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Lipset, Seymour Martin, 1988-1990.

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Commissioner Contact SheetName Seymour Martin Lipsett Assigned to SF

Mailing Address _____ Off. phone _____

Home phone _____

Fax _____ Telex _____

Comments differentiation in academic community and Jewish Community
interests in research, policy and college age
diaspora-Israel relations.

Date	Nature of Contact/Status	Next Steps/Action Needed
7/?/88	SF/AH mtg. - consultation on methodology	
7/8/88	SF call - pre s/i interview	
8/?/88	SF call - follow up on s/i	
10/?/88	JR call - Input on Options	
12/?/88	SF call - Pre 12/13 mtg.	
12/?/88	SF Visit - follow up on 12/13	
2/?/89	SF visit	SF will see 4/89

COMMISSIONER CONTACT SHEET

Name	<u>Seymour Martin Lipset</u>	Assigned to	<u>SF</u>
	<u>The Russell Sage Foundation</u>		
Mailing Address	<u>112 East 64th Street</u>	Off. phone	<u>212-750-6000</u>
	<u>New York, NY 10021</u>	Home phone	<u></u>
Fax	<u></u>	Telex	<u></u>

Comments Influential in academic community and Jewish continuity, interested in
research, policy and college age, diaspora-Israel relations.

Date	Nature of Contact/Status	Next Steps/Action Needed
7/ /88	SF/AH Mtg - consultation on methodology	
7/8/88	SF Call - Pre 8/1 interview	
8/ /88	SF Call - follow up on 8/1	
10/ /88	JR Call - input on options	
12/ /88	SF Call - Pre 12/13 meeting	
12/ /88	SF Visit - follow up on 12/13	
2/ /89	SF Visit	SF will see 4/89

TO: Arthur J. Naparstek FROM: Virginia F. Levi DATE: 6/13/88
NAME TITLE
DEPARTMENT PLANT LOCATION DEPARTMENT PLANT LOCATION
REPLYING TO
YOUR MEMO OF: _____

SUBJECT: TRAVEL EXPENSE POLICY

file
When I spoke with Seymour Martin Lipset to confirm the date of the Commission meeting, he indicated that he was assuming his expenses would be paid. I said that I thought that was the case and that we would get him a copy of our expense policy in the near future.

Did you go over the draft with MLM? Are we any closer to having a policy?

Perhaps we should sit down and decide who on our list it is intended to cover. My assumption is that it does not cover the lay people, but that it is available to any of the professionals who ask.

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8/26

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET
CAROLINE S. G. MUNRO PROFESSOR
OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, PROFESSOR OF
SOCIOLOGY, AND SENIOR FELLOW,
HOOVER INSTITUTION

233 HOOVER MEMORIAL BUILDING

June 22, 1988

Mr. Morton L. Mandel
Mandel Associated Foundations
1750 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Dear Mort:

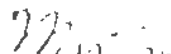
Thank you for inviting me to join the North American Commission on Jewish Education. I am very pleased to be able to take part in this work.

I look forward to joining you and the others on August 1. Since I will be coming from California, I will have to arrive the previous day, ~~August~~ 31. I would appreciate it if you could have someone on your staff make a hotel reservation for me.

May I assume that the Commission will be paying travel expenses for its academic members?

With best wishes.

Cordially,



Seymour Martin Lipset

SML:gw

P.S.: I should note that I will be in New York City for a year as a Visiting Scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation beginning September 1. Their address is 112 E. 64th Street, New York, NY 10021. I will still be at Stanford for the rest of the summer.

AUG 8 1988

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET
CAROLINE S. G. MUNRO PROFESSOR
OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, PROFESSOR OF
SOCIOLOGY, AND SENIOR FELLOW,
HOOVER INSTITUTION

213 HOOVER MEMORIAL BUILDING

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C H A N G E O F A D D R E S S

Please note that Professor Lipset will be a Visiting Scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation in New York from September 1, 1988 through the academic year of 1988-1989. Please send correspondence to him at the following address;

Seymour Martin Lipset
Visiting Scholar
The Russell Sage Foundation
112 East 64th Street
New York, New York 10021

212-750-6000

JAN 27 1989

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION
112 EAST 64th STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10021

SKILLFUL

January 24, 1989

Army
For
Grant Review
mly
[Signature]

Dr. Arthur J. Naparstek
Mandel Associated Foundations
4500 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44103

Dear Art:

Thank you for sending me the materials from Maurice Corson and Eli Evans. I read them, particularly Corson's letter, with much interest and appreciation.

I am writing you now on another, though related, matter in your capacity as an office of the Mandel Foundations. As you may know, Earl Raab and I have begun work on a book on American Jewry. It will be a broad sociological overview set in a historical and comparative context. Its stress will be on the fit between America as a unique society and the way Jews have developed in it. I am enclosing a draft of a chapter written for an edited book on Jewish pluralism which may give you an idea of the conceptual framework.

We are at a stage where it would be helpful if we could obtain a grant to pay for research assistance, secondary analysis of survey (poll) data, and possibly some primary surveys. I would appreciate it if you could let me know whether you would entertain an application. A grant could be made to us either through the San Francisco Jewish Community Federation or the J.C.R.C. or Stanford University. I will be back there in the summer. The book will be published by W.W. Norton.

I will appreciate your consideration of this matter. I look forward to seeing you at the next Commission meeting.

Cordially,

[Signature: Marty]

Seymour Martin Lipset

Chapter One

A Unique People in an Exceptional Country

by Seymour Martin Lipset

To understand American Jewry, it is important to recognize that their experience on this continent differs qualitatively from those of their co-religionists in other countries. Jews won acceptance as fully equal citizens earlier here than elsewhere. They have faced much less discrimination in the United States than in any other Christian nation. Although never more than three percent of the population, they have been given one third of the religious representation. In many public ceremonies, there is one priest, one minister, and one rabbi. Currently (1989), there are 31 Representatives and eight Senators in Congress. Many represent areas with few Jews in the population. Studies of national-origin and religious groups, using census and sample survey data, find that "Jews, regardless of ethnic ancestry, attain higher levels of education, occupation and income than all other subgroups...."¹ A national survey of American Jews and non-Jews completed for the American Jewish Committee in April 1988 by Steven M. Cohen also leads to the conclusion that "Jews are among the wealthiest groups in America....[that] per capita Jewish income may actually be almost double that of non-Jews." More than

¹ David L. Featherman, "The Socioeconomic Achievement of White Religio-Ethnic Subgroups: Social and Psychological Explanations," American Sociological Review 36 (1971), p.207.

twice as many Jews as non-Jewish whites report household incomes in excess of \$50,000. At the other end of the spectrum, almost twice as many non-Jews as Jews indicate incomes of less than \$20,000.² As Calvin Goldscheider and Alan Zuckerman note: "The pace of socioeconomic change and the levels attained are exceptional features of Jews compared to non-Jews."³

These generalizations have been abundantly documented for various high level groups. An analysis of the 400 richest Americans, as reported by Forbes magazine, finds that two fifths of the wealthiest 40 are Jews, as are 23 percent of the total list.⁴ Jews are disproportionately present among many sections of elites, largely drawn from the college educated. These include professors at the leading universities (30 percent), high level civil servants (21 percent), partners in the leading law firms in New York and Washington (40 per cent), the reporters, editors and executives of the major print and broadcast media (26 percent),

² Steven M. Cohen, The Political Attitudes of American Jews, 1988: A National Survey in Comparative Perspective (New York: American Jewish Committee, forthcoming, 1989). Since the manuscript was not yet published as this book went to press, I am unable to give page references when quoting it or referring to data. A decade earlier, Andrew Greeley concluded from National Opinion Research Center data that Jews are "the most successful group in American society." Andrew M. Greeley, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1976), p.39.

