini's anthropological expedition to Eastern Europe in 1934. Friedman is mistaken: in fact, Magnino had been engaged in that line of research before Gini's expedition, as Gini himself acknowledged in 'I Caraimi di Polonia e Lituania' in *Genus*, vol. 2, no. 1–2, 1936–37, p. 9, note 1. Magnino did not take part in Gini's expedition.

[22] The Karaites made use of the views of anthropologists and ethnologists quoted in Nazi documents to claim that they were an ethnic group which happened to follow a Mosaic or an Ananitic religion. One scholar who taught in the Paris Ecole d'Anthropologie, Alexandre Baschmakoff, stated in *Cinquante siècles d'évolution ethnique autour de la mer Noire*, Paris, 1937, p. 142, that it was necessary to distinguish completely between the religion and the ethno-anthropological character of the Karaites. He pointed out that the Karaites themselves sought to establish that they had no connection whatsoever with the Semitic race.

[23] See No CDJC CXLVa–16 about the debate which occurred in Stuttgart between Holtz and the Semitist Kuhn on the problem of the origins of the Karaites.

[24] No CDJC CXLVa–16.

[25] See Friedman, op. cit. in Note 5 above, p. 113.

[26] I think that the reference is to Dagmar Brandt, *Gardariki. Ein Stufenbuch aus Russischem Raum*, Berlin, 1944.

[27] No CDJC CXLVa–16.

[28] Ibid.

[29] No CDJC CXXXIII, 12.

[30] On the policy of Xavier Vallat and of the *Commissariat* regarding the French Karaites, see Joseph Billig, *Le Commissariat général aux questions juives (1941–1944)*, 3 volumes, Paris, 1955–60; see vol. 2, Paris, 1957, pp. 182–93. See also Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy et les juifs*, Paris 1981, pp. 93–94; this book was also published in English under the title of *Vichy France and the Jews*, New York, 1981.

[31] See Léon Poliakov, 'Lois de Nuremberg et Lois de Vichy: du Racisme Intégral au racisme de compromis' in Beloff, ed., op. cit. in Note 5 above, p. 184.

[32] CDJC XXXII–91a.

[33] See Warren P. Green, 'The Fate of Oriental Jewry in Vichy France' in *Wiener Library Bulletin*, vol. 32, no. 49, 1979, pp. 49–50; Mordechai Altshuler, 'The Attitude of the Nazis Towards the "Jews of the Mountains" and Other Oriental Communities' (in Hebrew) in *Peamim*, no. 27, 1986, pp. 5–17; and Benyamin Ben-David, 'The Rescue of the Jews of Bokhara in Paris' (in Hebrew) in the same issue of *Peamim*, pp. 26–30.

[34] See Marc Knobel, 'L'ethnologue à la dérive: George Montandon et l'ethnoracisme' in *L'Ethnologie française*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1988, pp. 107–13.

[35] See George Montandon, 'L'Ethnie Juive: Sémites, Hébreux, Israélites et Juifs' in *L'Ethnie française*, no. 1, 1941, p. 18.

[36] George Montandon, 'Racisme et juifs' in *L'Ethnie française*, no. 7, January 1943, p. 5.

[37] Ibid., p. 3.

[38] George Montandon, 'La circoncision' in ibid., p. 37, note 4.

[39] CDJC CCXVI–8.

[40] CDJC XXXII–116/117.

ALIYAH AND RETURN MIGRATION OF CANADIAN JEWS: PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF INCENTIVES AND OF DISAPPOINTED HOPES

Cyril Levitt and William Shaffir

COUNTLESS generations of Diaspora Jews have traditionally prayed for a return to the Holy Land — 'Next year in Jerusalem'. With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, a flood of Jews from 'free' countries, such as the United States and Canada, might have been expected to 'make *aliyah*', to emigrate to Israel. In fact, only limited numbers of North American Jews have settled in Israel in the course of the last four decades. One reliable estimate is that only about 7,000 Canadian Jews moved permanently to Israel since 1948.[1]

Research on this migration usually focuses on standard push and pull models.[2] Jewish commitments are the primary pull factors in such models, representing a basically ideological attraction to Israel, while the push derives from some form of dissatisfaction with one's community or lifestyle in North America. Studies by Antonovsky and Katz[3] and by Berman[4] have emphasized that these Jewish migrants were overwhelmingly influenced by the pull to Israel — they were not 'pushed' from their country of origin. Other studies, however, have maintained that there was in fact some general dissatisfaction with North American society arising chiefly from problems related to Jewish identity in a pluralistic context, and concerns about antisemitism.[5] Many authors have demonstrated that the migration experience involves a transformation of identity requiring an adjustment to a new culture and the modification of one's self-concept in relation to it.[6]

Studies of North American *yordim* (those who leave Israel) have related the reasons given for leaving Israel. Both Engel[7] and Jubas[8] have found that practical difficulties were the reasons most often offered. Engel stated: 'Job opportunities, housing, and cost of living

were practical considerations for leaving'.[9] Antonovsky and Katz[10] and Jubas[11] have shown that encounters with Israeli bureaucracy were a source of anger and frustration for many immigrants in Israel (*olim*, those who make *aliyah*), while Gitelman has commented that American *olim* were especially disappointed by the inefficiency and waste, environmental pollution, crime, materialism, and lack of idealism that they encountered in Israel.[12] The research carried out by Dashefsky and Lazerwitz is the most comprehensive study to date of North American Jews who went to settle permanently in Israel but returned to the United States; these *yordim* were compared with other North Americans who had migrated to Israel and were still living there three years after their arrival. At first, it seemed that the religious factor was the major differentiating aspect; but a closer examination of the data revealed that those who initially had a greater degree of self-confidence were more likely to be still in Israel three years after they had left their native land.[13] However, when Waxman analysed their data, he commented: 'Although the data suggest that those with higher education and those with weaker or less active Jewish commitment tend to return, no meaningful causal relationship could be established between the characteristics of the returnees and their decision to return'. According to his findings, the issue of separation from family was cited as among the main reasons for return migration, followed by problems with the Israeli bureaucracy.[14]

There is a sizeable literature on Diaspora Jews who migrated to Israel with the intention of settling there permanently[15] but who returned to their native countries, but few of the authors have attempted to examine the process by which *olim* arrived at their final decision to become *yordim*. This is surprising, for if international migration involves a series of adjustments, including changes in identity and commitment, then the decision to re-emigrate is just as likely to be fraught with such considerations.[16] This paper focuses on the decision-making processes of some Canadian Jews who have planned to emigrate to Israel in the near future and of another group of persons who did make *aliyah* but later returned to Canada. Our chief interest is to examine the kinds of inter-personal negotiations involved in the decision-making, although we also take into account the specific factors mentioned by our respondents.[17] We have found that people who are in the process of coming to the decision to make *aliyah*, or to return to Canada, develop an account of their decision-making process which rationalizes it for them and for significant others; essentially, there is in both cases the presentation and negotiation of an acceptable account.

This paper is based on two sets of informal interviews conducted with Canadian Jews in Montreal and Toronto. One set was completed in 1988 with 30 persons who had emigrated to Israel in the 1980s and

then returned to Canada; we interviewed them within six months of their return. The other set consisted of 20 Canadians whom we interviewed at the end of 1989 and the first eight months of 1990. The list of all 50 respondents was developed by the technique known as 'snowballing'.

Those who had abandoned their plan to live permanently in Israel and had returned to Canada ranged in age from the early thirties to the mid-fifties and none was an observant Orthodox Jew. There were 18 men and 12 women; the men were mainly engaged in business activities or in professional occupations, while the women who did not stay at home to look after their young children had gone to work in Israel as English teachers or as English-language secretaries. None of the respondents claimed that emigration to Israel was the result of Zionist commitment or of having belonged to any Zionist movement or organization in Canada. During our conversations, we were mainly interested in their decision to return to Canada, but they themselves usually also referred spontaneously to their reasons for going on *aliyah*.

Aliyah: Expectations and Preparations

All the respondents who had emigrated to Israel had gone with the full intention of remaining there permanently, and had made thorough preparations to that effect. One married man described what the others had also told us: 'We moved lock, stock, and barrel. We had some misgivings about moving this way, but we realized that if we were serious about it, it was the only way to go'. Various reasons were given for the decision to go on *aliyah* but one which all the respondents mentioned was a desire to live in the Jewish State. They wanted to realise the long-standing dream of leading a Jewish life in a Jewish homeland. However, they did not say that they felt driven out of Canada because of rising levels of antisemitism or feelings of second-class citizenship. On the contrary, they spoke appreciatively about the range of freedoms and opportunities available in Canada; but they expressed a sense of unease about the Christian character of the country and especially the public celebration of Christian feast days.

By contrast, Israel was expected to offer a milieu where the celebration of Jewish festivals, even if undertaken in a secular mode, would no longer situate them in a minority position. They did not say that they had wanted to settle in Israel because they feared that their children might take Christian spouses in Canada; but perhaps this was because they either had very young children or adult married children. Our findings generally concur with those of Michael Brown, who concluded that Canadian Jews generally feel at home in Canada, where there are no strong push factors to stimulate large-scale *aliyah*.[18]

Apart from a single person who had been unable to secure an adequate income in Toronto, all those who had emigrated had lived in comfortable circumstances in Canada and had accumulated a respectable capital. They had visited Israel, had consulted not only friends or relatives living in Israel but also Israeli government officials, and were generally aware of the economic difficulties they were likely to encounter. However, they were prepared to lower their standard of living in exchange for the non-material benefits of living among fellow-Jews in a Jewish State. One man commented that he and his wife did not have unrealistic ideas:

> We knew that we wouldn't be able to live in Israel at the same standard we were living here. We certainly weren't extremely wealthy . . . but we were quite comfortable. We could always afford to buy those things we thought we needed or wanted. In fact, if we were really interested in making money, we knew that Israel wasn't the place to go. So, as far as economics were concerned, we were prepared to make sacrifices.

A common denominator for all respondents preparing for *aliyah* was their perception of approaching, or of having already reached, a 'turning-point' in their lives. Strauss has noted that a turning-point may be conceptualized as a marker in development when an individual decides to take stock and evaluate the present position and then proceeds to embark upon a new course which will alter his or her identity in the eyes of others.[19] Turning-points may give rise to (or may be the result of) surprise, shock, anxiety, tension, self-questioning, or exhilaration. Examples were provided by one of our respondents who was retiring from full-time work, a young couple whose first child was about to begin to go to school, and a Quebec family worried about separatism: they all stated that a break in their pattern of living was imminent or was advisable. Another such case was a Toronto businessman who told us:

> I just seemed to be getting more and more bogged down in my work. I was in a real rut. When we decided to go for a brief vacation to Israel, I began to see a way out. Israel could be my place of renewal. The country was alive and I was dead. Here I could make a fresh start, do new things, and get moving again.

Some respondents told us that when they took stock of the particular circumstances in which they found themselves, including the long-term future of their young children, they were confident that they would be able to settle without great difficulties in Israel. The mother of three young children recalled: 'We moved in 1983. Our kids were at an age that unless we did it at that point, we would have to do it when we retired'. In another case, the impetus was provided by the changes which were reshaping the political landscape of the Province of Quebec:

> We had always considered *aliyah*, but we never had either the push or the pull. Levesque [the then Premier of Quebec] gave us the push. We were getting the hell out of Montreal, not because we had to. There was nothing wrong with my practice and my French was fluent too. So we said, 'We're leaving'. We did toy with Toronto, and I had a business proposition in the States . . . Then we said, 'Since we talked about *aliyah* potentially for many years already, so now that we're leaving there's only one place we can go. And that's Israel to see if we can live there permanently.'

In yet another case, a couple believed that they had sufficient capital to allow them to live in Israel without great hardship:

> One of the reasons we decided to go, and decided to go when we went, was because we could do it then. We felt financially we could do it then. Because in any move, money is a big part of it . . . I was coming off some very good years in business, the children's ages seemed just right, financially we could afford it.

Having reached the conclusion that *aliyah* was a realistic possibility, the prospective emigrant had to communicate this decision to relatives and friends — most of whom would probably react with surprise, disbelief, or even shock. Often, only one close relative or friend was approached in the first place and that person's reaction helped to plan how others would be informed. They might also be told in strict confidence and sworn to secrecy. One of our respondents, who was planning to go on *aliyah* with his wife, said:

> Look, we're telling you, but nobody else knows. We've been thinking about this for the past six months and we finally decided this week. Don't tell anybody. If her mother hears about this, she'll lay a brick. Actually, we want to settle a few things before we drop the bomb.

Another one confided: 'We haven't decided to let anyone know just yet except our family and very close friends. Joe is still working and has a year to go until retirement. It's better that no one at work knows just yet'.

In other cases, there may not be a full disclosure because the decision to emigrate to Israel is not final:

> Listen, it's too early, we feel, to let anyone know . . . We're just about certain that we're going, but who knows, we can still change our plans. So I just don't want to get involved in having to explain to people why we changed our mind or whatever. Once we know for sure, then I can tell people.

