THE JEWISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

Published by Maurice Freedman Research Trust Ltd

VOLUME XXIX : NUMBER 2 : DECEMBER 1987

CONTENTS

Editor: Judith Freedman

ISSN 0021-6534

OBJECTS AND SPONSORSHIP OF THE JEWISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

The Jewish Journal of Sociology was sponsored by the Cultural Department of the World Jewish Congress from its inception in 1959 until the end of 1980. Thereafter, from the first issue of 1981 (volume 23, no. 1), the Journal has been sponsored by Maurice Freedman Research Trust Limited, which is registered as an educational charity and has as its main purposes the encouragement of research in the sociology of the Jews and the publication of The Jewish Journal of Sociology. The objects of the Journal remain as stated in the Editorial of the first issue in 1959:

> 'This Journal has been brought into being in order to provide an international vehicle for serious writing on Jewish social affairs . . . Academically we address ourselves not only to sociologists, but to social scientists in general, to historians, to philosophers, and to students of comparative religion. . . . We should like to stress both that the Journal is editorially independent and that the opinions expressed by authors are their own responsibility.'

The founding Editor of the *JJS* was Morris Ginsberg, and the founding Managing Editor was Maurice Freedman. Morris Ginsberg, who had been Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics, died in 1970. Maurice Freedman, who had been Professor of Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics and later at the University of Oxford, succeeded to the title of Editor in 1971, when Dr Judith Freedman (who had been Assistant Editor since 1963) became Managing Editor. Maurice Freedman died in 1975; since then the Journal has been edited by Dr Judith Freedman.

Applications for subscriptions and enquiries regarding back numbers should be addressed to:

THE JEWISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY
187 GLOUCESTER PLACE
LONDON NW1 6BU
ENGLAND

TELEPHONE: 01 262 8939

THE JEWISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

Volume XXIX : Number 2 : December 1987

CONTENTS

PUBLISHED TWICE YEARLY, IN JUNE AND DECEMBER
by Maurice Freedman Research Trust Ltd
(Published by the World Jewish Congress 1959–80)

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION
INSTITUTIONS: £12.00 (U.S. $24.00)
INDIVIDUALS: £10.00 (U.S. $20.00)
SINGLE COPIES: £6.00 (U.S. $12.00)

Applications for subscriptions should be sent to The Jewish Journal of Sociology, 187 Gloucester Place, London NW1 6BU, England. Telephone: 01 262 8939

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY W. S. MANEY & SON LTD, LEEDS

BOOKS REVIEWED

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Papers submitted to *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* should be addressed to the Editor at *187 Gloucester Place, London NW1 6BU, England.* The papers must be original. They should not have been published previously, or be committed to publication elsewhere, in any language. When a paper has been accepted for publication, the author may not publish it elsewhere in any language, without the written consent of the Editor of the *J.S.S.*

MSS (please send at least two copies) should be typewritten on one side only and double-spaced with ample margins. Pages (including those containing illustrations, diagrams, or tables) should be numbered consecutively. All quotations should be within single inverted commas; quotation marks within quotations should be double inverted commas.

Notes should follow the style of this *Journal* and should be given at the end of the article in numerical sequence according to the order of their citation in the text.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

A. *Books*
Give author, title, place of publication, year, and page reference. Underline all titles of books.

B. *Articles*
Place titles of articles within single inverted commas. Underline the title of the book or journal in which the article appears.
In the case of a journal, cite numbers of volume and part, and year of publication.

PROOFS. Authors making major revisions in proof will be required to bear the cost. Unless proofs are returned to the Managing Editor promptly, authors' corrections cannot be incorporated.

OFFPRINTS. Each contributor receives thirty free offprints of his article. If there are two or more authors, the thirty offprints are shared between them.

ETHNIC JUDAISM AND THE MESSIANIC MOVEMENT

Rachael L. E. Kohn

THE decline of Jewish orthodoxy in the modern era, together with the unexpected persistence and strength of the Jewish communities in Britain and North America, have recently prompted sociologists to identify new, non-religious sources of Jewish identity.[1] This is not an entirely new phenomenon: Zionist and Bundist efforts in this regard brought secular definitions of Jewish identity to the service of political aspirations. In the more stable and prosperous Jewish world of the present, the transformation of Jewish identity is seen less as a programme of action than as a strategic adaptation to the pervasive secular values and structures that typify modern society.

In a word, this is the process of assimilation, but with a difference. While formerly the Jewish communities of Europe and North America eagerly shed their distinctiveness in the hope of participating in the civil and social culture on an equal footing with Gentiles, the modern era has witnessed a preoccupation with building Jewish national and community organizations and educational and cultural facilities parallel with secular ones in an effort to protect the political interests and to preserve the cultural and social features of the group. Such a development has resulted in the 'ethnicization' of the Jewish people. The custom, for example, of marrying within the group is still upheld by at least 50 per cent of the American Jewish community, yet synagogue attendance and religious life-style are maintained by only a small fraction of Jews.[2] The group persists even as its religious basis has become attenuated.

Apart from the assimilatory effects of general affluence, which Jews perhaps more than any other group have experienced in the post-war period,[3] the ethnicization of the Jewish people reflects a broader trend among other immigrant groups in Western Europe and North America. Yet its appearance among Jews does not necessarily bode well. On the one hand, an emphasis on the non-religious bases of Jewish identity weakens if it does not eliminate the *raison d'être* of the Jewish people and, some would say, Israel. On the other hand, the erosion of religious beliefs opens the way to their substitution by non-Jewish beliefs. It has already begun to happen, and one can detect the curious phenomenon in new religious movements of some members

identifying themselves as Jews even while they follow the teachings of an Indian guru or of a Christian Fundamentalist.[4]

More striking than individual cases of Jews holding on to their Jewish identity after acceptance of another faith,[5] is the movement that placed Christian doctrine at the centre of Judaism, believing it to be the 'rediscovered' *raison d'être* of the Jewish people and its religious life. Messianic Judaism, formally established in 1975 when the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America changed its name to the Messianic Jewish Alliance of America, numbers more than a hundred fellowships and congregations (some of which hold full or associate membership in the Union of Messianic Jewish Congregations[6]) in North America, Britain, France, Germany, and Israel. Its followers, consisting mostly of converts with at least one Jewish parent, profess belief in Jesus as the promised Jewish Messiah, while they stress the preservation of the Jewish 'nation' through worship at Messianic congregations, observance of Jewish traditions, education of children in Hebrew, discouragement of intermarriage, and support for the State of Israel.

The Messianic movement's programme for the preservation of the Jewish nation within Christendom is surprising for its conventionality. But it stands in contrast to that of its predecessor, Hebrew Christianity. Indeed, it was the failure of the latter to live up to its aim 'to stop the constant leakage of some of Israel's noblest sons and daughters getting Gentilized through their conversion, and thus being a dead loss to their brethren'[7] which provided the justification for the modern movement's formation of separate congregations where, as one spokesman put it: 'we can worship as led by the Holy Spirit, fellowship with those who are likeminded, and live a cultural existence that identifies us as we perceive ourselves to be — as Jews'.[8]

If this spectre seems at once too marginal and bizarre, it is also, at one level, a culmination of the problem of ethnic definitions of Judaism. Although it had a Biblical basis, the belief that the Jewish people are an ethnic group — on to which the Christian message could simply be grafted — was the premise of 'Jewish missions'. Headed or staffed by Jewish converts, Jewish missions were established and supported by Evangelical churches in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[9] The ethnic Jew, whose national and cultural inheritance was believed to be inviolable, was central to the self-understanding of the Hebrew Christian enclaves which Jewish missions perpetuated.

While, undoubtedly, the majority of other Jewish converts hoped to lose their former identification upon baptism, Hebrew Christians proclaimed their difference with a discernible righteousness. Thus it was said of the well-known itinerant missionary, Reverend Joseph Wolff, in the 1861 preface to his *Travels and Adventures* that 'he looks with pity upon those Jews who, though professing Christianity, are ashamed of being known to the world as sprung from the Jewish stock'.[10] Others,

like the President of the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America, S. B. Rohold, not only acknowledged their Jewish stock but argued that they had not severed their connection to it. In response to a rabbi who castigated him as a 'traitor', saying, 'You have left the weak, and joined the strong; you have become Gentile', Rohold declared: 'I emphatically deny such slander! I have not left my people! I have not become a Gentile!'[11]

In a similar vein, Rabbi I. Lichtenstein wrote missionary pamphlets to his brethren in Budapest. In these 'open letters', translated and published by David Baron's Hebrew Christian Testimony to Israel, a London-based mission to Jews, Lichtenstein admonished:[12]

> You need not, like withered leaves fall away from your ancient stock, or deny parents or nationality; you need not be unfaithful to the God of your fathers on account of reverence rendered the Son . . .

One of the many non-Jewish missionaries who held this view. J. E. Mathieson, cautioned '. . . when a Jew accepts the heavenly citizenship (Phil. 3:20) he is not, he cannot be forgetful of his illustrious pedigree and the still more illustrious future of his nation'.[13] Among present-day Hebrew Christians who have addressed the subject of the Jewish identity of 'believers', Arnold Fruchtenbaum has made the point succinctly in an undated but oft-quoted pamphlet, *Jewishness and Hebrew Christianity*:[14]

> Religiously, by faith Hebrew Christians align themselves with other believers in Christ whether they be Jews or Gentiles. Nationally, they identify with the Jewish people. . . . Hebrew Christians never lose their Jewishness. Jewishness and Hebrew Christianity are not contradictory terms, but each complements and fulfills the other.

The Hebrew Christian presumption of 'solidarity' with the Jewish people was certainly paradoxical in a proselytizing movement. But the problem was perceived to be largely one of semantics. By couching the Christian message in familiar terminology and purging it of terms such as 'the cross' which evoked images of persecution, Hebrew Christian missionaries attempted to respect the Jew's cultural ways and not to offend his historical sensitivities. In an exemplary booklet published by the American Board of Missions to the Jews, the largest Hebrew Christian missionary organization, a list of proscriptions addressed to the missionary includes:[15]

> Don't say 'Christian', say 'Believer' . . .
>
> Don't say 'Christ', say 'Messiah' . . .
>
> Don't say 'convert', say 'completed' . . .
>
> Don't say 'cross', say 'tree' . . .
>
> Don't say 'Old Testament' and 'New Testament', say 'Old Covenant' and 'New Covenant'.

The missionary approach, which was the hallmark of Hebrew Christianity and championed by the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America, was articulated several times in the 1927 *Proceedings of the Budapest/Warsaw Conferences on the Christian Approach to the Jew*. Hundreds of delegates met to discuss the future of missions to Jews and were advised:[16]

> Nothing should be done which would tend to alienate the [Jewish] pupils from their own people, and definite instruction might well be given in Jewish history, and, where desired by the parents, in the Hebrew language.

Further claims of maintaining Jewish integrity are found in the same report, which states: 'We would not separate our Jewish friends from their past or rob them of their heritage, which is ours as well as theirs . . .'[17].

In his study of a Hebrew Christian fellowship-mission, B. Z. Sobel observed that most members 'were convinced that the only factor holding the Jews back from wholesale conversion was the fallacious notion that this move would involve disloyalty to the ethnic configuration'.[18]

In response to such a notion, Hebrew Christians were frequently compelled to insist on their loyalty to Jews and Judaism. Thus, Arnold Fruchtenbaum quoted from an article in the *Los Angeles Times* written by a fellow Hebrew Christian, Marvin Lutzker:[19]

> Statements referring to the 'conversion' of the Jew to Christianity disturb me. I was born a Jew and will die a Jew. What does conversion imply? To me it implies the leaving behind of Jewishness and the acceptance of something quite foreign to Jewish thought, custom and belief . . . [Yet] I am more of a Jew now than ever before, because now I read my Old Testament with understanding and belief.

While Hebrew Christians assert their difference from Protestant Christianity by insisting on their loyalty to the Jewish people and Judaism, that loyalty is clearly contingent on their unique understanding of both. Their commitment to the Jewish people, for instance, is largely as missionaries who hope to bring the gospel to their 'unsaved' brethren. Their understanding of Judaism is equally limited to what Lutzker called 'basic Judaism' — the acceptance of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and the verity of the Old Testament, augmented by voluntary observance of some holy days, such as Passover and Hanukkah, and their Christological interpretation of them as a means of witnessing to 'unbelieving' Jewish people.[20]

Such a view, although standing in contrast to Gentile Christianity, none the less falls far short of Rabbinic Judaism. Indeed, rabbis and the rabbinic tradition ae often viewed as either misguided or downright evil.[21] But if Hebrew Christianity views Rabbinic Judaism in a negative light, the same is true in reverse, for Fruchtenbaum admits:[22]

The relationship between the Hebrew Christian and the unbelieving Jewish community is one of paradoxes. He considers himself a member of the Jewish community but is not considered one by his fellow Jews. He is extremely loyal to the Jews yet is considered by them to be a traitor.

Clearly, however strong the ethnic bond is among Hebrew Christians, it is not mutually felt between them and ordinary Jews, whose religious life, while often attenuated, is exclusive of Christian doctrine. But if Hebrew Christians failed to convert 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel', they also barely managed to generate a significantly large following through natural growth. Channelled into churches, Hebrew Christians and their progeny generally lost their Jewish affiliation through intermarriage.[23] The ethnic bond, held to be inviolable, was thus easily broken.

One would have expected that the obvious choice open for Hebrew Christianity was to separate and become a sect. This was favoured by some members of the movement, had been attempted on several occasions, and discussed as an option at, among other venues, the above-mentioned 1927 Budapest and Warsaw conferences.[24] But the idea of a Hebrew Christian Church did not win the day. One explanation for the failure to separate is that Hebrew Christianity was founded largely on the mission and this was its vehicle for expansion. But missions were endorsed by leading clergymen and supported by constituents drawn from the church community. To separate from it would mean cutting the life-line to the mission, the most important organ of the movement. The result was that Hebrew Christian missions and fellowships, bound to act officially as organizations which were ancillary to the Church and containing a denominational diversity among their members, did not provide the institutional structure that was necessary to forge them into an independent religious group.

The elevation of Jewish religious life

The formation of the Union of Messianic Jewish Congregations signalled an important change by elevating the status and the significance of Jewish religious practices far above the Hebrew Christian norm. While Hebrew Christianity had asserted the fundamental reality of the national and cultural bond among Jews, it subordinated Jewish ritual observance to a token almost dispensable role.[25] Messianic Judaism, on the other hand, recognized that the bond among its followers would not survive Gentile, let alone secular, incursions without its establishment outside the churches and its reaffirmation in a core of distinctively Jewish religious observances. It therefore made the establishment of congregations and a tentative return to the Law the principal means whereby it would preserve the

Jewish 'remnant' — those '144,000 Jews of the tribes of the children of Israel (Rev. 7:4–8) [who] are God's Jewish "evangelists" in the Tribulation period'.[26]

In doing so, Messianic Judaism treated as problematic what Hebrew Christianity had come to take for granted: the survival of 'Jewish distinctiveness' or 'Jewish culture'. It was typical of Hebrew Christians writing on the missionary approach to the Jew to impute an extraordinary tenacity to the cultural characteristics of the Jews. One such example is found in Edward Rowe's booklet, *Why We Haven't Won the Jew*, in which the author attempted to explicate the missionary conundrum by pointing to 'the remarkable features of Jewish culture':[27]

> Its age long development, its harmony and compactness, its unparalleled uniformity. . . . The basic features of Jewish culture have persisted through the centuries, relatively untarnished by the interaction of scores of heathen cultures now buried under the dust of ages. Call it immutable if you will. It is nearly that.

When Rowe also asserted, 'Obviously, Jewish culture, the complex of forces which set the Jew off as distinct from his fellow man, is here to stay', he expressed an optimism which is not shared by the Messianic movement. On the contrary, leading spokesmen for that movement frequently lament what they see as a fragile Jewish community, imperilled by both assimilationist, specifically secularizing, tendencies from within and antisemitic forces from without. One member of the movement, lecturing on 'Assimilation: How We Confront It', placed the blame squarely on the Jewish community:[28]

> The struggle to survive has been the chief goal of much of Jewish history . . . In recent times, unfortunately, the Jews' worst enemy has been their own apathy about their spiritual heritage. Scholars within the Jewish community have written numerous articles on the problem of assimilation: the process by which Jews lose their own distinctive Jewishness through intermarriage with Gentiles and in the neglect of their religious observances. The 'melting pot' mentality that made [America] what it is today invites acceptance of people into the mainstream of society at the price of giving up their ethnic loyalties. . . .

Messianic Judaism's response to this perceived condition of a disappearing community is one of active conservation of Jewish culture in ways that make the limited efforts of Hebrew Christianity seem, at best, insufficient and at worst, insincere. Not only has one congregation, Beth Messiah, in Washington, D.C., produced and widely circulated a document on 'Nine Reasons Why a Jewish Follower of Yeshuah [Jesus] Ought Not Assimilate', but as if to prove their authenticity and honesty, the movement spokesmen have emphasized the observance of all the Jewish holy days and festivals as well as the

many traditions. They recommend the wearing of skullcaps and prayer shawls and the recitation of the *Kiddush* prayer on the eve of the Sabbath. Some men reportedly also wear a *tzitzit* (a fringed male undergarment worn by devout Jews).[29] Unlike Hebrew Christianity's selective use of Jewish holy days as vehicles to convey the gospel to 'unbelieving Jews', the new movement views its observances of these holy days and festivals not primarily as missionary devices but as opportunities for its followers to be 'joyful in their Jewishness' and to transmit this joy to their children.[30] Indeed, Messianic Jews were warned in 1982 of the consequences of joining a church:[31]

> You will not preserve anything Jewish for your children. You may talk all you want about being a lover of Israel but if you sit in a church somewhere where there are no Jewish people around you, as far as your people are concerned, you are the end of the line, you are the last Jew in the family. Your Judaism will not pass down to your children unless you do something about it.

Conclusion

The above words and many of the voiced concerns and commitments of Messianic Judaism might well have been uttered by any Jewish parent hoping to forfend the disappearance of Judaism in the family. It is the height of irony that they have issued from a movement that is roundly perceived to be a threat not only to the theological integrity of Judaism but also to the Jewish people. This perception, though unjustified in terms of size of membership, particularly in England,[32] is likely to be based on popular notions of coercive recruitment techniques, where young Jews are portrayed as 'vulnerable' and 'ensnared' targets.

