

Cultural Zionism in Sweden: Daniel Brick's *Judisk Krönika*

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I. Introduction

The present study examines the content of the Swedish-Jewish Zionist periodical *Judisk Krönika* during its earliest years of publication, 1932 to 1950, under the editorship of its founder, Daniel Brick. The onus will be on how the magazine, in its brightest and most ambitious years, acted as a conduit through which the ideas of cultural Zionism flowed into Sweden.

Through essays, reports, editorial comments, book reviews and debates, the circle of intellectuals grouped around Brick clamoured for a revivification of what they considered to be the moribund cultural life of Swedish Jewry, the result (in their eyes) of decades of Reform dominance in communal life. Not wishing to make themselves any less "Swedish", the cultural Zionists nevertheless insisted that Jews in Sweden (and Norway, Denmark, and Finland) needed to adopt an international perspective, integrating the proposed idea for a Jewish national home in Palestine into their lives as a source of cultural pride and spiritual renewal. They hastened to assure their readers that their programme would in fact make better Swedes, as well as better Jews, of them.

Though I have combed through the entire output of *Judisk Krönika* from 1932 to the very last issue, the first number of 1979, with which Daniel Brick was associated, I have chosen here to restrict myself to the period from its inception up to the years of the immediate aftermath of the 1948 Israeli "War of Inde-

pendence". Spotlighting those years reveals an especially vibrant, if at times trying period in Swedish-Jewish debate. I consider this reading of *Judisk Krönika* to be the first step toward a more comprehensive study of cultural Zionism in Sweden, which will include use of archival and secondary sources to provide a more complete picture of this instance in Swedish-Jewish intellectual history.

II. *Judisk Krönika*: An Overview

Daniel Brick: Voice of a "Reflective Youth"

Daniel Brick (1903–87) was the son of an immigrant from Lithuania, a man described as both "deeply religious" and a "chovev-zionist [lover of Zion], warmly interested in the Jewish pioneering activity in Eretz Israel".¹ Aside from journalism and Zionism, Brick, who studied literature in university, put his hand to translating a number of great works of East European literature into Swedish, including short stories by Maxim Gorky, Isaac Babel, the Yiddish writer I.L. Peretz, and Jaroslav Hasek's *Good Soldier Svejk*. As well, he translated and published one of the seminal Zionist tracts, Leon Pinsker's *Autoemanzipation*, and wrote

a number of widely-distributed pamphlets pertaining to Jewish matters (including *Varför anklagar man judarna?*, on anti-semitism; and the photo-book *Palestina*, together with his wife, photographer Anna Riwkin-Brick).

But Zionism was his lifelong commitment, his "obsession", to use composer Moses Pergament's description.² "It is mainly thanks to Daniel Brick that Swedish, indeed Scandinavian Jewry came to realize the significance of Zionism".³ In a memoir written for the last issue of *Judisk Krönika* under Brick's editorship, contributor Erik Vendelfelt describes his first meeting with him in 1923, at Stockholm's Högskola:

We sat, myself and several other of Martin Lamm's students, at the long table in the library, studying the assigned literature and literary history that comprised Lamm's next exam. All was calm and peaceful ... when suddenly a door opened in the adjoining room, someone came toward the entrance to the library with ringing steps, stopped, and an indignant, bitterly ironic tone announced: "There's been an earthquake in Japan! Also most likely the fault of the Jews!"⁴

In time, Brick's rhetoric was to become more sophisticated, but the passion would never dampen. His style sparkles with intensity, and his output, from the early days of *Israeliten* to his last days at *Judisk Krönika*, was enormous.

During that era, he also held positions on a number of Zionist and Jewish-related organizations and relief agencies; published (along with Alva Myrdal) *Via Suecia*, a periodical for Second World War refugees with articles in Hungarian, Rumanian, German, Yiddish and Polish; was Secretary-General of the Zionist Organization in Sweden from 1935-48; acted as the State of Israel's first consul in Sweden, with the authority to issue visas to the new country; and founded and led the "Institute for Jewish Culture" in Stockholm in 1957, a highwater mark for the renaissance of Jewish culture in Europe after the War.

In 1919, the Association of Scandinavian Jewish Youth (SJUF) was formed in Oslo by Aron Grusd, in order to foster a more intense

Jewish life among the young Jews of those lands. As chairman of the Swedish branch, "Judisk Ungdom", Daniel Brick published an early statement of belief and purpose in the pages of the organization's short-lived house organ, *Israeliten* (in 1924).⁵ According to the writer, Jewish youth were slipping away from their Jewish background, engaged in "ineffectual activities", due to a failure on the part of the previous generations. The young today (that is, in the mid-1920s), "haven't received any tutelage in Jewishness, and have scarcely any knowledge of things Jewish".⁶ The religious school system with its one-track course of study, is unattractive, because in Brick's mind, Judaism is more than just a religion. Brick traces the roots of the previous generation of Swedish Jews to twin sources—those whose families have lived in the country for several generations, and those who immigrated in the 1880s, -90s, and later. It is the former, more powerful group, now running Jewish community affairs, products of a Reform upbringing, the "Swedes of Mosaic faith", who have misled youth. The young men and women with roots in the latter group are more fortunate; they at least have come from homes where "yiddishkeit" still plays a part. Yet in the majority of cases, they are still confronted by a bloodless, law-bound Judaism [lagjudendom], where repetition of prayers by rote and unanswered queries do nothing to encourage an interest in Judaism as a cultural heritage in the child.