Our respondents were aware that the announcement of their plans to settle in Israel would cause some surprise and they were particularly concerned about the effect which their decision might have on their close relatives, friends, and business associates. They had to present a well-argued account which would be convincing.[20] In other words, they had to persuade those with whom they had personal relationships that the decision to make *aliyah* had not been taken impulsively or

lightly, but that both the advantages and the disadvantages had been carefully weighed. One of them said:

> Most of our friends and relatives simply did not understand why we came to the decision we did. We told them first that we needed a change, that Israel was a good place to bring up the kids. Then we told them that it would be great to live in a Jewish State with the holidays and everything. And we talked about the climate and the geography. And you know, we believed all these things, too.

The itemizing of reasons for settling in Israel also assumed a quality of self-justification,[21] as though the respondents were seeking to rationalize the decision to themselves. For example, a denturist who was about to retire listed a string of reasons which, taken together, provided a kind of fail-safe system for his *aliyah*:

> My children are grown and I am retiring from full-time work. I can sell my house and buy a nice apartment in Israel. I can live on my savings if I have to for a long time. But I have been promised work in Israel. And the climate is much better than in Canada . . . Florida is not for me. We like the people in Israel and we made a lot of friends during our visits there.

However, the various arguments offered were not always convincing. One individual commented: 'You can't imagine how many people asked us why we're moving. What's interesting is that even after I tell them, you can tell they're searching for some deeper explanation'. Another said: 'The truth is that you have to come up with a story but, in a way, the story is as important for yourself as for others'. The following remarks reflect a respondent's awareness of the need to provide alternative explanations tailored to particular circumstances:

> It depends who I'm talking to. It depends who's asking. It depends on how well I know them and they know me. Is the person a friend or just an acquaintance who's asking to be polite? I have different answers. With some, I talk about Zionism, with others I know that they can more easily relate to the issue of Quebec nationalism. Once you know who you're talking to, you know what to say.

To use a stage metaphor, people developed a script, which was continually rehearsed, modified, and polished as the *aliyah* plans were crystallized. This process was described by one of our respondents:

> At first, when someone asked why we were leaving, I said that we weren't entirely sure, but we felt that this was the right decision to make at this time. But as you keep on thinking about the decision, and as you become more confident that you're doing the right thing, you can explain it better. I've now reached the point where I can present my reasons for going very convincingly. It wasn't always like that.

Much like an actor who had memorized his lines and rehearsed his role, the prospective emigrant justified his decision with increasing authority and conviction as the departure date grew closer. Relatives,

friends, acquaintances — and sometimes, even strangers — who had already made *aliyah* were sought out and searching questions were put to them about their experiences in order to acquire a valuable pool of information.

The aim of both sets of respondents (those who were planning to make *aliyah* in 1989 and 1990 and those who had returned to Canada) was to settle permanently in Israel. There is, however, a possibility that those who have not yet emigrated may reconsider their decision. But why did the *olim* who had settled in Israel with the firm determination to remain there decide to return to Canada?

Re-evaluating the Dream: The Process of Return

It soon became evident to us that the decision to return to Canada had been taken very reluctantly and only after the conditions of living in Israel had progressively deteriorated to an extent which — in the end — the *olim* found almost intolerable. This was revealed by the phrase 'dropping the bottom line', which virtually every respondent used or implied. One of them, who had returned to Toronto after four and a half years in Israel, explained:

> The ground rules or the bottom line kept changing. You put your bottom line here [outlining the process with table cutlery], and then here, but then we kept dropping the bottom line . . . And you can only drop the bottom line so far until things fall apart . . . I don't know if it's a case of not wanting to admit defeat, but it's a case of not wanting the option of packing your bags and going back to Canada.

The final firm decision to return was apparently not precipitated by any one dramatic event but was the result of a series of setbacks over a period of time, in nearly every case. A married man told us that the decision to go back to Canada after two and a half years in Israel

> . . . was the culmination of seven or eight months of thinking and seeing what the alternatives might be to stay. Because there's no discussion that we would have preferred to stay . . . On the day we made the decision, we had already explored all the other possibilities.

He and his wife had gone to meetings with officials of government agencies about their future financial prospects in Israel and they had also discussed their situation informally with relatives and friends.[22] In the end, the couple had to admit that financial constraints had become more severe than they had expected them to be[23] and that the situation had very adverse effects on marital and parental relationships.

In most cases, it was economic considerations which led the *olim* to reassess their position and prospects. One respondent told us:

> I was involved in work for which I was getting more than the national average but which was considerably below our lifestyle. We adjusted it considerably in Israel, but we had not adjusted enough to compensate. And

> basically, any kinds of savings we had, we went through it completely. And the saving grace was that when I left the business here [in Toronto], I received a sum of money and that helped tremendously. But we went through that very quickly. And the only asset that we had when we came back to Toronto was through the sale of our apartment in Israel.

(In this context, we were told wryly the following joke: Question: 'How do you get to have a million dollars in Israel?' Answer: 'Bring two million with you when you make *aliyah*'.) That respondent said that he himself could have endured the financial constraints but he was greatly concerned that his wife and children were increasingly dissatisfied and unhappy:

> It bothered my wife when the kids wanted to go to Burger Ranch [a fast-food hamburger restaurant in Israel]. We said, 'No, you can't go to Burger Ranch. If you want a *falafel* [a vegetable savoury snack], we'll give you a *falafel*'. I'm just giving you one symptom. You see, we came from a lifestyle where we would go out to eat in a restaurant at least once a week, if not more often, and here we're talking about McDonald's or Harvey's [fast food chains].

According to him, the decision to return to Canada was taken in the interest of the family as a whole. Another respondent, the wife of a professional man, did not believe that she should have feelings of guilt because of a refusal to settle for a standard of living which was significantly lower than that which had been enjoyed in Canada:

> I said this in Israel and I say it here: you can't transfer that original kind of Zionist value to middle-class North Americans who, for whatever reason, want to go on *aliyah*. You have to appreciate what the North Americans bring with them in terms of their own personal values. They're not running away from something, they're hoping to aspire to something. But I used to think: 'Is it wrong to say that we've grown up with a value that living a lifestyle at base X is important? Why do we have to apologize for that?' That's not to say we aren't willing to take a cut in our standard of living. At what point do you have to say, 'I have to give up everything to live here?'

Another respondent, who had been a successful real estate agent in Toronto and had gone to settle in Israel in 1982, commented that he and his wife had been prepared to reduce their standard of living but had not expected the drastic reduction which became necessary:

> My wife saw the writing on the wall long before I did. And she's saying, 'This isn't going to work. We're losing money every month' . . . But our ground rules or bottom line kept shifting. We figured out what it costs to live there and it came out, as I recall, about $2,500 a month, Canadian. Who makes $2,500 a month in Israel? So if you make $2,200 Canadian a month, you're losing $300 a month. So we see it's not working.

A couple who left Montreal to settle in Israel had invested their capital in a business enterprise which collapsed; they then seriously

considered returning to Canada. But when they explained to their relatives and friends in Israel that the main reason for leaving was that their financial situation was rapidly and inevitably deteriorating, they were surprised by the reaction they encountered. Since most Israelis live under constant financial pressure, it was difficult for them to sympathize. The Montreal *oleh* said:

> And do you know what people said to us? 'So you're having a bad year. Sell your car, sell your washing machine, and you'll buy them back during a better year'. They really resented us when we said, 'Listen, we've come to the point where we still have enough money to move back. We haven't lost everything. You don't want us to get to the point where we have nothing left'. They resented that. They felt, if you really wanted to stay here, then you'll stay here.

It must be admitted that what the *olim* genuinely believed to be penurious circumstances (revealed by such statements as 'We suddenly felt poor' or 'We could not afford to buy things we considered important') might well have appeared to native Israelis as temporary or fairly minor financial difficulties which could be overcome in time with sufficient determination. On the other hand, there were cases when even if the Canadian immigrant was prepared to work tirelessly in order to make ends barely meet, other serious difficulties arose. One man said:

> Look, I was working the craziest hours because I had no choice. I had the store. I was basically alone and I was putting in 16-hour days. And there's no doubt the family as a whole suffered. I didn't have much of a chance to be with the kids, which I had always done. And although the kids didn't say anything, I sensed they felt cheated. And I think my wife felt the same.

Other respondents also told us of similar disruptive tensions in the home. One of them said:

> And my wife finally opened up by saying that the financial pressure which was her main concern at that point was just getting to her . . . And then she put a bug in my ear: 'Just think what's the right decision for the family to make'. And then it sunk in what she was trying to say to me . . . Our situation had begun to seriously affect our family life. I think there's a lot of friction involved, to be truthful.

Another related similar difficulties:

> I mean, the relationship becomes stressful. You have to look at yourself and ask, 'Is this what I want out of life? Is Israel worth a divorce? Is Israel worth that kind of stressful life?'. Maybe some people would say, 'Yes', but we weren't going to say 'Yes'. My wife realized that it would be difficult to make it financially . . . And my wife was feeling the strain.

Some of the *olim* had friends and acquaintances who were also newcomers and who were also facing various hardships and uncertainties, but they hoped to overcome them in time. One respondent

recalled: 'We probably should have left a year earlier than we did, but it was difficult leaving behind our close friends who were facing many of the same problems we were'.

It must be noted here that none of our respondents stated that the decision to return to Canada had been chiefly motivated by the unstable political situation or by the fear of physical danger from external or local Arab attacks — although they did refer in passing to these risks. When the *olim* did finally take the firm decision to leave Israel, they informed their relatives and friends in Canada — who had apparently not previously exerted any pressure to encourage them to return. They reported to us that these relatives and friends showed great support and understanding in their response to the news of the impending return.

Conclusion

When the *olim* returned to Canada, many of them said that they experienced 'culture shock', especially in cases when they had not visited Canada after they had settled in Israel. Many also found that the tensions and strains which had caused them to leave Israel were replaced by other stresses arising from the need to readapt to a Canadian lifestyle, the awkwardness of renewing some friendships, and especially from having to cope with feelings of failure, guilt, and regret about their unsuccessful *aliyah*. We hope to report in a later paper on the adjustments which the returned Canadian *olim* have to make.

NOTES

[1] This figure is based on estimates provided by officials of the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel (AACI).

[2] See, for example, C. M. Mills, C. Senior, and R. K. Goldstein, *The Puerto Rico Journey: New York's Newest Immigrants*, New York, 1950; R. C. Taylor, 'Migration and Motivation: A Study of Determinants and Types' in J. A. Jackson, ed., *Migration*, London, 1969; and N. Toren, 'Return to Zion' in *Social Forces*, vol. 54, no. 3, 1976, pp. 546–58.

[3] See Aaron Antonovsky and David Katz, *From the Golden to the Promised Land*, Darby, Pa., 1979, pp. 39–45, 52–53.

[4] See Gerald S. Berman, 'Why North Americans Migrate to Israel' in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 21, no. 2, December 1979, pp. 135–44.

[5] See Ephraim Tabory and Bernard Lazerwitz, 'Motivation for Migration: A Comparative Study of American and Soviet Academic Immigrants to Israel' in *Ethnicity*, vol. 4, no. 2, June 1977, pp. 91–102; Harry Jubas, *The Adjustment Process of Americans and Canadians in Israel and their Integration into Israeli Society*, Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1974; and Albert I. Goldberg, 'A New Look at Aliyah Influences Among North American Jews' in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 2, December 1985, pp. 81–102.

[6] In his study of Americans in Israel, for example. Avruch states that American *olim* are people who have invested heavily in their Jewishness: Kevin Avruch, *American Immigrants in Israel: Social Identities and Change*, Chicago, 1981, pp. 117–22. Following Devereux, he argues that *olim* have a hypercathected ethnic identity so that it becomes the corner-stone of the self and the most salient element in the shaping of their identity. See George Devereux, 'Ethnic Identity: Its Logical Foundations and its Dysfunctions' in George de Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, eds., *Ethnic Identity*, Palo Alto, 1975.

[7] See Gerald Engel, 'North American Settlers in Israel' in *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 71, 1970, pp. 161–87.

[8] See Jubas, op. cit. in Note 5 above, p. 191.

[9] Engel, op. cit. in Note 7 above, p. 183.

[10] Antonovsky and Katz, op. cit. in Note 3 above, pp. 93–100.

[11] Jubas, op. cit. in Note 5 above, pp. 195–96.

[12] See Zvi Gitelman, *Becoming Israelis*, New York, 1982, p. 226.

[13] See Arnold Dashefsky and Bernard Lazerwitz, 'The Role of Religious Identification in North American Migration to Israel' in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 22, no. 3, 1983, pp. 263–75.

[14] Chaim Waxman, 'The Return Migration of American Olim' in *Forum*, no. 62. Winter/Spring 1989, p. 103.

[15] See Dashefsky and Lazerwitz, op. cit. in Note 13 above; Calvin Goldscheider, 'American Aliyah: Sociological and Demographic Perspectives' in Marshall Sklare, ed., *The Jew in American Society*, New York, 1974, pp. 335–84; H. R. Isaacs, *American Jews in Israel*, New York, 1967; and Pearl Katz, *Acculturation and Social Networks of American Immigrants in Israel*, Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1974.