³ Calvin Goldscheider and Alan S. Zuckerman, The Tranformation of the Jews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 183

⁴ Data from Gerald BUBIS as reported in Barry A. Kosmin, "The Dimensions of Contemporary Jewish Philanthropy," (unpublished paper, North American Jewish Data Bank, Graduate School, City Univeristy of New York, 1988), p. 13.

the directors, writers, and producers of the 50 top grossing motion pictures from 1965 to 1982 (59 percent), and the same level people involved in two or more prime time television series (58 percent).⁵

These achievements are related to the extraordinary scholastic accomplishments of American Jews. As of the beginning of the seventies, four fifths of college-age Jews were enrolled in higher education, as compared to half that proportion, two fifths, for the population at large. And, like the faculty, they are heavily located in the more selective (higher academic standards) schools. An American Council on Education survey of college freshmen found that those of Jewish parentage had significantly higher secondary-school grades than their Gentile counterparts, in spite of the fact that a much larger proportion of all Jews than of others go on to college. Moreover, Jews seemingly perform better as undergraduates; by a considerable margin, they are disproportionately elected to Phi Beta Kappa.⁶

The Linkage With American Values

It has been argued that that the ability of Jews to do so well in America reflects the fact that Jewish characteristics and

⁵The data for professors are from Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett Carll Ladd, "Jewish Academics in the United States: Their Achievements, Culture and Politics," American Jewish Year Book, vol. 72 (1971), pp. ; for the other elite groups see Stanley Rothman, Robert Lichter and Linda Lichter, Elites in Conflict: Social Change in America Today (forthcoming).

⁶ The references for these findings are in Lipset and Ladd, "Jewish Academics...", pp.

values have been especially congruent with the larger culture, that they strongly resemble the modal national pattern. Evidence in support of these assumptions may be found in Weber's analysis of the relationship between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism in America, East European Jews' reaction to Benjamin Franklin, and the contemporary links between a capitalist reformer, Margaret Thatcher, and British Jews. In his classic work, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Weber in explaining the economic success of the United States notes that the Puritans, Old Testament Christians, brought the religiously derived values conducive to capitalism, rationality, hard work, a strong achievement drive, with them and, therefore, that "the spirit of capitalism ... was present [in America] before the capitalistic order."⁷ His principal examples of a secularized capitalist spirit are drawn from the writings of an American, Benjamin Franklin.⁸ Weber quotes extensively from Franklin's works as prototypical of the values that are functional for the emergence of an industrialized system.

Franklin's values not only appealed to Americans, they found an enthusiastic audience in eastern Europe among Jews, to whom they also resonated as consistent with their religious beliefs and secular culture. Franklin's writings were translated into Hebrew around 1800, were read devoutly and discussed in Talmudic

⁷ Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Scribner, 1935), pp.54-55.

⁸ Ibid., pp.48-50.

discourse fashion by young Jews in Poland and Russia, after they had completed their daily religious studies in Yeshivas.⁹

The linkages of Protestant sectarian and Jewish values to the bourgeois or market ethic, and the classical liberalism of Americanism, are to be found in the closing decades of the twentieth century in the relationship of Margaret Thatcher to the Jews. She admires them as hard-working, self-made people who believe that "God helps those who help themselves." She has chosen to represent the most Jewish district in Britain, Finchley, and has appointed five Jews to Cabinet posts at different times, and has designated the Grand Rabbi, Immanuel Jacobowitz, a member of the House of Lords. In commenting on the latter action, various British publications have noted that she much prefers the tough minded, self-help work oriented values of the Grand Rabbi to the soft Tory welfare emphases of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Unlike all Thatcher's predecessors as leaders of the Conservative party, she is not a Tory, an orientation once described by one of them, Harold Macmillan as "paternalistic socialism;" she is a classical liberal, i.e., a supporter of the Hayek-Friedman-Reagan laissez-faire, anti-statist, meritocratic view of the world. Basically the goal of the Thatcher revolution, whether consciously conceived of in these terms or not, is to create a country which sociologically resembles the United

⁹ Hillel Levine, (to kum)

States, that is rid of its post-feudal status and mercantilist-Tory-socialist elements, that like America, is an achievement oriented bourgeois liberal society. And she sees the British Jews as most like the kind of people she would like most of her compatriots to be, prototypically American, competitively oriented.

The Background

The United States began as a new society, formed by settlers in a wilderness. It is the most important country which is not post-feudal. The Black situation apart, it lacks the experience of fixed social status groups, caste-like structures which in English are sometimes referred to as estates or, to use the German word, standen. Feudal and aristocratic systems required the explicit exhibition of deference to superiors. They rejected the values linked to social mobility, and emphasized particularism, family, ethnic and religious background as sources of status and citizen rights.

America, as Friedrich Engels and Max Weber, among many, emphasized is the purest example of a bourgeois society, one which has followed capitalist market norms, uninterfered with by values derivative from feudalism. These norms assume universalism, that every one is treated according to the logic of the market, to buy and sell at the best possible price from whoever will trade. Individuals should be hired because they are the most competent available, regardless of background, whether Black or white, Jewish or Gentile. Ideally, discrimination linked

to ascribed characteristics will injure the bigot in his competition with those who are not prejudiced. Perceiving America as the purest market society implies that it has been a meritocracy, an open society, open to talent, open to the most efficient, the most competent.

America, from its origins, has been a universalistic culture, slavery and the Black situation apart. And linked to universalism is an emphasis on equality. Equality in the American sense has not only meant equality of opportunity, but as important, it has implied equality of respect. Tocqueville noted that in spite of enormous difference in economic position, the most important status which defines interaction is that of the person, in his time of course, a white male person. Everyone is entitled to respect, regardless of where he stands in the economic or power structure, or whether he is Christian or Jewish.

Beyond its beginnings in frontier societies, the United States is a new nation, created as the outcome of a victorious revolution which formulated a special ideology or creed, Americanism. As a new nation legitimated by an ideology, it differs from other countries, which take their identity from a common history, not a political doctrine, a national Creed. Americanism is an "ism" or ideology in the same sense that Communism, Fascism, or liberalism are isms. It can be subsumed in four words: anti-statism, individualism, egalitarianism, and

populism.¹⁰ As the self-conscious center of the liberal and increasingly populist revolution from 1776 to early in the twentieth century, from the point of view of her own people as well as others, the United States has been open to new members. One may become an American by joining the party, accepting the Creed. Conversely, one may be expelled, be proscribed as unAmerican, regardless of birth, by rejecting the doctrine, by accepting an alien one. Though immigrants may acquire citizenship almost everywhere, the meaning of being English, French, German, is predominantly a birth-right status. Almost every country outside the United States, except for the Soviet Union (not Russia) is a historically defined one, united by a common history, not a political doctrine. And until relatively recently citizen rights were associated with the dominant established religion, different Christian denominations in Europe and Latin America, Islam, still, in most of the Moslem world.

The United States, however, does not have a state church. Tocqueville saw in the voluntary character of religion in America the secret of its greater religiousity as well as of the stability of its democratic order. Voluntary denominationalism encouraged allegiance and participation, and the formation of a host of mediating organizations, positioned between the citizenry and the state, which inhibit the tendency of the latter to

¹⁰ For an elaboration of this analysis, see Seymour Martin Lipset, "American Exceptionalism Reaffirmed," in Byron Shafer, ed., *to kum* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, forthcoming).

monopolize power, which he believed, and, according to 1988 opinion polls, most Americans still feel is inherent in governmental institutions. But though America has remained the most devout country in Christendom, except for a few like Ireland and Poland, where religion and the struggle against national oppression are interlinked, no one is expected to adhere to any dominant denomination. For the first time in the history of the Diaspora, since the dispersal from Roman Palestine, Jews became free to partake in the polity as equals with every one else.