However, somehow, against great odds, Jewish youth have today assembled themselves into groups, and have taken the first cautious steps toward renewing contact with their culture. Their inspiration, he writes, is taken from the Jewish refugees who "come here from lands where World War raged, where a Jewish consciousness existed ... They discovered that Judaism was something other than simple 'piety' and the maintaining of certain antiquated laws".⁷

Heartened by the whirlwind of national feeling sweeping Europe, they too were caught up—they became Zionists, Jewish nationalists, "descendants of one of the world's most vital

peoples",⁸ rejoicing at the "Balfour Declaration". However, reflection upon the horrors caused by war sparked by other forms of nationalism forced them to reconsider their own. Jewish youth evolved into

a reflective youth. . . They sympathize with the idea of Palestine, not because it will facilitate the creation of a Jewish nation-state, but rather because of its ethical-cultural import, because Palestine can become a haven for the thousands of destitute, miserable, homeless Jews of Eastern Europe, a haven where these Jews will be able to create a new existence, worthy of the dignity of man. That is why so many young Swedish Jews sympathize with the Palestine idea and Zionism, yet it would never occur to them to leave for Palestine themselves . . . They wish to collect their co-religionists around the cultural treasures of Judaism, and despite their glowing Jewishness, remain good Swedes. . .⁹

Thus, Brick underlines how Zionism, the Jewish form of nationalism, is of a deeper, more meaningful nature than the other types, which have left Europe in ruins and victimized so many innocents. He stresses the lack of chauvinism, and how the "ethical-cultural" dividends will be the greatest—involvement in the reestablishment of a vibrant Jewish community in Palestine, ancient home of the Jews, will inspire Jewish youth and enrich Swedish culture by sharing with it the "invaluable treasures of Jewish culture, and in that manner benefit their native Swedish soil".¹⁰

In time, Brick grew dissatisfied with *Israeliten* as a serious forum for Jewish topics (despite the fact that he served as co-editor); and in February, 1925, published the following notice:

The association 'Judisk Ungdom' has decided to cease publishing reports regarding the activities of the organization in *Israeliten*. These accounts, of how a lecture was held, that there was singing, recitation, that the lecture was received with lively interest and rewarded by storms of applause, that the tea or coffee tasted good, that dancing followed

and a splendid time was had, could not possibly be less interesting. Hereafter, 'Judisk Ungdom' shall simply publish shorter notices announcing lectures of interest and parties to be arranged. And 'Judisk Ungdom' sincerely hopes that the other Jewish youth organizations of Scandinavia will also break with this time-tested, 'Grönköping'-like tradition, and that the editorial board of *Israeliten* will use the space thus provided for shorter, instructive notices on varied Jewish topics, an obligation we have toward our often completely ignorant fellow-Jews.¹¹

Unfortunately, the journal hadn't much time left, and ceased publication soon after.

Brick soon conceived of a new periodical, to fill this vacuum. Previous attempts to publish a Zionist magazine in Scandinavia had failed miserably—*Zionisten* managed only five issues in 1913.¹² But Brick and his new generation of young Zionists were undaunted, and were determined to turn the eyes and ears of Scandinavian Jewry toward the world, in order to interact with international Jewry, while at the same time strengthening the bonds between Stockholm and Copenhagen, Trondheim and Helsinki.¹³ As Brick straight-forwardly recounted,

At the 12th Congress of SJUF, held in the month of December in 1931 in Stockholm, the decision was reached that the Federation would publish a journal of its own . . . I (assumed) the editorial chores of the new organ.¹⁴

Within no time, it proved that the SJUF was incapable of shouldering the economic burden of a new journal. So Brick, together with his brother Simon, took on sole responsibility for the publishing of *Judisk Krönika*, as the new magazine would be known (taking as its model the venerable London-based paper, *The Jewish Chronicle*).¹⁵

The first issue came out May 1932, and despite predictions to the contrary, Brick managed to keep publishing his magazine for forty-six years, until 1979, when he turned over the time-honoured name to a new editorial committee, and stepped down.

The success of the magazine was proportional to the need for it within the community it served. Though unmistakably Zionist in outlook, it soon ceased calling itself "Organ för SJUF" and addressing only the youthful sector of the community,¹⁶ and became instead the major popular forum for Jewish cultural and political discussion in Sweden. Normally, it published between eight and twelve issues per year, but during the hectic years after the Second World War, *Judisk Krönika* appeared as many as twenty-five times a year.