[16] As in the case of the migration literature generally, the research on return migration mainly uses an economic model, arguing essentially that the probability of an individual's return varies with the calculated benefits and costs of the move. See, for example, R. I. Appleyard, 'Determinants of Return Migration: A Socio-economic Study of United Kingdom Migrants Who Returned from Australia' in *The Economic Record*, vol. 38, no. 83, 1962, pp. 352–68; Yochanan Comay, 'Determinants of Return Migration: Canadian Professionals in the U.S.' in *Southern Economic Journal*, vol. 37, no. 3, 1971, pp. 318–22; and Anthony Richmond, 'Return Migration from Canada to Britain' in *Population Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1968, pp. 263–71.

[17] Thus, unlike Roskin and Edleson in their research on English-speaking immigrants in Israel, we are not concerned with the mental health of migrants but with the inter-personal dynamics involved in the process of migration and re-emigration. See Michael Roskin and Jeffrey L. Edleson, 'A Research Note on the Emotional Health of English-speaking Immigrants in Israel' in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 26, no. 2, December 1984, pp. 139–44.

[18] See Michael Brown, 'The Push and Pull Factors of Aliyah and the Anomalous Case of Canada: 1967–1987' in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. XLVIII, no. 2, Spring 1986, p. 153.

[19] See Anselm Strauss, *Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity*, San Francisco, 1969, p. 153.

[20] See Marvin B. Scott and Stanford M. Lyman, 'Accounts' in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 23, December 1968, pp. 46–62.

[21] We are particularly interested in those accounts known as justifications. Unlike excuses, which acknowledge that particular acts are undesirable, justifications are a form of account in which the person accepts responsibility for an act but denies that that act should be seen as untoward or wrong. Most significantly, justifications help to lubricate social interaction and attempt to project an identity. It follows that the outcome of a particular effort at organizing a justification for the act — whether it is successful or not — bears on the kind of identity an individual is able to claim.

[22] While about half of our respondents belonged to the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel (AACI), an association which provides a variety of absorption services for immigrants from North America, none indicated that they had consulted any AACI officials in the hope of alleviating what had become a very grave situation. It should be noted, however, that several of the respondents had availed themselves of AACI services during their stay in Israel, most notably by attending AACI-sponsored gatherings, where they had met other newcomers as well as long-established North American *olim*. However, by the time that our respondents had reached the firm decision to return to Canada, they did not believe that the AACI could be of any further help. For a brief consideration of the kinds of services offered by the AACI, see the 'Chronicle' in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 31, no. 2, December 1989, pp. 146–47.

[23] See Gitelman, op. cit., in Note 12 above, p. 133.

VIVIAN DAVID LIPMAN

1921–1990

THE death of Vivian Lipman last March deprived Jewish historiography of one of its most distinguished practitioners. In his range of knowledge and his ability to apply modern techniques — not only of historical investigation but also of the methods of the social sciences — Lipman was the effective bridge between the scholars of the past and the 'new wave' represented by the younger historians of the present. Few amongst contemporary Jewish historians had his ability to range widely through the archives of medieval and modern Anglo-Jewry alike, and none of his predecessors had his vision of the importance of modern statistical methods and concepts. His work was marked by an understanding of the need to bring the traditional study of Anglo-Jewish history into line with modern techniques and concepts.

Vivian David Lipman was born, on 27 February 1921, into a well-known London Jewish family. His grandfather had come from Lithuania and was for many years the head of the London *shoḥetim* (ritual slaughterers); his father had been awarded the MBE (Member of the Order of the British Empire) and his aunts provided him with connections spreading widely through London's Jewish community. He was educated at St Paul's School in London and then went on a classical scholarship to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took a first-class honours degree in PPE (Philosophy, Politics, and Economics) in 1941. There, he came into contact with Cecil Roth, who had been appointed Reader in Jewish Studies in 1939 and who was to become the doyen of historians of Anglo-Jewry. Vivian became the President of the University's Jewish Society and was university warden of the Oxford Hebrew Congregation. After graduating, he was called up for war service and was in the Royal Signals and in the Intelligence Corps from 1942 to 1945. He returned to Oxford after the end of the war and studied at Nuffield College; he was awarded a doctorate for his dissertation on local government areas and his book on that subject was published in 1949.

In 1947, Vivian entered the Civil Service, where he had an outstanding career, which culminated in his becoming Director of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings, at the Department of the Environment, from 1972 to 1978. He remarked on one occasion that

this post entitled him to become the fourth person to be informed officially of any momentous event affecting members of the British royal family, so as to make sure that all official flags were appropriately raised or lowered at half mast. His friends had visions of him having to scurry to all the various buildings under his supervision in order to perform this task in person, or at least to see that it was properly carried out. He made a name for himself when he approved of new approaches to the repair and upkeep of fine buildings in several cities and this work brought him into many fields and in touch with many different interests. It was typical of him that, having been able to secure grants to help with the restoration of the Exeter Synagogue, he was delighted to be able to obtain a similar grant for the Unitarian Chapel in Leicester. His work for the royal palaces led to his appointment in 1978 as Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, an honour which is in the gift of the Sovereign, while his continuing efforts with restoration work led to a number of awards — including the Esher Award in 1979. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and at the time of his death he was Chairman of the Conference on Training in Architectural Conservation.

But if for most of his adult life Vivian was employed as a civil servant (until his premature retirement owing to ill health), he was at heart always a historian and in many ways a pioneer. After his retirement, he found new scope in teaching and lecturing. Cecil Roth had been his mentor, but Vivian did not believe that Anglo-Jewish history culminated in 1858. He thought that more studies were needed about the community in the decades preceding, including, and following the period of the great Eastern European immigration. Indeed, his last book, *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*, published posthumously last summer, fulfils that purpose. In his Preface to this book, Vivian states that Cecil Roth's *History of the Jews in England* 'remains a classic achievement in comprehensiveness and style . . . But the book, in effect, stops at 1858, with the granting to Jews of the right to sit in the House of Commons'. He adds that Cecil Roth would have been greatly pleased that in recent years the history of the Jews in England has become a course of study for those working for the new degree in Jewish History at London University and that the aim of his own book is to provide 'a readily accessible work to help them study the very important period after 1858'.

In 1954, Vivian had published his *Social History of the Jews in England 1850–1950*; this was followed in 1959 by his *A Century of Social Service: The Jewish Board of Guardians*, while his interest in a much earlier period was shown in *The Jews of Medieval Norwich*, published in 1967. In recent years he had become interested in studies of American and British relations with the Holy Land and in 1989 he published *Americans and the Holy Land through British Eyes: 1820–1917. A Documentary History*.

Vivian was a most able and scholarly editor. He edited *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History,* published in 1961 and based on a series of eight lectures delivered in 1956 as part of the commemoration of the tercentenary of the Resettlement of the Jews in Great Britain; Cecil Roth's paper on that Resettlement is the first one of the collection. As one of the editors of the Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, he was instrumental in recommending the publication of several important new studies as well as translations into English of valuable scholarly monographs — originally published in Hebrew or in a European language — which were to be of interest to both Jewish and non-Jewish readers.

I am told that when the editor of *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* received an article on Jewish history, she usually sent it to him as one of the assessors. However busy he was, he found time to consider the paper carefully and he then promptly returned it with a detailed analysis of its merits or defects. If he recommended publication, he often made valuable suggestions about references to additional sources. His comments were always clear and incisive as well as wittily expressed. He had a splendid sense of humour. In the June 1989 issue of the *JJS,* he reviewed a book on the Jews of Newfoundland and must have caused readers some amusement when he quoted the case of a Jewish pedlar with an imperfect knowledge of English who wanted a lodging for the night; the man knocked on a door in a remote outpost and asked the young girl who opened it: 'Can I sleep with you?'. He was surprised when she slammed the door in his face but then an old lady appeared and said 'Oh yes, come in, my son'. Vivian then quoted the comment of the person who recounted that episode to the author of the book: 'an old lady had more sense'.

Vivian Lipman was a contributor to the very first issue of the *JJS,* in 1959, with an article entitled 'Synagogal Organization in Anglo-Jewry'; the June 1960 issue included another article by him, 'Trends in Anglo-Jewish Occupations'; four years later, in 1964, the *JJS* published his article on the Bayswater Synagogue from 1863 to 1963; the June 1983 number included his review article entitled 'Zionism and Anglo-Jewish Politics', while the June 1987 issue featured another of his review articles, 'On the Frontiers of Jewish Life', about two histories: one, of the Jews of Odessa and the other, of the Jews of Los Angeles. This Journal also published numerous book reviews by Vivian Lipman.

Vivian was always willing to be of assistance. I well remember an occasion when a local historian consulted him about a Hebrew manuscript. Vivian commented modestly that he was no specialist in the subject but he was nevertheless able almost at once to translate the piece and to date it, to identify the various witnesses named, and to recognize the item as a very valuable example of a medieval *starr* (money-lending document).

Some scholars, however broad their own canvas, are never able to work with, or to inspire, others. That could never be said of Vivian Lipman. Over many years he delighted in involving others in his researches, in willingly offering his help, and in encouraging them to collaborate with those in the same general field, showing the part they could play in the overall pattern. His enthusiasm was infectious, stimulating hesitant students to further endeavour. He was at heart a teacher and he was always grateful to University College London for giving him personal status as an Honorary Research Fellow of the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies. At the memorial meeting held by the Jewish Historical Society of England at that College, Dr Ada Rapaport-Albert paid Vivian Lipman a moving tribute; she had been his student at University College and later became his colleague. Her tribute showed clearly the affection in which he had been held by his students as well as the respect they had for his humanity and for his scholarship. He did not remain aloof in an ivory tower but cared deeply about the problems of Anglo-Jewry. He believed that members of the community who had acquired academic qualifications had a duty to contribute to an understanding of those problems and of their alleviation. He himself was directly concerned with the work of the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews: he was the vice-chairman of that Unit's committee for several years until his death.

Many of Vivian's friends had believed him to be a confirmed bachelor but he surprised them all by falling in love with Sonia Lynette Senslive; they were married in 1964. (Their only child, Antony, survives them.) Their union was also a partnership of scholarship. They jointly edited *Jewish Life in Britain 1962–1977*, published in 1981. The volume brought together the papers and proceedings of a conference sponsored by the Board of Deputies. They were also jointly responsible for editing *The Century of Moses Montefiore*, published in 1985. Her death in 1987 was a devastating blow. At the end of the Preface to his last published book, *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*, he commented about the debt he owed her:

> I cannot close this preface without mentioning one who urged me to write this book and had begun, as so often in the past, to add to my knowledge and clarify my style. It has been a poignant experience in assembling the text to find the corrections in her handwriting on the early chapters and to reflect how much better a book it would have been had she been spared to complete it with me.

I, in turn, had the poignant experience of supervising the last stages of the printing of that book and in so doing I discovered the immense learning embedded in it. It represented a lifetime of scholarship and research — as evidenced by the copious Notes at the end of each chapter. Vivian kept notebooks in which he noted facts, opinions, and

theories stated in the numerous books and journals which he read and at the various lectures which he attended. He was receptive to new ideas and was always willing to consider new evidence which might lead him to revise his own conclusions. If anyone can be said to have died in harness, it was Vivian Lipman. The corrected page proofs of his last book arrived at his publisher's office just days before his death. His review of two booklets for *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* was also completed within days of his death and was published in the June 1990 issue.

In recent years, Vivian had become uneasy about the current tendencies of the younger generation of Anglo-Jewish historiographers; he believed that they were approaching the basic issues in contemporary Jewish historiography with predetermined ideas. Because Vivian Lipman did not hold a full-time university appointment in a Department of History, he was sometimes wrongly described as an 'amateur' historian. But he was trained as a scholar and his writings provide incontrovertible evidence that, although he had received no formal undergraduate or postgraduate training in modern Anglo-Jewish history, he had acquired in the course of time an impressive mastery of the subject. It is largely as the result of his own efforts that there are nowadays specialist teachers of modern Anglo-Jewish history. His fellow historians, his former students, and his many friends will continue to mourn his passing and to miss him greatly for a very long time.

AUBREY NEWMAN

ISRAEL BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

Max Beloff

(Review Article)

URI BIALER, *Between East and West: Israel's foreign policy orientation 1948–1956*, x + 291 pp., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 1990, £30.00 or $39.50.

DAVID HALL-CATHALA, *The Peace Movement in Israel, 1967–1987*, xvi + 228 pp., Macmillan in association with St Antony's College, Oxford, Macmillan Press, Houndmills, 1990, £35.00.

SINCE the Six-Day War of June 1967, Israel's tacit alliance with the United States has been an accepted feature of the international scene — nor is the military and financial dependence that this implies for Israel likely to be changed as a result of the global upheavals of the last couple of years. Nevertheless, these upheavals — and in particular, the new role of the Soviet Union in relation to the Middle East — give an added topicality to Dr Bialer's study. For it is well to remember that such a relationship with the West was not foreseen by most of the original leaders of the new State of Israel. They had hoped to adopt a genuine position of non-alignment. Dr Bialer, by making use of official documents recently released under the 'thirty-year rule' (and even now much material is still restricted) and by making full use of the archives of the Israeli political parties and of the Histadrut (the federation of trade unions), has been able to show both the reasons for the original stance and the pressures which led to its abandonment.