The special character of American pluralism, as it affects the position of Jewry, is discussed in the chapter by the Israeli sociologist, Shmuel Eisenstadt. As he notes: the encouragement to American Jewry to play a full role in society and polity is endemic in George Washington's message to the Jews of Newport in 1790, that in the new United States "all possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship." Even more significantly, he emphasized that the patronizing concept of "toleration ... of one class of people ...[by] another" has no place in America, that Jews are as much Americans, and on the same basis, as any one else.¹¹ He recognized that tolerance denotes second class citizenship. Jefferson and Madison also noted that America was different from Europe, that the discrimination against Judaism prevailing there did not exist

¹¹"Washington's Reply to the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No.3 (1895), pp. 91-92.

here, where in Jefferson's words all are "on an equal footing." He "rejoiced over the presence of Jews in the country because they would insure that religious diversity which, in his judgment, was the best protector of liberty." ¹²

The European democratic movements sought to free the Jews from the religious based restrictions on their rights to citizenship and free movement. But their anti-clericalism led them to denigrate Judaism as an obscurantist doctrine which should wither under the pressure of the Enlightenment. As Stanislaus de Clermont-Tonnerre, a Revolutionary deputy, said in 1791: "One must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation but one must give them everything as individuals...."¹³ That is, they wanted to free the Jews as individuals, but not to have Judaism around. Such notions were foreign to the Americans. They opposed church establishment, but welcomed religion.

The most dramatic indicator of the pluralistic character of religion in the first half century of American independence is evident in one of the most interesting and peculiar pieces of legislation enacted by an American Congress, the Sunday Mails Law. Passed in 1810, it provided for the operation of post offices for one hour on Sundays. In 1825, postmasters were ordered to keep them open for the entire day. Some churchmen

¹² John A Hardon, American Judaism (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1971), pp.32-33.

¹³ Arthur Herzberg, The French Enlightenment and the Jews (New York: Columbia University, 1968), p.360.

formed a General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath. In reaction to such protests, in 1830, a Senate Committee headed by Richard Johnson, a Kentucky Senator and head of a national Baptist group, authored a Senate Committee report on the Act, adopted by the full body, which explicitly said: "The Constitution regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian," and that the government was obligated to affirm to all its "institutions on Sunday, as well as every day of the week."¹⁴

The fact that leading politicians could openly advocate that the federal and state governments must consider the rights of Jews and other non-Christians indicates the extent to which many believing Protestants of the early United States were able to accept religious diversity.¹⁵ Richard Johnson, the author of the 1830 Senate Report, was nominated for the vice-presidency as Martin Van Buren's running mate on the Democratic ticket, supposedly because of his popularity stemming from the Report.

Although the Sunday requirement was dropped in the 1840s, Congress was to reaffirm in 1861 the position that Jews were entitled to the same rights as Christians. It had passed a law concerning military chaplains, which stated that they were to be

¹⁴Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979, Second Edition), pp. 164-165

¹⁵James R. Rohrer, "The Sunday Mails and the Church-State Theme in Jacksonian America," Journal of the Early Republic, 7 (Spring 1987), pp.

regularly ordained ministers of some Christian denomination. Objections from Jewish groups led to an amendment to allow Rabbis to serve as well.

The position of the Jews in early America was not only a function of political developments, it related to the special character of American Christianity, the fact that the United States is the only Protestant sectarian country. The European and Latin American nations have been dominated by the churches - the Anglicans, Catholics, Lutherans and Orthodox. The overwhelming majority of Americans were and are adherents of the sects: the Baptists, Methodists, and hundreds of other smaller denominations. The churches have been established and hierarchical. The sects have never been state related; they have always been voluntary institutions, and most of them have been congregational.

As Tocqueville and latter day students of American religion and society have emphasized, Protestant sectarianism which stresses the personal relationship of individuals with God, unmediated by church or hierarchy has contributed to the strength of individualism in this country. The competitive relationship of the sects with other denominations has enabled the Jews to fit in, as one out of many, rather than as the only or principal deviant group. In any case, until relatively recently, most Protestant sectarians viewed the Roman Catholics harshly, more negatively than the Jews. Catholicism was seen by many Americans, not as a different set of religious beliefs but, as an alien

conspiracy seeking to undermine the American Protestant way of life, therefore as outside the pale.

The American Jews adapted to the dominant Protestant pattern. They developed a congregational style, eschewing organized communal or hierarchical structures which once characterized Jewry in many European countries. In the latter, Jews were governed by kehillas, communal organizations, which included all of them, and in a number of nations, by Grand Rabbis, whose status has resembled that of bishops or archbishops. Canadian Jewry, living in a country, which places much more emphasis on the solidarity of ethnic and religious communities than the United States, as Morton Weinfeld notes in his chapter, is organized in one group, the Canadian Jewish Congress, which is somewhat like a European kehillah. American Jewry has no Grand Rabbis or disciplined communal bodies. An effort to form a kehillah in New York before World War I failed.¹⁶ Judah Magnes, who played a major role in creating the New York kehillah in 1909, was to note a decade later that the "European notion of a uniform ... all-controlling ... kehillah cannot strike root in American soil ... because it is not in consonance with the free and voluntary character of American religious, social, educational, and philanthropic

¹⁶ Arthur A. Goren, New York Jews and the Quest for Community. The Kehillah Experiment, 1908--1922 (New York: Columbia University, 1970).

enterprises...."¹⁷ The contemporary complex voluntary communal organization structure and the nature of the American Jewish polity are discussed in chapters by Daniel Elazar and Larry Rubin.

Relations With the Larger Society

There were relatively few Jews in the United States before the Civil War. They only totaled 15,000 in 1825, increasing to 50,000 in 1848. Some were able to reach high places in the American military and political systems, including a number of Congressmen and local elected officials. The most prominent of the latter, Mordecai Noah, served at different times between 1813 and 1841 as U.S. Consul to Tunis, High Sheriff of New York, Surveyor of the Port of New York, Associate Judge of the New York Court of Sessions, and editor of six different New York newspapers. He also headed a number of Jewish communal organizations.¹⁸ August Belmont, a Jewish banker who had once represented the Rothschilds, was chairman of the Democratic National Committee from 1860 to 1872. In 1860, the Commander of the Mediterranean Fleet was Uriah Levy, an affiliated Jew. There were at least four Jewish Generals in the Union Army.¹⁹ At a time when Jews were still barred from public office in almost all of Europe, two Jews, David Yulee of Florida and Judah P.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 252

¹⁸ Peter Wiernik, History of the Jews in America (New York: Hermon Press, 1972, Third Edition), pp. 128-134.

¹⁹ Ibid, 229-240.

Benjamin of Louisiana were elected to the U.S. Senate. The former in 1844, and the latter in 1854. Benjamin, of course, is better known as Secretary of the Treasury and Jefferson Davis' closest advisor in the Confederacy during the Civil War.²⁰

On the other hand, there were a few anti-Semitic occurrences during the Civil War. In the North, Jewish cotton speculators and traders were stigmatized as helping the South economically. The most noteworthy action against them was Ulysses S. Grant's order, barring Jewish peddlers from the area under his command.²¹ Abraham Lincoln promptly countermanded it. The president did not object to penalizing individuals whose actions were aiding the enemy, which as he told Grant, presumably "was the object of your order, but ... it is ... [the] terms [which] proscribed an entire religious class," that were objectionable. Grant, it may be noted, was to quickly indicate regret, and to say the order was penned "without reflection". He informed the War Department a day later, that it would never had seen the light of day had it not been telegraphed immediately after he signed it. More significantly, he told his wife that Congressional censures against him had been deserved since he "had no right to make an order against any special sect." As President, he "proved himself a friend of the Jews and appointed many to posts at home and

²⁰ Henry L. Feingod, Zion in America (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1974), pp. 89-90.

²¹ Joakim Isaacs, "Ulysses S. Grant and the Jews," in Jonathan D. Sarna, ed., The American Jewish Experience, (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986), pp.62-64.

abroad. He offered a Jew, Joseph Seligman, the post of Secretary of the Treasury, which he declined." Grant supported the Jews in the "controversy raised by... the A.S.P.C.A. over the alleged cruelty practised by Jews in the [kosher] slaughtering of animals." ²²

Concern for the welfare of Jews in other parts of the world has been characteristic of western Jewry since Roman times, and American Jews have obviously conformed to the rule. What is particularly notable about the phenomenon in the past two centuries is the extent to which they have been able to get support from the larger political system. In 1840, the United States protested the persecution of Jews in Turkish controlled Syria; in the 1880s, pogroms in Czarist Russia were officially condemned. In the first case, the Secretary of State wrote to the American Minister to Turkey to do what he could to mitigate the oppression. His letter noted that the United States places "upon the same footing the worshipers of God, of every faith and form, acknowledging no distinction between the Mahomedan, the Jew and the Christian." ²³ The American government frequently sought to intervene on behalf of the Jews of Romania, demanding that American and native Jews be accorded equality before the law. In 1879, in writing to the American Minister dealing with Romania,

²² Ibid., pp. 270-71.