In a 1946 survey of Scandinavian-Jewish periodicals past and present, the respected and scholarly *Judisk Tidskrift* had this to say about *Judisk Krönika*:

Judisk Krönika has had (the greatest) influence on opinion-making in Jewish circles, through its more topical content and its ardent Zionist propaganda . . . Its dignified attitude has won it respect in many quarters.¹⁷

Judisk Krönika

By the time the publishers decided to stop calling *Judisk Krönika* the "house organ of the SJUF", the journal had become "a focal point . . . (for) a circle that wishes to act on behalf of Jewish culture in Scandinavia".¹⁸

In the unsigned (but certainly penned by Daniel Brick) editorial which introduced the very first issue, the author describes the process in which the decision to produce such a forum was passed, to take up where *Israeliten* had left off. However,

the new voice of the Federation . . . shall not limit itself to merely being a mouthpiece for its various organizations and exclusively busy itself with internal matters; rather, it will mainly (completely in the agreement with the SJUF's programme), be a general Jewish-cultural organ, that will give an account of the many aspects of Jewish life past and present, as well as a forum for the issues of the day, taking sides in those issues which directly or indirectly affect Jewry.¹⁹

He concludes by assuring the reader that *Judisk Krönika* has no intention of cutting the ties which have long bound the Swedish Jew to his surroundings, but rather that *Judisk Krönika* wishes only to stress its conviction that "a Jew can become a complete and well-rounded person only if he is conscious of his 'Jewish uniqueness', instead of trying to hide it from himself and others".²⁰ The goal then is not to isolate but rather broaden the horizons of Scandinavian-Jewish culture, as well as Scandinavian culture itself.

On the front page of the final issue of 1932, the new editorial committee of *Judisk Krönika* is introduced, including Hugo Valentin and painter Isaac Grünewald;²¹ as well, the publishers boast of having featured "65 authors, 109 articles, in 7 20-page issues".²² Indeed, in contrast to the post-War years, these first decades of publishing display a vitality, an intellectual curiosity and ambition to display the wide spectrum of Jewish existence, that make twenty pages seem too few to contain it.

Among the "65 authors" who appeared were Artur Lundkvist, Hugo Valentin, Sven Stolpe, Moses Pergament, the Danish-Jewish novelist Henri Nathansen, and a number of Scandinavian rabbis, cantors and community leaders. Topics ranged from confessional, "How I Became a Zionist"-reminiscences²³ and insights into Scandinavian-Jewish history;²⁴ to sports²⁵ and reviews and interviews from the artistic and entertainment worlds.²⁶ One theme issue (number 4), took on the burning political issue of anti-semitism. Poetry and prose were sprinkled throughout, by Moses Pergament, Isaac Babel, I.L. Peretz and many others.

Debate raged right from the inception when Ernst Klein, son of former chief Rabbi Gottlieb Klein, his ire raised by Valentin's article in the premier issue, rose to the defense of the ideals, Orthodox and Liberal (Reform) alike, of the previous generations.²⁷ Another concerned the methods and goals of the "Israelsmission" in Sweden.²⁸

The future of Yiddish was discussed, youth and the Bible, the preferred methods for teaching Judaism in Scandinavian schools, the implications of recent pogroms in the East and

the activities of the National Socialist party in Germany. Portraits were sketched of Scandinavian and international Jewish figures and their work, including Martin Buber, Theodor Herzl, Isaac Grünewald, Ernst Josephson, Ludwig Lewisohn, Spinoza and Freud. The whole was supplemented by translations of important essays from abroad, for example, Chaim Weizmann on the tenth anniversary of the Palestinian Mandate, Leo Baeck on comparative religion, Albert Einstein on the possibility of a "Jewish Weltanschauung".

Judisk Krönika maintained its all-embracing and popularizing profile well into the war years, although admittedly, from 1939 onwards more and more space was dedicated to calling attention to the situation in Europe, the attacks on Jewish intellectuals there, the threatened position of European Jewry, and the mobilizing of opinion and aid. Adversity seems to have ignited the contributors however, and the years 1932 to 1948 were *Judisk Krönika's* finest. The remainder of this essay will be dedicated to taking a closer look at the thematic and ideological content of the periodical, dividing it up into several categories and eras. We shall examine the attitudes toward Jewish youth and the idea of effectuating a Jewish cultural Renaissance in Sweden and abroad; the cultural strategies behind the thought and writings of *Judisk Krönika's* stable of contributors, the circle around Daniel Brick; the idea of the Jews' prophetic role in history and Jewish messianism in the new light of Zionism; the "Double Loyalty" question; and the post-War of Independence "Koestler Debate".

III. *Judisk Krönika*, 1932–1948

Creating a Living Judaism: Jewish Youth and the Jewish Renaissance

To the contributors of *Judisk Krönika*, the dawning "Jewish Renaissance", embodied by the Zionist movement for a Jewish national home in Palestine, was an expression of cul-

tural optimism; though they were opposed by the "establishment" (composed of everything from anti-semites to the "landed-gentry" of Swedish Jewry), they hoped to reaffirm the traditional ethical values of (Torah) Judaism as well as those of the European Enlightenment, which had set the norms for modern liberal values.