The position was not abandoned directly in favour of an alliance with the United States — despite the early realization of the crucial role of American Jewry — since the United States remained determined to uphold its influence on the Arab world and acted accordingly. Instead, from 1956 to 1967 there was a tacit alliance with France, of which the Suez affair of 1956 was the most striking manifestation. It is to be hoped that when further documents become available, that phase also might tempt Dr Bialer into a sequel to his most illuminating study.

For the time being, what we have is more an exploration of the reasons for trying to keep on good terms with both East and West and a

description of the way in which this posture was undermined primarily by the actions of the Soviet Union itself. That country had supported Israel's bid for independence in order to make sure that Britain relinquished the Mandate, but it then allowed other and more deep-rooted objectives and attitudes to determine its policy towards what had become the State of Israel. The overriding considerations of national defence made it desirable for Israel to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the countries being dragged into its orbit. Dr Bialer shows not only that Czech arms were vital to the successful conclusion of the War of Independence, but that deliveries of these weapons continued for some time after the armistice.

Next to arms came people. Every effort was made to bring out as many as possible of the survivors of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe — sometimes legally, at other times by clandestine means. The venality of Eastern European officialdom was a considerable asset; 'lubrication' (the term employed by Israel's secret agents) played a role alongside such trading benefits as Israel could offer the new regimes. Nor was hope abandoned for some time that emigration from the Soviet Union itself would be allowed. But the Prague trials and the 'doctors' plot' of 1952–53 were a watershed which closed the Eastern option.

These practical considerations did not obliterate the ideological aspect of the debate. Dr Bialer's most interesting pages are those which deal with the internal party-political aspects of the matter. For many in the Labour movement, which was the core of the new State, socialism was still socialism — despite the Soviet Union's historic and repressive antipathy to Zionism and all other distinctive features of Jewish life, that country could still be regarded as having only temporarily diverged from the true path rather than as totally alien to the socialist dream. Capitalism by contrast carried little appeal and the reluctance wholly to embrace the West was strengthened by Ben-Gurion's persistent suspicions of British policy — after Ernest Bevin, understandable enough. But while Mapam (the Marxist Socialist Party) stuck to non-alignment, for Mapai (the Labour Party) the willingness to subordinate socialist sentiment to material needs was a test of patriotism. The debates have a real poignancy as misplaced idealism retreats before *realpolitik*.

It could be argued that Dr Bialer has made the reader's task more difficult by dealing with the whole problem in three separate but inevitably overlapping chapters — first with the domestic dimension, then with relations with the East, and finally with the triumph of the Western orientation. One needs to remember at each juncture precisely how the international scene presented itself at the time and much is crowded into these years. Nor were Israel's internal politics devoid of incident. But for the persevering reader, and particularly for anyone

unacquainted with the considerable body of Hebrew writing on this period, the reward will be considerable.

Dr Hall-Cathala's study has also been given a new topicality since it was completed in 1987, for the underlying problems of Israel's relations with the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular have been given a new and more dangerous twist with the *Intifada* (the Arab uprising). The alliance with the United States (which Dr Bialer has studied) has so far held firm but has not provided a resolution of the conflict. It could be said that the wisdom of the alignment with the United States was demonstrated by the Six-Day War in 1967, when Israel was allowed to secure a victory over its adversaries without Soviet intervention on the latter's side. In retrospect, however, 1967 was an ambiguous turning point. It produced a spirit of triumphalism which prevented any serious attempt being made to find a long-term solution to the problem of borders and which was to some extent negated by the trauma of the Yom Kippur War of 1973. That war created, as Dr Hall-Cathala shows, a mood of questioning about Israel's institutions, civil and military, which was in turn enhanced by the Lebanon War, deliberately entered into (as he believes) in order to forestall any peace negotiations that could put the future of the occupied territories into question.

However, Dr Hall-Cathala is not an historian and such major events figure only as a background to his own study, which is an essentially sociological one. He describes and analyses the varieties of movements which have at one time or another sought a peaceful resolution to the Israeli-Arab conflict and he seeks (both in the behaviour of the leaders of these movements and in the political and cultural setting in which they have operated) the reasons for their failure.

It should be added in fairness that although not an historian, Dr Hall-Cathala is fully aware of the need to examine the situation which prevailed in the years preceding the period of his study, well before 1967. He does show that alternatives to the current official Israeli attitudes were to be found in the earliest days of the Zionist movement and of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish settlement in Palestine). Indeed, he notes that some ideas which were believed, by those who held them or who set up organizations to propagate them, to be wholly original had in fact been advocated by an earlier generation. For instance, the basic ideas of the Peace Movement on relations between Jews and Palestinians were set out by an early Zionist pioneer, Yitzhak Epstein, in a speech to the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905. In an even more striking example, when some Mizrachi Jews set up their own peace movement, 'East for Peace', in the 1980s, arguing that they were the best placed to carry on a dialogue with the Arabs because of their 'Oriental background', they were repeating views which had been advanced by a Sepharad, Elie Eliachar, who had set up a group called

'Pioneers of the East' as early as 1917. The leaders of 'East for Peace' apparently had never heard of Eliachar or of his views, although he had lived to be a member of the first and of the second Knesset.

The book gives many insights based on what must have been difficult 'fieldwork', particularly with organizations and individuals on the borders of legality, and should command attention and respect even from those who do not share what appear to be the author's strongly-held left-of-centre opinions. What Dr Hall-Cathala has done is to take the peace movement out of its narrow context in terms of organizations, party politics, and lines on the map, and to see it from the Israeli side as one of a conflict of values within the society itself and often within individual consciences. Although he deals with the Palestinian side also, particularly in relation to the various attempts at Jewish–Arab contacts at an informal and individual level directed towards increased mutual understanding, he is well aware of the double limitations on the Palestinian side of the peace process. In general, relations within Israel, to say nothing of the occupied territories, are too unequal for such dialogues to be fully meaningful — a minority, subject to discrimination, is not an easy interlocutor; and in particular, the record of assassinations of those Arab leaders who have taken the lead in seeking a solution is an inhibitory factor, too often overlooked by those who seek more 'positive' responses from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It is clear that the author, like everyone else who has seriously considered the subject, does not see how there can be an alternative to the PLO as a negotiating partner; and if this was true when he completed his study in 1987, how much more true must it be now.

The dichotomy within the Israeli Jewish soul is that between secular universalist values — democracy, national self-determination, peace, toleration, individual rights — which were held by many of the original Zionist leaders and by the first leaders of the *Yishuv* and of the new State, and which were thought to conform to Jewish tradition (though not to be unique to it), and the more particularistic values which gave priority to those aspects of the Jewish tradition which set the people of Israel apart and for whom the 'Jewishness' of the new State was as important as (if not more important than) its establishment as a place of refuge for those who had been persecuted. Those who organized the various peace movements were, for the most part, middle-class elements in Israeli society with strong European links. In the present situation, the particularist values which can so easily blind a nation to the rights of others have been gaining strength, while the universalist values have been in decline. A desire to see a peaceful resolution of the conflict which would mean a withdrawal from the occupied territories and greater equality within Israel itself is thus to be found among the better, rather than the less well, educated. But what is even more disturbing is the evidence that members of the younger generation in

both groups are more inclined than their parents towards particularist values and less moved by universalist concepts. The pages dealing with Gush Emunim (the 'Bloc of the Faithful' — which is active in promoting Jewish settlement on the West Bank) deserve careful reading.

Dr Hall-Cathala is careful not to conclude that it is the increased prominence of Jews of Oriental origin which has led to greater difficulties for the peace movement. He is not convinced by the convenient talk about 'Levantization' and the view that the Oriental Jews tend to be hawks because they have been persecuted by Arabs in the past and now wish to be top dog in turn. Indeed, his careful analysis of the Mizrachi element and of its many internal differences, as well as of some Mizrachi attempts to further the peace process itself, was for this reviewer the most interesting and challenging part of the book. True, most Mizrachi votes go to Likud, but that is for a variety of reasons — many of which have nothing to do with peace-making. True, also, the growth in Mizrachi voting power weakens the Labour Party's position and only that party can give even a hope that the peace process can be resumed. But there are other explanations for the decline of Labour's popularity.

The picture of the peace movement which the author draws is of a variety of organizations with overlapping aims and often overlapping membership. They represented an attitude or a philosophy rather than a programme. What causes they took up in practice at different times depended upon developments in Israeli society or Israeli foreign and defence policies. So what was at first at attempt to prevent the consolidation of the hold on the occupied territories, was then directed against the Lebanon War, and since then towards the struggle against racist tendencies among Israeli Jews, the clearest symbol of which is the movement led by Meir Kahane.

The techniques employed by the different organizations are those familiar among single-issue groups everywhere: demonstrations, open letters, pamphleteering, and so forth. Publicity is their life-blood. On the whole, direct action has been rare although there have been some refusals to serve in the Lebanon War or in the occupied territories. In a parliamentary democracy, however, single-issue groups must in the end depend on the normal play of politics; they have worked in favour of the peace groups only when public concern has been awakened by some particular outrage to its sensibilities, as with the setting-up of the inquiry into the Sabra and Chatilla massacres.

On the whole, the siege mentality dominates and the authorities are successful in maintaining a vision of national unity around the Zionist ideal sufficient to secure the allegiance of the majority of their own Jewish citizens and of much (perhaps most) of the Diaspora. To judge from Dr Hall-Cathala's study, the peace movement has done little to influence views among the Jewish Diaspora.

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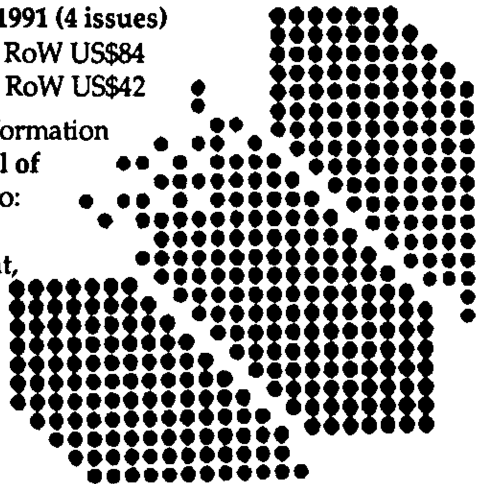

OXFORD JOURNALS

THE REACTIONS OF FRENCH JEWS TO ZIONISM AND TO ISRAEL

Geoffrey Alderman

(Review Article)

MICHEL ABITBOL, *Les deux terres promises. Les Juifs de France et le sionisme 1897–1945*, 298 pp., Éditions Olivier Orban, 14 rue Duphot, 75001 Paris, 1989, 150 francs.

DORIS BENSIMON, *Les Juifs de France et leurs relations avec Israël 1945–1988*, 285 pp., Éditions L'Harmatan, 7 rue de l'Ecole Polytechnique, 75005 Paris, 1989, 140 francs.

THE history of modern French Jewry is a story of triumph enveloped in tragedy. The Jews of France were, as a direct result of the Revolution of 1789, the first in Europe to be granted emancipation, when the momentous decree of the *Assemblée nationale* was promulgated in 1791. That emancipation was subsequently consolidated when Napoleon's Grand Sanhedrin was convened in 1807 and it was predicated upon an understanding that the Judaism which French Jews professed would be denationalized. The *Consistoire Israélite* was conceived and run as the formal embodiment of this bargain, and long after the legal separation of church and state had been achieved in 1905, the *Consistoire* (customarily headed by a member of the Rothschild family) dictated the form and content of a latitudinarian orthodoxy which, coupled with an ever-increasing degree of acculturation, remained the hallmark of French Jewry in the Third Republic.

On the eve of the Great War, the Jews of France (who were largely an entrepreneurial and business community of some 120,000 souls) saw their mission in terms of social assimilation — to be as indistinguishable from other *citoyens* as it was possible to be, while remaining nominally Jewish. Did French Jews feel any obligation towards their co-religionists in other lands? They assuredly did. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* — which was established in 1860 and one of whose objects was, according to the first article of its statutes, 'to work everywhere for the emancipation and the moral progress of the Jews'[1] — remains the

greatest of their achievements. But in evaluating its success, one must remember that in creating a vast network of schools in North Africa and the Middle East, as in its other philanthropic work, one of the chief aims of the *Alliance* was to bring to underprivileged and oppressed Jewries the benefits of French culture.

The *Alliance* was, in part and in truth, an arm of the larger French imperial mission. French Jewry put more effort and resources into this activity than it did into welcoming and easing the plight of the 170,000 or so Jewish immigrants and refugees who arrived in France from Eastern Europe between 1906 and 1939. These newcomers were regarded as an unwelcome embarrassment and as a danger in two senses: first, they turned their backs on the world of *Consistoire* Judaism; second, their presence (it was sometimes said) acted as a provocation as well as a reminder of the foreignness of French Jewry. Many of those who came to lead and speak for the Jews of France in the inter-war period remembered — indeed, had played an active part in — the Dreyfus Affair. They knew precisely how thin was the veneer of tolerance which French society at large extended to its citizens of the Jewish persuasion.

