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that penetrating remarks are lacking; indeed, they abound. But, as in "reaching for the absolute," where Kampf considers Newman, Gottlieb and Rothko as painters who view art as "an adventure into an unknown world," his elastic approach to a Jewish background seems oversimplified. Room remains both for closer comparisons with their respective schools and for the analysis of their "unique approach."

Handsomely produced and elaborately illustrated, Avram Kampf's book is a most ambitious undertaking. He has attempted in less than one hundred pages of text to cover the course of Jewish art in the major centers of Jewish creativity from a totally new and provocative viewpoint. Never mundane in his choice of artists and written in a prophetic tone, Kampf has provided a serious thesis on the manner in which the Jewish artist makes sense of his Jewish experience and how he fuses that past onto the creative process. Notwithstanding the drawbacks and the belabored reiteration of his thesis, Kampf's incisive understanding of the predicament of the modern Jewish artist makes this an important book, no less for the historian of contemporary Jewry than for the art historian.

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Menahem Kaufman, *Lo-ẓiyonim beamerikah bamaavak 'al hamedinah, 1939–1948* (Non-Zionists in America and the Struggle for Jewish Statehood). Jerusalem: Hasifriyah haẓiyonit, 1984. English summary. xxiii + 12 + 413 pp.

Non-Zionism, a forgotten term today, was in its heyday an ideology espoused by such eminent American Jewish leaders as Cyrus Adler, Jacob Blaustein, Louis Marshall, Julian Morgenstern and Felix Warburg. It was also the ideological position favored by many influential Jewish organizations, notably the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, B'nai B'rith and the Jewish Labor Committee. Yet, although one might have expected on this account that it would be the subject of intensive scholarly investigation, non-Zionism has actually suffered from almost total neglect at the hands of scholars in the recent past. This volume, expanded from a doctoral dissertation completed at the Hebrew University, is, surprisingly, the first book-length study of the subject in any language. It is, as such, an important contribution: valuable in its own right for the new information it presents and, perhaps, even more valuable for what it reveals about what we do not yet know about non-Zionism and still need to learn.

Before proceeding further, we need some working definition of non-Zionism, keeping in mind that non-Zionism, like Zionism, clearly meant different things to different people. Kaufman generalizes that "ideologically and politically the non-Zionists rejected the Zionist philosophy, but not practical work in Palestine." A

more comprehensive definition, the best I have ever seen, was penned by Morris D. Waldman, executive vice-president of the American Jewish Committee:

> A non-Zionist is a person who does not subscribe to the doctrine that the Jews of the world constitute a nation, in the modern accepted political sense of the term, or to the belief that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine is the *sine qua non* for the survival of the Jewish religion and culture; at the same time he would favor the eventual establishment of a state in Palestine controlled by the Jewish population, on condition that this is hedged in by guarantee of equal rights to all its inhabitants and by safeguards against the impairment of the political and civil status of Jews elsewhere, and will avoid the connotation that the Jewish people as such constitute a secular nation. Believing that the Jews and Judaism can survive in other lands than Palestine, the non-Zionist, unlike the Zionist who believes that hope for Jewish survival lies only in Palestine, considers it the destiny and right of the Jews to live everywhere on an equality with all other elements in the population. He does not regard a Jewish Palestine as the only solution of the Jewish problem. Indeed, he holds that a Jewish Palestine cannot guarantee security to its inhabitants unless Jewish life is secure in the world at large. Moreover, he believes that Jewish life cannot be secure anywhere unless the world is dominated by democratic ideals and practices which safeguard the rights of all human beings regardless of race and creed.*

Non-Zionists may thus easily be distinguished from anti-Zionists such as those associated with the American Council for Judaism. Although the latter forswore any connection whatsoever to Zion and insisted that Judaism was merely a religion, non-Zionists embraced a limited sense of Jewish peoplehood (what would later be termed ethnicity), accepting the mutual responsibilities of Jews for one another. In a more practical vein, they also supported selected programs and charities designed to strengthen Jewish life in the Yishuv, and they championed various efforts aimed at opening the doors of Palestine to homeless Jewish refugees.

Kaufman focuses on the relationship of American non-Zionists to "the struggle for Jewish statehood" during the crucial decade prior to 1948. In eight well-researched and richly detailed chapters that are supported by more than thirteen hundred endnotes citing documents in eighteen different repositories, he spells out the ugly infighting, complex behind-the-scenes discussions and feverish diplomatic negotiations that characterized this fateful period in American Jewish political life. He traces the dispute between the Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal, the squabbles connected with the founding and breakup of the American Jewish Conference and the activities of non-Zionists (sometimes cooperating with Zionists, sometimes not) at the United Nations and in Washington, D.C. He pays particular attention to the doings of the American Jewish Committee and its leaders, showing how the Committee worked behind the scenes during this period, often in concert with the State Department, never in open opposition to administration policies, and yet always genuinely convinced that its actions, whether for statehood or not, reflected the best interests of American Jews. Finally, he explores the impact on non-Zionist thinking of the destruction of European Jewry. More than

*Morris D. Waldman to Eugene S. Halle (November 21, 1944), Waldman Papers, box 2, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, as quoted in Richard K. Harkavy, "Non-Zionism Within Reform Judaism: 1917–1948" (Ordination thesis, Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, 1981), 149–150.

anything else, he shows, it was the tragic plight of the postwar Jewish DPs that finally persuaded non-Zionists that a Jewish state was a practical necessity.

Kaufman's tightly focused narrative is reliable, well organized and easy to follow. It is a tribute to Israeli scholarship, and will, one hopes, encourage a great many more studies by Israelis of American Jewish history and life. Yet, this volume also suffers from an unfortunate narrowness of conception. Where Kaufman might have used the issue of non-Zionism to shed light on general currents of American Jewish life during this period, as a case study in American Jewish political behavior or as an example of what distinguishes the history of Zionism in America from its counterpart in Europe, he prefers to let the facts speak for themselves. I fear that in doing this he places too great a burden on his readers. An interpretive conclusion spelling out in insightful detail why this chapter in the history of American Zionism is so important and what it teaches us about America, American Jewry and the Zionist movement would, in my opinion, have added a great deal to this volume's general significance.

As Kaufman himself knows, his volume by no means exhausts the subject of non-Zionism in America. There is still a volume to be written on the history of non-Zionism in America before 1939; another on American non-Zionist ideology (which David Dalin, in his recent monograph in the *AJS Review* on the non-Zionism of Cyrus Adler, has shown to be riddled with complexities) and still another on the social basis of American non-Zionism—the question of who supported it and why. Most important of all, I would argue, we need a study on the overall influence of non-Zionism. Kaufman may be correct in a formal sense when he writes that with the founding of the Jewish state the movement "ceased completely." But ideologies rarely disappear in quite so rapid and absolute a fashion. Indeed, another look at Morris Waldman's definition of non-Zionism suggests a quite different conclusion: that important elements of non-Zionist ideology still survive today, even among those who proudly call themselves American Zionists.

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Ernest Krausz (ed.), *The Sociology of the Kibbutz*. Studies of Israeli Society, Volume 2. Published by the Israel Sociological Society. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1983. 424 pp.

Studies of the kibbutz too often seem to assume that it is an institution torn between the a priori immutability of its values, on the one hand, and the inevitability of social change, on the other. Often the presumed weakness of ideological rigidity is set against the presumed strength of social dynamics—and the one phenomenon is endowed with a good share of romantic historicism, the other with a teleological determinism.