As is the rule in such movements, "Youth" was looked upon as the only hope for the triumph of its ideals.²⁹ We have noted that the journal originated as a forum for the SJUF, only to abandon such confining boundaries in order to address all Scandinavian Jews, and beyond. However, there is no doubting the special role intended for the young; *Judisk Krönika* was "a magazine for all, but with a special message for the young ... (it) has ... considered one of its foremost duties to steel the soul of youth, to save it from despair ... to provide it with knowledge of the circumstances world Jewry finds itself in and its demands ...".³⁰

In 1933, Daniel Brick wrote,

A new generation has grown up, for whom the assembly house and cultural activities, and not the synagogue and religious matters, dominate.³¹

This "new generation" shall carry the banner of "Proud Judaism" into the future. This is the parting of ways between Zionism and not only the assimilationists, but also their sometime-allies, the Orthodox, as personified by Hirsch Nissalowitz' 1925 tract, *Missförhållandena inom Sveriges judiska församling* (published as a supplement to *Israeliten*, no. 9, 1925). Whereas Jewish dialogue in the past has always centred on either reforming or reinstating certain religious rituals and on how to fill the shuls on Friday nights, the Zionists stress the "cultural heritage" of Judaism as the thing worthy of defending and dedicating oneself to.

In the following issue, Wulff Fürstenburg expands upon this theme. His article, "Have We a Mission?",³² notes that while religious Jews have always had a clear purpose in life—the mission of spreading the concept of monotheism among the peoples of the world—modern, secular Jews have discovered a just-as-clearly defined duty, dictated by circumstance—

Jews are on the "front-line" of humanity, and must attempt to "prevent the chaos" threatening not only themselves but all mankind. In an era demanding sacrifice, when the reign of "individualism and free enterprise" is at an end, "preserving ourselves as Jews simply so that the Jewish name will live on ... is not of universal interest".³³ Jews must make a personal, positive sacrifice; the dream of Zion is worthless if it has no benefit for mankind in general. All Jews must strive toward becoming part of "a socially and universally sentient and labouring people".³⁴

The Zionists are banking on the youth of Sweden to act as their bulwark because, in the words of Hugo Valentin,

Jewish youth, like all youth, loves a grand perspective and lofty prospects ... There is something great and moving in belonging to an oppressed and suffering people, seeking freedom and justice ...³⁵

Right from the outset, the Zionist movement in Sweden encountered resistance from the established traditions. After Valentin's high-spirited article in the premier issue, where he linked Jewish youth with an "active Judaism" (as opposed to the "passivity" and inertia of Liberalism and Orthodoxy), plurality and the budding of the Jewish Renaissance, Ernst Klein, son of the Reform, anti-Zionist former Chief Rabbi Gottlieb Klein, wrote a "Letter to a Friend", in which he blasts Valentin's conclusions.³⁶ Valentin's ideas about what attracts youth are "fantasies". Klein defends the Orthodox by turning on "Galileo and Columbus", whose achievements made them seem "broken-winged and earthbound compared with the authors of the Shulchan Aruch", who mapped the heavens for all eternity.³⁷ The Orthodox, rather than degenerating have, alone and tirelessly, preserved the Jewish identity "against all odds". As to Valentin's claims that "grand perspectives and lofty prospects" are the property of the Zionists, "what national idea is greater than Jewish Orthodoxy's of 'a holy people'? What historical dream is more unlimitedly grand than the dream of the Messiah and of 'Malchus Shadda', the Kingdom of God?"³⁸ Klein continues by taking up the defence of Reform Judaism, and

reminds Valentin that Reform has always been dynamic and challenging, allying itself with progressive forces in the world, such as political liberalism, humanism and the ecumenical movement.

Hugo Valentin responds by accusing Orthodoxy of "merely preserving, not conquering ... I doubt whether more than one Orthodox Jew in ten thousand has experienced anything 'grand' in the Shulchan Aruch and the burden of the yoke of the Law".³⁹ Reform is also a spent force. Zionism is the only programme which has "gripped" the young and impelled them to act—to build a "home for Man", rather than another church. Zionism, he repeats from his earlier article, spans the gulf between sacred and profane, and touches and seeks to unite all Jews (as opposed to the exclusivity of Orthodoxy).⁴⁰

Much is written in defiance of the establishment in the early *Judisk Krönika*. In his obituary for the newly-deceased Hebrew poet Chaim Bialik, historian Abraham Brody wrote,

He knew Talmud better than the rabbis, Kabbalah and ethical literature better than the specialists, language better than the philologists, Jewish studies better than the professors ...⁴¹

For Brody, this active Zionist and pioneer of modern Hebrew poetry embodied the "heart of New Palestine".⁴²

In 1935, Brick renews his attacks on "Jews who turn up their noses at Zionism" in Sweden.⁴³ Hugo Valentin, scion of a long-established Swedish-Jewish, delineates the "three stages of Zionist awakening" in a Jew:

As a rule, he who studies the modern Jewish question realizes the hollowness of the pre-Herzlian, assimilatory ideology. He then usually accepts Zionism as the only alternative. That is the first stage. He generally is not aware of the difficulties involved in the rebuilding of Eretz Israel. When he becomes aware of them, he is seized by despair. That is the second stage. Only by penetrating the problems more deeply can he reach

the third stage. He won't regain his optimistic, blind faith; it is instead replaced by firm conviction.⁴⁴

A recurring feature are stories such as Ella Melbye's, where the healthy, challenging pioneer life led by young Jews in Palestine is depicted against the claustrophobic, European city-dwelling of their assimilated parents.⁴⁵ One article from the late 1930s compares the new vital and "spontaneous" forms of song and dance manifesting themselves in Eretz Israel ("the emek-song, the hora"), to the never "joyous, always sorrowful" Jewish dances of Europe, executed in "stuffy cafés", instead of under an open sky, on the soil of the land of the Fathers.⁴⁶

In twin articles, Herbert Friedländer examines more closely the problems of modern Jewish youth by studying two literary works—the novels *En jøde* by the nineteenth-century Danish-Jewish writer Meir Goldschmidt; and the Swiss-Jewish Zionist Edmond Fleg's *L'enfant prophète*.

In the first article, "The Problem of Jewish Youth: Reflections on an Old Book",⁴⁷ the author characterizes Goldschmidt's *En jøde* (1845) as a discussion of the modern "double identity"-problem—one that has plagued European Jewry ever since the outset of the liberal era and the rise of nationalism, and which has produced a vast literature, right up to our own day (about which, more below). The novel's hero, Jacob Bendixon, goes from piety to doubt and finally on to "liberation". Conflict arises when Jacob attends university, and falls in love with a non-Jewish girl, an instance of the hazards of the Jewish-secular struggle. In the end, he triumphs by asserting himself as both a man and a Jew—it is this theme the reviewer feels is the most valuable asset of the book. Jacob Bendixon becomes, for Friedländer, "a young man who goes from Orthodoxy to a Judaism that is sincere and honourable, yet also free, self-determined".⁴⁸

Edmond Fleg's "enfant prophète" is the questing, precocious Claude Lévy, raised in a totally assimilated European milieu—his enlightened parents teach him that there are "no Jews, no Christians, just people".⁴⁹ Still, Claude begins to wonder what exactly being a Jew

is meant to be. He eventually learns to be proud of his Jewish blood, ironically from a priest; yet he still encounters compact resistance on the homefront—when he asks his father if he may be bar-mitzvahed, his response is that Claude's "longing for the ghetto will pass . . ." ⁵⁰ Engaging a schoolmate in a discussion on Jewishness, he learns that "it's not a religion—it's a nation, Palestine!" ⁵¹ But Claude, however responsive he is to his friend's convictions, seeks God "despite the examples set him". Here, Friedländer strikes a chord common in Zionist popular writing, in which the previous generation is blamed for burying their Jewishness to the detriment of their children.

Initially, Claude is disappointed in the instructor he finds, Lobmann; but when he sees him dancing with the Torah scrolls one day, he experiences revelation. Immersing himself in his studies, he discovers to his amazement a living heritage, "better than Jesus, the Scouts, Jules Verne . . .". His friend's Zionist ideas merge with his spiritual ones and Claude decides finally that ghetto or nation, "Next Year in Jerusalem" is the main goal.⁵²

Friedländer concludes from his readings that in a confused, divided era, the importance of Judaism to youth is first, that they are made aware of the link with the past, thus providing life with meaning; and secondly, that they be allowed by their elders to *choose*. Jacob Bendixon and Claude Lévy symbolize the Jews of the current generation, Jews who cannot answer the question "What is a Jew?" with any certainty, but who offer by example a direction: Jewishness is "a complex, a cosmos: not just a faith, not just Law, not just a way of life . . ." ⁵³

As Friedländer points out the need for plurality and purity of vision in the contemporary Jewish world, he stresses the need among the young for open minds and education. Daniel Brick never ceased arguing for an upgrading and broadening of vision in Jewish education in Sweden. Inspired by personal experience and by the thought and example of Marcus Ehrenpreis, he wrote incessantly on the topic, from the earliest days of *Judisk Krönika* well into the 1960s, when the issue of a Jewish day school and centre were finally resolved.

Marcus Ehrenpreis was more at home in the matters of cultural/spiritual Zionism than political Zionism. It was he who, at the First Congress in Basel, brought up the issue of a Hebrew university to be constructed in the hoped-for Jewish national home, to act as a guiding light for the Diaspora, a "new Yabneh" which, separated from political chaos, would preserve and advance Jewish civilization.⁵⁴

Complementing this thought was Ehrenpreis' commitment to *local* Jewish cultures. In Sofia, where he served as Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria 1900-14, he taught himself and wrote in the language of the local Jews, Ladino. Coming to Stockholm, he became a *Swedish* author, as well as doing much to stimulate Jewish publishing in Sweden.