²³ cited in Morris U. Schappes, ed., A Documentary History of Jews in the United States, 1654-1875 (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p.209.

Secretary of State Evarts notes: "As you are aware, this government has ever felt a deep interest in the welfare of the Hebrew race in foreign countries, and has viewed with abhorrence the wrongs to which they have at various periods been subjected by followers of other creeds in the East."²⁴

In the period between the Civil War and World War I, protests against anti-Jewish policies and pogroms in Czarist Russia occurred repeatedly. Some stemmed from an 1832 commercial treaty, which provided that local laws applied to nationals of each power in the other country. When, however, these provisions were used by the Russians to legitimate restrictions on American Jews, the State Department and Congress objected. From Garfield on, every administration complained about American Jews not having equal rights. Resolutions were passed by Congress calling for the abrogation of the treaty. In 1908, the platforms of both major parties denounced it, and in 1913, policies affecting Russian imports were tightened.

In 1881, Garfield, in denouncing a pogrom, inaugurated a pattern of protests about the treatment of Russian Jews. From then on World War I, American governments often expressed sympathy with the Russian Jews and voiced complaint to the Czarist government. Such actions were frequent from 1903 to 1906,

²⁴ Wiernik, History of the Jews, pp. 345-346.

when over 300 pogroms occurred, reflecting the tumultuous revolutionary times.²⁵

There were limits to the willingness of the American government to intervene on behalf of Jews abroad, which may convey a message for contemporary times. It is easy to win games in which you are the only major player, but you can lose against a strong opponent. In 1858, Jews in America and Europe rallied to protest the kidnapping and forced conversion to Catholicism of a Jewish youngster, Edgardo Mortara, an action which the Vatican refused to reverse.²⁶ Although American Jews put as much pressure on the national administration as they could, and there were many supportive editorials in the public press, this time the State Department did not react. The failure may have reflected the weakness of President James Buchanan, but more importantly, Jewish pressure was countered by Catholic efforts, and the Democratic politicians apparently did not want to alienate a large group of supporters.

Anti-Semitism

The seemingly philo-Jewish behavior on the part of nineteenth and early twentieth century American political elites did not imply the absence of hostile attitudes or behavior. Anti-Semitism, of course, existed in America, sometimes on a large

²⁵ Feingold, Zion in America, pp. 239-249.

²⁶ David Biale, Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), p. 124.

scale. It is a disease endemic in the long term competitive relationship between Judaism and its daughter religion(s). Antagonistic beliefs and negative stereotypes are part of the folk mythology of Christendom. The original settlers and subsequent groups of immigrants brought them to the New World. The special economic skills in finance and commerce, which Jews developed in Europe in order to survive in societies which denied them access to ownership of land, the principal form of capital and investment, made them especially vulnerable to blame and persecution in periods of economic malaise and other severe crises.

The United States has not been an exception, even if the anti-Jewish outbreaks here have been much less virulent than in other countries. Comparing the phenomenon in nineteenth century Europe and America, Leo Ribuffo concludes, "anti-Semitism in the United States was relatively less violent, less racist, and less central to the world views of those who accepted it."²⁷ Conversely, nativism, hostility to immigrants, was a recurrent phenomenon in America, particularly active during periods of economic and political crisis. Jews sometimes were included as a secondary target, but the most extreme forms of nativism were to be found among the more fundamentalist Protestants, and took the form of anti-Romanism, of opposition to supposed conspiracies and

²⁷ Leo P. Ribuffo, "Henry Ford and The International Jew," American Jewish History 69 (June 1980), p.437.

real immigration waves which seemingly threatened the Protestant character of the country.²⁸

Significant anti-Semitism showed up in the late nineteenth century, directed against the growing affluence of the German Jews, at a time when the Jews numbered about 250,000. As of 1889, "bankers, brokers, wholesalers, retail dealers, collectors, and agents accounted for 62 percent of their occupations. In addition, 17 percent were professionals."²⁹ In the post-Civil War period, a number of Jews of German origin developed the leading banking houses of the country. They, together with New England scions of the Puritans, dominated investment banking.³⁰

Although socializing and intermarrying largely with themselves, these extraordinarily successful people were opposed to social separatism. Some were among the founding members of the the high status social clubs formed in many cities immediately before and after the Civil War. But as the number of the first-generation or otherwise affluent Jews grew, wealthy Gentiles

²⁸ Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics of Unreason: Right Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1977 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978, Second Edition), pp. 47-48, 89-90

²⁹ Goldscheider and Zuckerman, The Transformation, p. 166. For details see Nathan Glazer, "Social Characteristics of American Jews, 1654-1954," American Jewish Year Book, 56 (1955), pp. 9-10.

³⁰ Barry E. Supple, "A Business Elite: German-Jewish Financiers in Nineteenth-Century New York," Business History Review 31 (Summer 1957), pp. 143-178; Vincent P. Carosso, "A Financial Elite: New York's German-Jewish Investment Bankers," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, 66 (September 1976), pp. 67-87.

began to look for ways to deny them social access. Status strains endemic in a rapidly expanding and changing society upset people at different levels of the social structure. Those descended from the old wealthy of the pre-Civil War era found their claims to superior status threatened by the newly wealthy, some of whom were Jews. The Gentile nouveau riche, in turn, discovered that wealth alone was not sufficient to earn them admission to high society, and sought to differentiate themselves from the Jews. There was open resistance to allowing Jews into the social elites, into their neighborhoods, though restricted covenants, into their clubs and resorts, and ultimately efforts to hold down their numbers in high-ranking universities and professions.³¹ But it "is important to stress the fact that this caste line was only drawn at the end of the nineteenth century, when ... the members of the upper class were setting themselves apart in other ways." ³²

As John Higham describes the background:

At every level so many successful people clamored for admission to more prestigious circles that social climbing ceased to be a simple and modest expectation.... In order to protect recently acquired gains from later comers, social climbers had to strive constantly to sharpen the loose, indistinct lines of status. With a defensiveness born of insecurity, they grasped at distinctions that were more than pecuniary, through an elaborate formalization of etiquette,

³¹ Lipset and Raab, The Politics of Unreason, pp. 92-95.

³² E. Digby Baltzell, The Protestant Establishment (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 138.

the compilation of social registers, the acquisition of aristocratic European culture, and the cult of genealogy.³³

East European Jews

The late nineteenth century also witnessed the steady mass immigration of poor Jews from eastern Europe, which, by World War I, produced a population of over three million, mostly concentrated in the tenement districts of the major northern cities. Although much poorer than their German origin coreligionists, they were much better prepared for the life and economy of American cities than other immigrants. Almost all Jews came from urban environments. "Between 1899 and 1914, fully two-thirds of the Jews entering the United States had been engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits in Europe, more than three-fourths as skilled workers." This background provided them with "an enormous structural advantage over other immigrants in the pursuit of occupational integration and social mobility."³⁴ Although able to obtain employment in their traditional skills, most were poor. They worked mainly in the garment industries or in trade, often initially as peddler, the lowliest form of self-

³³ John Higham, "Social Discrimination Against Jews in America, 1830-1930," American Jewish Historical Society, 47 (1957), p.10; "Anti-Semitism in the Gilded Age: A Reinterpretation," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 43 (1957), p.566.

³⁴ Goldscheider and Zuckerman, The Transformation, pp.166-167.

employment.³⁵ Living in crowded slums, in areas marked by high crime rates and red-light districts, speaking Yiddish, frequently looking unkempt and outlandish, they helped to produce new anti-Semitic stereotypes. These fed nativist prejudices. Considerable tensions developed between the Jews and other immigrant groups, which presaged some of the more serious working-class based anti-Semitic movements of the 1930s.