Focusing on the missionary efforts of cults, which in any case some Messianic Jews disavow, sidesteps two important and related points. The first is that studies of Jewish members of cults have shown a consistently high degree of 'questing' after the spiritual life, which they did not find in their own experience of Judaism. They characterized their tradition as 'cultural' or 'ethnic' and found it to be devoid of 'meaning' and 'spirituality'.[33] One might dismiss these sentiments as merely the parotting of cult propaganda, were it not for the evidence. For it shows that 'Judaism has been more greatly eroded than Christianity by the process of secularization — both in terms of membership affiliation and synagogue attendance'.[34]

The second point that the phenomenon of Messianic Judaism illuminates is the lesson it apparently learned from its less successful predecessor: the long-run frailty of a Judaism denuded of its spiritual life. Indeed, the emergence of this movement can be counted as one of the consequences of the ethnic definition of Judaism, which was so

popular in the early part of this century and formed the corner-stone of the Hebrew Christian movement. Secular definitions of Judaism created the aperture into which Christian doctrine was easily inserted. It was not the only doctrine which found a 'comfortable home' in a secular Jewish context.

I do not want to give the impression that the Messianic movement arose simply in response to the secularization of Judaism. For one thing, that would misrepresent the historical facts, which must include the rise of a vigorous fundamentalist renewal of Christianity in the 1960s and 1970s that was deeply influential in the movement. Neither do I intend to deliver an illiberal diatribe on the perils of assimilationist and ethnic definitions of Judaism. That too would ignore the two most valuable contributions that secularist self-definitions have made to the history of Judaism, namely the securing of ethnic minority rights in the last century and the establishment of the state of Israel in the present one.[35]

It is worth noting, however, that the rise of the Messianic Jewish movement is not an isolated phenomenon but, in fact, one of many attempts to redefine Jewish identity in conformity with the traditions and trends of the dominant culture. Other contemporary efforts, such as the New Jewish Agenda with its network of chapters across the United States and Canada, have pushed Judaism far afield from the tradition in order to accommodate a radical stream among recent social and political currents. This is due largely to its overriding commitment to 'social progress' and 'progressive Jewish values'.[36] While the Messianic movement and the New Jewish Agenda are marginal to the mainstream of Judaism, it is the former which has provoked a vigorous response from Jewish community leaders, particularly toward those who have not relinquished their missionary mandate to the Jews. No doubt, because they are more visible, as long as such missions continue, Jewish leaders will be called upon to re-articulate the foundations of the faith to new generations of Jews whose self-perception is often little more than vaguely ethnic. One organization has already arisen specifically to combat this condition and the missionaries who take advantage of it. Jews for Judaism was founded by an 'ex-Jew for Jesus', whose efforts are now directed at educating the Jewish community, by way of lectures and a newsletter, about the activities and the beliefs of Messianic Jewish groups in their midst.[37]

Finally, it must be said that the Messianic movement's attempt to correct the mistakes of its predecessor, Hebrew Christianity, by emphasizing Jewish traditions is none the less premised on an ethnic but not necessarily Jewish definition of the Jewish people. From the Messianic standpoint the Jewish nation remains an entity even after its acceptance of the Christian Messiah. Thus, in spite of all its enthusiasm for the Jewish tradition, Messianic Judaism is an essentially Christian

movement. In England, this is underlined by the support and guidance the London Messianic Fellowship receives from the Church's Ministry to the Jews as well as from the American, church-supported missionary organization, Jews for Jesus.[38] In the United States, the Messianic Jewish Alliance of America received the endorsement of Fuller Theological Seminary in 1976[39] and the movement's leading spokesmen, being trained in Evangelical seminaries, foster a conciliatory attitude toward the churches in return for recognition and acceptance.[40]

The existence of the Messianic movement is none the less a challenge to modern-day Judaism and should prompt serious consideration of the conditions which have contributed to its growth. One of them, I believe, is the ethnic definition of Judaism, which has been a comfortable if convenient substitute for a religious self-understanding. While particularly suited to a secular life-style, the ethnic Jewish group leaves itself open to new sources of religious inspiration and new religious doctrines. If this is a lesson that such new movements can teach, then they constitute a painful though necessary challenge to religious complacency.

NOTES

[1] See, for example, Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider, *Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968, p. 119 and Calvin Goldscheider and Alan Zuckerman, *The Transformation of the Jews*, Chicago, 1984.

[2] See Harold S. Himmelfarb, 'The Study of American Jewish Identification: How it is Defined, Measured, Obtained, Sustained and Lost', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1980, pp. 48–60.

[3] See W. D. Rubinstein, *The Left, the Right and the Jews*, London and Canberra, 1982, pp. 11, 43–76.

[4] This is essentially a 'cult' phenomenon where, usually in the interest of recruitment, the adoption of new beliefs and practices, such as meditation or a rigorous form of hygiene, are viewed as not incompatible with one's Jewish identity — indeed, in the initial stages, stress is often laid on the points of harmony between the traditions.

[5] The Jewish-born Cardinal Lustiger told a reporter the day after his nomination as Archbishop of Paris: 'I've always considered myself a Jew, even if that's not the opinion of some rabbis . . . I was born a Jew and so I remain': 'A Most Special Cardinal' in *New York Times Magazine*, 20 March 1983. In the *Friends General Conference Quarterly*, vol. 16, no. 1, Fall 1983, pp. 2, 7, one item on 'Jewish Friends' reported that they had 'made it clear that they did not share the traditional Christian beliefs about Jesus'; the same issue included a contribution concerning a Jewish Friend's theology, which incorporated the ineffable Jewish tetragrammaton YHWH to 'add depth' to her Quakerism.

[6] See David Rausch, *Messianic Judaism. Its History, Theology and Polity*, New York and Toronto, 1982, p. 106.

[7] Hebrew Christian Alliance of America, *Proceedings of the First General Conference, 1915*, New York, 1915, p. 2.

[8] Elliot Klayman, 'The Importance of Jewish Identity', *The American Messianic Jew*, no. 4, 1982, p. 4.

[9] See A. E. Thompson, *A History of Jewish Missions*, Chicago, 1902, pp. 86–117. See also Reverend A. Bernstein, *Some Jewish Witnesses for Christ*, published by Operative Jewish Converts Institution, London, 1909.

[10] It is likely that this was a statement by Wolff, written in the third person. The entire *Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, D.D., L.L.D.* was compiled from his diaries (the original texts housed in the Church Ministry to the Jews, St Albans, England) and written in the third person. It was published in London by Saunders, Otley, and Co. without this preface in 1860 and in 1861 with it. The book was dedicated to 'The Rt. Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, M.P.P.C.'.

[11] S. B. Rohold, 'Israel's Condition and the Church's Duty', in *Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1913, p. 142.

[12] I. Lichteinstein, 'The Points of Contact Between Evangelical and Jewish Doctrine', translated by Mrs. David Baron, London, 1908, p. 13.

[13] J. E. Mathieson, 'The Evangelization of the Jew', *Messianic Review of the World*, vol. 7, 1894, p. 907.

[14] Arnold Fruchtenbaum, *Jewishness and Hebrew Christianity*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., published by the American Board of Missions to the Jews, no date, pp. 10, 19.

[15] American Board of Missions to the Jews, *Introducing the Jewish People to their Messiah*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1977, p. 11.

[16] International Missionary Council, *Proceedings of the Budapest/Warsaw Conferences on the Christian Approach to the Jew, 1927*, 1927, p. 21.

[17] Ibid., p. 28.

[18] B. Z. Sobel, *Hebrew Christianity: The Thirteenth Tribe*, New York, 1974, p. 182.

[19] Arnold Fruchtenbaum, *Hebrew Christianity. Its Theology, History, and Philosophy*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1974, pp. 14–15.

[20] This view is promoted by Fruchtenbaum and is also evident in an often-quoted essay, 'I am Accused: A Hebrew Christian Refutes the Charges that He Has Left Judaism', *Shepherd of Israel* (a publication of the American Board of Missions to the Jews), January 1962, pp. 1–2.

[21] See Sobel, op. cit. pp. 82, 86, 88, where members of the Hebrew Christian group he studied variously identified Rabbinic Judaism with idolatry, paganism, evil influences, instruments of the devil, etc.

[22] Fruchtenbaum, *Hebrew Christianity. . . .*, op. cit., p. 59.

[23] See Ira O. Glick, 'Hebrew Christians: A Marginal Religious Group', in Marshall Sklare, ed., *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group*, New York, 1958, pp. 415–31. This was noted quite early by the Reverend E. L. Langston in his pamphlet *The Proposed Jewish Church* (published by the Church Mission to the Jews), 1912, where his argument against the proposed church was partially based on his estimation that second- and third-generation Hebrew Christians were not associating themselves with the Hebrew Christian Alliance. (The movement was sustained by the continued addition of new members.)

[24] There was no consensus on the issue and responses ranged from rejecting the idea — 'not in favour of a Hebrew Christian Church', 'not desirable', 'not

practicable', 'tending to division of the Body of Christ' — to endorsing it: 'Many, on the other hand, are in favour of such a Church, considering it would prove a real service, and others regard it as an ideal to be realised in the future'. One respondent linked it to the eventual formation of the Jewish State. See *Proceedings* . . . cited in note 16 above, p. 109.

[25] This was the normative stand taken in the movement but there were some who early on stressed the observance of Jewish traditions. The most notable was Mark John Levy whose 'Jewish Ordinances in the Light of Hebrew Christianity', *Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly*, vol. 1, nos. 3 and 4 (June and October 1917), spelled out his conviction that Jewish 'believers' must be free to observe their traditions which, according to Levy, had *national* rather than religious significance.

[26] See Klayman, op. cit., p. 5.

[27] Edward Rowe, *Why We Haven't Won the Jew*, undated and not paginated.

[28] Patrice Fischer at the 1982 Messianic Jewish Alliance of America Conference, Tape.

[29] See Alex Brummer, 'Yeshua Cult Pulsates to a Hebrew Chant', *The Guardian*, 27 May 1985, p. 5.

[30] Debbie Finkelstein, 'Jewish Holy Days in a Messianic Style', Messianic Jewish Alliance of America Conference, 1982, Tape.

[31] Debbie Finkelstein, 'Dangers of Assimilation'. Messianic Jewish Alliance of America Conference, 1982, Tape.

[32] There are no reliable figures for the total number of Hebrew Christians and Messianic Jews, but 50,000 is a fair estimate for the United States (Brummer, op. cit., p. 5). In England, The London Messianic Fellowship (the largest of about three such groups in the country) had 35 members (20 of whom were Jewish) in 1986.

[33] See by Charles Selengut, 'Emerging Patterns of Apostasy in American Judaism', presented in 1984 to the Association for Jewish Studies, Boston, Ma. and 'Understanding Alternative Realities' in Beth Hess *et al.*, *Sociology*, 2nd edn., New York, 1984.

[34] Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion*, Berkeley, Ca., 1985, p. 217.

[35] See Salo W. Baron, *Ethnic Minority Rights. Some Older and Newer Trends*, The Tenth Sacks Lecture, 26 May 1983, Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, 1985.

[36] The 'Statement of Purpose', printed in every issue of *Agenda*, the NJA's newsletter, emphasizes the movement's commitment to social change. During a meeting of the Toronto chapter which I attended in the autumn of 1985, the formulation of a Jewish liturgy for lesbians was suggested by a guest speaker from the United States, where work on it had already begun. In a letter to members dated 14 July 1986, Bria Chafsky, National Co-chair, listed some of the following year's new projects: 'New Jewish Agenda publications on affirmative action, lesbian and gay Jews, new approaches to Zionism, and mutual recognition between Israelis and Palestinians' (page 3).

[37] 'Jews for Judaism', incorporated in 1986, has offices in Baltimore and in Los Angeles. Its newsletter is *Jews for Judaism*.

[38] The spiritual leader of the London Messianic Fellowship is in the employ of the Church Ministry to the Jews and in the summer of 1986 was a participant

in an extended workshop and training 'camp' run by Jews for Jesus, an American, church-supported mission to the Jews.

[39] See *American Messianic Jewish Quarterly*, no. 4, 1976, p. 20.

[40] See by Daniel Juster, 'A Messianic Jew Pleads His Case', *Christianity Today*, April 1981, pp. 22–24 and 'Messianic Judaism and the Church', *American Messianic Jew*, no. 4, 1981, pp. 13–14.

LEAVING THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX FOLD: HAREDI JEWS WHO DEFECTED

William Shaffir and Robert Rockaway

IN contrast to the many studies about conversion to religious sects or cults, the sociological literature contains comparatively few analyses of disengagement from religious communities. Armand Mauss commented in 1969 about 'the paucity of available research literature on the subject of religious defection'[1] after he had embarked on a bibliographical search of published data on the topic. However, several studies have now become available which give a fuller picture of the phenomenon;[2] but with some notable exceptions,[3] the majority of these have concentrated on specific characteristics — age, education, socio-economic status, political orientation, and religious affiliation — of the defectors, thereby leading Brinkerhoff and Burke to comment that '... the *process by which the individual* disaffiliates has not been systematically examined'.[4]

The present paper deals with the process of disengagement of ultra-Orthodox Jews from haredi society. We examine in particular three specific stages: the motivations for leaving; the process of departure; and the difficulties of being transplanted into secular society.[5]

The data for this paper were gathered in Israel from January to June 1986 through informal interviews with twenty former haredim ranging in age from 24 to 43 years. There were 17 men and 3 women. In an initial attempt to locate respondents, we inserted an announcement in a leading Israeli daily newspaper stating that we were seeking former haredim and giving a telephone number to get in touch with us. Only one man responded and he claimed that he did not know any other haredim who had defected. An Israeli reporter then gave us the name of a former haredi whom she knew and he told us of another; that person in turn gave us the names and telephone numbers of six former haredim and finally by the so-called 'snowball technique' we were able to interview 20 individuals who had abandoned their earlier haredi life-style. Sixteen of the interviews were conducted in Hebrew, three in English, and one in Yiddish. All the respondents were Ashkenazi (Western) Jews. In every case a knowledge of Yiddish was essential to appreciate the Yiddish phrases and expressions liberally used by the

respondents. With four exceptions, the interviews were carried out in the homes of the respondents; three persons chose their place of work while another asked us to meet at a popular Jerusalem café. The sample included only one married couple where both partners were former haredim and we interviewed them both together on two occasions. Several of the other respondents were married but their present spouses had no connection with the haredi world and thus they were usually interviewed alone. Fourteen had been born into haredi families; four became haredim after studying at a haredi yeshiva and the remaining two (women in both cases) when they married.

Before their defection, all the men had been studying at a haredi yeshiva, while two of the women (married to haredim at the time but subsequently divorced) were housewives; the third female — the only woman born into the haredi world — also remained at home to look after her young children. At the time of the interviews, 10 of the men were employed in the education field as teachers or lecturers, two were newspaper reporters, one was a salesman, and another was self-employed as a *soifer* (scribe); the remaining three were unemployed. As for the three women, one was an associate editor of a children's publication, another was established in the field of women's cosmetics, while the third was studying modern Hebrew and English.

Haredim are ultra-Orthodox Jews who are said to constitute about five per cent of the Jewish population of Israel. What distinguishes them from other Israeli Jews is not merely their determination to speak Yiddish rather than modern Hebrew or their appearance (the men in most haredi communities have long earlocks and wear long black coats and black velvet skullcaps or black hats) but their refusal to attribute special sanctity to the State of Israel.[6] They believe that it is loyalty to the Torah, not nationalism, which has kept Jews alive through the ages and which continues to give meaning to Jewish life today. They do not celebrate Israel's Independence Day and indeed assert that Zionism destroys the Jewish people's religious identity. They justify not serving in the Israeli army by claiming that by keeping the 'authentic' Jewish heritage and spirituality alive, they thereby make a valuable contribution to the country's security. Some haredim have been engaged in acts of civil disobedience to protest against violations of Jewish religious law; the most well-known example has involved throwing stones at motorists who drive on the Sabbath either in, or in areas adjacent to, haredi neighbourhoods.

Menachem Friedman explains that the Hebrew word haredi (plural, haredim) connotes 'the Godfearing' and he states that haredi society is organized in a network of 'voluntary communities' or 'circles'[7]; but the 'voluntary' nature of belonging should not obscure the fact that there are very strict and detailed rules of behaviour which the members must observe. Haredi communities are very similar to what Coser has called

'greedy' institutions 'insofar as they seek exclusive and undivided loyalty and they attempt to reduce the claims of competing roles and status positions on those they wish to encompass within their boundaries. Their demands on the person are omnivorous'.[8] Indeed, one of our respondents made the following comments about his former haredi community: 'It is geographically a prison, it is socially a prison, it is emotionally a prison. You are not allowed to do so many things'. The individual is shielded from childhood against the secular influences of mainstream Israeli Jewish culture. Children are not sent to any of the schools in the religious network of the state's educational system but are enrolled in private schools whose religious teachings conform even more strictly to Orthodox Jewish law and where there is a bare minimum of secular subjects in the curriculum.[9]

Haredi circles vary along a number of dimensions including, for example, political affiliation, opposition to secular Zionism, style of religious practice, and observance of distinctive customs. For instance, the dress code of the members of *Toldot Aharon* — a community in the Mea Shearim quarter of Jerusalem — is unique. The men can be recognized by their large white crocheted skullcaps and weekday black and white striped coats, or their gold and white Sabbath wear. Married women wear plain-coloured dresses and black kerchiefs atop shaven heads. The respondents in this study were not all from the same haredi circle — three, however, were from what we have designated as Kiryat Blum (a pseudonym) — but reflected, instead, the diversity of groups in Israeli haredi society.

Although some haredi circles are fiercely anti-Zionist and refuse to give any allegiance to the Jewish State, many other haredi communities are non-Zionist (rather than anti-Zionist) and are prepared, if not to recognize the secular State of Israel, then at least in their own interests to support the religious parties which are part of the government coalition.

Shilhav and Friedman have estimated that there are about 85,000 haredim in Jerusalem — a number which accounted for more than a quarter (27 per cent) of the Jewish population of Jerusalem in 1985; their average per capita income is low but the shortfall is compensated for by an elaborate support system 'which manifests itself in various fields, ranging from interest-free loans . . . [to a] supply of reduced-price goods. It covers educational and welfare needs almost from cradle to grave'.[10] The funds are derived from the private contributions of followers and sympathizers (residing mainly outside Israel) as well as from some state subsidies allocated to various government agencies whose clients include haredim.