Where precisely, how, and to what extent, did Zionism fit into this picture? Professor Abitbol, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has addressed himself to these questions and in so doing he has presented us with a work of supreme scholarly endeavour. It was in Paris, where he was a correspondent for a Viennese newspaper at the time of the Dreyfus Affair, that Theodor Herzl became a Zionist. But the message of political Zionism fell on stonier ground in France than was the case in Britain or Germany. French Jewry foolishly chose to believe that the eventual, agonising triumph of the *Dreyfusards* meant that 'le diagnostic herzlien sur l'échec de l'Emancipation' could be safely rejected (p. 33): Herzl had been wrong in diagnosing on the basis of the trial of Captain Dreyfus that French Jews had not been truly emancipated since, after all, Alfred Dreyfus had been finally declared to have been completely innocent.[2]

As the Zionist movement gathered strength internationally, so did its Jewish opponents in France become bolder in their denunciation of it: witness, for example, the manoeuvrings of Joseph Reinach, for whom Zionism was an instrument fashioned by antisemites, and who collaborated with Cardinal Mercier in founding the *Association des Amis de la Terre Sainte*, the professed aim of which was to frustrate the establishment in Palestine of '*un État "confessionel" juif*' (p. 86). Another leading anti-Zionist was Sylvain Lévi, the brilliant Sanskrit scholar who was a professor at the Collège de France and who was the President of the *Alliance* from 1920 until his death in 1935. Sylvain Lévi had been appointed by the French authorities a member of the Zionist Commission which, at the suggestion of the British government, was

sent to Palestine in 1918 to spy out the land. Lévi's appearance before the Supreme Allied Council on 27 February 1919 and his rejection of most of the Zionist arguments constituted a public embarrassment (albeit a temporary one) for Chaim Weizmann and his colleagues.

More damaging (not to the Zionist cause but to the estimation which the French Foreign Ministry formed of the Zionist movement) was Sylvain Lévi's opinion, expressed privately to the Quai d'Orsay, that France need not trouble itself with 'le fantôme du sionisme américain . . . une invention russo-germanique et . . . une manoeuvre politique de l'Angleterre' (p. 77). The failure of successive French governments to confront in a positive way the growth of Zionism between the two World Wars was predicated, in part, on the inflated value placed upon statements such as these and on the presumed importance of those who made them. It is worth recalling (as Professor Walter Laqueur does in his *History of Zionism*, London, 1972, p. 401) that even those Jewish intellectuals in France, such as Bernard Lazare, who supported Zionism never considered settling in Palestine; Léon Blum declared his admiration for the Zionist ideal, but only as a solution for the plight of those Jews who were unfortunate enough not to enjoy full rights of citizenship, as he did. The most that Rabbi Jacob Kaplan would do, when he had to face a resurgence of antisemitism in France in the 1930s, was to declare by way of consolation that this unwelcome development was a German import, the significance and importance of which should not be exaggerated — as Michel Abitbol notes (pp. 183–84). Jacob Kaplan became Chief Rabbi of Paris in 1950 and Chief Rabbi of France in 1955.

If the Zionist movement had been more strongly supported in the decades before the Second World War by those who represented themselves as the leaders of French Jewry, how many of those French Jews who perished at the hands of the Nazis might have been saved? Of course, this question cannot be answered with any degree of exactitude; but that does not mean that we should not ask it. In 1940, there were perhaps 340,000 Jews in France; about 90,000 of them were lost as a result of 'enemy action'. Which enemy? The answer is: the notorious *Statut des Juifs*, promulgated in October 1940, and subsequent edicts which in effect rescinded the emancipation of French Jews; these laws were the products of a French administration, not a German one, and it was French policemen who helped to round up French Jews for deportation.

Professor Abitbol devotes merely the final nine pages of his text to the fate of French Zionism during the Second World War; perhaps that is all that it merits. I had hoped that Doris Bensimon's volume would carry forward the story. She is a Professor of Sociology at Caen and in Paris, and an acknowledged authority on contemporary Jewries, particularly those in Israel, North Africa, and France. Her book under

review here tries to cover too much ground and does so in a way which many will find both inadequate and unnecessary. The reader is presented with a snapshot of French Jewry in 1945, another of '*la grande mutation*' — the arrival of North African Jews between 1950 and 1970 — and an estimation of the impact of this great immigration upon the religious, social, cultural, and political life of contemporary French Jewry. That community, as a result of the North African influx, had grown to about 670,000 by 1970 and had become, therefore, the fourth largest Jewish community in the world — after those in the United States, Russia, and Israel.

Professor Bensimon provides us with a great many facts and figures, so that readers who are looking for a basic work of reference will not be disappointed, for this is precisely what this book becomes. In so doing, however, it oscillates in a most infuriating manner between stimulating analysis (for example, of the typology of Jewish organizations in modern France) and simplistic catalogue. The chapter entitled *Vie Religieuse* contains much basic explanation of Jewish religious life which would have been better placed in a glossary at the end of the book. The examination of the relationship between French Jewry and Israel (which, on the basis of the volume's title, one would have expected to feature as a central theme) is in fact confined to one chapter, heavily grounded in statistics and narrative.

For English readers who wish for a general overview of French Jewry since 1945, but in less detail, much of what Doris Bensimon has to say thus far can be gleaned from the two relevant chapters of Howard Sachar's *Diaspora* (published by Harper and Row, New York, 1985). Nevertheless, *Les Juifs de France et leurs relations avec Israël* is worth reading for its examination, towards the end of the book, of Franco-Jewish identity and of the interface between French Jewry and French party politics. The five pages devoted to Jewish–Muslim relations struck me as a banal anticlimax, too superficial even for a work of this sort. I also found the absence of an index annoying and unforgivable.

When I had finished reading these two volumes, I wondered what sort of readership they would attract outside the small circle of scholars who will automatically turn to them. Jewries, particularly European Jewries, need to know a great deal more about each other. For very different reasons, therefore, both books deserve to be translated into English, so that Professor Abitbol's brilliant telling of a grim story and Professor Bensimon's bird's-eye view of the largest Jewish community in Western Europe may be made available to a much wider audience.

NOTES

[1] See Elie Kedourie, 'The Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860–1960' in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 9, no. 1, June 1967, p. 94.

[2] Elie Kedourie, ibid., p. 96, has commented that some 50 years after the Dreyfus Affair, the fragility of official goodwill towards the Jews was revealed by the Vichy regime which showed the malevolence and rancour which had accumulated during that *Affaire.*

SEVENTH BRITISH CONFERENCE OF JUDEO-SPANISH STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

20-22 March 1991

The Conference will start on Wednesday 20 March at tea-time and will end after lunch on Friday 22 March.

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BOOK REVIEWS

JOSEPH DAN, ed., BINAH, *Studies in Jewish History, Thought, and Culture,* Volume I (publication of the International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization, Jerusalem, and of the Open University of Israel, Tel Aviv), xiii + 195 pp., Praeger Publishers and Greenwood Press, New York and London, 1989, £38.50.

The editor's Introduction to the new venture of which this is the first Volume explains (p. xi) the purpose of the exercise: 'The studies in Jewish history presented in this collection, orginally written and published in Hebrew, have been adapted into English in an attempt to bridge the language gap between the English-speaking student of Jewish civilization and the large group of scholars who write and publish in Hebrew'. After pointing to the two groups of scholars (those, mainly in the United States, who write in English, and those in Israel who write in Hebrew), he continues (p. xii): 'While the scholars are familiar with each other's languages, their students often are not. An ongoing effort to translate scholarly books and articles from Hebrew to English and other languages has become necessary. The collection presented here is one detail in this large picture'.

A commendable project surely, and one carried out effectively. Since the volume seeks to cater chiefly to the needs of students, however, the price seems steep even for a scholarly book in an age of heavy publishing costs. But at the beginning of each article permission is given to photocopy the article for teaching purposes without further permission or fee. A glaring instance of careless proof-reading occurs on page 119 where, in the note on Jacob Katz this scholar is called, in the very next paragraph, *Joseph* Katz. In Urbach's article on the death of Joab as interpreted by the Midrash there is a reference (p. 6) to the Amoraim of Eretz Yisrael. The note on Amoraim (note 4, page 13) explains this as 'Rabbis of the talmudic period'. Leaving aside the fact that the 'Rabbis of the talmudic period' include the Tannaim as well as the Amoraim, would a student of Jewish history need to be told who the Amoraim were? This reservation can be entertained with regard to the project as a whole. Should it not be a first step for the student of Jewish history to make himself or herself so familiar with Hebrew as not to require the kind of aid given by translation? One can well appreciate, for instance, the need for learned articles in Hebrew on the physical sciences to be translated into English. There the language in which various hypotheses are given expression has little to do with the

subject-matter, whereas here knowledge of the Hebrew language is an essential part of the discipline. If Hebrew-speaking students of English literature had to have scholarly articles on the theme in English translated for them into Hebrew, or to have a Hebrew note explaining to them who Milton was, they would probably have enrolled themselves in the wrong course of study. For all that, the project is in its infancy and should not be judged too harshly. Needless to say, the essays themselves, all by scholars who are among the most distinguished practitioners of the art, are beyond reproach — original and stimulating both in what they have to say on the subject with which they deal and for the insights they provide on how modern historians go about their task.

The ten essays in the volume are: Ephraim E. Urbach, 'The Death of Joab: A Midrashic Interpretation of Political History'; Yochanan H. Lewy, 'Tacitus on the Jews'; Joseph Dan, 'The Concept of History in Hekhalot and Merkabah Literature'; Yitzhak F. Baer, 'The Origins of Jewish Communal Organization in the Middle Ages'; H. H. Ben-Sasson, 'The Generation of Spanish Exiles Considers Its Fate'; Joseph Kaplan, 'From Apostasy to Return to Judaism: The Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam'; Jacob Katz, 'The Dispute between Jacob Berab and Levi ben Habib over Renewing Ordination'; Barouh Mevorah, 'Jewish Diplomatic Activities to Prevent Expulsion of the Jews from Bohemia and Moravia in 1744–45'; Michael Graetz, 'On the Return of Moses Hess to Judaism: The Background to "Rome and Jerusalem"'; and Uriel Tal, 'The "Kulturkampf" and the Jews of Germany'. All of these will repay careful study but of especial interest to the readers of this journal are the articles by Lewy, Baer, Ben-Sasson, Katz, Graetz, and Tal.

In addition to the usual pagination at the top of each page, each article has its own pagination at the foot of each page — for example, '1.2.13', standing for Volume 1 (the present volume), article 2, page 13 of the article. The purpose of this additional form of pagination is not clear unless it serves as a promise of further volumes to appear in the series. If that is the case, we can look forward to the fulfilment of the promise.

LOUIS JACOBS

VIRGINIA R. DOMINGUEZ, *People as Subject, People as Object. Selfhood and Peoplehood in Contemporary Israel*, xv + 238 pp., University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1989, $15.75 paperback ($37.50 hardback).

Professor Dominguez teaches anthropology at Duke University, North Carolina. She was born in Cuba in the early 1950s, educated in the USA, and seems to have spent much of her early life in Latin America

crusading against the sort of things that adolescents of that generation customarily crusaded against — you know, American 'imperialism' (her loaded phrase), corruption, racism, that sort of thing. Then she had the misfortune to spend some time in Beirut in the late 1960s. By the time she was eighteen she had 'already been tear-gassed several times' (p. 14), though whether by design or accident we are never told. Never mind, the point is that she had been tear-gassed. In 1978 she visited Israel for the first time, and 'was hooked'. She spent increasing amounts of time in Israel thereafter, fell in love (something the dispassionate academic anthropologist, engaged in original research, should always try to avoid) and — worse still — 'almost converted to Judaism' (p. 15). Meanwhile, she learnt to teach through the medium of Hebrew while conducting fieldwork into the nature of 'peoplehood' in Israel, or, as she puts it (p. 41), 'the process of objectification of an Israeli collective self'.

At least, I think this was the subject of her research, but I confess I am not sure. The book she has produced is (let's be honest) thoroughly autobiographical, and a goodly proportion of her material is based upon her own circle of friends and acquaintances, as well as Israelis whom she chanced to meet, and who chanced to meet her. Much material (as she delights in telling us) has also been culled from Israeli newspapers. But very little of her data is grounded in historical research. We are never introduced to the pre-1948 debate about the peoplehood of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish settlement in Palestine), or to various politico-religious views about the nationhood of the Jewish people, or (if you prefer) peoples.

There is an interesting chapter about the treatment of the Falashas in Israeli society. Professor Dominguez is right to point to 'the limits of tolerance' (p. 70) displayed towards Ethiopian Jewry, and the implicit — and sometimes explicit — racial prejudice of which the Falashas in Israel have been the targets. The same might be said of the attitude of Germans towards Polish Jewry sixty years ago. Such examples tell us as much about the pluralism of the Jewish people, or peoples; but in the context of trying to grapple with the idea of Israeli nationhood they will not take us very far.