Poverty and bad housing conditions did not stop these East European Jews from moving up. The skills and values they brought with them enabled them to quickly outdo even those at their starting socio-economic level in rates of upward social mobility. "For each wave of immigration from Russia bringing penniless and green immigrants into the slums, there was an exodus by immigrants who after five or ten years or so had managed well enough so they could leave the squalor of those slums."³⁶ They advanced through self-employment and education, particularly the latter. "Jewish children were in school longer than other immigrant groups ... and accounted for relatively high percentages of those who attended schools and universities in the large cities of the Northeast.... In comparison to most other immigrant groups, as well as to native-born Americans, Jewish

³⁵ Chaim I. Waxman, America's Jews in Transition (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), pp. 49-51.

³⁶ Lucy S. Dawidowicz, On Equal Terms. Jews in America 1881-1981 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982), p. 51.

children were more likely to reach and finish high school and more likely to enroll in college preparatory courses."³⁷

The most significant aspect of the American Jewish experience, prior to the Great Depression, was not its religious, organizational and political diversity but the improvement in its circumstances, as the children of the immigrants acquired substantial education and skills. Without going into further detail on the specific patterns of upward mobility, it should be noted that the East European Jews have been able to become first, the best educated, then the most middle-class, and ultimately the most affluent ethno-religious group in the country, other, perhaps than their co-religionists of German origin.³⁸ As Lucy Dawidowicz notes, no "other immigrant group evinced such rapid and dramatic success."³⁹ From a concentration

³⁷ Goldscheider and Zuckerman, The Transformation, p. 168.

³⁸ Nathan Reich, "The Role of the Jews in the American Economy," YIVO Annual, 5 (1950), pp. ; Nathan Goldberg, "Occupational Patterns of American Jews," Jewish Review, 3 (April, October-December 1945, January 1946), pp. ; Nathan Glazer, "The American Jew and the Attainment of Middle-Class Rank: Some Trends and Explanations," in Marshall Sklare, ed., The Jews, Social Patterns of an American Group (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 138-146; Sidney Goldstein, "Socioeconomic Differentials Among Religious Groups in the United States," American Journal of Sociology (May 1969), pp. 612-631; Simon Kuznets, Economic Structure of the Jews (Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, 1972); Marshall H. Medoff, "Note: Some Differences Between the Jewish and General White Male Population in the United States," Jewish Social Studies, 43 (Winter 1981), pp. 75-80.

³⁹ Lucy S. Dawidowicz, On Equal Terms. Jews in America 1881-1981 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982), p.51.

in the garment and other skilled trades, East European Jews moved toward heavy involvement in the professions.

The desire to attain a first class education at the best universities led to crises in the 1920s, as the major eastern private college and professional schools found the proportion of Jews among their students rising into the double-digit percentiles (40 percent at Columbia). Arguing that these developments were undermining the character of their institutions and professions, that concentrations of Jews in particular places would result in anti-Semitism (sic), they covertly or openly restricted Jewish enrollment, through use of quotas or special forms of preference, for which few Jews could qualify. Although these restrictions kept down the number at the Ivy League and other elite private colleges, they did not stop young ambitious Jews from securing higher education. They flooded the public institutions, such as City College in New York. Limited in the proportion who could become physicians, many who could not get into medical school became dentists or pharmacists. Others who were not admitted to major law schools went to less prestigious ones or studied for other business-related professions such as accounting. During the 1930's, when economic adversity limited support for prolonged professional education and opportunities for employment in private industry, many young Jews became teachers or civil servants. And self-employment, the most traditional way for Jews to escape restrictions, probably absorbed the greatest proportion of the ambitious.

To analyze the sources of Jewish achievement would take this essay too far afield. Suffice it to say that students of the subject have stressed: 1) a religiously inspired drive for education which, secularized, has been linked to disproportionate intellectual contributions since the early Middle Ages; 2) the fact that Jews have been the urbanites par excellence, a background which has advantaged individuals in succeeding in the centers of business, professional and intellectual life; 3) a greater socialization in middle-class norms and habits than any other less privileged group, including a strong achievement drive, "the habits of care and foresight," and the capacity to defer gratification;⁴⁰ and 4) greater rootlessness, the ability to form new social relations in different ecological and class environments, one which Jews show up as having more than other American ethnic groups.⁴¹ In discussing these issues, Glazer notes:

Judaism emphasizes the traits that businessmen and intellectuals require, and has done so since at least 1,500 years before Calvinism. We can trace Jewish Puritanism at least as far back as the triumph of the Maccabees over the Hellenized Jews and of the Pharisees over the Sadducees. The strong emphasis on learning and study can be traced that far back, too. The Jewish habits of foresight, care, moderation probably arose early during the two thousand years that the Jews have lived primarily as strangers among other peoples.⁴²

⁴⁰ Glazer, "Social Characteristics...", pp.30-31.

⁴¹ Fred L. Strodbeck, "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement," in Sklare, ed., The Jews, pp.162-163; and Lipset and Ladd, "Jewish Academics...", pp.96-99.

⁴² Glazer, "Social Characteristics...", p.31.

The restrictions on Jewish entry into elite institutions, which in part reflected the competitive concerns of the non-Jewish middle-class and elites, were paralleled by increasingly negative reactions among the less affluent mass population, particularly, but not exclusively, fundamentalist and evangelical Christians in rural areas and smaller urban centers. The latter dominated the country numerically until the start of the twentieth century, but massive non-Protestant immigration, Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish, and the steady growth of metropolitan areas were undermining their cultural and religious supremacy. American society was becoming cosmopolitan, secular and urban. The census of 1920 reported that for the first time in American history urban dwellers were in a majority. Symbolically, large cities had become the centers of Jewish and Catholic influence.

Evangelical Protestantism, as noted earlier, had long formed the base for opposition to Catholic immigration, while ignoring or even accepting the Jews for the most part. But in reaction to their massive infusion and economic success, the largely urbanized Jewish population also became a target starting in the second decade of the century. In 1914, Tom Watson, a former leader of the People's party, and subsequently intellectual Godfather of the revived Ku Klux Klan, stimulated a lynching of Georgia Jewish businessman Leo Frank, "for the death of a working-class Gentile" girl, a crime of which he was innocent. Watson continued a vitriolic anti-Semitic campaign for years

thereafter. The outpouring of hate against Catholics, Jews, and Negroes contained in Watson's nationally circulated newspaper took an institutionalized form in the multi-million member Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's, although Watson himself never joined, as far as is known.⁴³

The Klan, which documentably represented a form of evangelical Protestant backlash, was supported disproportionately by lower status rural and urban white sectarians. It attacked Catholics, Negroes, Jews, radicals, and "immoral" people - divorcees, adulterers, prostitutes, and the like. Although much less concerned with Jews than Catholics and personal immorality, Klan publications were replete with elaborate Jewish conspiracies. They reprinted The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, which they found in another twenties' focus of anti-Semitic agitation, Henry Ford's Dearborn Independent.⁴⁴

Religious and Political Activity

The changing composition of American Jewry and the diverse impact of world events led to deep divisions in the community. The older German strand accommodated to their late nineteenth century environment by modifying their religious practice. They developed Reform Judaism, whose practice and doctrine resembled the liberal Protestantism and Unitarianism of the non-Jewish

⁴³ Lipset and Raab, The Politics of Unreason, pp. 97-99.