Motivations for leaving

Without exception, all the respondents stressed that their decision to leave the haredi community was reached after a long period of time,

after persistent doubts and disenchantment about the life-style imposed on them. Two of them spoke of specific incidents in their childhood or adolescence which made them feel resentful and rebellious while some others claimed that they had felt fundamentally different from their haredi peers as long as they could remember. Shimon (a pseudonym, as are all the other names mentioned here) was 28 years old when we interviewed him and had defected three years earlier; he told us that he left because he could neither forget nor forgive his father and his religious teachers for beating him. The former had done so when he was only three or four years old and the religious teachers were particularly brutal in their physical punishments on some occasions. Another respondent, aged 27, claimed that the main reason he left was that he was unhappy at home because his mother had never shown him any affection in contrast to the love she had shown her other children; he had been generally discontented but he insisted that his mother's attitude to him was the most important factor leading to his defection.

These two cases were exceptional among our twenty respondents in that the principal motivation to leave arose apparently from deep personal resentment against a parent or a teacher. Several others stressed to us that they had been aware since childhood that they were deviants — set apart from the mainstream. Avner spoke unhesitatingly about his early disenchantment and told us that by the time he was twelve or thirteen he had reached the conclusion that Orthodox religious teachings were nonsensical and that he came to detest and despise the piety of his schoolmasters. But his doubts had occurred at an even earlier date:

> I remember myself as a boy of ten, a member of an Orthodox family in B'nai Brak. I don't think I was ever religious. I think I was a boy who was non-religious. At any age I wasn't religious. I wasn't a boy who was God-fearing. I was compelled to be a religious boy in a religious society and did what I was told to do.

Chava had come from a Hassidic home but her father had stood out in his community (which banned secular publications) because he often sent her out to buy for him *Ha-aretz*, a secular Hebrew daily newspaper. She went to a religious girls' school in Kiryat Blum in Jerusalem, the district where she lived, near Mea Shearim, but she claimed: 'I was never friendly with the girls [from Kiryat Blum]. I didn't like the education, I didn't like the customs, and I remember this from when I was young'. (However, she later married Yehuda who came from an even stricter Orthodox background.) Another respondent also was rebellious from an early age and commented: 'I always stood out. The rest of the friends did what they were told. I questioned'.

The majority of our respondents, however, did not refer to their childhood years as a period when unhappiness or awareness of being

different had afflicted them, or when they had felt estranged from their peers. In all cases, the defectors asserted that the decision to leave was preceded by considerable internal debate and distress. Zalman was in his early forties in 1986 and had fought in a paratrooper unit during the 1967 Six-Day War; he had left the haredi community in the mid-1960s after a considerable period of silent dissatisfaction and doubts about the religious precepts and obligations he had been taught to observe. He conformed outwardly but then, he said, there came a point when he had to make a stand: 'I decided that this isn't my way. Then, only then, did I change drastically. Now for outsiders it looked like it happened one bright day but internally it's a process of years'.

Other respondents were deeply resentful over a period of years that their attempts to discuss and query religious tenets were frustrated by their elders. Moreover, they were reprimanded for raising such issues. Moshe recalled:

> I asked difficult questions . . . I showed them that there wasn't any logic [in religion]. There's a contradiction. On the one hand they say God exists and, on the other hand, they don't know what this is . . .. They say, 'Look, you get up in the morning. There must be a God.' And I asked, 'What does He look like?' 'No, you can't know and you musn't think about such matters and you musn't ask about Him'.

Ari told us that he had a similar experience. He was not born into a haredi family but had joined a haredi yeshiva. He caused some concern by his questioning of the community's strict religious precepts and by his outspoken favourable comments about Zionism. He must have been considered a disruptive element, because he was told that the *rebbe* (charismatic religious leader) had given instructions that he must leave. He was the only one of our 20 respondents to have been thrown out rather than to have decided to leave; but perhaps he had consciously or unconsciously behaved in such a manner that he had engineered his own 'constructive dismissal'. During the course of our conversation, he made it clear that very young haredi children are taught that there are some things which must never be questioned, that if you question them you may end up in hell. The *rebbe* and the Jewish sages are very wise men and all must be guided by their precepts. Children are told that the *rebbe* 'knows about these things and it's not for you . . .. So there's no place for you to think. You have such a weak and small head. How can you start thinking that you can think?'

Most of our respondents said they became increasingly angry when what they sincerely believed to be reasonable queries or arguments were either ignored or dealt with in vague pious terms. Miriam, who was in her early forties when we met her, said that she had been dissatisfied about this evasiveness for many years. Then one of her children died and her husband refused to do otherwise than repeat the platitudes usually uttered after such a tragedy. She complained

bitterly: 'I was devastated. I needed some understanding of how this event could be explained. . . . And slowly, slowly, I realized how confining, closed, and suffocating this world was. The answers were so standard. And slowly, slowly, I discovered that they didn't satisfy'. Miriam divorced her husband and left the haredi world, taking her surviving daughters with her.

Berl had become gradually disillusioned by the superficiality of the religious convictions of the members of the group, who automatically and unquestioningly behaved as they were expected to behave:

> It was, 'This is our way of life. This is the way we want to go on living.' And any ideology or idealism becomes trivial, becomes subservient to the way of life. [The focus is] more on the external aspects of religion . . .. The ideal is not to think; the ideal is to conform. The ideal is just to do, to be, and not to think. It was this complete absence of thinking that was disturbing to me.

Others were repelled by the contrast between the accepted standards of morality and decency and the actual behaviour (or rather misbehaviour) they witnessed. Esther gave us an example:

> It's hard to imagine but it's true. A number of the friends would come to the house when my husband wasn't home and they made suggestions that they were interested in me. You know it's forbidden to be alone with another married woman, but this didn't seem to bother them. And I saw how they looked at me. I would say, 'Aren't you ashamed of yourself?' and they wouldn't answer. Such hypocrisy bothered me a lot.

As noted above, all our respondents emphasized that the decision to leave had been taken after a long period of doubts and soul-searching. Chaim, who was 25 and had defected only months before we met him, seemed to speak for all our respondents when he said:

> It must sound strange to you that despite my questions and criticisms, it took me years to leave. But you can't imagine how difficult it is. You're always debating with yourself whether you're making the right decision. You know that you want to leave, but you're just not sure. You can't imagine how much courage you need to make the break.

Usually, the necessary courage required to sever the tie and leave seems to have been provided by a specific dramatic event — the straw that broke the camel's back.[11] Such an event brought into sharper focus the rumbling discontent with the haredi life-style and forced a reappraisal of the values and traditions which had until then been accepted, however reluctantly. Moshe, who had left his community three years before we interviewed him, recalled:

> There was also a catalytic agent — a book that I read by Neil [*The Problem Family, The Free Child*] . . .. As soon as I began reading the book, that's when things first began to crumble . . .. And I read it the first time and put it aside. After about half a year I read it again and then began to understand it better . . .. After I read the book, I argued with everyone, I asked questions.

Chava did indeed use the phrase 'the straw that broke the camel's back' when she told us of her horror when immediately after her wedding her mother-in-law appeared and without saying anything proceeded to cut off all her hair and then shaved her head with an electric razor.[12] Despite her knowledge of this ritual, she was emotionally unprepared to submit to it. She told us: 'I didn't want to create a fuss right after the wedding. So I let her but it hurt a lot. In fact during the first few months I couldn't deal with it at all'. (Nevertheless, she remained with the community until after she had two children and we relate below how she went about the process of disaffiliating.)

In the case of two other respondents, it was a war which raised fundamental doubts about their commitment to haredi precepts and triggered off their decision to leave. For Zalman, it was the Six-Day War of 1967. A moral justification had to be found for killing the enemy in a war, for shooting another human being; and all one's values had to be reassessed. Ze'ev, for his part, said that the Yom Kippur War of 1973 aroused in him passionate feelings of Israeli nationalism, which could not be reconciled with the anti-Zionist attitudes fostered in him by his upbringing; and so he decided to leave.

Yehuda, whose wife Chava was already bitterly complaining about the strictness of their haredi life-style (and whose rebelliousness as a child had been further aggravated by the shaving of her head after her wedding), said that the turning point for him occurred when he came to know a former haredi who was now a religious Zionist. He said: 'He opened my eyes. We talked about religion, about the religious nationalists. Slowly, I found myself attracted to them, to what they had to say'.

After the event or encounter which set in motion their decision to leave haredi society, our respondents had to take the necessary steps to dissociate themselves from their ultra-Orthodox community. Only four individuals became modern Orthodox Jews: Ari, David, Yehuda and his wife Chava; they felt committed to the tenets of Orthodox Judaism but were dissatisfied about the strict limitations imposed by the haredi life-style. All the others decided to become secular Jews.

The process of departure

Only one of the sixteen respondents who had taken the resolve to reject all Orthodox beliefs and practices left the haredi community immediately after making that decision and adopted a secular mode of living. The other fifteen began by increasingly breaking strict religious commandments or dressing in a manner which offended against the community's prescribed mode. Shmuel remembered:

> There's always a first time. And this first time is difficult. It's painful. It cuts. But the transition . . . can take a number of years. There's the first time that I took off the *kipah* [skullcap], there's the first time that I stopped

> putting *Tefillin* [phylacteries], there's the first time that I drove on the Sabbath, there's the first time that I didn't eat kosher, there's the first time that I ate on Yom Kippur, and so on. This doesn't occur over a period of a week; it doesn't all happen on the same day.

In some cases, the first lapse was apparently not deliberate. Tzvi spoke of the first time that he failed to don phylacteries in the morning: 'It was unintentional. It was on *Yom ha-Atsmaut* [Israel's Independence Day]. I remembered in the evening and I was literally in shock. I didn't know what to do'. Moshe had exactly the same experience, explaining: '. . . it wasn't planned. It was spontaneous'. They each told us independently that the realization that they had failed to observe the commandment was accompanied by fear of divine retribution. Other respondents said that they experienced this fear of incurring terrible consequences after the first time they went for a drive on the Sabbath. Avner said: 'It was awful. Very difficult. The power of the taboo is so very great. It required a lot of courage. A long time after I travelled on the Sabbath I said to myself, 'Road accidents. What'll happen if there's an accident?'

Shmuel spoke about the first time that he deliberately rode on the Sabbath:

> I was very scared the first time . . .. I remember it well. I was scared. It was Shabbat, and I was nervous. I was on a kibbutz in the north and we went to the sea, the Kinneret, and we hitch-hiked. Whenever a car didn't stop, I felt good . . .. In the end, some tourists stopped and we descended by the old road . . .. It was very emotional. There were a lot of curves in the road and I was afraid at each one of them. It wasn't a rational fear. It was Shabbat.

Both Avner and Shmuel stressed that riding on the Sabbath caused them more anxiety than did their failure to put on phylacteries; they pointed out that the former was a deliberate decision to desecrate the Sabbath while the latter was simply a sin of omission. Shimon explained: 'There's a difference between doing and not doing. When you drive on the Sabbath you're doing something. It's worse when you do something because you're active. When you don't do, it's passive'. Avner, speaking of his decision not to put on phylacteries any more, said:

> It wasn't a problem. It isn't activism, it's passivity. Not to put on *Tefillin*, I don't know, I forgot this morning, I didn't have time, I'll do it after lunch. *Morgn iz oichet gut* [tomorrow will do just as well]. You're still wearing a *kipah*, you're fine. Not to don *Tefillin* and to desecrate the Sabbath, the distance between them is enormous. These are two totally different things.

The beginning of the process of dissociation from a haredi life-style was achieved more easily when the respondent was away from home. For Shmuel it occurred when he spent a week in a non-religious kibbutz which did not observe kashrut (the dietary laws); for Moshe it was when he moved to Hadera with his wife and children to seek

employment and stopped wearing a skullcap. Avner also said that his first step was to take off his skullcap and later, as a further gesture of dissociation, he shaved off his beard: 'I took off the beard because I didn't want to look like them'. This last act symbolized both for him and for the world at large his final separation from haredi society. Yossi joined the army at the age of 18 after his defection a year earlier. He explained that being in the army provided an excellent opportunity to abandon all the Orthodox practices if one wished to do so:

> The thing about the army is that you can end up with guys who aren't particularly sensitive to religion. I mean they just don't care whether you or anyone observes. And the army itself doesn't care. And so the environment is more conducive to stopping [to observe the commandments]. For me the army was the place where I could be freed from my past.

The defectors were very concerned about the effect which their departure would have on their family and close friends. Shimon said: 'One of the most difficult things for me was the anguish I caused my mother. That, for me, was the most difficult. She knew I was leaving, but she didn't know the details — what I eat, don't eat — but she knew'. Shmuel left home but he did not formally tell his parents that he had also abandoned the ultra-Orthodox life-style. By this time there was nothing about his appearance that immediately identified him as a haredi. He explained that he did not announce, 'I drive on the Sabbath' or that he was no longer generally observant; but his parents realized that he had altered and his mother had been greatly saddened.

The case of Avner was particularly complex. He had moved away and was living in Tel-Aviv with his secular second wife and their child. His first wife was a member of the haredi community and he had divorced her within months of their marriage. He now wanted his young daughter to get to know her grandmother and to have 'a loving relationship' with her. His father had died shortly after he had become reconciled to Avner's defection but his mother had continued to be resentful. He finally persuaded her to agree to receive her granddaughter; and about twice a month on a Saturday he brought the girl to her. He explained to us:

> I observe the commandment of honouring one's parents. I don't really talk to my mother, I haven't much to say to her. I go into a room and lie down, sleep, but don't involve myself with my mother . . .. Other relatives? I have an aunt who lives close by, but I have nothing to do with her. I have no connection with my uncles, with none of them . . .. About a month and a half ago I was sitting in a restaurant in Jerusalem and at my immediate back was my cousin . . .. So I said to my friend in a loud voice, 'Do you see the *vantz* [Yiddish for bedbug] sitting behind me? That's my cousin'. So my friend went and asked him and he said, 'Yes, he was strange when he was a boy'. And three years ago I met his brother and said, 'Do you know who I am?' and he said, 'You're my cousin. *Gay avek* [Get out of here]'.

Ze'ev was also uneasy when he visited his family after he left the community. But he did his best not to offend them (unlike Avner who drove his daughter over on a Saturday) and he wore a skullcap when he came to see them. But he was always under strain: 'I can't be there for more than one-quarter to one-half an hour. It's just too difficult. It's too tense, so I leave'. By contrast, Yehuda claimed that his relations with his parents and with his brothers and sisters were amicable now. (It must be remembered that he and wife Chava remained observant Jews: they had simply abandoned some of the more extreme practices of the ultra-Orthodox.) His wife, however, was more realistically aware of the deep rift which his departure had created; when we asked him how frequently he visited his family, she said that he went only about once a month and on the holy days and he commented: 'Yes, it disturbs them all very much'.

Despite the fact that their defection would eventually become common knowledge (as one of them wryly commented, 'everyone knows everything there immediately: it's a very closed world and they know'), our respondents told us that at first they kept their decision to defect entirely to themselves. They found it impossible to talk with any other members of their group about their religious doubts — doubts about the existence of God — or about their growing dissatisfaction with the confining nature of haredi society. Shmuel commented sarcastically:

> . . . the sin you're committing can't be shared with anyone. You feel as if you're sinning, transgressing. It's a crime. You become paranoid about this and you're too ashamed to discuss it . . .. No, no, it can't happen. It's more taboo than sex.

Amos had a similar experience: 'It's just impossible to let others know how you're feeling. Can you imagine mentioning it to a *rav* [rabbi]? And you can't even mention it to your closest friend. No, it remains a deep dark secret, and that's what makes it so difficult'.

When the decision to leave was irrevocably made, the tactics employed varied from active attempts at non-disclosure to blatant signals announcing an identity change. As an example of the former, there was the case of Shmuel who told us: 'Look, I was able to hide that I wasn't religious to a certain extent. I didn't eat in certain restaurants. For many years after I left I tried not to drive in Jerusalem on the Sabbath and when I was at home I wore a skullcap'. Shimon also concealed his defection:

> For a number of years I was able to keep things from my family, my friends. When I was with them I did everything I was supposed to. When I ate non-kosher it was in another city. Or if I listened to the radio on the Sabbath, I made sure no one would catch me.

He could conceal his lack of observance when away from home because he belonged to a yeshiva which did not insist that the students wear

earlocks; so that when he behaved in a manner unbefitting to an ultra-Orthodox Jew, all he had to do, as he told us, was to remove his skullcap and simply appear in a dark suit. He claimed: 'I fitted easily'.

Chava, on the other hand, wished to show openly that she was no longer content to comply strictly with the haredi code which required that married women wear black stockings and have their shaved head closely covered with a dark kerchief. Much to her husband's displeasure, she decided to stop shaving her head: 'When I began thinking of leaving, the first thing I did was to let my hair grow. This was the first thing and it was one of the most difficult customs to violate', she told us. (Here it must be pointed out that strict Jewish law does *not* require that a married woman shave her head, only that she keep her head fully covered. Head shaving is confined to ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazi women; the practice is totally unknown among even the most devout Sephardi women married to Sephardi rabbis.) The fact that she had let her hair grow was not immediately apparent to others than her husband, since Chava had her head closely covered with a dark kerchief. But she began to influence him and later she took a further step towards the path of open rebellion. The couple had to go to Williamsburg in the United States to attend a family wedding. She said:

> On the airplane I changed out of my black stockings to brown ones. I planned this. I prepared the stockings. Upon arrival I looked different. The entire family was upset and everyone hoped that when I'd return to Jerusalem in a few months, I'd change back to black stockings. When I returned and I didn't, I thus proclaimed that I was out.

As for her husband, Yehuda, he had followed his haredi group's custom of exchanging the striped overcoat which males wear in Jerusalem for a black one to travel abroad. He was therefore correctly dressed while he was in Williamsburg; but when he returned with his wife to Israel, he did not change back into his striped overcoat. That was his way of signalling that he was no longer willing to conform obediently to all haredi traditions. And three months later, he and Chava with their two young children left and went to live in one of the less Orthodox sections of Jerusalem.