Brick, the arch-organizer, worked on a much more practical level, but with equally lofty goals. In a speech delivered at the SJUF's Swedish section conference 11-13 August 1941, Brick points out that although the support for Zionism has grown very much recently, "it is time for Jewish youth to step forward and take on responsibilities beyond turning over a percentage of their parents' income to the Jewish National Fund".⁵⁵ Energy must be channelled into intensifying "Zionist and Jewish cultural activity in our country", and the logical point of departure is the "Zionist programme for the galut", including the erecting of a Jewish meeting place. There, the young can meet not only to engage in light, social activities, but also "drink in (those aspects of Jewish culture) the religious school does not have the opportunity to offer them. In a more informal atmosphere, they shall have a chance to gain insight into ancient and modern Jewish history, into the world of Jewish myth and thought, they shall learn to sing Jewish songs and act in Jewish plays".⁵⁶ Furthermore, Jewish students could gather to study there during official school holidays, like Christmas and Easter. Brick continued by delineating a full-scale programme, covering sports, summer activities, outreach programmes, publishing, stemming the tide of declining Hebrew instruction in the religious schools, as well as guiding Jewish youth "so that they do not exclusively seek the academic and mercantile professions", a well-known ral-

lying cry of socialist Zionism, as an antidote to anti-semitism.⁵⁷

A revamped Jewish school system, based on the goals of the Zionist movement, "will create a living Judaism in our country, to the joy of both it and Eretz Israel".⁵⁸ We see then that Brick, along with Ehrenpreis and other Zionist leaders in Sweden, does not believe in full-scale aliyah (like Herzl and Jabotinsky), but rather that the "Altneue" land will act as a source of inspiration for the Jewish communities of the Diaspora.

In addressing Jewish youth, in stressing the need for a culturally-aware yet fully-integrated Swedish Jewry, Brick and his circle hoped to arouse sympathy and support for their ideal of a Jewish national home in Palestine, while simultaneously justifying continued Jewish presence in Swedish cultural life. Right from the first years of *Judisk Krönika's* publication, such involvement had been questioned by Swedes influenced by ideas emanating from Germany. The influential critic Fredrik Böök had come straight out denouncing it, for example. While wholeheartedly supporting the nationalistic goals of Zionism (he had been Uppsala University's official representative at the opening of Hebrew University in 1925), his opinion of the "Jewish influence on German culture" was overwhelmingly negative, and he attacked such German-Jewish writers as Lion Feuchtwanger and Arnold Zweig, as well as the Swedish-Jewish author and critic, Oscar Levertin.⁵⁹

Brick wanted to prove in the pages of *Judisk Krönika*, and at his "Institute for Jewish Culture", that a heightened Jewish self-awareness could only prove beneficial in relations with Swedish society as a whole, enriching it in the same manner in which European culture had enriched Jewish thought and culture throughout the centuries. And youth, educated with care, would be the key to this future of tolerance and the fruitful exchange of ideas in Sweden.

Cultural and Economic Strategies for a New Civilization

As intimated in the previous chapters, Zionism distinguishes itself from previous Jewish movements in that its target for change was not necessarily located in the religious sphere. While not denying the importance of Torah in the history of the Jewish people, the Zionists tended to view it more as just one (albeit seminal) aspect of Jewish civilization; for Brick and company, it is the Jewish cultural heritage as a whole, that is the contribution of the Jews to civilization, that they are out to reclaim and blow new life into. To Brick, rescuing Judaism did not mean finding a way to fill up the synagogue benches on the Sabbath, but rather to inspire in Jews and their fellow men, new interest for things Jewish. Brick's main planks in his platform for renewal were first, overhauling the educational system; secondly, sponsoring cultural events, study circles and lecture series; and third, publishing his magazine.

The scarlet thread spun out to lead the neophyte through the labyrinth of Jewishness (for had it not become just that? Most of the non-political articles in *Judisk Krönika* deal precisely with the question of "Jewishness"), was *culture*, insofar as the term covers art, literature, science, scholarly endeavour and the spread of information and combatting of disinformation. He, like Ehrenpreis and many of the *Krönika's* contributors, had an absolute faith in the moral value of "culture" and education;⁶⁰ and no matter how much they insisted that it was *Jewish* culture they meant, they were equally propagandizing for the culture of Europe and the West, as seen through Jewish eyes.⁶¹ Just this mixture of "advanced" Western values, taken out and offered to the world in the best spirit of Jewish messianism, was the earmark of the hopes the young Swedish Zionist had for the new enterprise.

Ehrenpreis and Ahad Ha'am in their writings spoke of how the light of learning and leadership would emanate from Zion, illuminating all the Diaspora. In a report from the 1933 Zionist World Congress in Prague, Brick outlines the mandate given the Zionist executive to "establish a special section for (the spreading of) Hebrew culture ... in other lands".⁶² Brick shares the "centre-periphery" idea, first broached by Ahad Ha'am, father of cultural

Zionism. The Jewish home in Palestine would be the cultural centre of world Jewry; inspiration and new impulses would emanate from there, firing the Jewish imagination in other, more remote lands.⁶³ Ehrenpreis' proposals for the Hebrew university echoes Ahad Ha'am's idea; it would be a bastion of secular culture, constructed in the heart of spiritual Judaism, Jerusalem. He envisioned a European-style university housing the greatest Jewish thinkers, leading the world and inspiring not only the Jews but all men.

