Ben-Gurion, Zionism and American Jewry

1948-1963

Ariel L. Feldestein

Ben-Gurion, Zionism and American Jewry

Ben-Gurion, Zionism and American Jewry examines David Ben-Gurion's influence on the relationship between the State of Israel, the Zionist Organization and American Jewry between 1948 and 1963.

This volume is divided into three parts in accordance with Ben-Gurion's terms as Prime Minister of Israel: Part I is concerned with the establishment and consolidation of the state from 1948 to 1953; Part II looks at the period from 1953 to 1955 when Ben-Gurion resigned from the premiership; and finally Part III discusses his second term in office from 1955 to 1963. Issues covered include:

- The relationship between the State of Israel and Zionist and non-Zionist Organizations
- The shaping and aims of the Independence Bonds campaign
- Ben-Gurion and USA
- The Sinai Campaign from the perspective of rallying American Jewry
- Ben-Gurion's ideology and his policy with regard to the question of "Who is a Jew"
- The capture and trial of Adolf Eichmann
- The relationship between the State of Israel and the Zionist Organization and American Jewish Committee.

Ben-Gurion, Zionism and American Jewry provides a fascinating insight into Israeli history and development during the period of Ben-Gurion's leadership. As such this book will be of great interest to scholars of Middle East studies, Jewish studies, Israel studies, and ethnicity and nationalism.

Ariel L. Feldestein is the Director of Academic Administration at Sapir College, Israel. His field of expertise is Zionist ideology, the Zionist Movement, and relations between Israel and Diaspora Jewry. His recent publications include: *Gordian Knot—David Ben-Gurion, The Zionist Organization and American Jewry 1948–1963*, Tel-Aviv 2003 (Hebrew); Hagidu "ken" Lazaken. Dialogue with the pioneering spirit, Tel-Aviv 2005 (Hebrew).

Israeli History, Politics and Society

Series Editor: Efraim Karsh

Kings College London

This series provides a multidisciplinary examination of all aspects of Israeli history, politics and society, and serves as a means of communication between the various communities interested in Israel: academics, policy-makers, practitioners, journalists, and the informed public.

1 Peace in the Middle East

The challenge for Israel Edited by Efraim Karsh

2 The Shaping of Israeli Identity

Myth, memory and trauma

Edited by Robert Wistrich and

David Ohana

3 Between War and Peace

Dilemmas of Israeli security Edited by Efraim Karsh

4 US-Israeli Relations at the Crossroads

Edited by Gabriel Sheffer

5 Revisiting the Yom Kippur War

Edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy

6 Israel

The dynamics of change and continuity

Edited by David Levi-Faur,

Gabriel Sheffer and

David Vogel

7 In Search of Identity

Jewish aspects in Israeli culture Edited by Dan Urian and Efraim Karsh

8 Israel at the Polls, 1996

Edited by Daniel J Elazar and Shmuel Sandler

9 From Rabin to Netanyahu

Israel's troubled agenda Edited by Efraim Karsh

10 Fabricating Israeli History

The "New Historians," second revised edition *Efraim Karsh*

11 Divided against Zion

Anti-Zionist opposition in Britain to a Jewish state in Palestine, 1945–1948 Rory Miller

12 Peacemaking in a Divided Society

Israel after Rabin Edited by Sasson Sofer

13 A Twenty-Year Retrospective of **Egyptian-Israeli Relations**

Peace in spite of everything Ephraim Dowek

14 Global Politics

Essays in honor of David Vital Edited by Abraham Ben-Zvi and Aharon Klieman

15 Parties, Elections and Cleavages

Israel in comparative and theoretical perspective Edited by Reuven Y Hazan and Moshe Maor

16 Israel and the Polls 1999

Edited by Daniel J. Elazar and M Ren Mollov

17 Public Policy in Israel

Edited by David Nachmias and Gila Menahem

18 Developments in Israeli Public Administration

Edited by Moshe Maor

19 Israeli Diplomacy and the **Ouest for Peace**

Mordechai Gazit

20 Israeli-Romanian Relations at the End of Ceaucescu's Era

Yosef Govrin

21 John F. Kennedy and the **Politics of Arms Sales to** Israel

Abraham Ben-Zvi

22 Green Crescent over Nazareth

The displacement of Christians by Muslims in the holy land Raphael Israeli

23 Jerusalem Divided

The armistice region, 1947-1967 Raphael Israeli

24 Decision on Palestine Deferred

America, Britain and wartime diplomacy, 1939–1945 Monty Noam Penkower

25 A Dissenting Democracy

The case of "Peace Now," an Israeli peace movement Magnus Norell

26 Israeli Identity

In search of successor to the pioneer, Tsabar and settler Lilly Weissbrod

27 The Israeli Palestinians

An Arab minority in the Jewish state Edited by Alexander Bligh

28 Israel, the Hashemites and the **Palestinians**

The fateful triangle Edited by Efraim Karsh and P. R. Kumaraswamy

29 Last Days in Israel

Abraham Diskin

30 War in Palestine, 1948

Strategy and diplomacy David Tal

31 Rethinking the Middle East

Efraim Karsh

32 Ben-Gurion against the Knesset

Giora Goldberg

33 Trapped Fools

Thirty years of Israeli policy in the territories Schlomo Gazit

34 Israel's Ouest for Recognition and Acceptance in Asia

Garrison state diplomacy Jacob Abadi

35 The Harp and Shield of David Ireland, Zionism and the State of

Israel 1937-1963

Eliash Schulamit

36 HV Evatt and the Establishment of Israel

The undercover Zionist Daniel Mandel

37 Navigating Perilous Waters

An Israeli strategy for peace and security Ephraim Sneh

38 Lyndon B. Johnson and the Politics of Arms Sales to Israel

In the shadow of the hawk Abraham Ben-Zvi

39 Israel at the Polls 2003

Edited by Shmuel Sandler, Ben M. Mollov and Jonathan Rynhold

40 Between Capital and Land

The Jewish national fund's finances and land-purchase priorities in Palestine, 1939-1945 Eric Engel Tuten