On the other hand, the manner of Esther's going could be described as theatrical. She told us:

> When I decided . . . that I had to leave, that I couldn't live anymore with them, what I did shocked my husband and everyone else. I was in the house with my husband and three sons. I called them all over. I took a pair of scissors and cut off the boys' earlocks. My husband couldn't believe it. Then I took out all the Passover dishes and sprinkled bread-crumbs over them. My husband ran out of the house.

Her rebellion against the haredi life-style was prompted by the hypocrisy she claimed that she witnessed about her in the community as well

as by the contrast between her husband's private and public behaviour. For instance, she said, upon returning from the synagogue on Sabbath afternoons, he would ask her to turn on the radio so that he could listen to the opera. She divorced him and retained custody of her children. Upon leaving the haredi world, she trained as a beautician and, when we met her, was remarried to a non-Orthodox Jew and had established a successful cosmetics practice.

Transplantation into secular society

Defection from a closed community inevitably results in at least strained relations with one's kindred (as we saw above) and also usually entails the loss of even close friendships. In extreme cases, the defector is treated as a contemptible sinner and is ostracized, as Avner was by his cousins.

Although some individuals may find the closeness of haredi life suffocating, they are nevertheless aware that such closeness means that no member of the community will be allowed to go hungry or ill clad or unattended in ill health. Few of them have any detailed knowledge of a secular Jewish life-style. One of the defectors explained: 'The most difficult thing about leaving is that you're leaving a community, a really strong community, very close, very family-like. It wasn't only leaving [Kiryat Blum], it was leaving haredi society at the same time. . . . You see, it's leaving a whole way of life and starting a new life on your own'.[13]

In contrast to former members of new religious movements or cults whose disengagement and return to the original fold is usually supported by parents and other relatives as well as friends, the defecting haredi is suddenly utterly isolated in secular society and inevitably suffers from feelings of inadequacy and insecurity without knowing to whom to turn for help or comfort.[14] Berl said:

> A person can really just go mad from such an experience. It's a terrible loneliness and you become really alone. You cut off everything that you had and you are by yourself. And nobody cares about you and that's it. Nobody cares about you as a person.

Amnon's reaction was very similar:

> You feel an emptiness, a very deep emptiness. And there's also confusion. What makes it all so difficult and terrible is that you have nobody to talk to, nobody who really understands what you're going through. The loneliness can be overpowering. You're cut off. The close friends you've had since childhood, you never see again.

As we saw in the preceding section, some members of the defecting haredi's family are willing to receive visits from the son or daughter or

sibling who in their opinion has strayed from the proper Jewish path; but the same is not true of one's childhood friends. Yehuda told us:

> There are a few reasons why leaving is difficult. One is friends, good friends. There each person is connected to the other. Really, just like brothers. Each person speaks to others. People lend each other money or provide other kinds of help . . .. So everyone has friends. The moment one leaves, one is cut off from all of one's friends.

When we asked him whether he had kept in touch with at least one or two of his haredi friends, Yehuda replied:

> No one. Simply because I haven't anything to talk with them about. We haven't anything in common. I'm not them and they're not me. And what's more, whatever I'd talk about is *traif* [non-kasher] to them. I just don't have anything to talk to them about. The things they want to discuss aren't of interest to me. What should I share with them? A requiem? A Mozart symphony? They don't know a thing about them.

However, even if Yehuda could have found some item of common interest, he would still have been unlikely to resume an easy friendship with his former comrades because the latter would have been warned by their teachers and by their elders to distance themselves from a person who might have an evil influence on them, who might lead them astray along the road he had taken in his folly.

Of course, there is nothing to prevent the former haredim from forming new friendships; but that takes time and even then it is not easily achieved. We noted above that four out of our twenty respondents remained Orthodox Jews, that is, they shed the 'ultra' part of the ultra-Orthodox life-style. Chava was one of the four but even in her case she found it difficult to enter into new amicable relationships. She had believed that it would be simple for her to become friendly with members of Agudat Israel, the religious political party, but she was soon disabused, as she explained to us: 'They believe that each person should follow in their parents' footsteps. As soon as a person changes from the ways of his parents, he's blemished'. She then tried to become friendly with women who had been pupils in an ultra-Orthodox girls' school; but, she said: 'Well, they don't accept me because they know, they soon find out, that I left [Kiryat Blum]. This tells them that there's something wrong with me'.

Obviously, the persons with whom a defector has a great deal in common are other defectors from the haredi community. Ari had remained in touch with several of them and he described to us the importance of their shared experience:

> . . . There are very few people who went through what they went through. So they can know a lot of people but they don't have a deep relationship with them, like somebody with whom you have a lot of interests . . . because, just very simply, they won't be able to tell them a Yiddish joke, a pornographic

> joke about Gemorreh. If you come from the same background, you love it; but if you don't it won't mean anything to you. It'll just be stupid and a dirty mind.

Much like the difficulties in establishing new friendships described by Beckford in his analysis of former Moonies,[15] the friendships established by former haredim are mainly superficial, hardly enabling them to engage in conversations about matters of a personal nature.

It is important to stress again the differences between the situation of cult followers who become disenchanted and leave and that of the haredim who defect. The disillusioned cult followers usually come from a secular background and know the life-style to which they will revert; moreover, there are usually caring persons who are eager to guide them back — often, indeed, who would have used all available means to persuade (or force) them to return to the bosom of their families. For the defecting haredim, as one of them explained: 'Outside, there's nothing. There's one big void. Whoever doesn't fill that void before he goes out is destined to great suffering'. But it is extremely difficult for haredim who have decided to leave their community to prepare themselves for a secular life while they are still pretending to observe ultra-Orthodox practices. Some of them, as we saw above (in the case of Shmuel who spent a week in a secular kibbutz where kashrut was not observed) can arrange to spend a period away and so learn something of the usages of non-observant Jews before formally abandoning their allegiance to the haredi code of behaviour. For the others who suddenly found themselves on the other side of the fence, the shock was often traumatic. After years of living in a community where the sexes are strictly separated, it was not easy to mix informally with women, for example; Shimon said he was 'confused and embarrassed' when he began to have girlfriends. Another respondent remembered his reactions when, immediately after he left his ultra-Orthodox yeshiva, he went to a department store to buy new clothes:

> The colours baffled me. I didn't know how to match them up. Generally speaking, I wasn't used to seeing so many bright colours. I finally bought a black suit. It seemed to stand out less and I didn't want to be noticed . . .. When I topped off the black suit with a pair of sandals, I truly looked as if I came from another planet. After a year I burned the suit which reminded me of how ridiculous I must have looked. I used to sit on the porch outside my room watching people pass by as if they were in a fashion show in order to decide which clothes to buy.

Ari commented on the problems facing those who had studied in haredi yeshivot when they left to join mainstream secular Jewish society in Israel:

> They don't have the basic education, basic knowledge of mathematics, of geography, of history. All the things that are taken for granted, they don't

> have. That means that they can't get into this new society . . .. They can't talk to people. Things people take for granted, they won't know. They don't know how many continents there are in the world, as an example, . . . so they can't talk to people.

Our respondents had made painstaking efforts to fill the gaps in their knowledge of the secular world mainly through a voracious appetite for reading and by attending public lectures. Nevertheless, the majority of the men had to earn their livelihood by relying on the formal religious training they had acquired in the haredi yeshivot: they were employed in various branches of religious education.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that these former haredim felt bewildered when they were suddenly thrown into secular society, or rather when they deliberately threw themselves into it. Moreover, they had to become accustomed to the materialism and open search for personal advantage of their secular compatriots, to the attitudes and values which ran counter to the principles which ruled the haredi community. One of our respondents commented:

> They come from a very idealistic world where ideals are everything, the basis for everything, the beginning and end of everything. And they get to the secular world which is not idealistic at all. Which is very mundane and materialistic. It's living your life and caring about yourself and not caring about other people . . .. You don't realize how much those ideals governed your life until you get to know another world where there just aren't those ideals, . . . where the starting point is not all of those ideals. What's taken for granted is different things.

Conclusion

In view of the enormous and painstaking efforts required by former haredim to adjust to the life-style of secular Jews, it may seem surprising that none of our respondents confessed to having seriously considered a return to the haredi fold. (The four persons who had chosen to join the ranks of modern Orthodox Jewry did not, of course, alter their mode of behaviour very drastically.) However, they stressed that in spite of the many difficulties they encountered and although they were aware that their families and their communities would welcome them back with open arms, they were determined not to return to their former way of life. Clearly, they believed that it was easier to cope with the stresses and shortcomings of secular society than to conform again obediently but without faith to the rigorous standards of ultra-Orthodox Judaism. It should be of interest to compare their case with that of those who were born into other closed (non-Jewish) religious communities and who later deliberately decided to defect.

The present paper has been mainly concerned with reporting on the experiences of (and the steps taken by) only a few former ultra-Orthodox Jews who, after much soul-searching and without any

support from 'alternative social settings',[16] cut themselves off from the communities which had carefully nurtured them. However, it may well be that there are, in fact, growing numbers of haredim who have become discontented about the restrictions of the haredi life-style[17] but who for various reasons — from fears of marital or family breakdown to fears of being unable to find alternative adequate housing and a gainful occupation — have become resigned to remaining reluctantly within their community. To the best of our knowledge, there is no established agency or centre in Israel which offers counselling or other forms of help to those who are desperately unhappy in ultra-Orthodox Jewish communities but who do not know what route to take to find another equally safe but less restrictive haven.

NOTES

[1] Armand Mauss, 'Dimensions of Religious Defection', *Review of Religious Research*, vol. 10, 1969, pp. 128–35.

[2] See, for example, Stan L. Albrecht and Howard M. Bahr, 'Patterns of Religious Disaffiliation: A Study of Lifelong Mormons, Mormon Converts, and Former Mormons', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 22, no. 4, 1983, pp. 366–79; James A. Beckford, 'Through The Looking-Glass and Out The Other Side: Withdrawal from Reverend Moon's Unification Church', *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*, vol. 45, no. 1, 1978, pp. 95–116; Merlin B. Brinkerhoff and Kathryn L. Burke, 'Disaffiliation: Some Notes on "Falling from the Faith" ', *Sociological Analysis*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1980, pp. 41–54; Bruce E. Hunsberger, 'A Reexamination of the Antecedents of Apostasy', *Review of Religious Research*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1980, pp. 158–70; Janet Jacobs, 'The Economy of Love in Religious Commitment: The Deconversion of Women From Nontraditional Religious Movements', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1984, pp. 155–71; Gerald J. Judd, Edgar W. Mills, and Genevieve Walters Burch, *Ex-Pastors*, Boston, 1970; Karl Peter, Edward D. Boldt, Ian Whitaker, and Lance W. Roberts, 'The Dynamics of Religious Defection Among Hutterites', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 21, no. 4, 1982, pp. 327–37; Robert Prus, 'Religious Recruitment and the Management of Dissonance: A Sociological Perspective', *Sociological Inquiry*, vol. 46, no. 2, 1976, pp. 127–34; L. F. SanGiovanni, *Ex-Nuns: A Study of Emergent Role-Passage*, New Jersey, 1978; L. Norman Skonovd, 'Leaving the 'Cultic' Religious Milieu' in David G. Bromley and James T. Richardson, eds., *The Brainwashing/Deprogramming Controversy: Sociological, Psychological, Legal and Historical Perspectives*, New York, 1983, pp. 91–106; and Stuart A. Wright, 'Defection from New Religious Movements: A Test of Some Theoretical Propositions' in Bromley and Richardson, eds., ibid., pp. 106–20.

[3] See, for example, James A. Beckford, *Cult Controversies: The Societal Response to the New Religious Movements*, New York, 1985; Bromley and Richardson, eds., op. cit.; Marlene Mackie, 'Defection from Hutterite Colonies' in Robert M. Pike and E. J. Zureik, eds., *Socialization and Social Values in Canada*, Toronto, 1975, pp. 291–316; James T. Richardson, ed., *Conversion Careers: In and Out of*

the New Religions, Beverly Hills, Ca., 1977; and Stuart A. Wright, 'Post-involvement Attitudes of Voluntary Defectors from Controversial New Religious Movements', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1984, pp. 172–82.

[4] Brinkerhoff and Burke, op. cit., p. 41.

[5] The adoption by former haredim of a secular way of life is, in a number of respects, the obverse of the conversion experience encountered by *chozrim betshuvah* (newly observant Jews). See, for example, Janet Aviad, *Return to Judaism: Religious Renewal in Israel*, Chicago, 1983 and William Shaffir, 'The Recruitment of *Baalei Tshuvah* in a Jerusalem Yeshiva', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 25, no. 1, June 1983, pp. 33–46. The similarities and differences of this experience will be the subject of a separate paper.

[6] See Charles S. Liebman, 'The Religious Component in Israel: Ultra-Nationalism', *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, vol. 41, Winter 1987, pp. 127–44. As for the estimate that haredim account for about five per cent of Israel's Jewish population, see the report by Thomas L. Friedman entitled 'Fight for the Religious Future Builds in Israel' in *The New York Times* of 29 June 1987, front page.

[7] See Menachem Friedman, 'Haredim Confront the Modern City' in Peter Y. Medding, ed., *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 2, Bloomington, 1986, pp. 74–96 (especially pp. 74, 76).

[8] See Lewis Coser, *Greedy Institutions: Patterns of Undivided Commitment*, New York, 1974, p. 4.

[9] See, for example, by William Shaffir, 'The Organization of Secular Education in a Chassidic Jewish Community', *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1976, pp. 38–51 and 'Hassidic Jews and Quebec Politics', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 25, no. 2, December 1983, pp. 105–18.

[10] Joseph Shilhav and Menachem Friedman, *Growth and Segregation: The Ultra-Orthodox Community of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, 1985, p. ii.

[11] For a discussion concerning the importance of the dramatic event in shaping subsequent behaviour, see Herbert Blumer, 'Social Unrest and Collective Behavior' in Norman K. Denzin, ed., *Studies in Symbolic Interaction: An Annual Compilation of Research*, Greenwich, Conn., 1978, pp. 1–54.

[12] It is customary among ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazim immediately after the wedding ceremony to cut off the bride's hair and shave her head, which is then covered by a wig or a kerchief.

[13] In his discussion of the case of former members of the Reverend Moon's Unification Church, Beckford noted (in *Cult Controversies* . . ., op. cit., p. 164):

> All experienced difficulty in adjusting to the loss of a community of constant companions with common interests and, above all, shared ideals . . .. They therefore experienced a form of culture shock which was aggravated by the lack of a supportive community of people who shared their views.

[14] This is in marked contrast to the case of secular Jews who decide to become devoutly Orthodox and who enter a yeshiva whose members not only give great support but also provide instruction, both formal and informal, for the management of the transition. See Shaffir, 'The Recruitment of *Baalei Tshuvah* in a Jerusalem Yeshiva', op. cit.

[15] See Beckford, *Cult Controversies* . . ., op. cit. p. 164.

[16] Menachem Friedman states (op. cit., pp. 85–86) that in the past, when men decided to leave their yeshivot, there existed 'alternative social settings'. He adds:

> One can point here to secular, political movements that pursued an aggresive policy of recruitment among young people from traditional-religious circles and that then resocialized and absorbed those who wished to free themselves of the "yoke of Torah." Such groups, pioneer youth groups in particular, which may be referred to as "moratorium" groups, acted as surrogate families and provided the setting for adjustment to the norms and values of the surrounding society. Underground political movements, as well as the kibbutz, also provided such a moratorium in the past. These settings now either no longer exist or else no longer function in the same manner. The dropout from the yeshiva world must now face the outside world on his own, without an economic base and without a general education.

[17] Over the past two years, an increasing number of reports and articles about the defections of haredim have appeared in the Israeli press. For an interesting newspaper account of former haredim, see the Hebrew daily *Ha-aretz* of 3 May 1985; the article, written by Orit Schochat and entitled 'We Are The Authentic Haredim', discusses the defectors' motivations for leaving and the range of obstacles with which they must cope in an attempt to integrate into secular Israeli society.

IS THERE A JEWISH FOREIGN POLICY?

Shmuel Sandler

JEWS as a people interact with ethnic groups, nations, states, and international organizations at all levels, ranging from the inter-communal to interstate relations. Jewish issues, such as the condition of Soviet Jews, frequently figure on the agenda at 'super-power' summits and at the United Nations. Problems of Jewish concern are often and extensively covered by the international media. However, a cohesive body of literature on the subject of a Jewish foreign policy has not yet emerged, even within the growing academic discipline of Jewish Studies. The aim of the present paper is to review the obstacles to a theoretical analysis of this issue, to argue for the relevance of the subject, and to set out its parameters.

I

There has been a Jewish Diaspora for nearly two thousand years; and since Jews have existed as a small minority in almost every polity, some would argue that by definition Jews have had no place in world politics. For instance, Professor Harkabi recently stated: 'Suppression of these [anti-Roman] rebellions drove the Jews out of political history. Zionism is the attempt to return to the history from which we have been absent since 135 C.E. In the meantime, we have had a spiritual history, which is typically periodized according to Rabbinical schools'.[1] That assertion is based on the notion that only territorial entities are actors in world politics; and the conclusion must be twofold: Diaspora Jews could not have a foreign policy; and conversely, only with the emergence of (territorial) Zionism and the establishment of the State of Israel have Jews returned to political history. It is this identification of world politics with territorial states which is the main obstacle to the development of a theory of a Jewish foreign policy.

It is important to remember that the lack of territorial statehood was not exceptional throughout pre-modern history. The nation state as we know it is a product of the modern era. There were earlier forms of political organization and activity — such as city states — which the Jewish people lacked after they lost their independence. But the very

nature of their Diaspora existence compelled them to interact with other entities and, as a result, unique institutions were built as the need arose. The ability to do so is in itself a sign of a political existence. Elazar and Cohen have made an attempt to trace the biblical origins of political institutions upon which Diaspora Jews built their public life.[2] The existence of patterns of political institutions and behaviour which transcend sovereignty and statehood indicate that the political history of the Jewish people should not be restricted to the periods when they were an independent nation — before Bar Kokhba's defeat and after the establishment of the State of Israel.