⁴⁴ Ibid, pp.110-140, esp. p.139 for discussion of anti-Semitism.

middle to upper classes.⁴⁵ The more successful among the East Europeans, coming, if they were religious, from more Orthodox backgrounds, helped to create a more Americanized religious movement, the Conservatives. The Orthodox retained strength among the poorer and less assimilated elements.⁴⁶

But many Jews in eastern Europe had rejected religion entirely. Facing anti-Semitic regimes and societies, they could not simply enter the majority cultures. Barred from being members of conservative parties, they supported radical or revolutionary movements. They came to America as socialists and tried to remain such as workers. The major Yiddish newspaper, the Forward, was socialist. The predominant Jewish unions in the garment and other industries, joined in the United Hebrew Trades, backed the Socialist party.⁴⁷ The only two Congressmen the party elected before World War I, Meyer London from the East Side of New York and Victor Berger from Milwaukee, were both Jewish. The Socialists constituted the second largest party in many Jewish districts in New York until the New Deal, when they voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt, often on a third, American Labor, party

⁴⁵ Moshe Davis, The Emergence of Conservative Judaism The Historical School in 19th Century America (New York: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), pp.149-228.

⁴⁶ Marshall Sklare, Conservative Judaism. An American Religious Movement (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), pp. 43-82; Hardon, American Judaism, pp. 119-146.

⁴⁷ Ronald Sanders, The Downtown Jews, (New Yoork: Dover Publications, 1987), pp. 56-180; Melech Epstein, Jewish Labor in U.S.A. (New York: Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, 1950)

line.

Zionism constituted the second largest secular political strand among Jews in eastern Europe and North America. (The religiously Orthodox opposed the movement, believing that only God could redeem the promised land for the Jews.) It was, however, weaker than socialism until World War II, and, in any case, included a large socialist wing.⁴⁸

To iterate the obvious, the period from the start of the Great Depression and the rise of Nazism has witnessed the greatest transformation in world Jewry since the destruction of the second Temple. The prolonged economic collapse stimulated the growth of extremist movements, some of which in Germany, the United States, and elsewhere, focused on blaming the Jews for all that went wrong. The German developments led to the Holocaust and the murder of six million Jews, one third of the world's population. But ironically, the set of events set in motion by Nazism also resulted in increased emigration to Palestine, and to the rebirth of the state of Israel in 1948. Thus, the most terrible and the most triumphant moments of Jewish history since the second Exile are intimately interlinked.

In the United States, assorted anti-Semitic right-wing movements, the most important of which was Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice, as well as a number of smaller ones which appealed to evangelical Protestants, gained strength.

⁴⁸ Glazer, American Judaism, p.71.

There is no reliable estimate of their support; they failed miserably at the ballot box. On the other hand, national opinion polls suggest that as much as a quarter of the population approved of the racist demagogue, Charles Coughlin, who broadcast every Sunday on a national radio network.⁴⁹ That support dropped to a seventh by 1940. Assorted surveys designed to estimate the degree of anti-Semitism among the American public by responses to various prejudicial statements about Jews, conducted by Jewish defense groups, reported that roughly one out of two could be classified as anti-Jewish. This pattern lasted through World War II.

Although the presence of proto-fascist movements and the increase in anti-Semitism did not have much effect on the personal or economic lives of American Jews, it clearly affected governmental policy towards Germany and the Holocaust. Franklin Roosevelt, though strongly anti-Fascist and supportive of American participation in a war against Germany, consciously refrained from linking such concerns to the plight of the Jews, for fear of losing support. America turned refugees from Europe away. Anxiety about public sentiments continued to affect American policy during the war, helping to block efforts to help Jews in extermination camps.

The Depression stimulated growth of anti-Semitism, and the country's shameful response to the plight of Jewish refugees and

⁴⁹ Lipset and Raab, The Politics of Unreason, pp. 171-189.

then to the Holocaust, clearly challenges the assumption that the Jewish experience in America is qualitatively different from that in other countries, that the United States is exceptional. All that be said is that if the United States behaved badly, many others, such as Canada which refused to take in any Jews, did worse; that the government and the large majority of Americans were for doing all that was necessary to defeat Nazism. Very few people, including the great majority of American Jews, could bring themselves to believe that the Nazis were in fact trying to physically annihilate the Jews of Europe.

For whatever reason, the situation changed dramatically almost as soon as the war was over. Opinion polls documented striking drops in bigoted attitudes, not only towards Jews but to other minorities as well. The United States strongly supported the creation of the state of Israel. Although most Americans lacked enough knowledge of the Middle East to voice opinions, the large majority of those who did backed Israel against the Arab states which were trying to annihilate her.

On the behavioral level, dramatic changes developed as well. Almost all the restrictions against Jews, such as limited access to advantages or restrictive quotas, began to decline or disappear. This was particularly evident in academe both with respect to admission and hiring. The greater numbers of Jews trained in elite institutions were able to secure employment commensurate with their academic background. By the end of the 1980s, it is hard to find any area of American life in which

discrimination is still a problem.⁵⁰ And public opinion has changed in tandem with behavior, although a declining minority, sometimes as much as 25 per cent, will still voice agreement with anti-Jewish statements when put to them by pollsters. Without going into a methodological discussion, it may be noted that the significance of these opinions is reduced when considered in light of reactions to the same statements about excessive power, choice of neighbors, intermarriage, posed for other groups. Viewed in comparative ethnic context, Jews do extremely well.⁵¹

There are seven developments, which are crucially relevant to an understanding of contemporary American Jewry: commitment to and activities in support of Israel; Israel-Diaspora relations; differentiated religious involvements, demography - including extremely low birth rates, increasing inter-marriages, immigration and assimilation continued social mobility, communal organization; and political participation. Most of them are dealt with in the various essays in this volume. The concerns about and links to Israel are not treated separately since they constitute the most important underlying issues that have determined the nature of American Jewry since the formation of the state. As Nathan Glazer once noted, Israel has become the religion of the American Jews. It is the center of Jewish life, the cause to which more Jews are deeply dedicated than any other. The story of

⁵⁰ Dawidowicz, On Equal Terms, pp. 131-132.

⁵¹ Seymour Martin Lipset, "Blacks and Jews: How Much Bias?", Public Opinion, __ (July/August 1987), pp.4-5, 57-58.

Jewish philanthropy and political activity on behalf of the Jewish state has been covered in a myriad of books and articles and need not be reiterated here. It is alluded to in various chapters, particularly in Arnold Dashevsky's analysis of contributors. According to Barry Kosmin, director of research for the Council of Jewish Federations, although Jews "make up about 2 percent of America's population, they account for 4 percent of all giving in this country," for a total by Jews of \$3.5 billion dollars.⁵² Perhaps a quarter of this goes to Israel. Arthur Ginsberg of the United Jewish Appeal estimates that the organization raised \$740 million in 1988, up by \$15 million from the previous year. Somewhat over half these sums are sent to Israel, as is a roughly equal amount raised by the Israel Bond drives, plus additional amounts given to specific institutions. Jews give about the same amount to non-Jewish causes as they do to the UJA.

Although the special political orientations of American Jews are discussed in three chapters by Alan Fisher, Irving Kristol, and Carl Sheingold, it may be noted that the results of the 1988 elections, as reported in many opinion polls, confirm the generalization that while Jews earn more than any ethno-religious group for whom data exist, including Episcopalians, they are more liberal to left in their opinions than other white groups, and vote like Hispanics. In November 1988, according to most Exit

⁵² Kosmin, "Jewish Philanthropy...", p. 19.

Polls, over 70 percent of the Jews supported Dukakis. Republican presidential vote among them has declined slightly, but steadily, since 1980, when Ronald Reagan secured just above one-third of the ballots. Well over 80 per cent of the Jews backed Democrats for Congress. The only identifiable sub-set that is conservative and Republican is composed of the Orthodox, particularly the more extreme and less affluent among them. George Bush received over 85 percent of the vote in areas in Brooklyn and elsewhere inhabited by the Hassidic sects.

In reporting on the results of an extensive national questionnaire survey which he conducted on the political attitudes of American Jews and non-Jews in April 1988, Steven M. Cohen's findings reiterate those reported in Fisher's chapter on California Jews in 1986. Cohen concludes: "Jews are more liberal than non-Jews. In no [opinion] area are Jews significantly more conservative than non-Jewish whites, and in many areas, Jews are substantially more liberal than Gentiles....[I]n many issue domains, the Jewish center is well to the left of the Gentile center." Jewish liberalism even extends to policies which go against their interests as well-to-do people. Thus, "more Jews than whites or blacks endorse raising taxes as a way of cutting budget deficits."