41 Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads

Raphael Cohen-Almagor

42 Israeli Institutions at the Crossroads

Raphael Cohen-Almagor

43 The Israeli-Palestine Peace Process Negotiations, 1999-2001

Within reach Gilead Sher

44 Ben-Gurion's Political **Struggles**, 1963–67

A lion in winter Zaki Shalom

45 Ben-Gurion, Zionism and American Jewry

1948-1963 Ariel L. Feldestein

Israel: The First Hundred Years (Mini Series)

Edited by Efraim Karsh

Israel's Transition from 1 **Community to State**

Edited by Efraim Karsh

2 From War to Peace?

Edited by Efraim Karsh

3 Politics and Society Since 1948

Edited by Efraim Karsh

4 Israel in the International Arena

Edited by Efraim Karsh

5 Israel in the Next Century

Edited by Efraim Karsh

Ben-Gurion, Zionism and American Jewry

1948-1963

Ariel L. Feldestein



First published 2006 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge

270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2006.

"To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge's collection of thousands of eBooks please go to www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk."

© 2006 Ariel L. Feldestein

Translation: Riva Rubin

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN 0-203-96120-X Master e-book ISBN

ISBN10: 0-415-37240-2 (Print Edition) ISBN13: 978-0-415-37240-4

Contents

	Preface	Xi
	Acknowledgments	XV
	Introduction: Ben-Gurion, Zionism, and American Jewry before statehood	1
	RT I	
Est	tablishing and consolidating the State, 1948–1953	13
1	The first year of independence, 1948–1949	15
	 Zionist General Council session, August 1948—the "Separation" debate 15 The fundraising battle in the United States 18 The State, the Nation, and the Zionist Organization 23 	
2	The way to the "State of Israel Bonds" campaign	29
	 Cooperation and dissent 29 "Exchange of Views" between Ben-Gurion and Jacob Blaustein 33 "The State of Israel Bonds" campaign 36 	
3	Zionism for the present time, 1951	40
	1 The prime minister's visit to the United States 40 2 Ben-Gurion, Zionists and non-Zionists: act one 43 3 Ben-Gurion, Zionists and non-Zionists: act two 46 4 The 23rd Zionist Congress 48 5 Ben-Gurion, Zionists and non-Zionists: finale 50	
4	Legislative issues	54
	 The Law of Return 54 The Zionist Organization—Jewish agency status law 58 	

x Contents

PART II After resigning from the premiership, 1953–1955 67		
5	A Zionist preacher	69
	1 Resignation 69	
	2 An appeal 72	
	3 Responses 79	
	4 Epilogue 81	
	RT III cond term in office, 1955–1963	85
6	The Sinai Campaign	87
Ů	1 Acts of reprisal 87	0,
	2 Winds of war 89	
	3 The military campaign 92	
	4 Withdrawal 97	
7	Ben-Gurion and the intellectuals	102
	1 The ideological dialogue between Ben-Gurion and	
	Nathan Rotenstreich 102	
	2 The ideological assembly, 1957 106	
8	Who is a Jew	112
9	The capture and trial of Adolf Eichmann	121
10	Two sides of the triangle	128
	1 The Zionist Organization—The Jewish Agency 128	
	2 The American Jewish Committee 141	
11	End of the Ben-Gurion era	149
	1 Resignation 149	
	2 A Zionist preacher in retirement 155	
	Conclusion	159
	Notes	165
	Sources and bibliography	197
	Index	211

Preface

The main aim of this book is to examine David Ben-Gurion's influence on the nascent relationship between the young State of Israel, American Jewry, and the Zionist Organization. This examination necessitates an assessment of the character and modes of operation of the man who was Israel's prime minister (from the establishment of the state until December 1953 and from November 1955 until June 1963) and minister of defense (from the establishment of the state until December 1953 and from February 1955 until June 1963), the man who was central in shaping Israeli policy in the first two decades of statehood. By dint of his personality, prestige, and the positions he held, he left his mark on the institutionalization of Israel's political structures and substance. Therefore, the research focused on two tangential lines: clarification of Ben-Gurion's relevant ideological stances and analysis of major issues germane to the relationships under discussion.

Various researches discuss Ben-Gurion's ruling concept and the fact that he took for granted that he would determine the standard, obligatory principles of political conduct as the basis for a uniform state framework, thereby limiting the operations of the voluntary political organizations and sectors dating from the Yishuv [Jewish settlement in Palestine] period. In this context, the fields under review included the disbanding of underground organizations and the establishment of the Israel Defense Force (IDF); the establishment of a state education system to replace the various streams; the establishment of state systems for employment and health care and the depoliticization of public services. This research attempts, on the one hand, to examine whether Ben-Gurion's concept of statehood influenced Israel's relationship with American Jewry and the Zionist Organization and, on the other hand, to assess the importance of this relationship in the concept of statehood.

Several studies of Ben-Gurion's leadership are based on the assumption that his main strength lay in the political implementation sphere as demonstrated by his talent for organization, his erection of a power structure and its skillful use in the political mobilization of opportune situations to further the Zionist aims favored by him. There are those who claim that Ben-Gurion's political method was essentially pragmatic. That is, he adapted his policies to the circumstances of a changing reality and directed them to exploit opportunities, even at the expense of ideological principles. As Israel Kolatt put it: "Any attempt to create a Ben-Gurion doctrine, that is, a methodical, well-stated ideological position guiding the deeds of the leader statesman, is doomed to failure. Ben-Gurion's strength is not