Zionism both as an idea and as a political process provided the Jewish people — Zionists and non-Zionists alike — with a political focus. Jewish leaders had a role to play on the diplomatic stage on behalf of their people even before the establishment of the Jewish State. The uphill battle of the Zionist movement for a national homeland which led to the foundation of Israel was followed by a whole range of apparently insuperable obstacles which threatened the continued existence of the new state. That diverted attention from the fact that the majority of the world's Jews still lived in the Diaspora, where they continued to interact with their host society on various issues within the social and political spectrum. The centrality for Zionism of *aliyah* and *kibbutz galuyot* (emigration to Israel and the ingathering of the exiles) provided a link between the problem of Soviet Jewry and Israel, although the latter has had no diplomatic relations with the Kremlin for two decades. Jews in Western countries have taken up the cause of Soviet Jewry and have asked their national leaders to intervene. Jews throughout the world are also united in the fight against antisemitism, sometimes disguised as anti-Zionism.

It may be that there is a (perhaps subconscious) reluctance on the part of Jewish scholars to evolve a theory of a Jewish foreign policy because of the risk that such a theory might justify the accusation in the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* that there is an international Jewish conspiracy against the Gentile world and to rule the world. The *Protocols*, a fabrication much used by the Nazis, are still popular among modern antisemites and especially among Muslim ideologues; but this should not inhibit academic investigation and intellectual discussion. In a world in which politically divided nations, ethnic groups, and international ideological movements apparently have the right to form cross-national associations and draw collective agenda, such a right should not be denied the Jewish nation or the Jewish State.

Stimulating work on the development of a theoretical framework for the study of the Jewish people as an international entity has also been hindered by the lack of some basic definitions. The central difficulty here lies in the concept of the Jewish people. For some, the Jews are a religious community; for others, they are an ethnic group or a national

state with a closely-linked Diaspora. As a result of such views, a conceptual literature exists on Jewish-Christian relations, on Jewish ethnicity, on Israeli foreign policy, on Israel-Diaspora relations — but there is no theoretical framework for integrating all the various facets of Jewish foreign relations.

Finally, a major obstacle may be found in the relevant discipline of international relations. For more than two decades after the Second World War, that discipline was state-centric. Even specialists of international organizations believed the state to be the basic unit of their research. It was only in the late 1960s and early 1970s that scholars such as Keohanne and Nye developed the transnational perspective of world politics while W. Connor and A. D. Smith drew our attention to the ethno-national perspective of this discipline. Nowadays, although there is still some confusion,[3] a frame of reference broader than that of the nation-state has developed: transnational relations and ethno-politics are well established sub-disciplines of world politics and they can be usefully applied to the emerging field of Jewish political studies.

II

It is important to study Jewish foreign policy because in an age of growing extremism, if only at the margins of Jewish society, it is essential to identify mainstream Jewish values about interaction with other polities and groups. Although conflicting interpretations will be found in the Halakhic and philosophical literature, a broad consensus on the norms of Jewish external relations is discernible. And although the Jewish condition today differs from that of the documented past, general guidelines can be distinguished in tradition and past experience and applied to contemporary issues.

As collective entities, Jewish communities have been, and still are, exposed to encounters with different regimes ranging from democracies to dictatorships. The Jewish communities in either pluralistic or centralized societies interact with a variety of cultures and ethnic groups. The relationships may be friendly or inimical and the contacts may be rare or frequent. Seventy years after the Bolshevik Revolution the 'Jewish problem' has not been resolved in Russia — thus indicating the capability of the Jews to maintain their identity even in totalitarian regimes. On the international scene, the State of Israel and organized world Jewry have acquired a saliency which is disproportionate to the numerical strength of the global Jewish population. That is largely due to two facts: the importance of the Middle East and the existence of the two largest Jewish communities outside Israel in the United States and in the Soviet Union. Jews are active participants in each of these three strategic locations, whether independently or in association with their

brethren and allies in other parts of the world. Their concerted activities should therefore be of interest not only to scholars of Jewish politics but also to students of international politics.

It is likely that the ethnic revival in Western countries during the last two decades will influence the assimilationist groups in the Jewish Diaspora to abandon the 'melting pot' ideal while the growing legitimacy of ethnic self-assertion may activate traditional ultra-Orthodox Jewry. Early signs of this trend are, in the case of the former, the Reform Movement's rapprochement with Zionism; and in the case of the latter, the growing involvement in Israel of the anti-Zionist ultra-Orthodox circles with the 'Who is a Jew?' question as well as with the issue of the future of Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) and Gaza. It is significant that the two wings of world Jewry which had in the past opposed Zionist demands for statehood today take a very active part in the debate in Israel about the basic criteria in Jewish religious law which determine who is a Jew.

The voices of dissent and the independent initiatives emanating from Jewish elites outside Israel on issues of foreign policy are other indicators of growing Jewish involvement in international politics; an example of the former is the criticism by Diaspora leaders of some aspects of Israeli foreign policy while examples of the latter are the visits of executives of the American Jewish Congress to Cairo and Amman in September 1985 and of the President of the World Jewish Congress to Moscow in 1986 and 1987. These Diaspora initiatives are increasing and it seems that they are also being increasingly tolerated even within Israel — as evidenced by the reactions to the denunciations by the World Jewish Congress of the President of Austria's wartime activities. Diaspora leaders appear to be challenging in some respects Israel's predominance in determining a Jewish foreign policy agenda and one should perhaps expect a more pluralistic process of decision making. A study of the actual performance of the Jewish people in world politics should therefore be not only more complex and challenging but also important.

III

Jewish foreign policy is concerned with the external relations of organized world Jewry in all its manifestations. The relations encompass levels of interaction ranging from intrastate (communal) to interstate (international) and cross-state (transnational).[4] These political units are not necessarily bound by their level of organization or their immediate environment. Thus, the scope of interest and action of a national community organization such as the American Jewish Committee may involve other ethnic groups within the United States (for instance, American Blacks), US foreign policy (for example, in the

Middle East), other sovereign states (such as the Soviet Union), and Jews or other ethnic groups in other states (such as Jews within the Soviet Union).

The components of Jewish foreign policy can be distinguished along temporal or spatial boundaries. An historically-oriented investigation will have to compare structures, values, and processes of Jewish foreign policies in different epochs. A spatial analysis would distinguish between state, multi-country organizations, and community-relations organizations. In contemporary terms, while the Jewish State is a territorially-based organization, the multi-country organizations such as the World Jewish Congress (WJC) and the World Zionist Organization (WZO) are non-governmental and encompass national Jewish communities all over the globe. Community-relations organizations are either local associations of Jewish communities or national associations of Jewish communities. The framework will vary from one community to the next, depending on size, location, and environment. Thus, British, American, and Canadian Jewry are each differently organized.

Another aspect of spatial distinction is the primary setting in which each organizational unit acts. Thus the State of Israel as an international actor, apart from its major concern with national security and with diplomatic relations, will act in an inter-governmental setting when dealing with world Jewish issues. The WJC would interact with governments which the State of Israel cannot reach or with Jewish communities which the WZO cannot mobilize. Community-relations organizations will have dealings either with their national governments or in the local inter-communal arena.

While a nation-state has a central establishment which authoritatively articulates the country's role in international politics and defines foreign policy objectives, or, in short, expresses its world orientation, non-centralized actors such as the members of world Jewry lack such a mechanism. In its absence we could articulate the basic tenets of a Jewish foreign policy along two aspects: normative and actual. The first involves the self-conception of the Jews and of their role in the world while the second concerns the relevant issues to which Jews as a whole are expected to react. Normative orientations emanate from a common historical or religious past and therefore spring from within but actual orientations are responses to external or environmental threats: the former can therefore be referred to as values while the latter are the issues which appear on the agenda of Jewish foreign policy. Nevertheless, despite such distinctions, the two are closely related: values influence the foreign policy agenda and issues may transform norms.

The search for relevant norms or values in Jewish foreign policy drawn from a common historical tradition is obviously not an easy task. Concepts that come to mind are *kol Yisrael arevim zeh bazeh* (all Jews are

responsible for one another), *am levadad yishkon* (a nation that dwells alone), *or lagoyim* (a light unto the nations), and *hazon aharit ha-yamim* (the vision of the end of days, that is, the vision of the Messianic age). While these and other concepts that have yet to be identified and examined carefully may be universal in terms of Jewish history, it is clear that their salience or acceptance will vary according to the particular period and circumstances. For instance, Charles Liebman has argued that the concept of being a light unto the nations, which was popular among early Zionists, has lost its currency in contemporary Israel.[5] Nevertheless, it is assumed that there exists a set of norms concerning relations between Jews and non-Jews, as well as among Jews, which bind communal (Diaspora) or national Jews (Israelis); and that it would be very difficult to understand Jewish peoplehood without these norms.

The identification of the main issues in the Jewish foreign policy agenda is easier than the search for the underlying norms or values. In the issue-areas, to use the language of international politics, three main categories are initially apparent: Jewish communities in distress (for example, Soviet Jewry, Syrian Jews); antisemitism (local, national, or international); and the security and well-being of the State of Israel. For the Jewish State, for a local community, and for a national or a global organization, these are the concerns which constitute a common frame of reference. They stimulate collective action — protests, political pressure, and voting behaviour, for example — and they provide an urgent motive for the mobilization of resources.

Conclusion

The search for a Jewish foreign policy is a complex undertaking. There are many obstacles to overcome, chief among them being the definition of boundaries between Jewish local communities, the Jewish State, and world Jewry. We live in a world dominated by nation-states and the latter's most sacrosanct attribute is still an independent foreign policy. Can a Diaspora Jew be a loyal citizen when he participates in setting a Jewish agenda? Does the State of Israel have a right or an obligation on behalf of the Jewish citizens of another state? Does the well-being of world Jewry constitute an integral part of Israel's core value interests?

It is also a formidable task to build a theory in a nascent field. Charles Liebman observed as recently as 1985: 'No one has even bothered to undertake a typology of Jewish political efforts at the international level. . . . The absence of theoretical concerns seems to be endemic to the study of international Jewish behavior'.[6] To compensate for theoretical poverty, however, there is a wealth of source material. An annotated bibliography, published in 1985, which covers historical studies of Jewish political activity in the international arena

during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (until 1973) lists more than two-thousand items;[7] and that bibliography does not include primary sources, unpublished archival material and dissertations, newspaper articles, biographies, or books on Zionism which do not specifically deal with the World Zionist Organization.

The main challenge now is to extract central norms and patterns of international behaviour from the available evidence. There can be no doubt that the study of international Jewish activity 'is important to encourage our understanding of what Jewish peoplehood has meant, does mean, and can mean to world Jewry'.[8]

Acknowledgement

I am grateful for the support of the Schnitzer Foundation for Research on the Israeli Economy and Society.

NOTES

[1] Yehoshafat Harkabi, 'Jewish Ethos and Political Positions in Israel, *Forum*, no. 56, Summer 1985, p. 44.

[2] Daniel J. Elazar and Stuart A. Cohen, *The Jewish Polity. From Biblical Times to the Present*, Bloomington, 1985.

[3] See, for example, Robert O. Keohanne and Joseph S. Nye, Jr, eds., *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, Cambridge Mass., 1970; Walker Connor, 'A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a . . .', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 1, no. 4, October 1978, pp. 377–99; and A. C. Smith, 'Ethnic Identity and World Order', *Millenium, Journal of International Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, Summer 1982, pp. 149–61.

[4] The concepts in parentheses are the more accepted ones in international relations literature and are influenced by American Political Science theory. For a critique, see Connor, op. cit., and his 'Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying', *World Politics*, vol. 24, no. 3, April 1972, pp. 332–36.

[5] Charles Liebman, 'The Idea of "Or LaGoyim" in the Israeli Reality' (Hebrew) *Gesher*, no. 4 (81), December 1974, pp. 88–93.

[6] Charles Liebman, 'The Study of International Jewish Acitivity', in Mala Tabory and Charles S. Liebman, eds., *Jewish International Acitivity: An Annotated Bibliography*, a publication of The Argov Center of Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 1985, p. 16.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid, p. 21.

THE STUDY OF ANTISEMITISM

(Review Article)

Robert Benewick

MICHAEL CURTIS, ed., *Antisemitism in the Contemporary World*, xi + 333 pp., Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado and London, 1986, distributed in the United Kingdom by Wildwood Distribution Services (Unit 3, Lower Farnham Road, Aldershot, Hants. GU12 4DY). £34.00

MEYER WEINBERG, *Because they were Jews: A History of Antisemitism*, xviii + 282 pp., Greenwood Press, New York, Westport Connecticut, London, 1986, £35.99.

ANTISEMITISM is an evil which must be targeted with precision. In order to discover how it is being articulated or implemented, the universal and particularistic characteristics must be identified and distinguished; its expressive and instrumental forms analysed; and the nature of the context taken into account. This requires not only historical knowledge but a social science perspective which can contribute towards a broad understanding of the conceptual and theoretical issues as well as providing a rigorous mode of analysis. At this stage strategies to combat the evil can be considered.

Meyer Weinberg successfully manages his highly ambitious and formidable undertaking by adopting a clear and structured approach. His history of antisemitism is for the general reader and it is backed by a short but excellent bibliographic essay which should encourage his readership to delve deeper into the subject. The book is shaped by his definition of antisemitism as 'systematic opposition to Jews because they are Jewish'. All definitions are arbitrary but Weinberg's consistent application of this one reveals patterns of behaviour which characterize the societies he is studying. He is also aware of the need to treat antisemitism in the terms of its interrelationships with political power, economic problems, and social changes. The strength of the book, however, is its comparative approach. There is little sense in describing the development of antisemitism in twelve selected countries from earliest times to the present unless generalizations, however qualified,

do emerge. Three of these deserve mention not so much because they are startingly new or original but because they stand in contrast to some of the more fashionable neo-conservative writing in the field. There is sufficient historical evidence to support the following: where anti-semitism has arisen as a social movement, it has been preceded by long, concerted, and organized activity; it is the product of those sections of society anxious to preserve their prerogatives; governmental power has never been fully mobilized or sustained against antisemitism so there is no evidence whether or not such a programme would be successful.

The editor of *Antisemitism in the Contemporary World*, Michael Curtis, has devised an effective thematic approach and adopted a laissez-faire attitude towards the contributors. This has produced a rich, exciting, and frequently thought-provoking collection but it falls short of achieving the stated objective of providing 'the basis for a new analysis of a historic phenomenon' (p. xi).

The book is divided into five parts: 'Philosophy and Ideology'; 'Religion and Politics'; 'Israel and Zionism'; 'Discrimination: Action and Expression'; and 'Contemporary Perceptions'. These are important themes but the twenty-four contributions do not easily match them in every case; and even when they do, it is not clear to what they add up. For example, Part One, on philosophy and ideology, could be more aptly entitled 'Contemporary Preoccupations'. It consists of the following chapters: 'Philosophical Reflections on Antisemitism', 'Marxism Versus the Jews', and 'The Jewish Question: Left-wing Anti-Zionism in Western Societies'. This lack of congruence is, of course, a problem endemic to collections which originate from a symposium, reflect the complexity of the subject, and are indicative of the state of research.

More serious is the failure to define an audience. The contributors are mainly academics from the United States and Israel and they represent a variety of views. However, what will the student — or for that matter, the professional sociologist anxious to learn about the 'nature and significance' (p. xi) of antisemitism in the world at present — make of two of Curtis's introductory remarks (on pages 11 and 16) reflecting the contributions:

> In the contemporary world the virus of antisemitism continues to infect the rhetoric and actions of heterogeneous groups: religious fundamentalists, elements of the right, Blacks, Arab and Islamic countries, the Third World, the Soviet Union, the political left, and those, particularly intellectuals, who are critical of liberal democratic systems.
>
> In its various forms today, antisemitism is linked to criticism or rejection of liberal, tolerant, democratic systems, to unrelenting attacks on Western values and practice in general and the United States in particular, to demands for group or national privileges, and to the intransigent hostility toward what is the only democracy in the Middle East.

These are summary statements rather than blanket condemnations, but they are a variant of the 'Whose side are you on?' assumption. They also do not account for, let alone explain, for example, the publication of antisemitic tracts and their evident popularity in Japan. These Japanese authors are reported as exploiting the traditional appeals of economic fears, xenophobia, and conspiracy theories. Their anti-Americanism would seem to stem from a right-wing bias rather than from the left. More generally, a perceived shift in the political spectrum of antisemitism or perhaps more accurately an emphasis on different dimensions is a complex phenomenon (which one of the contributors to the present volume, Robert Wistrich, has admirably surveyed in his *Hitler's Apocalypse*, published in 1985) that needs to be handled with considerable sophistication if only because the parameters are blurred. For example, what is meant in the first quotation above from Curtis by the 'political left' and how does it equate with 'elements of the right?' It is important to identify a virus and locate where it is lodged but this does not grant a licence to select and condemn whole bodies. This is not an argument for 'value free' research but a reminder that there is a line between rigorous analysis and scholarly interpretation on the one hand and political advocacy on the other. Where it is to be drawn may depend on the intended audience which should be made explicit.

It is not surprising that the relationship between antisemitism and anti-Zionism is of such centrality as to override the thematic structure of the volume. Most of the essays deal with it at least obliquely. The approach varies from those who view Israel as so fundamental to Jewishness that antisemitism is inherent in anti-Zionism to those who seek to discover where they merge and where they diverge. William Safran in his chapter 'Problems of Perceiving and Reacting to Antisemitism: Reflections of a "Survivor"' while warning against paranoia towards criticism of Jews and Israel nevertheless argues that anti-Zionism and antisemitism cannot be separated. This is primarily because evils historically attributed to Jews are being attributed to Israel and because the treatment traditionally accepted as appropriate for Diaspora Jewry is becoming accepted as appropriate for Israel. Safran's 'Reflections' constitute one of the more systematic and challenging analyses in the collection, for he writes as a social scientist and as a survivor of a concentration camp. This inspires caution but at the same time confirms the need for a social scientific perspective.