This is because of the truly unique situation of Jews in the spectrum that runs from geographical, social, economic, and religious communities at one extreme to highly compact nation-states at the other. Part of this uniqueness derives from the experience of persecution, and its collective memory. Not even in her mildly entertaining examination of the celebration and meaning of *Yom Ha'Atzma'ut* (the Israeli Day of Independence) is the impact of this collective memory recognized, let alone explored. It is also disconcerting to find the Ashkenazim treated as a monolith. Professor Dominguez might have progressed much further in her quest for the meaning of Israeli peoplehood had she asked

herself, and them, what the Sabbath-breakers of *Ramot* and the Sabbath-observers of *Sanhedria Ha-Murchevet* (respectively, a non-Orthodox and an Orthodox area of Jerusalem) have in common. I am sure (for I have travelled extensively in both localities) that part of the answer would have been articulated in terms of common fears.

Professor Dominguez does not go down this road. Instead, she embarks upon a critique of Ashkenazi attitudes toward the culture of Oriental Jews in Israel, which attitudes she finds patronizing. This is a fair point, but one that should not be taken to extremes; in so doing, she does a disservice to Sephardi culture itself. To call the Oriental Jews in Israel 'the non-dominant sector of the population' (p. 123) is (in view of her own statistical data, p. 8) both sweeping and dangerous.

I reached the final pages of the book exasperated and bemused. I had learnt a great deal about the author, but had not been taught much about the end-product of her research. The questions posed at the beginning had not been answered, though the author was candid enough to admit that 'the fact and longevity of [the claim of the Jews to peoplehood] . . . does not seem to resolve the problem of instability inherent in objectifying a collective identity' (p. 190). Quite so. I reflected that a *systematic* survey by questionnaire and interview of Israeli conscripts, or even of *ba'alei teshuvah* ('returners' to Orthodox Judaism), might have yielded much more tangible data. I wondered why Professor Dominguez had not converted to Judaism, and whether, had she done so, her understanding of the nature of Jewish identity might have been deepened, and improved into the bargain. But then, I reminded myself, she had been politicized at an early age and, when only 18, had already been tear-gassed several times.

GEOFFREY ALDERMAN

BARUCH KIMMERLING, ed., *The Israeli State and Society: Boundaries and Frontiers* (SUNY Series in Israeli Studies), a publication of the Center for the Study and Documentation of Israeli Society of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, ix + 301 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, 1989, $49.50 (paperback, $15.95).

BRENDA DANET, *Pulling Strings: Biculturalism in Israeli Bureaucracy* (SUNY Series in Israeli Studies), xviii + 374 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, 1989, $49.50 (paperback, $18.95).

The relations between Israeli society and the Israeli State are unique and it has been a productive venture by Professor Kimmerling to seek to explore them. As is so often the case, the essays he has brought together vary both in their direct relevance to the theme and in their quality. But in general, they go a long way to explain what is particular to the Israeli experience, and in the two years since the book went to

press much has happened to substantiate the description of the uncertainties that are inherent in the Israeli situation. This is particularly evident in the continued failure of the Israeli government in its handling of the occupied territories to bridge the gap between a State — in the full sense of incorporating the collective will of the society it represents — and what Professor Kimmerling sees as a 'control system', in which such problems are dealt with on a purely administrative or even military basis. Two elements in the analysis would seem to be missing. There is no separate assessment of the role of the military in a country where, for external reasons, the concept of national service has from the beginning, even before the establishment of the State, played so dominant a part in nation-building. Again, there is no separate discussion of the emergence of a specifically political class and of its composition, which might help to explain what has become a dangerous degree of alienation from it of large sections of Israeli society.

One is dealing with a society and a State which have changed quite radically over the comparatively short time since the basis was laid in the 1890s for a more than token Jewish presence in the ancient homeland. The society's organs were largely created in the pre-State period, and the same is true of the basic elements in the State structure in which the institutions of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish settlement in Palestine) were grafted onto the Turkish and the British Mandatory legacies in law and administration. Subsequently, major changes have come about through further and more massive intakes of immigrants of varied geographical and ethnic provenance so that the recent very great expansion of immigration from the Soviet Union, too recent for this book to have reckoned with, is only a repetition of an experience already several times encountered. Furthermore, the Six-Day War of 1967 involved a very significant change in the position, creating quite different 'boundaries' in the political and strategic sense and also, in Professor Kimmerling's language, quite different 'frontiers' in the sense of areas open to permeation by Israeli society and the Israeli economy. What had been a minority problem — the handling of those Arabs who had not joined in the flight to other lands at the time of the War of Independence and whose numbers made it possible to think of their ultimate incorporation in the workings of both the society and the State without adversely affecting Israel's commitment to Jewishness and to Jewry — became something quite different in demographic, economic, and political terms as well as in its impact upon Israel's international standing.

For these reasons, those chapters which take the historical dimension into account are more illuminating than those which either seek to explain the Israeli scene by far-fetched comparisons with other cases of states with more than one national group within their boundaries, or

use cross-national comparisons to explore the degree to which Jewish Israelis exhibit specific attitudes towards the country's minorities. On the other hand, where — as in Joel S. Migdal's contribution entitled 'The Crystallization of the State and the Struggles over Rulemaking' — the comparative perspective is genuinely relevant, the result is indeed illuminating. So, also, in dealing with the inter-communal problems of contemporary Israel, Dan Horowitz is able to bring together the development of the social characteristics of Jewish society in Israel and its various forms of stratification with the pre-Independence inheritance of hostile attitudes towards the Palestinian-Arab minority. And these aspects of the situation are further illuminated by Michael Shalev who, building upon much useful historical research by Israeli scholars, shows how the Histadrut — as a federation of trade unions, a major employer, and a participant in State power — did so much to establish the limits of working-class solidarity in a bi-national context, and to limit the capacities for Palestinian Arabs either to play a full part in the Israeli economy or to create a fully autonomous trade union of their own — again, a consideration highly pertinent to the post-1967 treatment of the occupied territories.

If there are some who are disposed to doubt the uniqueness of Israel and to subsume it among 'new States', the central argument of the chapter by Menachem Friedman, entitled 'The State of Israel as a Theological Dilemma', should convince them of the contrary. The world outside is much intrigued by the spectacle of a handful of rabbis deciding upon the composition and programme of Israeli governments, and rightly sees a partial explanation in the follies of proportional representation, with its inbuilt bias towards minority control; but this is to overlook that whatever the degree of secularism in the thinking of many Zionists in their movement's formative years, it was a religious aspiration which helped to make their sophisticated nationalism palatable to the Jewish masses upon whose energies they ultimately depended. Professor Friedman clearly differentiates between those who, without negating the traditional view that redemption would have to await the coming of the Messiah, could find grounds for hope in the 'ingathering of the exiles' and those for whom the whole enterprise was anathema, a direct challenge to divine authority, and who could in some instances regard the Holocaust itself as a divine retribution for Zionist arrogance and impiety.

Once again, the historical dimension is of major importance. For the Six-Day War of 1967 did alter the perspective of part, but not of the whole, of the Orthodox community — which had found no sanctity in the State of Israel, since its geographical boundaries were the arbitrary consequence of external forces and the arbitrament of war. Many Biblical sites of great significance, as well as the Temple Mount, were outside the jurisdiction of the State. Now the Land of Israel had been

reconstituted — whether by military valour or miracles was another matter — and to the Land of Israel allegiance might be due, so that a reconciliation with the State, at a price, became possible.

Professor Kimmerling himself, besides a useful summary of the volume's conclusions — with some disturbing references to the relegation of the Palestinians to a peripheral role, in which they are denied territorial legitimacy, particularly by many Oriental Jews — also confronts the relevance to Israel of its close relations with American Jewry. This he does in a chapter significantly entitled 'Between "Alexandria on the Hudson" and Zion'. Here again, there have been changes in the relationship, and others may now be taking place which could have the effect of endangering the traditional Israeli reliance on American Jewry to ensure that the United States continue to place Israel's interests at the top of its Middle East agenda. While Israel does provide a binding factor within the largest of the Jewish diasporas, it is not in its Zionist aspect. Most Americans repudiate the Ben-Gurion version of Zionism which implies a commitment to *aliyah*, on the basis that only Israel can ensure a safe home for Jews. (American Jews who come to settle in Israel tend to be of the extreme religious variety who are particularly blind to the country's real dilemmas.) Even on the material side, the welfare needs of the American Jewish community are now tending to compete with financial assistance to Israel. There is no longer a series of American institutions, committed to an unquestioning support of the Israeli State; rather, each side is seeking to influence the other through organizations directed at particular elements in the two societies and the two elites. It is a picture much more complex than Israeli diplomacy has hitherto needed to consider.

Professor Danet's study is of lesser importance, though suggestive of some ways in which Israeli society in its relation to the State might deserve examination from another point of view — namely the degree to which it is permeated by what has been taken as a sign of 'modernization', a view that the activities of public authorities and of the private sector, particularly where monopolies are concerned, should be subjected to basic rules of operation designed to give equality of treatment between individual and individual and that this pattern of behaviour is generally accepted as corresponding to the facts. 'Pulling strings' (*protektsia*, as it is known in Israel) is the subject which the author investigates but the subtitle of her book, biculturalism in Israeli bureaucracy, is doubly misleading. Little is to be found about the bureaucracy itself, while 'biculturalism' is given the peculiar meaning of indicating a state of affairs where people subscribe to universalist rules in principle but are prepared to ignore them in practice. A further complication is introduced by the use in the text of 'diculturalism', apparently to explain the overlapping within an individual's mind or in

a group of both discordant approaches to public affairs. Again, in the text 'hybrid' is used to describe a person who, in pursuit of redress from an alleged injustice by the authorities, is prepared to use both the formal and public instrumentalities available (the ombudsman, the media, the courts) and also to try to find out what *protektsia* can do to help. Since apart from a very specialized vocabulary, Professor Danet goes into great detail about the two questionnaires (in 1968 and in 1980) which form the basis of her findings and presents in full the mathematical evaluations of her respondents' answers, the book is not likely to attract the attention of any but professional sociologists, which is a pity.

The author maintains that in assuming, as an earlier generation of Israeli sociologists did, that Israeli society would increasingly assimilate the universalist values of Western European and Anglo-Saxon countries, in preference to those of the Eastern European and Oriental immigrants, about a citizen's relations with government, no allowance was made for the numerical weakness of the Western European Israelis and their comparative insignificance among the Israeli elite, except in academe. Indeed, the acceptance of *protektsia* as a fact of life — common to other immigrants and particularly strong among the native-born, irrespective of ethnic origin — became, and has remained, the norm. Most people profess to disapprove of using *protektsia*, but most will use it when they need something done to get round the rigidities and the inefficiency of the bureaucracy. They will do so in most cases simply to save time and trouble, not to obtain benefits to which they are not entitled. However, the wealthier and the better educated with more contacts will be more successful, again irrespective of ethnic origin.

The important role of *protektsia* reveals in Professor Danet's view two other ways in which Israel departs from the ideal Western model: the prevalence of 'familism' (subordinating the general good to the advantages of a particular group with which one identifies) and 'illegalism' (the low value placed on mere adherence to legal rules when they come into conflict with strongly-felt individual or group needs). It could be argued that this approach with its three models of society is itself artificial and unhistorical. Can the United States be held up as an exemplar of impersonal administration when it gave the world Tammany Hall? Was not English administration in the pre-Benthamite age conditioned by an acceptance of what are regarded as Mediterranean concepts of patronage and power-broking?

Professor Danet consoles herself for Israel's failings by pointing out that while *protektsia* does not incur much opprobrium, bribery is strongly repudiated and rarely attempted. But she admits in the very short section dealing with the Arabs, and in particular with conditions on the West Bank, that there a different situation prevails and she expresses the fear that corruption in the most literal sense may spread

into the heart of Israeli society itself. Recent revelations in the Israeli courts about the extent to which bribery has entered into the settlement policy in the occupied territories give force to this warning of danger.

MAX BELOFF

DAVID KRAEMER, ed., *The Jewish Family: Metaphor and Memory*, xi + 248 pp., Oxford, 1989, £19.50.

This volume comprises a dozen studies on Jewish law, *mores*, and attitudes relating to marriage and to family relationships at different epochs from Mishnaic times onwards, and in different regions of the world. These papers were originally presented at a conference convened in New York by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The editor is an Assistant Professor of Talmud and Rabbinics at the Seminary. He sets the authoritative tone of the book with his own contribution, entitled 'Images of Childhood and Adolescence in Talmudic Literature'. From that literature, he demonstrates the sophisticated rabbinic understanding of the assumptions, capabilities, and preferences of children, and of the particular problems of the transitional development between childhood and adulthood. Despite the immense diversity between talmudic times and the modern world in outlook, priorities, and aspirations, there is an element of respect for the sensitivities of the young in talmudic literature, which to this reviewer has a present-day ring and which was less evident in, say, Victorian England than it is today.

In his 'The Institution of Marriage in Rabbinic Times', Isaiah Gafni, Associate Professor of Jewish History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, observes that in Palestine and Babylonia in rabbinic times, 'basic Jewish concepts of marriage were certainly primary' (p. 25). He makes that comment in the context of examining how far 'surrounding social and economic conditions' influenced the nature 'of the marriage arrangement'. Indeed, one thread running through the papers is that while legal formalities and outward procedures and celebrations might at times have in part reflected changing social and economic conditions inside and outside the Jewish community, distinctive Jewish concepts were retained.