Brick shares this conviction, and mixes in with it some practical, liberal/socialist-inspired ideas about economics, all which combine to introduce the idea of the new Jewish home in Palestine serving as a Utopian example to the rest of the world. For not only would the gaining of political rights legitimize and protect the hard-pressed Jewish people, their new-found "freedom" would, if allowed full play, inspire the world and derive great benefit thereof.

There burns an unseen light on Mount Zion.
A menorah of twenty flames, bearing the
names of the twenty Jewish recipients of the
Nobel Prize. It burns directly into the soul.
This fire is no autodafé. Nations, let that
people live who throughout the world have
ignited the light of science, but have never
set an autodafé aflame.⁶⁴

These lines, penned in 1937 by Berthold Lachmann, are meant to be an answer to the propaganda mills of Nazi Germany, who blame the Jews for being parasites on "host" civilizations with nothing "new" of their own to offer them (except such "anti-social" ideas like those of Marx and Jewish banking interests). The drawing of attention to Nobel Prize winners is considered a weighty piece of information for Swedish society at large, and pro-Zionist publicists in Sweden often return to these facts in order to justify their case for a Jewish national home. Writing two years later, Daniel Brick reiterates:

No fewer than twenty-two persons of Jewish birth, ten percent of all Prize-winners, (have) received the Nobel Prize. Surely, a

recipient of the Nobel Prize must be regarded as a creator.⁶⁵

The Zionists attempt to base part of their case for a Jewish home on the basis of the Jews' past performance in the service of Mankind, and the likelihood of future achievements. Despite the detrimental conditions of one thousand years of Jewish life in Europe, they have still produced Spinozas, Freuds, Einsteins. Yet the time has come, the hour is late, the Jewish national home must be established, before Mankind loses another precious leader. For, "who knows how many Einsteins have been lost to the alleyways of the ghetto?"⁶⁶

In the midst of the 1948 war, Gösta Carlberg wrote on the import of the Jewish cause to world civilization:

... It is not just a struggle for the right to existence of the reborn Jewish state which is being fought in Eretz Israel; it is also a struggle for a cultural ideal which differs dramatically from the competitive ideal of Western civilization yet which, with its accent on the well-being of the collective, realizes the ancient ideas of Israel, which in modern form can imply as revolutionary a transformation of Western life as Christianity, nurtured on Palestinian soil and Israelite ideas, once caused. The opposition of the mighty of the world begins to make sense, if one bears in mind that, should the life of co-operation practised on the Zionist colonies be adopted by the peoples of the West, it could mean a shattering of all our current forms of existence: no more exploitation of individuals or social classes; one's fellowman would be regarded as a partner, not as a potential competitor; no more cut-throat pursuit of higher social position and wages, the individual striving not for his own profit but for the good of the collective instead... This ideal of civilization is diametrically opposed to the pattern established by the West.⁶⁷

Carlberg applauds the married ideals of the high cultural/ethical values and technological virtuosity inherent in the Jews here. Often, the new State of Israel (proclaimed in May 1948), was viewed as a possible leading light

not only morally and ethically but economically as well—a model country in other words. The tying in of Utopian visions to this dream, of Eretz Israel as a worker's agricultural/technological paradise, an economic blessing for the whole Middle East, was prevalent in much of the writing of the Swedish Zionists of this day.

Scandalized by the treatment of East Europe's Jews in the early 1930s, Hugo Valentin wrote in his "Monthly Review"—column for March 1934 that Poland's millions of Jews, living in destitution, "ought to be made productive".⁶⁸ As that nation's political ideology precluded any hope of achieving this at home, "both Poles and Jews consider a largescale Jewish emigration necessary".⁶⁹ However, Valentin does not believe that the whole of Eastern European Jewry can be shipped off at once, unskilled and undernourished. He does believe though in the future of Palestine as a regional power:

Palestine must be transformed, with all the means available to modern science and technology, into a highly sophisticated, intensely cultivated, densely populated land... Palestine is predestined by its location for a strong commercial and industrial development.⁷⁰

At that time, Haifa was the Middle East's most important port, "with the entire Near East as its hinterland";⁷¹ dreams of railway lines stretching to Bagdad and the Transjordan abounded.