According to Safran, experience has taught that: antisemitism will persist as long as there are Jews or the memory of Jews; an outdated rationale for judeophobia will be superseded by a new one; the distinctions between attitudes and behaviour that are openly anti-semitic, unconsciously so, or encourage antisemitic behaviour, are not always self-evident; there is an uncertainty about the historical, demographic, sociological, or ideological factors which cause or

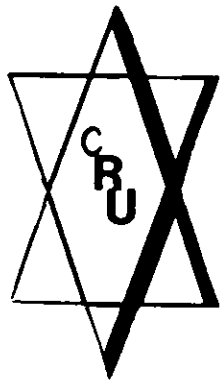
militate against antisemitism; and an equal uncertainty about the effectiveness of the available responses. Safran posits a range of behaviour patterns which must be considered if antisemitism is to be 'intelligently' challenged. These are: deliberate antisemitism based on deep-rooted hatred; antisemitic behaviour prompted by economic or political motives; activities engaged in with the knowledge of the possible antisemitic side effects; and behaviour that has unintended or unforeseen consequences. Safran goes on to argue that the responses to antisemitism have often been based on inconclusive or disputed causal analysis. For the purposes of analysis, responses can be classified as organizational, individual accommodation, adaptation to the surrounding culture and environment, and attempts to change the environment. He concludes with an examination of the responses of Jewish intellectuals today whom he sees for the most part as accommodating individually to the thinking dominant in their professions.

Stephen Roth approaches the question of response with a careful survey of the legal effects of current antisemitism and the possibilities of legal remedies. Antisemitic activities are divided into their main categories: discrimination; incitement to group hatred; Nazi, fascist, racist organizations and activities; violence, vandalism, terrorism; antisemitic anti-Zionism; and the denial of the facts of the Holocaust. Roth then distinguishes first between domestic and international law and second between law as it stands and the possibility and desirability of future legislation. He is also cognisant of the political and moral considerations and he summarizes his position as follows: there are already in existence international instruments and domestic laws which could provide the basis for practical application against some of the manifestations of antisemitism; it is important to secure the ratification of international instruments by more states; similarly there is the need to press for the enactment of domestic laws where they do not exist; and those laws which include restrictive clauses undermining their effectiveness must be amended.

Roth considers the questions of principle that follow from his position. The first is whether the restriction of some basic rights that the fight against antisemitism would entail can be justified. He argues that no rights are absolute and that the experience of Nazism and the Holocaust have taught that you cannot wait until the intended results are achieved. His answer to a second question whether the law can be effective given the deeply-rooted causes of antisemitism is that there is no dichotomy between law and education in the battle against antisemitism. Neither can be relied upon on its own.

Safran's and Roth's essays underscore the theme of this review — that is, that there is a need for a social scientific perspective. In countering antisemitism, as Roth notes, other important issues arise which cannot be simply dismissed by ordering priorities. Roth's

analysis is relevant to the 1987 case of the withdrawal of the play, *Perdition*, from the Royal Court Theatre in London just before it was scheduled to have its opening night. There were bitter arguments about scholarship and about censorship — highly sensitive issues. The play's supporters were seemingly ignorant of the possible use or misuse which antisemites might make of its allegations; and this brings us back to the social science notion of unintended or unforeseen consequences of behaviour to which Safran refers when he argues for the need to challenge antisemitism 'intelligently'.



COMMUNITY RESEARCH UNIT

BOARD OF DEPUTIES
OF BRITISH JEWS
WOBURN HOUSE
TAVISTOCK SQUARE
LONDON
WC1H OEP

* *

We are compiling a Register of Social Research on British Jewry. We should be grateful for any details of projects proposed, or at present in hand, on any aspect of contemporary Jewish life in Britain.

If you are involved in such research, or know of anyone who is, please contact the Executive Director at the above address.

The Register will be published in The Jewish Journal of Sociology, where previous Registers have appeared.

BOOK REVIEWS

ARTHUR A. COHEN and PAUL MENDES-FLOHR, eds, *Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought. Original Essays on Critical Concepts, Movements, and Beliefs*, xix + 1,163 pp., Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1987, $75.00.

In the Introduction to this weighty tome, the editors state: 'The model that we set ourselves was that of the *Stichwörterbuch*, or technical dictionary based on a thematic scheme'; and having decided that the design 'would be that of the definition-essay [they] then identified the salient themes, concepts, and movements that animate Jewish religious thought' (p. xiv). There are 140 entries printed in alphabetical order, starting with 'Aesthetics' and ending more than a thousand pages later with 'Zionism'. The editors tell us that what they sought to find in the essays was 'a historically-grounded reflection that would offer a new crystallization of the issue, an adumbration of fresh speculative possibilities, a proposal of nuance and direction for future discussion' (p. xv). In contrast, fortunately, many of the essays are written in admirably lucid prose; they range from the shortest entry — effectively, one page — on the term 'Mentsch' (Yiddish for a human being and bearing 'a strong connotation of moral excellence') to the longest (pp. 1039–53) on 'Women and Judaism' by Blu Greenberg. (Here, one may be frivolously inclined to ask why there is no parallel essay on 'Men and Judaism'.)

Blu Greenberg is described in the list of contributors as 'an author, a lecturer, and a community artist' (*sic*) and she declares at the outset: 'I should like to explore the subject at hand exclusively through questions, the first of which is this: Why questions? One answer is, quite simply, that the questions present themselves, almost endlessly'. In fact, she does not explore the subject of women and Judaism *exclusively* through questions; or rather, after putting the questions she goes on to suggest several possible answers. Greenberg is rightly indignant about the problems of the *agunah*, the innocent but estranged or deserted wife anchored to a husband; the latter may be either unable (because of insanity, for example) or unwilling (often out of spite) to grant her a *get* (a writ of divorce). The author bitterly attacks the religious authorities who declare that they are powerless if a recalcitrant husband persists in his refusal to release his wife. It is surprising that in this context she does not mention the many attempts of religious leaders to provide a remedy. In the December 1983 issue of this Journal (vol. 25, no. 2), Rabbi Dr Norman Solomon in his article on Jewish

divorce law discussed some of the remedies proposed by various rabbinical authorities and pointed out that the Beth Din in Israel may in some cases order a husband to grant a *get*; if he refuses to do so, he is liable to imprisonment: 'no limits are placed by Jewish law on the coercive power of a Jewish court with regard to divorce' (p. 133). *The Jewish Law Annual* set a competition in 1979 on the theme of: 'The Wife Refused a *Get*: Towards a Solution'; the 1981 *Annual* published the winning entry.

It is also worth noting that some *agunot* in the Diaspora obtain a civil divorce (often on the grounds of desertion) and then remarry; but in Halakhah the children of this subsequent marriage are *mamzerim* because they are the offspring of a union which in Orthodox Jewish law could not have been consecrated since the woman is still considered to be the wife of her previous partner and therefore an adulteress.

It is surprising that the editors did not choose to include an essay on divorce; even the Index cites under 'Divorce' only two references: one to a few paragraphs in Blu Greenberg's essay and another to a fleeting mention of the word in the contribution on Conservative Judaism. It is even more surprising that there are no separate 'definition-essays' on marriage, on intermarriage (which does not appear as a heading in the Index), or on the Diaspora. On the other hand, there are essays on Christianity and on Islam. David Flusser examines Jewish attitudes to Christians and to Christian dogmas and contrasts them with the stance adopted by Christian theologians. Whereas Jews can regard Christians as 'God fearers' and rabbinic doctrine acknowledges the existence of 'righteous Gentiles', Christian theologians find it 'almost impossible . . . to believe that one who does not accept the Christian faith can be saved' (p. 62).

In the essay on Islam, Nissim Rejwan points out that Islam, like Judaism, stresses the unity of God and that the Koran 'specifically rejects the concept of the Christian Trinity' (p. 487). There are other points of similarity between the two religions: the Koran is the Holy Book of Muslims just as the Old Testament is the Holy Book of Jews and both have a vast exegetic literature. Both religions have detailed guidelines for regulating a believer's life as well as strict laws governing ritual purity and both have dietary laws and ritual slaughtering of animals for food. Rejwan also notes that Jews who fled from Europe flourished in the Ottoman Empire just as Spanish Jews had flourished earlier during the period of Moorish domination. However, whereas Flusser's contribution touches upon Jewish attitudes to Christians, Rejwan is silent about the theological Jewish response to Islam. Indeed, the reader might well question the relevance of his essay to contemporary Jewish religious thought.

The editors state in their Introduction (p. xvii): '*Contemporary Jewish Religious Thought* is not a group of separate and disconnected essays, but

in itself constitutes a theological document of major importance. We have in this volume nothing less than an accurate record of Jewish theological reasoning in the latter decades of the twentieth century, *post Auschwitz mortuum, post Israel natus*'. Such an assertion or claim is more commonly found on the jacket of a book or in the advertisements of publishers. In this particular case, however, the description offered by the jacket is in fact more realistic; it says about the book: 'As a compendium, it is unique for the broad focus of its inquiry and as a collection of disparate points of view on the issues of greatest concern in Judaism after the events of World War II. As a record of present-day religious discourse, it reflects no preferred ideology . . .'.

Since the Second World War and the establishment in 1948 of the State of Israel, the definition of 'Who is a Jew?' has become a question of great importance, especially in the context of immigration to Israel. But there is no separate contribution on that subject, although the question has aroused a great deal of passion — most recently in the case of the many thousands of Ethiopian Jews brought to Israel. The refusal of Israel's Beth Din to recognize conversions to Judaism carried out in the Diaspora by non-Orthodox rabbis has also led to a great deal of legal disputes and acrimony. One might have expected some enlightenment from the short essay (five pages) entitled 'Convert and Conversion' by J. H. A. Wijnhoven (a former Benedictine monk); but the author deals mainly with conversion well before the State of Israel was established. Indeed, the existence of that State is not even mentioned in the essay.

One might also have expected that the essay on 'Religion and State' by Aharon Lichtenstein would have dealt with the conflicts that have arisen between the civil courts and the Rabbinate in Israel when there have been disputes about the registration of some converts as Israeli Jews. But that contribution is only a few lines longer than the essay on conversion and the larger part of it again deals with conditions well before 1948. There is no reference to any specific areas of conflict, only to the fact that in Israel the secularists and libertarians do not want a religious Jewish identity to be imposed at the expense of civil rights. There is nothing, for example, about military service and its exemption for young women of some of the more Orthodox Jewish groups; nor is there any discussion about the political power wielded by the religious parties in the Knesset. But Lichtenstein, although he recognizes that 'the use of secular institutions and their sanctions in order to impose religious norms . . . both antagonizes secularists and perturbs halakhists who fear that the integrity of Judaism is sometimes compromised by the Erastian interference of civil authorities in religious matters' (p. 777), does not tell us what 'theological reasoning' has been (or should be) attempted to resolve the crisis.

On the other hand, many of the other contributions are stimulating — for example, S. S. Schwartzchild on 'Aesthetics', Louis Jacobs on

'Faith', David Winston on 'Free Will', Arthur Green on 'Ḥasidism', and D. B. Ruderman on 'Rabbi and Teacher' — while the majority are instructive. The editors, together with their large editorial staff, must be congratulated for having produced a tome which will be of value as a source of reference not only for scholars but also for laymen who wish to acquire a deeper knowledge of Judaism.

Finally, the proof-reading by Emily Garlin has been admirable. There are very few noticeable lapses (as in the case of 'Haim Cohen', so printed in the list of contents but figuring as 'Haim H. Cohn' on the first page of his essay on 'Justice' and as 'Haim H. Cohen' in the list of contributors); this is no mean achievement nowadays in a volume of more than a thousand pages.

JUDITH FREEDMAN

STEVE COHEN, *It's the same old story. Immigration controls against Jewish, Black and Asian people, with special reference to Manchester*, 44 pp., published by Manchester City Council Public Relations Office, 1987, available by post from the Town Clerk's Department, Town Hall, Manchester, M60 2LA, at £1.00.

This booklet's purpose is to rediscover the 'hidden history of the fight-back by both Jewish and black people against control on their movements', according to the statement on the back cover. Of course, it is not about the restrictions on freedom of movement *within* the United Kingdom (although such restrictions did exist under the Aliens Order of 1920) but about the legal obstacles to the freedom to enter, settle, and earn a living in the country. Some of the author's assertions are sweeping — for instance, that Afro-Caribbean and Asian immigration in the late 1940s 'was the consequence of the economic impoverishment of much of the Third World by British imperialism. Workers came from the Caribbean islands and the Indian sub-continent looking for work in Britain because Britain had exploited their own countries to the stage where no work was available' (p. 7). The author is on much safer ground when he goes on to point out that the National Health Service and London Transport actively recruited labour in those years.

There is a section on the Jewish immigrants who came to Britain in the final decades of the last century and on the agitation which led to the Aliens Act of 1905. The *Manchester City News* as early as May 1888 had an editorial entitled 'Invasion of England by Foreign Paupers' while the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* in 1905 complained that the provisions of the Aliens Bill were not sufficiently strict; and the city had a notoriously antisemitic magazine called *Spy*. Three vicious cartoons which appeared in *Spy* in 1891 and 1892 and another which was published in the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* in 1905 are reproduced. One of the former shows on the left a shabby man on his knees whose shoulder is held by a uniformed figure threatening him with a whip

while on the right a man with an enomous belly and neatly dressed stands on the doorstep of his 'loan office' seeing off a dejected would-be borrower whose request for a loan he has obviously refused; the caption reads: 'The oppressed becomes oppressor'. The *Manchester Evening Chronicle*'s cartoon shows a man allowed to disembark; his pieces of luggage are labelled 'Lunacy', 'Criminality', and 'Disease'. On the other hand, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Manchester Evening News* apparently were consistent in their defence of the immigrants and opposed the Aliens Bill.

The author states bluntly and sorrowfully that the Tories were not the main instigators of immigrant restrictions: '. . . tragically, a major push for control came from important sections of both the trade union movement and of the early socialist organisations' (p. 13). The Manchester Trades Council in its 1892 Report deeply regretted the reluctance of the government to legislate against 'the further importation' of foreign workmen. At a special conference of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) held in Manchester in 1895, it was decided that all parliamentary candidates must be asked to deal with a list of questions about immigration controls; in the following year, a TUC delegation went to see the Home Secretary about the matter. W. H. Wilkins in 1892 in *The Alien Invasion* cited 43 labour organizations (apart from the TUC) which advocated restrictions. As for the socialist groups, apparently the only one which consistently opposed controls was the Socialist League. The Social Democratic Federation, which Steve Cohen describes as one of the earliest and most influential socialist organizations in Great Britain, was openly antisemitic and in its publication *Justice* of 5 Apil 1884 declared that Jewish moneylenders 'now control every Foreign Office in Europe'. It is indeed an indictment of the antisemitism of many early socialists that an article in a National Front publication in March 1980 ended by praising their 'obvious patriotism and candid racialism' after gleefully remarking that present-day left-wing anti-racist militants must be highly embarrassed by the beliefs and actions of the early leaders of their movement.

Many of the Jewish immigrants were socialists, however, and in 1891 they established a Jewish socialist club in Strangeways. Jewish workers had also organized several strikes in 1889 and 1890 in protest against their conditions of employment and low wages; by so doing, they showed that the accusations of strike-breaking and undercutting then current against the immigrants could not be validly levelled against all of them. Some of the militant Jewish workers joined the Independent Labour Party and earned the respect of British trade unionists, whom they eventually persuaded to stop agitating for immigration controls.

The author comments wryly that the Liberal Party had opposed the Aliens Act of 1905 but implemented it when it came to power — just as the Labour Party had condemned the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants

Act but enforced and strengthened it later when in government. The Labour Cabinet as early as 1950 set up a committee to examine the ways in which the immigration of coloured people from colonial territories might be restricted; but the committee did not recommend new legislation. After the serious riots against coloured immigrants in the Notting Hill district of London and in Nottingham in August and September 1958, the question of imposing stringent restrictions on entry into the United Kingdom was seriously reconsidered. To its credit, the Board of Deputies of British Jews issued a statement condemning racial and religious hostility and declaring that no minority was safe when the spirit of hatred prevailed.

Three years later, in 1961, when the first Commonwealth Immigrants Bill was being debated, there was a parliamentary by-election in the Moss Side district of Manchester. The Tory candidate openly declared that he was in favour of immigration controls and won the election; the Labour candidate at the beginning of his campaign had not favoured controls but later (and clearly too late) did so. Some months before the 1958 riots, two Labour Party members of parliament had been among the 34 signatories of a motion calling for restrictions on immigration. After the riots, Labour MPs whose constituencies had been affected were quoted as having recommended restrictive legislation; indeed, one of them went further and was reported as saying that it was wrong to say the trouble had been started by hooligans and that the rioting was 'the reaction of people very sorely tried by some sections of the coloured population' (p. 31). For its part, the *Manchesater Evening News* advocated immigration controls and in an editorial on 2 November 1961 stated that such restrictions were necessary in order to keep out 'the diseased, the drifters, the criminals' — echoing the cartoon in the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* more than half-a-century earlier accusing Jewish immigrants of bringing disease and criminality into the country.

The booklet includes copies of campaign posters which have appeared in Manchester to protest against the deportation of Asian immigrants and reproduces a leaflet published by Joseph Finn nearly a century ago. That leaflet, entitled 'A Voice from the Aliens. About the Anti-Alien Resolution of the Cardiff Trade Union Congress', was widely distributed in Manchester and elsewhere and was an able defence against the accusation that Jewish immigrants threatened the jobs and aspirations of the British working class.

Steve Cohen must be congratulated for his impartiality when showing that the Labour Party was at least as responsible as the Conservatives for implementing restrictions on immigration. Asians and Blacks in Great Britain who read what he relates about the attitudes to Jewish newcomers will see that the latter, although they were white and came from Continental Europe, were often the victims

of blind hatred and vicious libels and were attacked not only by politicians but also by the press. There was no anti-racist legislation to protect them then.

In his fierce defence of the rights of immigrants to enter the United Kingdom without restrictions, Cohen goes so far as to state: 'In a very real sense British political history of the twentieth century can be understood in terms of this county's obsession for controls — first of all against Jews then against blacks and Asians' (p. 40). Surely this is going too far? But he goes even further when his very last words on the last page of his text are: 'People from overseas should be positively welcomed as enriching the culture and lives of all of us'. One cannot help but wonder whether Manchester City Council, which has published this booklet, would positively welcome without restrictions all those from foreign lands who chose to come to the city. It must be stressed here that Steve Cohen makes no attempt to show that it would be entirely practicable to house unlimited numbers of immigrants, to find them employment, to educate their children, and to provide for their medical care and other benefits.