Marriage was neither a sacrament (as in the Christian Church) nor a civil contract as provided for in wide sections of modern society. Nor was it seen as a kind of concession to the weakness of the flesh, as marriage was declared to be by many early Christian expositors. It was perceived as good, natural, and desirable in itself for procreation, mutual support, the education of children, and the unfolding of the divine design.

The adaptation by Jews of the marriage customs of their Christian and Muslim neighbours is revealingly examined by Joseph Gutmann

(Professor of Art History at Wayne State University) in his 'Jewish Medieval Marriage Customs in Art: Creativity and Adaptation'. Of further interest in considering the character and limits of the influence of the environment, are the articles by Mordecai Friedman, Professor of Talmud at Tel Aviv University, on 'Marriage as an Institution: Jewry under Islam', and Harvey Goldberg, Associate Professor of Jewish History at the Hebrew University, on 'Family and Community in Sephardic North Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives'.

In his 'Marriage and Torah Study among the *lomdim* in Lithuania in the Nineteenth Century', Immanuel Etkes, Senior Lecturer in Modern Jewish History at the Hebrew University, is concerned with a Jewish society which was in some respects more confined and closed than were Jewish communities under Islam. One impact of the environment upon the Jewish family unit in Lithuania came from a degree of industrial and commercial growth and from the emergence of substantial Jewish businessmen. The system of economic dependency and social patronage within Jewish society was strengthened. The *lomdim* were virtually full-time and long-term talmudic scholars. Their proportion among the Jews of Lithuania was probably greater than that to be found in other Jewish areas. Early marriage, parentally-arranged marriage, and agreements for the couple to live with (and be maintained by) the bride's parents — at least in the early years of marriage — were familiar features in a society which, as the author notes, accorded special admiration to Torah scholars.

In 'The Modern Jewish Family: Image and Reality', Paula Hyman, Professor of Modern Jewish History at Yale, deals succinctly with acutely topical issues. They were considered at greater length in *The Jewish Family: Myths and Reality* (New York, 1986) edited by her and Dr Steven M. Cohen, and reviewed in the June 1987 issue of this *Journal* (vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 64f). Those issues concern the effects upon the cohesive and educational influences of the Jewish family arising from the extent of secularization, the new styles of urbanization, the greater mobility, and the changing nature of authority in the modern age. In her contribution to the present volume, Professor Hyman comments that the modern Jewish family 'has become the symbol for the deleterious consequences of assimilation' (p. 190). She disagrees with this characterization for in her view 'the reality of Jewish family life has been more favourable (for the past century) than its image' (ibid.). The concentration of her paper largely on the nineteenth century leaves that conclusion as far as today is concerned in an oracular rather than in an explicitly argued state. (Incidentally, the *Jewish Chronicle* was first launched in 1841, not in 1844 as stated on p. 183.)

As for the other contributors, Avraham Grossman is concerned with the inheritance of 'spiritual leadership' in medieval times; Gershon D. Hundert writes on Jewish childhood in the early modern period of east

central Europe; Moshe Idel considers sexual metaphors in the *Kabbalah*; while Anne Lapidus Lerner reveals how Jewish childhood was depicted in the Hebrew literature of Eastern Europe. In the concluding study, entitled 'Literary Refractions of the Jewish Family', Professor Robert Atler explores the presentations of the Jewish family in the writings of Kafka, Agnon, and Bellow. He uses the term 'refractions' rather than 'reflections' because he considers those writers to have distorted the picture in their different ways by emphasizing the features which were subjectively significant or memorable to them. This results in skewed yet recognizable depictions, caricatures which make a point, or sharply focussed vignettes which capture the mood of a bygone era.

This is a scholarly collection of papers which provides new insights and which should stimulate further research on the many aspects of the history and of the structure of the Jewish family.

ISRAEL FINESTEIN

ROBIN OSTOW, *Jews in Contemporary East Germany. The Children of Moses in the Land of Marx*, x + 169 pp., Macmillan, London, n.p.

The Jewish world at large seems fascinated by the existence of Jewish communities in post-war Germany. It is an ambivalent emotion, a mixture of curiosity, disapproval and, occasionally, dismay. The Holocaust and its aftermath hover over the land, from the Rhine to the Oder, like the mushroom cloud of a nuclear explosion. In Germany and, perhaps even more so, outside Germany, it is a matter for comment that Jews have returned to live in Germany. Hostility towards the descendants of those who initiated and carried out the obscene massacre of the Holocaust, is greatest among the Jews who live outside Germany. For those who do live there, there are compensating factors, like the positive assistance rendered to communities by their respective *Länder*, and the self-conscious dialogues which are sought by many groups, apart from the considerable economic advantages — but these are also factors which play a part in the disapproving attitude of other Jews to the Jews of present-day Germany.

Nowadays, German Jewry probably does not exceed 30,000. In what was, until October 1990, East Germany, there were only a few hundred Jews. There are more than sixty communities (all but a handful in West Germany) scattered all over the country. A few are of a sufficiently large size to make them viable — for example, those of Berlin, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, and Munich. Jews living in small, scattered groups will probably disappear as Jews; many would already have done so, if it had not been for their extraordinary situation. Unlike the pre-Hitler period when they were subjected to enormous pressure

to assimilate, to become invisible, there is in post-war Germany similar pressure for them to be and to remain visible. Every recognizable Jew in the land eases the burden of guilt and shame which every German is heir to.

It is not surprising, then, if the place and the role of the Jews in the two Germanies attracted a degree of interest and attention which is out of all proportion to the size and significance of the Jewish inhabitants. All the more so in the case of the (former) German Democratic Republic, where the Jewish community was minute but had its own history and structure in a totalitarian state, which emitted strong anti-Jewish impulses through its hostility to the State of Israel, but treated its own Jewish minority with consideration and material support, not so much because its members were Jews, but because they had been the victims of fascism.

Robin Ostow is a Canadian sociologist and she is one of those who were fascinated by the existence of Jews in East Germany. The little volume under review here is the result of a continuing project which sought to investigate two disparate groups in East Berlin: religiously observant core members of the community and, in contrast, adherents of a Marxist ideology who had gone to the United States but had returned to East Germany in the early 1950s. The book consists of twelve interviews of mostly rather prominent East German Jews; eight of these interviews have already been published between 1985 and 1987 in mostly Jewish, general-interest journals. The interviews were begun in the early 1980s and updated in 1987, but they were out of date when the present book was published in 1989. The author is also unlucky because events have so dramatically and completely overtaken the contents of this book, that it can stand as no more than a memorial to the story of East Germany and of some of its Jews. It is unfortunate that the author has not explored in depth the peculiar position of the Marxist Jews who chose to return to East Germany some years after the end of the Second World War.

The interviews are very fluent and unstructured, but there is no information about how such an easy colloquial English style took the place of an unspecified German style. If, as seems likely, the author translated the interviews herself, then a considerable element of subjectivity must be assumed. I am sure that the easy-to-read interviews will satisfy the curiosity of those eager to know 'what it was like' to live in East Germany, but the heavy analytical chapter which follows the interviews cannot be sustained by such slight and casual material. Nor is it clear what the structure and especially what in German academic circles is known as the *Schwerpunkt* of the interviews is meant to be. They read very pleasantly, like chats between friends, which they undoubtedly were, but such subjectivity should be acknowledged and taken into account.

Every now and then there are comments by the interviewer which are quite startling. Thus, for example, a well-known academic explained to the author that it was planned to mark the bicentenary of the death of Moses Mendelssohn in 1986 in some special way. Fully aware of where she was, the interviewer interrupted to say: 'Moses Mendelssohn was a secular Jew and a capitalist' (p. 41). I imagine that even in the now defunct German Democratic Republic there was no ready answer to that.

JULIUS CARLEBACH

CHRONICLE

It was announced last August that the population of Israel had risen to over 4.5 million. There were 3,717,000 Jews, accounting for 81.5 per cent of the total; 655,000 Muslims (14.4 per cent); 107,000 Christians (2.2 per cent); and 80,000 Druse and other groups (1.8 per cent).

The Muslim community has grown by 3.2 per cent, twice the rate of the growth of the Jewish population (1.6 per cent). The Christians grew by 1.9 per cent and the Druse and other groups by 1.8 per cent.

On the other hand, the number of new Jewish immigrants has increased markedly in 1990. Last September, the 100,000th newcomer was welcomed at the airport by the Minister in charge of immigration and absorption; he had come from Leningrad. In the first eight months of 1990, more than 80,000 of the new immigrants were Soviet Jews.

*

The April-June 1990 issue of the *Revue française de sociologie* (vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 315–329) includes an article on pupils who study the French language at school; it is entitled 'Symbole d'identité ou capital symbolique: le parcours social du français en Israel', by Eliezer Ben-Rafaël, Rivka Herzlich, and Mira Freund. The article notes that according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, there were in 1983 about 150,000 Jews who used French as a first or a second language (p. 316) and that in 1986, seven per cent of pupils between the ages of 12 and 18 years had chosen to study French at school (p. 317).

*

According to a Report of the Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, there were 1,057 marriages in 1989, compared with 1,104 in 1988. There was a decrease in all three major synagogue groups: the Orthodox sector (consisting of Central Orthodox, Right-wing Orthodox, and Sephardi congregations) solemnized 876 marriages in 1988 but only 844 in 1989; the Reform group had 182 synagogue marriages in 1988 but only 170 in 1989; and the Liberal synagogues solemnized 46 weddings in 1988 but only 43 in 1989.

Nearly three-quarters (74.2 per cent) of all synagogue marriages took place in London and the remaining 25.8 per cent in the provinces; 72 per cent of the Orthodox weddings were celebrated in London and 28 per cent in the provinces, while the Progressive synagogues (Reform and Liberal) had a higher percentage of weddings in London (82.6 per cent) and a smaller proportion in the provinces (17.4 per cent).

The Report states that the Community Research Unit 'also analysed the marital status of those marrying in synagogues. For the Central Orthodox 11.5

per cent of people marrying were doing so for (at least) the second time. Information was provided for 452 people from all other synagogal groups except the Right-Wing Orthodox and, of them, 21.7 per cent were remarrying. In 1988 in England and Wales 23.9 per cent of all people who married were remarrying: the synagogue figure is thus some two per cent below the national level'.

There were 4,535 burials and cremations under Jewish auspices in 1989, an increase of 108 on the previous year's total of 4,427.

*

The International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization was established in 1980 under the auspices of the Presidency of Israel. A brochure published on the occasion of the celebration in Jerusalem of the Center's tenth anniversary states that according to the World Register compiled by the Center, there are now 'some 1,300 universities and institutions of higher learning throughout the world which offer courses in some aspect of Jewish Civilization'. The Center organizes 'international faculty exchange, continuing workshops, special projects ... the publication of papers, syllabi and bibliographies', apart from the compilation of a World Register of University Courses in Jewish Civilization.

The Center has published in 1990, in association with the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, a survey by Sharman Kadish entitled *The Teaching of Jewish Civilization at British and Irish Universities and Other Institutions of Higher Learning*. The author notes (on p. 3) that many students of Jewish Civilization in Britain are non-Jews — for example, theologians, linguists, or archaeologists — and that only 'Oxford and University College London boast departments of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, the nearest English equivalent to the multi-disciplinary Jewish Studies departments common on American campuses. In Britain, in the main, Jewish Studies are subsumed under other departments and faculties' (p. ix). In Birmingham, the Centre for the Study of Judaism and Jewish/Christian Relations, at Selly Oak Colleges, awards postgraduate diplomas which are validated by the University of Birmingham. At various other British universities, there may be courses in some aspects of Jewish civilization in departments of Oriental Studies, Middle East Studies, Semitic Studies, Theology, Biblical Studies, or Comparative Religion. Two institutions in London established to cater for Jewish students are Jews' College and Leo Baeck College.

Another 1990 publication of the International Center is by Haim Avni and Florinda F. Goldberg; it is entitled *Jewish Civilization Studies in Latin American Universities*. In Argentina, the following universities offer courses in Jewish Studies: 1) a private Catholic institution, the Universidad del Salvador; 2) another private institution, the Universidad de Belgrano; 3) the Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires; and 4) the Universidad Nacional de Rosario. Other institutions in Argentina have 'various courses with Jewish content, as well as reasearch projects in Jewish subjects' (p. 14).

In Brazil, the Universidade de Sao Paolo is the largest centre in Latin America for Jewish Civilization Studies at the undergraduate level. Its Centre of Jewish Studies was founded in 1969. In Rio de Janeiro, the Universidade

Federal has courses in Hebrew Language and Hebrew Literature. In Chile, the Universidad Católica de Valparaiso has courses in Jewish studies and courses in Jewish subjects are occasionally offered in other Chilean universities. In Colombia, there has been a course in Judaism since 1974 at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. In Quito, the capital of Ecuador, the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador has studies in Jewish Civilization. In Mexico, Hebrew is taught at the Universidad Nacional de Mexico; but it is in a private institution, the Universidad Iberoamericana, that there is 'the largest postgraduate program in Jewish Civilization Studies in Latin America' (p. 24). The Universidad de Panamá has only one course incorporating Jewish material: it is on medieval philosophers among whom are included Yehuda Halevi and Maimonides. In Uruguay, at the Universidad de la República, there is a Chair of Studies in Biblical Culture, while the Universidad Central de Venezuela, in Caracas, has offered courses in Jewish Civilization since 1985.