Conversely, the much publicized discussion of a supposed shift of Jews to the right which has appeared in recent years is largely by left intellectuals who cite the appearance of an allegedly predominantly Jewish group of neoconservatives, as

evidence of Jewish behavior generally. The proof is very weak, as an indicator of Jewish increased conservatism, for a number of reasons: the number who have been so identified is a tiny proportion of the total group of Jewish intellectuals; Jews are also to be found in disproportionate numbers among those associated with various left-wing journals and causes; and, in any case, the majority of those labeled neoconservatives are still Democrats, and have never backed Ronald Reagan or George Bush.⁵³

Most American Jews have remained adherents of the social democratic values of their parents, as evident in the results of a national telephone survey taken by the Los Angeles Times in April, 1988. As Irving Kristol notes in his chapter, when asked which among three "qualities do you consider most important to your Jewish identity," over half, 57 percent, replied "a commitment to social equality," about a fifth chose "support for Israel" or "religious observance." When queried in the same poll as to whom they preferred in the then upcoming Israeli elections, "Peres, the Labor candidate" won out by over two and a half to one over "Shamir, the Likud candidate" among those with opinions. As with their behavior in American politics, the Orthodox were the only denominational group to prefer Shamir - by two to one. There is relatively little difference among the others related to religious preference, or degree of affiliation.

⁵³ Seymour Martin Lipset, "Neoconservatism: Myth and Reality," ____ (July/August 1988), pp. 29-37.

Extant survey data also indicate how American Jews react to the two Israel-related issues that have become salient in the past year, the question of the religious legitimacy of conversions performed by non-Orthodox rabbis, the "who is a Jew" question, and the policy debate as to whether Israel should negotiate giving up control of the West Bank and Gaza as part of a peace settlement, and deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization. Given that over 90 percent of American Jews are not Orthodox, and that inter-marriage with non-Jews has become very common, as Chaim Waxman documents in his chapter, it is not surprising that American Jews strongly oppose a change in Israeli law. Cohen found that by 84 to 7 percent, they oppose the proposal that "Israel change its laws so as to recognize only those conversions performed by Orthodox rabbis." Nine months before Arafat agreed to recognize Israel and reject the use of terrorism in December 1988, both the Los Angeles Times and Cohen's surveys indicated that more American Jews would support an agreement, which involves giving up territory for peace, than believe that the country should hold on to them indefinitely. Cohen found that 67 percent agreed with the statement: "If the PLO recognizes Israel and renounces terrorism, Israel should be willing to talk with the PLO," while only 16 percent disagreed. By a plurality, 41 to 31 percent, they favored "territorial compromise...in return for credible guarantees of peace."

The explanation for Jewish adherence to liberal-left politics, while having become astonishingly affluent, is obviously complex. Earl Raab and I have tried to deal with it elsewhere, as do contributors to this volume.⁵⁴ Without anticipating their analyses, it may be noted that Raab and I suggest that the behavior is linked to the continued effect of leftist political values imported from eastern Europe, noted above, deep concern about anti-Semitism, still linked in the minds of many American Jews much more to the political right than to the left, and the impact of norms underlying tzedekah, the obligation on the fortunate, the well-to-do to help individuals and communities in difficulty. The latter norm became general among European Jews during the Middle Ages, when it was literally a condition for survival, given that some communities were generally experiencing severe persecution, while others were doing well. The political values derived from tzedekah are communitarian, implying support for the welfare state. Beyond this, historic experience with discrimination seemingly leads many Jews to favor civil rights legislation for other minorities. Whether for these reasons or not, a plurality, by 44 to 31 percent, told Cohen that "Jewish values, as I understand them,

⁵⁴ Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, "The American Jews, the 1984 Elections, and Beyond," in William Frankel, ed., Survey of Jewish Affairs, 1985 (Cranberry, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1985), pp. 141-157; Lawrence H. Fuchs, "Sources of Jewish Internationalism and Liberalism," in Sklare, ed., The Jews, pp. 595-614; and Werner Cohn, "The Politics of American Jews," in Ibid, pp. 614-626.

teach me to be politically liberal."

More surprising, given the extent to which the United States has been open to Jews, and the clear evidence of a sharp fall-off in social and economic restrictions on them since World War II, they remain fearful of anti-Semitism. Only 14 percent of those responding to Cohen's questionnaires agreed: "Antisemitism in America is currently not a serious problem for American Jews." An overwhelming majority, over three-quarters, 76 percent, replied that it is a serious problem. The fact that they feel this way contributes to an identification with the left against the right. Cohen found that, when asked what proportion of a number of groups in the United States is anti-Semitic, three times as many (20 to 7 percent) said that many or most Republicans are, as thought the same of Democrats. The pattern was similar with conservatives and liberals, 23 to 9 percent.

The reluctance of Jews to accept evidence that anti-Semitism has declined or to shift their image as to the relative contribution of the left and the right, given the reality of their progress in American society and the strong efforts on behalf of Israel by Republican administrations, is striking testimony to the role of historical experience and memory. San Francisco provides strong evidence of how some Jews can totally ignore reality. Polls taken among contributors to the San Francisco Jewish Community Federation have found that one third agree that a Jew can not be elected to Congress from San Francisco. A poll reported such results in 1985 when all three

members of Congress from contiguous districts in or adjacent to the city were Jewish, as were the two State Senators, the mayor, and a considerable part of the city council.

Conclusion

Can we still speak of American exceptionalism for the country at large, and the position of the Jews in it? In another paper, dealing with the first half of the question, I answer yes. The characteristics which made the United States unique remain: The country is still the most classically liberal one in the industrialized world, lacking a socialist party, with one of the smallest trade union movements in proportion to the labor force; it retains its position, to which Tocqueville called attention, as the most religious country in Christendom; in spite of the rapid post-war growth in East Asia and Europe, America is considerably wealthier in per capita real income terms than they are, has expanded employment both in absolute and proportionate terms much more than other developed countries, both from World War II and the early eighties on; and has elaborated its populist political system in ways, which ironically by almost eliminating the role of political parties in the nomination process have contributed to a decline in vote participation.⁵⁵ As in the nineteenth century, it continues to give more support to Jewish causes abroad than any other country by far. This is evident in its extensive and often isolated support of Israel, politically

⁵⁵ Lipset, "American Exceptionalism Reaffirmed,"

The fears concerning demographic decline may be counterbalanced in part by the continued attractiveness of America to foreigners, including Jews. The United States is still by far the world's largest receiver of refugees and other immigrants. The upswing from the seventies on has included a renewed Jewish influx, a phenomenon not generally dramatized, since it involves a rejection of Israel as a place to settle or live. According to HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) reports, between 1967 and 1980, the agency assisted in settling over 125,000 Jews in the United States. HIAS records do not include the large number of Jewish immigrants from Latin America, Canada, South Africa and Iran. Nor do they list the hundreds of thousands of Israelis who have come here.⁵⁷

An inbred Jewish sense of foreboding does not permit me to conclude without noting my concerns that tensions and even conflict with Israel's and Jewry's closest allies may emerge in the not too distant future. Major sections of the American political and defense establishments are beginning to worry about the cost to the country of the Israel alliance. They want a settlement of the Israel-Palestine conflict and are beginning to feel that the major obstacle is Israel, not the Palestinians. The liberal Christian groups increasingly support the latter's cause, identifying them as the oppressed underdogs. A growing anti-

⁵⁷ Drora Kass and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1967 to the Present," in Marshall Sklare, ed., Understanding American Jewry (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1982), pp. 272-294.

and financially, and the aid given to the cause of Soviet Jewry, in terms of pressure on the government of the USSR, the admission of Jewish refugees, and the financing of their settlement costs in America and Israel.