The booklet is marred by an extraordinarily large number of misprints; to cite only a few: Hugh Gaitskell's name appears as 'Gaitskill' three times (pp. 30 and 31), Oswald Mosley's surname as 'Mosely' and 'Moseley' in the same line (p. 28), Manchester's *Evening Chronicle* as 'Chronical' (p. 27), 'iceberg' as 'icberg' (p. 13) and 'Socialist' and 'besmirch' as 'Soocialist' and 'besmearch' (p. 14). Perhaps the most hilarious of all is the reference to a banner, during a demonstration against the Immigration Act of 1971, which is alleged to have declared (p. 36): 'My white grandather raped by black grandmother'.

JUDITH FREEDMAN

ALAN DUNDES, *Cracking Jokes: Studies of Sick Humor Cycles and Stereotypes*, x + 198 pp., Ten Speed Press, PO Box 7123, Berkeley, Ca 94704, 1987, n.p.

Many of the examples of sick humour (about dead babies, quadriplegics, and Auschwitz) in the three chapters which constitute the first part of this book could make readers literally sick: they are not only vicious and offensive, they are nauseating. It is therefore fortunate that Part I consists of less than forty pages. A doubtful benefit that could be derived from reading the ghoulish verses about 'Willie' is to learn that these rhymes may be the source of the metaphor about giving someone 'the willies' — the creeps. Little Willie is either a young psychopath (he poisons his father or kills his sister and the comment is that 'Willie's always up to tricks. Ain't he cute? He's only six') or a victim when he falls into the fire in his new sashes and is burnt to ashes and 'when the weather is chilly, No one likes to poke up Willie' (p. 4).

Professor Dundes asserts (on p. 20) that the lurid and horrendous jokes about Auschwitz which he relates (in the original German and in English translation) 'are current in the 1980s in West Germany'. He is aware that this type of sick homour is 'in extremely bad taste' but insists that since this material exists, it should be recorded: 'Jokes are always an important barometer of the attitudes of a group. The jokes must fill some psychic need for those who tell them and for those who listen to them. They demonstrate that anti-Semitism is not dead in Germany —if documentation were needed to prove that'. He may be right about the 'psychic need' of those who tell the jokes about Auschwitz but wrong about many of those who listen; the latter may recoil in horror and feel nothing but disgust and outrage.

The second part of the book is concerned with stereotypes and includes a chapter entitled 'The Jewish American Princess and the Jewish American Mother in American Jokelore' and another on 'The Jew and the Polack in the United States'. These are a welcome relief after the sick humour of the first three chapters. The Jewish mother's obsession about feeding her household is reflected in several jokes and even Israel's airline and navy are said to have copied her compulsion: after one El Al stewardess serves the food, another follows saying to the passengers, 'Eat, eat' while a new ship in the Israeli navy is the SS Mein Kind (Eat, eat, my child).

Jewish mothers want their sons to be either doctors or lawyers so that a 'certified public accountant' (a chartered accountant) is a Jewish young man who cannot stand the sight of blood and who stutters. Jewish mothers are also very possessive and complain that their children neglect them. A woman instructs her lawyer about a will: she wants to be cremated and the ashes scattered on the first three floors of a prestigious department store. Why? Because at least that way, her daughter would visit her once a week.

The Jewish American Princess (JAP) does not like to cook or clean, wants to buy the most expensive clothes and to travel extensively. What does she make for dinner? The answer is 'Reservations' (at a restaurant). How does she call her family to dinner? She shouts, 'get in the car, kids'. How does she get exercise? She waves her arm frantically, calling, 'Waitress!'. She is always complaining and therefore a dozen such princesses locked in the basement are a 'whine cellar'. The JAP is excessively concerned about her looks: 'Did you hear about the Jewish girl who cut off her nose to spite her race and is now a goy forever?' A goy, of course, is the (often disparaging) term for a Gentile. And while on the subject of Jews who are uneasy about their Jewish stereotypes, there is the story about an old Orthodox Jew who becomes a Christian and when urged to give a talk to the members of his new church, he rises and begins: 'Fellow goyim . . .'.

European readers may be surprised to learn that American Poles seem to have a reputation for being stupid and slovenly. 'Polacks' is the

derogatory term used for them in the numerous jokes and the definition of gross ignorance is one hundred and forty-four Polacks. (The author helpfully states in brackets that a gross 'is, of course, twelve dozen' — presumably to help his Polish readers to understand the joke.) As for Polish mothers, they are 'strong and square-shouldered from raising dumbbells' (p. 134). Italians are represented in numerous jokes as being cowardly, especially in battle, and Jews as unscrupulous; so that it does no come as a surprise that the reply to the question, 'What are the three shortest books in the world?' is *Italian War Heroes*, *Jewish Business Ethics*, and *The Polish Mind*.

Professor Dundes discusses the serious objections raised by those who deplore 'the Polish joke cycle's adverse impact on the self-image of Polish-Americans, who are forced to grow up hearing endless and mindless repetitions of the "dumb Polacks" stereotype'. He points out that suppressing the flow of Polish jokes in America would not solve the basic problem of ethnic prejudice: 'Prejudice and stereotyping exist, with or without folklore. Folklore is a mirror of culture; it doesn't work to blame the mirror for the ugliness of the view. Breaking the mirror might destroy an image temporarily, but it would not change any of the essential features of the object mirrored. . . . The problem is that it's not possible to halt Polish jokes (or any other kind of jokes) — folklore thrives most in the face of conscious attempts to regulate and censor its content! The futility of the Polish-Americans' hope that the election of a Polish Pope would curtail or contain the Polish joke cycle was probably inevitable. Quite the opposite occurred — the election provided a fresh impetus for a new burst of creativity in the cycle' (pp. 139–40). Examples of 'Polish Pope jokes' then follow.

The last chapter is about 'Rumanian Political Jokes', which the author heard in Bucharest in 1969. Several reflect a distinct anti-Soviet bias, such as the Romanian claim that Adam and Eve must have been Russian since only Russians could eat so poorly (only an apple) and be dressed so badly and still call it Paradise. Another joke tells of three cars travelling in a line. Brezhnev is in the first, Nixon in the second, and Ceausescu in the third; Breshnev naturally turns to the left, Nixon to the right, and Ceausescu turns to the right but signals to the left. At the end of that chapter, Professor Dundes claims that if all those who live or work abroad 'wish to know what is really on a people's collective mind, there is no more direct and accurate way of finding out than by paying attention to precisely what is making the people laugh' (p. 168). That final sentence of *Cracking Jokes* stresses what the author was at pains to point out in his Preface: 'Remember, people joke about only what is most serious. That is why there are so many jokes about death or ethnic sterotypes. . . . Don't be deceived by the facade of humor. The expression "laughing to keep from crying" has a good deal of merit.'

Admittedly, a great number of the jokes he relates and analyses, often in laborious detail, do reflect real fears and anxieties. But when he claims that people joke about *only* what is most serious, at least one of his readers has come to the conclusion that perhaps Professor Dundes takes jokes sometimes too seriously.

JUDITH FREEDMAN

HARVEY E. GOLDBERG, ed., *Judaism Viewed from Within and from Without: Anthropological Studies* (SUNY Series in Anthropology and Judaic Studies, Walter P. Zenner, ed.). x + 352 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, 1987, $44.50 (paperback, $16.95).

FRIDA KERNER FURMAN, *Beyond Yiddishkeit: The Struggle for Jewish Identity in a Reform Synagogue* (SUNY Series in Anthropology and Judaic Studies, Walter P. Zenner, ed.), ix + 157 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, 1987, $29.50 (paperback, $9.95).

Now we've had everything. Jewish religious life examined both from without and from within in an attempt to combine the methodology of the anthropologists with that of the practitioners of conventional Jewish studies; Jewish texts with Jewish existence; and theory with the way it is actually put to work. Harvey E. Goldberg states (p. 1): 'In recent years a growing number of anthropologists have turned their attention to the study of Jewish life and have widened, thereby, the scope of Jewish studies. To those unfamiliar with these disciplines in their modern forms, this combination of perspectives may seem surprising. Classically, anthropology has dealt with remote tribal cultures having no written language. Investigation of these cultures has therefore involved the prolonged exposure of a researcher to the way of life of natives far from the researcher's own familiar society. Judaism, on the other hand, has meant the study of a traditional civilization, whose hallmark is the sacred scriptures and writings based on them, and is normally researched by scholars poring over texts in libraries and archives. An appreciation of contemporary concerns within both realms of scholarship, however, will reveal areas of mutual relevance in which anthropology may enrich Jewish studies and where anthropological understanding can benefit from a consideration of Jewish history and culture'. The fact that both the volumes under review here are published as part of a 'Series in Anthropology and Judaic Studies' suggests that at SUNY the new approach is already well under way, 'surprising' though it certainly is.

The Goldberg volume consists of a number of studies by various scholars and is divided into three parts. Part I is historical; three traditional concepts ('The Laws of Mixtures'; 'The Consumption of Sabbatical Year Produce'; and 'Torah and Children') are examined

anthropologically. Part II, 'Judaism in America', contains three studies ('Life in Venice' [California]; 'Sacred Categoies and Social Relations'; and 'Drama on a Table: The Bobover Hasidim Piremshpiyl'). Part III, 'Judaism in Israel', contains another three studies ('Life and Book Tradition'; 'The Symbolic Inscription of Zionist Ideology'; and 'Dreams and Wishes of the Saint'). In addition to a closely argued general Introduction, the editor supplies a brief Introduction to each of the three sections and an Epilogue entitled 'Text in Jewish Society and the Challenge of Comparison'. In his contributions Goldberg expounds, with clarity and brilliance, the course taken by both Judaic and anthropological studies until now with suggestions for further developments.

The Furman volume is a study from within, that is, as an active participant, of an affluent and highly educated American suburban Reform congregation as it grapples with the problem of maintaining a Jewish identity while departing from 'Yiddishkeit', construed as over-concern with Jewish particularism. Furman seeks to do for her Reform Temple what S. C. Heilman's studies have done for Orthodox congregations. As a layman in these matters it is not at all clear to me why Heilman's work, to which she refers, is sociology while Furman's own study is said to be anthropology.

The question the unbiased reader is bound to ask is whether the whole exercise is successful. The answer is yes and no, at least for the non-expert. Undoubtedly, the anthropological approach is very effective — to judge from the fascinating essays on the Purim plays organized by the Bobover Hassidim and on the transformation of a house in Safed into a cultic shrine by a deceased Moroccan saint coming to live there(!). But these two essays are straightforward anthropological studies. The fact that the participants are Jews and use Jewish material hardly qualifies them for inclusion in the scope of Jewish studies. The essay on life and book tradition in ultra-orthodoxy today penetratingly observes that, paradoxically, the breakdown of traditional patterns of Orthodoxy, as a result of the Holocaust, has left the way open to the structuring of Jewish life around texts rather than by living tradition. This has had the effect of ardent devotees industriously seeking to find in the texts the strictest views, which are then put into effect, to make Jewish observances far more burdensome than they were while the living tradition was able to exercise the necessary degree of restraint.

The two disciplines of Judaic studies and anthropology are sometimes wedded in a very artificial manner. A glaring example is the essay in the Goldberg volume on 'mixtures': meat and milk; wool and linen (*shaatnez*); wheat in a vineyard. Why does the Jewish tradition forbid the cooking and eating of meat with milk, the wearing of *shaatnez*, and the sowing of wheat in a vineyard (and eating the fruit)? The ingenious

hypothesis is advanced that in all three what is involved is a mixture of that which is alive with that which is dead. Milk comes from the living animal and the milking causes no harm to the animal while meat comes from the dead animal; wool is obtained from the living sheep but in the manufacture of linen the flax has to be uprooted from the soil; the grape is removed from the living vine but the ears of corn, when harvested, leave nothing behind. Apart from some appalling Halakhic inaccuracies (for instance, *shaatnez* is not, as the author states on p. 59, *asur be-hanaah*, 'forbidden to be used'; it is only forbidden as clothing and, unlike the other two, there is no objection to the mixture *per se*), the thesis falls flat because of the other category of 'mixtures', which the author totally ignores, the cross-breeding of animals.

However, there are sufficient indications of the compatibility of the two disciplines for the marriage to have taken place. Whether it will be an enduring union remains to be seen.

LOUIS JACOBS

GALIT HASAN-ROKEM and ALAN DUNDES, eds, *The Wandering Jew: Essays in the Interpretation of a Christian Legend*, ix + 278 pp., Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1986, $27.50.

This volume offers a thoroughly enjoyable romp around a theme which, it transpires, has been with us in Europe in recognizable form only since an anonymous eight-page pamphlet on Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, appeared in German in 1602, racing through twenty editions in that year alone. Prior to that, there had indeed been the tale of Cartaphilus, the doorkeeper of Pontius Pilate, condemned by Jesus to eternal wandering because he struck him on the neck on the way to Golgotha; but though this story may well have metamorphosed into that of 'Ahasuerus', neither the original Cartaphilus nor the slightly later John Buttadeus, of whom a similar tale is told, was a Jew.

R. Edelmann, in the opening essay (a paper delivered in 1968 to the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies), maintains that the German pamphlet was a 'cunningly camouflaged statement of the new theology about . . . the Jew and his position in the world' (p. 9) and that its widespread popularity arose from the way it helped people to come to terms with the striking presence of the wandering, penitent Jew ('Baal Teshuva'). Edelmann suggests that a special, concrete occasion led to the publication of the pamphlet, and accounts for its allusion to 'appearances' of the Wandering Jew in Hamburg and Danzig; few Jews lived in northern Germany at the time, and the pamphlet was part of the propaganda (unsuccessful in the case of Hamburg notwithstanding demands by clergy and citizens in 1603) to expel them.

There is a noteworthy essay by P. B. Bagatti in which he documents how the Franciscans in Jerusalem attempted, not always consistently,

to distance themselves from accounts of the appearance of the Wandering Jew at a particular spot in Jerusalem. One of them, a Fr. Fabri in the fifteenth century, rejected the story 'because Christ in His Passion would give a perfect example of patience, but never of vengeance' (p. 41), a point taken up by few other Christians before modern times.

The 'professional' folklorists provide the most solid, least speculative part of the book, with their most recent essays exemplifying the best modern techniques for the analysis of oral as well as written traditions. There is the text of a version of the story embedded in the ritual of an Easter celebration at Aosta (Jaccod), and essays on the way the story has entered the folklore of France (Champfleury),, England (Anderson), the United States (Glanz), Finland (Hasan-Rokem) and Sweden (af Klintberg). What is extraordinary, as well as the variety in detail and the incorporation of local elements, is the way in which the antisemitic import ranges from being a major feature in the German presentation to virtual disappearance in several of the others. Christian theology in general has been prone to similar transformations.

There is an interpretation by Isaac-Edersheim according to Freud's gospel, another by Hurwitz according to Jung's evangel, and there is even an old (1893) essay by one Meige from which one learns that Charcot's clinic (Freud studied there for a short time) was full of 'wandering Jews' whom he apparently cured of their restlessness, and who flocked to him to express their gratitude whenever he travelled in remote parts. The book concludes with Hyam Maccoby's *tour de force*, or maybe *jeu d'esprit*, according to which the Jew is seen ambivalently by Christians as the Sacred Executioner of Christ, condemned to wander, as well as the sinner who ultimately returns home and is accepted. The essay is fresher and more vigorous than the book Mr Maccoby was persuaded to turn it into; it is no more correct, but far more fun.

With the exception of the Introduction, the editor's introductions to the individual contributions, and a short, well-selected bibliography, all the material has appeared before. However, such a wide spread of disciplines is involved that few can have read it all; it is good to have between two covers key essays by chosen specialists rather than the superficial 'broad view' which too often masquerades as an interdisciplinary exercise.

The 'eternal wanderer' is, *au fond*, far too much part of everyman to be located within the confines of one particular historical relationship. If the Wandering Jew is, as the editors constantly stress, a Christian, not a Jewish, story, it has its Jewish counterparts ranging from biblical Cain to rabbinic Elijah. German legend (Karl Blind's essay) has its Eternal Huntsman, and the Flying Dutchman and numerous other tales from mythologies of the world attest the universal significance of the wanderer theme for the human psyche. Yet there is fascination in

the various ways in which this theme has been adapted, sometimes with hostile, at other times with benign, intent, by Christians to express their perception of Jews. The appeal of this entertaining and instructive book really is, as the Introduction claims, 'its pivotal reflection of Jewish–Christian relationships'.

NORMAN SOLOMON

CHRONICLE

The Community Research Unit of the Board of Deputies of British Jews published last summer a compilation of the statistics of synagogue marriages and of Jewish burials and cremations in Great Britain for 1986.

The number of synagogue marriages continues to decline: the total in 1986 was 1,097 (compared with 1,144 in 1985) and it is 'the smallest recorded this century'. The total number of Orthodox marriages was 867 (699 among the Central Orthodox compared with 736 in 1985; 122 among the Right-Wing Orthodox, compared with 101 in 1985; and 46 among the Sephardim, compared with 54 in 1985). Right-Wing Orthodox marriages constituted 11.1 per cent of all synagogue weddings in 1986 while their proportion the previous year was 8.8 per cent; the 1986 percentage for this segment is almost double that for the 1974–79 period, when it was only 6.3 per cent.

The majority of marriages were solemnized in London: three quarters of the total Orthodox weddings (74.3 per cent) and four fifths (80.4 per cent) of the Reform and Liberal unions. This continues a trend in London's favour noted in previous years.

There were 4,838 burials and cremations under Jewish religious auspices in 1986, compared with 4,844 in 1985. Orthodox burials accounted for 80.8 of the total, a proportion very similar to that for the previous year (80.6 per cent). About two thirds (65.5 per cent) of all burials and cremations took place in London and the remaining 34.5 per cent in the provinces; but it is pointed out that people are not always buried or cremated in the area in which they lived immediately before their death.

*

A total of well over five thousand new immigrants came to settle in Israel during the first six months of 1987, almost twice the number for the corresponding period in 1986. There were 2,317 Jews from Europe (1,361 in January–June 1986); 793 from Africa (387 in January–June 1986); and 727 from Asia (331 in January–June 1986). Newcomers from the United States and Canada totalled 676 — about the same number as for the first half of 1986. In contrast, those from the Soviet Union showed a very great increase: from 93 in January–June 1986 to 732 in January–June 1987. In July 1987, 819 Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union and 249 of them came to Israel while 570 chose other destinations. By the end of September 1987, according to the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration in Geneva, 5,380 Soviet Jews had left the USSR via Vienna. Another report stated that a further 912 Jews left Russia last October and that 246 of them went to Israel.