*

The June 1990 issue of *Bar-Ilan News* states that there has been 'an enrollment of new, first-year students totalling approximately 2,200. Of them, some 150 arrived from 27 different countries, the preponderance of them as new olim'; they came mainly from Canada, England, Ethiopia, France, South American countries, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

That issue of *Bar-Ilan News* also reports on a Yiddish Teachers' Seminar which was held in Moscow; it was organized by Professor Gershon Winer, Professor of Yiddish at Bar-Ilan. The seminar lasted four weeks and was attended by '57 students who came from 18 cities as far away as Tashkent and the Ural Mountains as well as from the big cities of Moscow, Leningrad, Vilna and others . . . all of them Yiddish activists who organized classes throughout the country or who teach in those schools where Yiddish has recently been introduced in the curriculum'. Professor Winer and three other members of the staff of the Department of Yiddish of Bar-Ilan conducted the courses, which 'centered on Yiddish language, literature and pedagogy'.

Professor Winer also participated in a colloquium on Yiddish Literature in the Soviet Union, held at Bar-Ilan University, and 'mentioned the renaissance of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union where Hebrew and Yiddish are now taught in the open'.

*

The September 1990 *Bar-Ilan Newsletter* states that after the successful Yiddish Teachers' Seminar which was held in Moscow under the direction of the Department of Yiddish of Bar-Ilan, that University sponsored another Teachers' Seminar in Odessa. It lasted three weeks and was attended by 46 students who 'came from 22 cities numbering among them Odessa, Kiev, Leningrad, Moscow, Berdichev, Kishinev and Tashkent'.

*

The Spring 1990 issue of *Soviet Jewish Affairs* (vol. 20 no. 1) includes an article by Sidney Heitman on 'Jews in the 1989 USSR Census' (pp. 23–30).

The total number returned as Jews in the January 1989 census was 1,449,167, a decline of 20 per cent on the 1979 census, when the total had been 1,807,071. The 1979 figure in turn had shown a decline compared with the 1970 census, which had returned a total Jewish population of 2,150,707, while the 1959 census had reported 2,267,814 Jews.

Some of the decline in the number of Soviet Jews in the USSR is the result of emigration. Until 1989, the highest number of Jewish emigrants recorded in recent years had been in 1979: 51,547. The following year, there were 21,471 but that total was more than halved in 1981 when 9,860 Soviet Jews went to settle abroad. There was then a sharp decrease, with only 908 in 1984, but from 1987 onwards there was a marked upward trend: 8,143 emigrants that year, 19,365 in 1988, and 72,528 in 1989.

*

The World Union for Progressive Judaism held its 25th Conference in London last May. Its was attended by about 500 delegates from 20 countries; they heard that new Progressive congregations had been established in several countries, including Chile, Costa Rica, France, Guatemala, Hong Kong, Hungary, Israel, and the Soviet Union. The chairman of Moscow's Reform Congregation stated that his congregation, 'Hineni', had been registered by the city council of Moscow and that it had been approached to give guidance to Jews in 27 other Soviet cities.

*

It was announced last summer that Cambridge University had decided to introduce a course on the impact of the Holocaust on Judaism and Christianity in the academic year 1990–91; the course will be an option within the undergraduate divinity degree. A lecturer in Rabbinics at Cambridge is quoted as saying: 'The divinity faculty has undergone a complete transformation from a traditional Christian faculty to one which is open to religious studies in the widest sense ... It is not necessary to study any Christian subjects. In fact, it would be possible to devise a course entirely on Biblical and Jewish subjects, if one so wished'.

*

The Holocaust Educational Trust has published a guide for Holocaust teaching in Britain; it includes information on resource centres, libraries, museums, research institutions, and memorials. It is entitled *Directory of Holocaust Education and Related Activity in the United Kingdom* and is available at £3.50 from the Trust, at BCM Box 7892, London WC1N 3XX.

*

President Landsbergis of Lithuania sent President Herzog of Israel an Independence Day message last spring in which he expressed profound sorrow for the fate of Lithuania's Jews during the Second World War. He stated that the present Lithuanian Government denounced all those who had participated in crimes against Jews and that a date would be set aside each year as a memorial day to honour Lithuanian Jewish martyrs.

*

CHRONICLE

A monument was dedicated in Budapest last July as a memorial to the 600,000 Hungarian Jews who perished in the Holocaust. The ceremony was attended by leading politicians and the President of Hungary is reported to have declared that the Holocaust was not only a Jewish tragedy, it was also a tragedy of the Hungarian nation.

*

The Summer 1990 issue of *Christian Jewish Relations* (vol. 23, no. 1), a publication of the Institute of Jewish Affairs in London, states: 'The Hungarian Christian-Jewish Council, open to all denominations, was set up on 5 June 1990 to promote understanding and co-operation between different communities in secular, religious and educational spheres. The Council intends to join the International Council of Christians and Jews.' It also quotes the 'Statement of the Synod of the Reformed Church in Hungary on its relations with the Jews, Budapest, 12 June 1990'. That Statement includes the following passages:

> The Reformed Church of the sixteenth century often compared itself and its trials to ... the Jews and their vicissitudes. This feeling of closeness of Hungarians and Jews led to the fact that our church was the first to put forward the proposal in 1881 to endow the Jewish community with equal rights ... The Reformed Church in Hungary is still standing before God with self-examination remembering this shame of Europe which caused six million Jews — including 600,000 from Hungary — to be murdered. In that time of crisis our church, too, proved to be weak in faith and in action ... We express our joy over the fact that our country established diplomatic relations with the State of Israel, thus manifesting its appreciation of the national independence of the Jewish State. With Christian consciousness and with fraternal feelings we declare that we are standing by the Jews in Hungary, and are ready to support them in their distresses and to co-operate with them. We condemn the desecration of tombs and any concealed and overt manifestations of antisemitism in the most definite way.

*

The *Jewish Chronicle* issue of 22 June 1990 made the following announcement:

> The 'Jewish Chronicle' is to make an endowment to enable the establishment in perpetuity of a Chair of Jewish Studies tenable at University College London in the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies. To be called The Jewish Chronicle Chair, it will commemorate the newspaper's 150th anniversary which will be celebrated next year ... University College, which was founded in 1826, appointed its first professor of Hebrew in 1828 and has one of the UK's leading university departments of Hebrew and Jewish studies. The professorial vacancy will be internationally advertised.

*

The Spring/Summer 1990 issue of *College News*, a newsletter of Jews' College, states that the College had 130 full-time and part-time students and that its 'MA degree programme, with nearly 40 students, is the largest specialist Jewish and Hebrew Studies course in the whole of London University'.

*

CHRONICLE

The Seventh British Conference of Judeo-Spanish Studies will be held in Glasgow from 20 to 22 March 1991, under the auspices of the Department of Hispanic Studies of Glasgow University.

*

The Summer 1990 *SICSA Report*, a newsletter of the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, states: 'To encourage young scholars, we award a limited number of grants to students in Israel and abroad. Grants are awarded primarily to Ph.D. students, although a number are available to M.A. students as well. The basic requirement is that the topic of the thesis address the subject of antisemitism'. The Center is at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem 91905, Israel.

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(Books listed here may be reviewed later)

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Baumgarten, Jean, *Le yiddish* (Que sais-je? series), 128 pp., Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1990, n.p.

Benbassa, Esther, ed., *Un Grand Rabbin sepharade en politique 1892–1923* (with a Preface by Annie Kriegel), 264 pp., Presses du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1990, n.p.

Chalk, Frank and Kurt Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Genocide. Analyses and Case Studies*, xviii + 461 pp., Yale University Press in co-operation with the Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies, New Haven and London, 1990, $55.00 or £30.00 (paperback, $22.50 or £12.95).

Eilberg-Schwartz, Howard, *The Savage in Judaism. An Anthropology of Israelite Religion and Ancient Judaism*, viii + 290 pp., Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1990, $17.95 (hardback, $35.00).

Goldberg, Harvey E., *Jewish Life in Muslim Libya. Rivals and Relatives*, x + 181 pp., University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1990, $18.25 or £12.75 (hardback, $45.95 or £31.95).

Himmelfarb, Harold S. and Sergio DellaPergola, eds., *Jewish Education Worldwide. Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Studies in Judaism series), xvi + 616 pp., University Press of America, Lanham, MD, New York, and London, 1989, $57.50.

Kosmin, Barry A., Nava Lerer and Egon Mayer, *Intermarriage, Divorce, and Remarriage Among American Jews, 1982–87* (No. 1 of Family Research series), iv + 35 pp., published by North American Jewish Data Bank of the Council of Jewish Federations and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, New York, 1989, n.p.

Kosmin, Barry A., *The Class of 1979: The 'Acculturation' of Jewish Immigrants from the Soviet Union* (No. 5 of Occasional Papers of the North American Jewish Data Bank), ix + 69 pp., published by North American Jewish Data Bank of the Council of Jewish Federations and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, New York, 1990, n.p.

Langmuir, Gavin I., *History, Religion, and Antisemitism*, ix + 380 pp., University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1990, $37.50.

Lipman, V. D., *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*, xvi + 274 pp., Leicester University Press, Leicester and London, 1990, £9.95 (hardback, £35.00).

Ritzer, George, ed., *Frontiers of Social Theory. The New Syntheses*, ix + 434 pp., Columbia University Press, New York, 1990, $57.00.

Rodrigue, Aron, *French Jews, Turkish Jews. The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925* (The Modern Jewish

Experience series), xv + 234 pp., Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1990, $27.50.

Sacks, Jonathan, *Tradition in an Untraditional Age. Essays on Modern Jewish Thought*, xxiii + 311 pp., Vallentine, Mitchell, London, 1990, £18.50 (paperback, £12.50).

Sorin, Gerald, *The Nurturing Neighborhood. The Brownsville Boys Club and Jewish Community in Urban America, 1940–1990*, xv + 255 pp., New York University Press, New York and London, 1990, $44.00.

Toaff, Renzo, *La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (1591–1700)*, 731 pp., Leo S. Olschki Editore, Florence, 1990, n.p.

Weston, William J., ed., *Education and the American Family, A Research Synthesis*, xii + 200 pp., New York University Press, New York and London, 1990, $44.00.

Wistrich, Robert S., ed. *Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism in the Contemporary World*, x + 213 pp., Macmillan Press in association with the Institute of Jewish Affairs, Houndmills, 1990, £35.00.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

ALDERMAN, Geoffrey; D.Phil. Professor of Politics and Contemporary History at Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London. Chief Publications: *British Elections*, 1978; *The Jewish Community in British Politics*, 1983; *Pressure Groups and Government in Great Britain*, 1984; *The Federation of Synagogues*, 1987; and *London Jewry and London Politics*, 1989.

BELOFF, Professor Lord, F.B.A. Emeritus Professor of Government and Public Administration in the University of Oxford and Emeritus Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Chief publications: *The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia* (two volumes, 1947 and 1949); *Imperial Sunset, 1897–1942* (two volumes, 1969 and 1989); *Wars and Welfare: Britain 1914–1945*, 1984; and was the British editor of seven volumes of *L'Europe du XIXe et XXe siècles*, published between 1959 and 1967.

LEVITT, Cyril; Ph.D. Professor of Sociology, McMaster University. Chief Publications: *Children of Privilege: Student Revolt and the Sixties*, 1984 and co-author of *The Riot at Christie Pits*, 1987.

NEWMAN, Aubrey; D.Phil. Professor of History at Leicester University. Chief Publications: *The United Synagogue 1870–1970: A Centenary History*, 1977; *The Board of Deputies of British Jews: A brief Survey, 1760–1985*, 1986; and editor of *Migration and Settlement*, 1971 and *The Jewish East End, 1840–1939*, 1981.

SHAFFIR, William; Ph.D. Professor of Sociology, McMaster University. Chief Publications: *Life in a Religious Community: The Lubavitcher Chassidim in Montreal*, 1974; co-editor, *Fieldwork Experience: Qualitative Approaches to Social Research*, 1980; co-editor, *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic*, 1981; co-author, 'The Professionalization of Medical Students: Developing Competence and a Cloak of Competence', *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 1, no. 1, Fall, 1977; and 'Ritual Evaluation of Competence: The Hidden Curriculum of Professionalization in an Innovative Medical School Program', *Work and Occupations*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1982.

TREVISAN SEMI, Emanuela; Ph.D. Research Fellow, Dipartimento di scienze storico-archeologiche e orientalistiche of the University of Venice. Chief publications: 'A Note on the Lubavitch Hassidim in Milan' in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 20, no. 1, June 1978; *Gli ebrei caraiti tra etnia e religione*, 1984; 'The Beta Israel (Falashas): From Purity to Impurity' in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 2, December 1985; 'L'oscillation ethnique: le cas des caraïtes pendant la seconde guerre mondiale' in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. 206, no. 4, 1989; and *Morte del senso e senso della morte nel primo racconto di A. B. Yehoshua*, 1989.

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