American Jews continue to do extraordinarily well in the economic, political and social structures of the country. They not only contribute liberally to Israel and communal institutions, but to many others as well, including particularly politics, Democrats much more than Republicans, but significantly to the latter as well. "Jewish support of hospitals, museums, symphonies, and universities [as well as the United Funds] across the country now appears disproportionate not only to their numbers but also even to their proportion of the wealthy."⁵⁶

At the same time, as Waxman's analysis indicates, Jewish success contains within it the seeds of decline. Close to 90 percent of all Jewish youth attend universities, much more, as noted, the very best than others. These institutions are liberal politically and socially. They not only reinforce the propensity to back left causes, but press the newer generations of Jews to live by universalistic criteria, which disparage particularistic ethnic loyalties, not only with respect to dating and mating, but unquestioning support of Israel as well. The very high rate of intermarriage, now approaching 50 percent, and the low birth rate are closely linked to the level of university enrollment.

⁵⁶ Kosmin, "The Dimensions...", p.16

Israel alliance among major sections of the Black community led by Jesse Jackson, white leftists, and the expanding number of Arab Americans, is gaining strength within the Democratic party. At the 1988 Democratic convention, a debate on a pro-Palestinean plank was held for the first time in history. By agreement, no vote was taken, but media polls of the delegates indicate that a good majority personally favored the position. Journalist Stephen Rosenfeld noted that three other planks introduced by Arab American delegates entered the Democratic platform, that the number of such delegates increased from four in 1984 to more than 50 in 1988, not just in the Jackson camp, but in the Dukakis one as well. As he notes "the Arab-American agenda is now beginning to find a political home within the Democratic Party....That sector of the Jewish community accustomed to exercising unrivaled sway on certain 'Jewish ' issues is going to have to learn to live with a measure of competition that it has not previously known."⁵⁸ And given that the Jewish community is now more divided in its reactions to Israeli policies with respect to "Who is a Jew?" and peace and security matters, support for Israel by the American political community may decline.

The story of American and Jewish exceptionalisms, closely intermingled as they are, is not over. But the tale bears telling for it is one of the better sagas in human history. Hopefully,

⁵⁸ Stephen S. Rosenfeld, "A New Force," Present Tense 16 (November/December 1988), p.13.

the articles in this book will provide some insights and data for the chroniclers.

Premier Industrial Foundation

4500 EUCLID AVENUE
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44103

89-21

February 20, 1989

Dear Marty:

Thank you for sending me your chapter. As is always the case with your work, it is excellent. The book will make a major contribution to sociology, and also provide great insights into the ways in which Jews have developed as a people in America.

I am terribly sorry that the Foundation, at this point in time, is not entertaining applications in this area. The request does not have a good fit with what we are supporting.

Again, thank you very much for sending the material, and I wish you the very best of luck in getting the project funded. I look forward to seeing you at the next activity of the Commission.

Cordially,



Arthur J. Naparstek
President

Professor Seymour Martin Lipset
Russell Sage Foundation
112 East 64th Street
New York, NY 10021

TOWARDS THE THIRD COMMISSION MEETING

INTERVIEW OF COMMISSIONERS

COMMISSIONER NAME: PROF. MARTIN LIPSET

INTERVIEWER: PROF. SEYMOUR FOX

DATE: APRIL 5, 1989

PLACE: RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

Summary:

I had a very enjoyable hour and a half with Prof. Lipset. I took him through the steps of the work of the Commission since the meeting in December to where we are today.

I went through the concept of the demonstration site very carefully. He asked some very important questions, particularly concerning the personnel for supplementary schools. Again, he brought up his concern about us leaving out the college-age, the Hillel Foundation group. I think that he understood the necessity for an implementation instrumentality and I began to sketch some of the possibilities there. At that point, he brought up the importance of research and made a very reasonable argument for the kind of research which should accompany the ii. and would help us make decisions more intelligently.

He has the meeting of the 14th of June on his calendar and I believe that he will be very helpful, as he has been in the past.

lipset/2FOX-W

THE COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION IN NORTH AMERICA
TOWARDS THE THIRD MEETING OF THE COMMISSION

INTERVIEW OF COMMISSIONER

1. COMMISSIONER: PROF. SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET
2. INTERVIEWER: PROF. S. FOX
3. DATE: AUGUST 21, 1989
4. SETTING: NEW YORK CITY
5. SUMMARY:

Most of my meeting with Prof. Lipset was devoted to the research design which I had sent to him before our meeting. He responded positively to all of the issues that were suggested in the research design, but was concerned that we were leaving out the issue of the economics of Jewish education. He had participated in an earlier meeting with me and Prof. Hank Levin (Stanford University), where the possibility as well as importance of this issue had been discussed.

Prof. Lipset reminded us that there was one area missing from our work and that is the question of the market. As he has mentioned at several Commission meetings and in his meetings with me, he claims that we ought to find out what the Jews of North America want from Jewish education; how many are interested; and to what extent. If Jewish education were dramatically improved, how many more clients would be participating? He felt that though our information is very meagre in this area, work could be done by doing a secondary analysis of existing surveys, such as that were done in cities like San Francisco and Los Angeles.

I indicated to Prof. Lipset that I would bring this matter to the attention of the senior policy advisors and we agreed to continue this conversation. He supports the idea of Community Action Sites. He raised the issue of the college-age where he feels that we are missing the boat. He talked about several successful Hillel Foundations and indicated that we ought to look into whether or not these can be replicated, if sufficient funding and personnel were available.

Prof. Lipset will be attending the next meeting of the Commission.

TO: Henry L. Zucker FROM: Virginia F. Levi DATE: 7/9/90
NAME NAME
DEPARTMENT/PLANT LOCATION DEPARTMENT/PLANT LOCATION

SUBJECT: LIPSET REQUESTS

As you suggested, I asked Mark Gurvis for his thoughts on the proposal from Marty Lipset to support the Wilstein Institute in its analysis of the CJF 1990 survey data. Mark feels that this is the sort of project for which the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education will eventually serve as broker. The timing is wrong, however, to expect that in this instance.

Mark feels that we need a national community process for analyzing this data and that there is a reason for the Council to have a direct interest in the outcome.

Mark suggested several options for funding this project. The first might be for the MAF to support the entire project independent of any Commission implementation funding. More logical might be for us to provide the funding from our \$5 million set aside. The third option (and the one I think makes the most sense) would be for us to agree to provide part of the funding and to advise Lipset to seek the remainder of the support from one or more sources other than the foundations which will be supporting the Council.

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STANFORD UNIVERSITY, STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET
CAROLINE S. G. MUNRO PROFESSOR
OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, PROFESSOR OF
SOCIOLOGY, AND SENIOR FELLOW,
HOOVER INSTITUTION

213 HOOVER MEMORIAL BUILDING

August 16, 1990

Dr. Morton Mandel
Chairman
Commission on Jewish Education
in North America
4500 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44103

Dear Mort:

I will be at the November 8 luncheon. I should note that I will be in the east for the coming academic year at the Institute for Public Policy, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia 22030. Please have my address changed.

I was glad to note that you followed my suggestion that you should call the Democratic Jewish group a Study Group rather than a Council. Since I have not heard anything more about the composition of the group, I assume that you (they) decided not to incorporate any of the names I sent you.

Did you make any decision about the application from the Willstein Institute?

See you in New York.

Cordially,

SML
Seymour Martin Lipset

George Mason University
Krug Hall
4400 University Dr.
Room 205
Fairfax, Virginia 22030

SML/jss

703-323-2503
home 703-525-1357

MORTON L. MANDEL

4500 EUCLID AVENUE • CLEVELAND, OHIO 44103

HL2 ✓
MCM ✓

August 22, 1990

Dear Marty:

I am delighted you will be with us at the November 8 luncheon, and also am glad to know that you will be in Washington for the coming year. I hope we will be able to see each other a bit more often.

With regard to the Jewish Democratic Study Group, we have not yet created our board, and do, indeed, have your list of ideas as part of our "raw material". I am very hopeful that your group will be represented as part of the leadership of this effort.

Further, I know that the application you sent in is wending its way through our system. I will do what I can to move it along.

I look forward to seeing you soon, and warmest regards.

Sincerely,

MORTON L. MANDEL

Professor Seymour Martin Lipset
Stanford University
213 Hoover Memorial Building
Stanford, CA 94305