By the end of August 1987, the total of Jewish immigrants who came to Israel in the first eight months of the year had risen to 7,193; they included 634 from Argentina, 580 from France, 531 from South Africa, 389 from the United Kingdom, and 76 from Rumania.

According to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, some 800,000 tourists visited Israel during the first seven months of 1987, representing a 24 per cent increase over the same period in 1986. In July 1987 alone, there were 134,000 visitors. There was a very marked increase in the numbers of Egyptian tourists: 61,300 came during January–August 1987, 48 per cent more than in the same months in 1986.

*

The establishment of a World Foundation to Promote Jewish Population Policies was announced last October, at the end of an international conference on Jewish survival. Those attending the meeting were told that about half of Soviet Jews married out and that the children of these mixed marriages nearly always chose not to register as Jews. The acting head of the Foundation was reported to have stated that the Foundation 'would make grants and loans to encourage Jews in Israel and abroad to have more children, and would fund projects for Israel and the Diaspora. The foundation would sponsor demographic projects'.

*

The International Council of Christians and Jews met in East Germany (at Buckow, near Berlin) last September, at the invitation of the Federation of Protestant Churches in East Germany. The theme of the meeting was 'A precious legacy — the contribution of the Jews to the culture of Central and Eastern Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'.

East Berlin now has a rabbi after 22 years; the synagogue where he will officiate was built in 1904 and has been renovated. The rabbi is a Polish-born survivor of a concentration camp and his Jewish congregation in East Berlin is said to number fewer than 200 souls. About a further 250 Jews live in the rest of East Germany — in Dresden, Erfurt, Halle/Saale, Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz), Leipzig, Magdeburg, and Schwerin/Mecklenburg.

*

A new synagogue and a community centre were opened last September in Mannheim, West Germany, in the presence of a Minister of State representing the Baden-Würtemberg government and of the Lod Mayor of Mannheim. The buildings stand on the site of the old synagogue which was destroyed by the Nazis in 1938. The rabbi of the Mannheim Jewish community from 1925 until the destruction of the old synagogue, who is now 88 years old, attended the opening ceremony. The centre has a mikva, a kindergarten, a library, and conference rooms; the new synagogue has seats for 360 worshippers. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, there were about 6,000 Jews in Mannheim; there are now only about 400.

*

The West German Jewish Central Welfare Agency in Frankfurt is reported to have stated that West Germany (including West Berlin) now has 65 Jewish communities with a total of 27,533 registered members. In 1933, about half a million Jews lived in Germany. At the end of 1986, the West Berlin community

was the largest, with 6,002 members; Frankfurt followed with 4,909, then Munich with 4,030, Dusseldorf with 1,579, Hamburg with 1,390, and Cologne with 1,245.

*

The annual meeting of the European Jewish Congress was held in Athens last September. At the conclusion of that meeting, a statement was issued which included the hope that Greece and the Vatican would establish diplomatic relations with Israel: 'Conscious of the historic importance of gathering for the first time in Greece, a country with which the Jewish people has had long historic associations, the meeting expresses the confident hope that Greece, the only member of the European Community (EEC) which has not yet established diplomatic relations with the State of Israel, will soon remedy this situation, having particular regard to Israel's Association Agreement with the EEC. . . . The meeting expresses its disquiet that the general progress in Catholic–Jewish relations has been adversely affected by events which disregarded Jewish sensitivities and concerns. The ongoing failure of the Holy See to establish diplomatic relations with the State of Israel is also a disturbing factor. The meeting trusts that the proposed official Catholic document, which is intended to place the Shoah and antisemitism in their religious and historical contexts, will prove a significant step forward in Catholic–Jewish dialogue.'

The statement also expressed concern about Soviet Jews who are denied permission to emigrate in order 'to settle in their ancestral Homeland in Israel' and about the plight of Syrian Jewry. It reaffirmed the view of the Jewish communities of Europe that racism and discrimination are indivisible and that violation of human rights of non-Jews also represents a threat to Jews' and therefore called on Jewish organizations in all countries 'to join with other bodies in the fight against racism and xenophobia in all its forms'.

*

The May 1987 issue of *Kibbutz Studies* (a publication of the Overseas Department of Yad Tabenkin–Efal, the Research Institute of the United Kibbutz Movement) includes an article on the kibbutz population of Israel. It quotes figures from the Central Bureau of Statistics of Israel which show that the total population of kibbutzim grew from 106,000 at the end of 1979 to 125,300 at the end of 1985, a growth of 'more than 18%, making for an average annual growth of 2.8%. During the same period, the Jewish population of Israel grew by just over 9%, or an annual average of 1.5%'.

About two-thirds (11.8 per cent) of the kibbutz population growth during these six years was the result of natural reproduction while the remaining 6.3 per cent was the result of absorption. 'The strong influence of natural reproduction has led to more rapid growth in younger age groups, improving the overall demographic structure. Median age of the kibbutz population in 1983 was 25.7 years.' The age group 0–13 years grew from 29,800 at the end of 1979 to 36,200 by the end of 1985 (21.5 per cent); during the same period, those aged 14–24 years grew from 21,900 to 25,800 (17.8 per cent); those aged 25–44

years grew from 30,100 to 36,000 (19.6 per cent); and those aged 45 years and over grew from 24,200 to 27,300 (12.8 per cent).

For many decades, the kibbutz movements were very strongly opposed to 'familialism' and there were collective sleeping arrangements for children; but in the 1960s kibbutzim of the Ihud Federation began transferring children to the parental apartments and the change 'was accompanied by a sharp increase in the number of children. Meuchad followed suit in the 1970s, and once again there was a marked increase in the rate of growth of the children's population. . . . In early 1987, the Artzi leadership gave in to widespread pressure from the kibbutzim, and policy was officially modified to allow the change. At least two-thirds of all kibbutzim have already gone over to family sleeping arrangements . . . or are in the process of doing so.'

*

Israel's Deputy Minister of Agriculture is heading a newly-formed Association to Stop Yerida (Jewish emigration from Israel). He is reported to have stated that 375,000 Jews had been out of the country for at least seven years and were now officially regarded as *yordim*. The new association will visit families and individuals who have announced that they are contemplating emigration (perhaps because of unemployment or housing difficulties) and will try to help them to solve their problems so that they may decide to remain in Israel. The association was especially eager to recruit *yordim* who had returned to Israel so that they could tell those who wished to settle abroad that 'the grass is not greener elsewhere'.

*

The Spring 1987 issue of *News from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem* states that HIPPY (Home Instruction Program for Pre-school Youngsters), a programme for disadvantaged children developed some years ago by the Research Institute for Innovation in Education at the University's School of Education, has now been applied in an Arab district of Jerusalem. The HIPPY material has been translated into Arabic and adapted 'to allow for cultural differences'; three trained counsellors were helping 45 mothers and their children.

The HIPPY programme has been translated into English, French, Spanish, and Turkish and is being used in Canada, Chile, Turkey, and the United States. Other countries are also planning to implement it.

*

The same issue of *News from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem* states that Israeli veterinarians regularly go to Lebanon to inoculate Lebanese livestock against rinderpest and foot-and-mouth disease. A professor from the School of Veterinary Medicine commented: 'People who raise animals are first and foremost concerned that their animals do well. They are not concerned with politics.'

*

The first number of *Occasional Papers on Jewish Social Services* was published last September by the Central Council for Jewish Social Services. The Editorial states: 'Jewish social services and youth organizations play a vital role in our community . . . They employ in the region of 3,000 staff, including more than 200 professional workers and many thousands of volunteers. . . . In addition, changes in political ideology, and the present Government's re-examination of the principles and practices of the Welfare State have affected the relationship between voluntary social service agencies and central and local government in ways which are still being evaluated. These, and other related issues, are causing many professionals in Jewish social services to re-examine the role of their agencies within our community. . . . There has never been a British equivalent to the American "Journal of Jewish Communal Service" which provides a forum for the interchange of ideas on issues related to Jewish Social Services and community work. The present Occasional Papers — which we hope to produce in two editions each year — is a first tep towards filling this gap.'

There are four articles in this first issue: 'The Federation of Jewish Family Services'; 'Jewish Illicit Drug Users: A Pilot Study of Former Addicts'; 'Jewish Values in Social Services: A Personal View'; and 'Casework in the Jewish Community: Cancer in the Family'.

Copies are available from the Central Council for Jewish Social Service (221 Golders Green Road, London NW11 9DW) and cost £1.50, inclusive of postage.

*

The Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington was held last March. It issued a statement on proselytization which included the following: 'Every faith tradition has a particular vision of the Divine Truth which it feels is unique. Some faith communities feel that their mission is in part to share that Truth with others who are not of that tradition. We do support the right of all religions to share their message in the spirit of good will. It is inappropriate, however, for one faith group to demean or disparage openly the philosophies or practices of another faith group as part of its proselytizing. We . . . feel compelled to speak out when a religious group promotes or sanctions activities that are harmful to the spirit of interreligious respect and tolerance. We condemn proselytizing efforts which deligitimize the faith tradition of the person whose conversion is being sought. Such tactics go beyond the bounds of appropriate and ethically based religious outreach.

'Examples of such practices are those that are common among groups that have adopted the label of Hebrew Christianity, Messianic Judaism or Jews for Jesus. These groups specifically target Jews for conversion to their version of Christianity, making the claim that in accepting Jesus as the saviour/messiah, a 'Jew "fulfills" his or her faith. Furthermore, by celebrating Jewish festivals, worshipping on the Jewish sabbath, appropriating Jewish symbols, rituals and prayers in their churches and sometimes even calling their leaders "rabbi", they seek to win over, often by deception, many Jews who are sincerly looking for a path back to their ancestral heritage.

'Deceptive proselytizing efforts are practiced on the most vulnerable sections of the population — residents of hospitals and old age homes,

confused young people, college students away from home. These proselytizing techniques are tantamount to coercive conversions and should be condemned.

'America has been largely free of the religious rivalries that scarred the life of Europe for centuries. Consequently we, the leaders of the Islamic, Jewish, Mormon, Protestant and Roman Catholic faith communities in the greater Washington area, under the aegis of the Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington, urge all religious denominations and sects to respect the principles of religious pluralism as the foundation of a society that has the greatest chance of fostering intergroup understanding and cooperation.'

*

The Institute of Jewish Affairs (11 Hertford Street, London, W1Y 7DX, England) regularly publishes Research Reports. Those printed in 1987 include the following: 'Gorbachev's *Perestroyka* and the Jews'; 'The Fifth Summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Kuwait, 26–29 January 1987'; 'Soviet Antisemitism Unchained: The Rise of the 'Historical and Patriotic Association "Pamyat"'; 'The Eighteenth Session of the Palestine National Council: Reunification — At What Expense?'; 'Small Cracks in the Great Wall: The Prospects for Sino-Israeli Relations'; 'Russian Chauvinists and the Thesis of a Jewish World Conspiracy: Three Case Studies'; 'Polish–Jewish Relations: A Current Debate among Polish Catholics'; and 'The Carmelite Convent at Auschwitz. A Documentary Survey'.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Books listed here may be reviewed later)

Almog, Shmuel, *Zionism and History: The Rise of a New Jewish Consciousness* (translated from the Hebrew by Ina Friedman), 330 pp., The Magnes Press, Jerusalem and St Martin's Press, New York, 1987, $30.00.

Brown, Michael, *Jew or Juif? Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo-Canadians, 1759–1924*, xii + 356 pp., The Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, New York, and Jerusalem, 1986, $16.95.

Caffiero, Marina, Anna Foa, and Anna Morisi Guerra, eds, *Itinerari Ebraico-Cristiani, Società Cultura Mito*, Schena Editore, Fasano, 1987, n.p.

Eisenstadt, S. N., *Patterns of Modernity*, two volumes: Volume I, *The West*, ix + 184 pp.; Volume II, *Beyond the West*, vii + 223 pp.; Frances Pinter (Publishers), London, 1987, £25.00.

Ellis, Marc H., *Toward a Jewish Theology of Liberation*, xii + 147pp., Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY, 1987, available in Europe from Gill and Macmillan Ltd, 13/14 Goldenbridge Industrial Estate, Inchicore, Dublin 8, Ireland, £7.50 (paperback).

Gutwirth, Jacques, *Les Judéo-Chrétiens d'Aujourd'hui* ('Sciences humaines et religions' series), 293 pp., Les éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1987, n.p.

Jimack, Michael, *Illicit Drug Use and Solvent Abuse in the London Jewish Community. An Investigation Sponsored by Norwood Child Care and the Association for Jewish Youth*, xi + 81 pp., published by the Central Council for Jewish Social Service, 221 Golders Green Road, London NW11 9DW, 1987, n.p.

Kranzler, David, *Thy Brother's Blood: The Orthodox Jewish Response to the Holocaust* (ArtScroll Judaiscope Series), foreword by Isaac Lewin, xiv + 338 pp., Mesorah Publications, Brooklyn, NY, 1987, $15.95 (paperback, $12.95).

Levy, Ze'ev, *Between Yafeth and Shem. On the Relationship Between Jewish and General Philosophy* (American University Studies, Series V, Philosophy, vol. 21), x + 253 pp., Peter Lang, New York, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, and Paris, 1987, $40.90.

Mendelsohn, Ezra and Chone Shmeruk, eds, *Studies on Polish Jewry. Paul Glikson Memorial Volume*, viii + 73 pp. in English and viii + 183 pp. in Hebrew, published by the Center for Research on the History and Culture of Polish Jews, Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and distributed by The Zalman Shazar Center for the Furtherance of the Study of Jewish History, Jerusalem, 1987, n.p.

Oxaal, Ivar, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz, eds, *Jews, Antisemitism and Culture in Vienna*, xiv + 300 pp., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and New York, 1987, £30.00.

Stock, Ernest, *Partners and Pursestrings. A History of the United Israel Appeal*, 256 pp., University Press of America, hardback, $26.50, paperback, $13.75.

Trevisan Semi, Emanuela, *Allo Specchio dei Falascià. Ebrei ed etnologi durante il colonialismo fascista*, with a preface by Umberto Corsini, xii + 166 pp., Editrice la Giuntina, Florence, 1987, n.p.

Williams, Janice, *Conceptual Change and Religious Practice With Reference to British Jews in England and Israel*, x + 323 pp., Gower Publishing Co., Aldershot, Hants, 1987, £22.50.

Yudkin, Leon I., ed., with the assistance of Bryan Cheyette, *Modern Hebrew Literature in English Translation. Papers, Selected Syllabi, and Bibliographies* (Selected Syllabi in University Teaching of Jewish Civilization Series), viii + 262 pp., published for the International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization by Markus Wiener Publishing, New York, 1987, n.p.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

BENEWICK, Robert; Ph.D. Reader in Politics, University of Sussex. Chief publications: *The Fascist Movement in Britain*, 1972; *Knowledge and Belief in Politics*, 1973; *The Crowd in Contemporary Britain*, 1987; and *Reforming the Revolution: Politics and Change in China* to be published in 1988.

KOHN, Rachael L. E.; Ph.D. Part-time Lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies of the University of Sydney. Chief publications: 'Dual Membership and Sectarian Status: The Case of a Hebrew Christian Group', *Studies in Religion*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1983; 'Praising the Lord and Penetrating the Community: Transition and Dual Leadership in a Hebrew Christian Group', *Sociological Analysis*, vol. 45, no. 1, 1984; 'Hebrew Christianity and Messianic Judaism', *Religion Today*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1986.

ROCKAWAY, Robert; Ph.D. Senior Lecturer in the Department of Jewish History, Tel-Aviv University. Chief publications: *The Jews of Detroit: From the Beginning, 1762–1914*, 1986; 'World of Their Children: Second Generation New York Jews', *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 12, February 1986; 'How Golden the "Goldene Medineh"' in Arnon Gutfeld, ed., *The American Experience* (Hebrew), 1986.

SANDLER Shmuel; Ph.D. Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University. Chief publications: 'Ben-Gurion's Attitude Towards the Soviet Union', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 21, no. 2, December 1979; 'The Transformation of Israeli Policy', *Midstream*, February 1981; 'The Religious Parties' in Howard Penniman, ed., *Israeli at the Polls, 1981*, 1986; and *Israel, the Palestinians and the West Bank: A Study in Intercommunal Conflict*, 1984.

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 Riot at Christie Pits*, 1987; and co-author, *Becoming Doctors: The Adoption of a Cloak of Competence*, 1987.

THE JEWISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

EDITOR Judith Freedman

VOLUME TWENTY-NINE 1987

Published by Maurice Freedman Research Trust Ltd

CONTENTS

BOOKS REVIEWED

AUTHORS OF ARTICLES

AUTHORS OF BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS PUBLISHED FOR OR BY THE

INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS LONDON

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXPERTS' CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY: LONDON, 4-6 JANUARY 1983
Edited by Lukasz Hirszowicz and published as a special issue of the journal *Soviet Jewish Affairs*
INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS 1985, 196pp. £6.00 (paper) ISSN 0038-545X

THE POSITION OF SOVIET JEWRY 1985: HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE HELSINKI ACCORDS
INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS 1985, 64pp. £2.50 (paper)

THE IMAGE OF THE JEW IN SOVIET LITERATURE: THE POST-STALIN PERIOD
Jakub Blum and Vera Rich
KTAV PUBLISHING HOUSE, INC. 1984, 276pp. £22.50 (cloth) ISBN 0-88125-062-7

HUMAN RIGHTS IN JEWISH LAW
Haim Cohn
KTAV PUBLISHING HOUSE, INC. 1984, 266pp. £15.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-88125-036-8

JEWS IN SOVIET CULTURE
Edited by Jack Miller
TRANSACTION BOOKS 1984, 266pp. £15.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-87855-495-5

JEWISH COMMITMENT: A STUDY IN LONDON
Julius Gould
INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS 1984, 113pp. £6.00 (paper) ISBN 0-901113-14-X

STUDIES IN JEWISH DEMOGRAPHY: SURVEY FOR 1972-1980
Edited by U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson and S.J. Gould
KTAV PUBLISHING HOUSE, INC. 1983, 304pp. £15.00 (paper) ISBN 0-88125-013-9

IJA 11 Hertford Street, London W1Y 7DX