Valentin, like many Zionists and Jewish Socialists reacting to centuries of reference to the Jewish labour force as being "degenerate and unproductive", sees Jewish Palestine as an agricultural Paradise. Referring to the chaltzim, young European Jews trained to become farmers and pioneers in the new land, Valentin concludes that they

burn with enthusiasm for the holy cause of the Jewish Renaissance. They wish to build a Jewish country for proud, free men and women with their own hands... This is and remains an indispensable part of the Jewish liberation movement. Give them tools and

land, and they shall perform miracles! Because they constitute a Jewish and human elite.⁷²

Nearly a decade later, as work progressed, Daniel Brick echoed Valentin's words:

Jewish youth in Palestine, who bravely and modestly affirm the Jewish heritage, and have developed it in a modern spirit, who with the tractor and the shovel have transformed wilderness into cultivated land ... who with their own hands have created a new Jewish civilization in Eretz Israel have therewith given new hope of material and spiritual liberation to the languishing or threatened East and Central European Jews, and a new, dignified future to the great masses of the Jewish people.⁷³

Swedish chalutzim leader Emil Glück completes Brick's thought about Palestine as an ideal worker's Paradise in an address given during the Scandinavian Zionists' conference in Stockholm 19 March 1944, when he states that Zionism is "in its essence a labour movement, but the class struggle itself does not exist in Palestine" because of Jewish solidarity there.⁷⁴ Hugo Valentin joins the chorus and says that nowhere else has the international labour movement managed to impart its message so clearly and so effectively as in Palestine, where an educated, self-sufficient working class has built up the land and earned the respect of both their fellow, non-Socialist countrymen and the international worker's movements abroad.⁷⁵

However little reference is made to the native Arab population of Palestine,⁷⁶ Valentin warns in several places of the dangers in turning the Arabs (or the poor Jews) into a proletariat. In 1934, with reference to the work of demographer/economist Jacob Lesczinsky, he accuses the British Mandate Government of gladly allowing Jewish immigrants with capital into the country, while rejecting the poor, who would happily come in to work and build up the land. He cautions against creating a Jewish upper class and an Arab lower class which, he states "contravenes the Zionist programme".⁷⁷ Elsewhere, he continues his critique by hailing the Jewish National Fund's purchasing of land

for Jewish kibbutzes, instead of the same being done by individual capitalists; working for such men, the individual would feel like an ordinary wageslave, with no personal attachment to the land.⁷⁸

At the same time, Brick rejects out of hand any accusations of "colonialism" on the part of the Jewish settlers. "To live and to work together with the Arabs ... won't stand in the way of a loyal Arab national movement".⁷⁹ He enumerates the accomplishments of the Jewish pioneers—reclaiming "abused" land, improving the economy to such a degree that massive Arab immigration has occurred. The Arab fellahs are now benefitting from the "democratic ideas the Jews brought with them" from Europe to the Middle East, after their earlier generations of exploitation under the effendis during Turkish rule, who showed no concern for the problems of the local peasantry. "... The riches they accumulated through the unprecedented exploitation of their people they squandered in Alexandria, Nice and Paris".⁸⁰

Thus, from the pages of *Judisk Krønika* emerges a picture of a Palestine that would serve as a model nation, a worker's Paradise with Jews and Arabs labouring shoulder to shoulder under the Mediterranean sun, Arab learning from Jew and benefitting from the influx of Western technology and liberal/socialist idealism, while at the same time, the heart and brain of Jewish Palestine pumped new life blood and impulses into the sorely afflicted extremities of the Diaspora, Scandinavia included.

The Jews' Prophetic Role in History: Modern Messianism

What gives the Zionist writers of *Judisk Krønika* such faith in the promising future of Jewish life, in Palestine as well as throughout the world, should only a Jewish national home be established in the spot granted them by the British government (the "Balfour Declaration", 1917) and the United Nations ("U.N. General Assembly Resolution on the Future Govern-

ment of Palestine", 1947)?⁸¹ As we have seen it is partly their belief in the worthiness of the Jews as contributors to civilization, and their need to establish a centre, a geographical entity which would allow the Jews to become like all other nations, and continue to be eager participants in Western civilization. As well, Jewish history and the Jewish messianic ideal had made them suited to that task.

There has always been a tendency, certainly not restricted to the cultural or spiritual Zionists, to look toward an elite for leadership: great leaders, prophets, marching in the vanguard of progressive ideals. Ahad Ha'am's contention was that an elite should establish itself in Eretz Israel, and from there lead the Jewish people by example. Ehrenpreis, who developed his ideas separately but simultaneously and for a while directly influenced by Ahad Ha'am, held similar beliefs. In fact, in his political work, he also pursued this road, preferring diplomatic reasoning with world leaders to, say, addressing mass rallies or fomenting revolution.⁸²

As well, this prophetic role was often connected with the ideals of liberalism and socialism, considered inseparable from the modern Jewish tradition. Anti-semitism was perceived as being more than merely irrational racial hatred, rather as antiliberalism, which the Jew represented to the world.

In an essay discussing Ragnar Josephson's book *Den dubbla identiteten*, Brick sketches "a plan for the abolishment of Jewish suffering (in other lands), namely the raising of the level of cultural sophistication of the majority population".⁸³ Anti-semitism is not dependent on the number of Jews living in any given land, he states; it simply arises out of ignorance. The cure for this is that the Jews take their fates into their own hands, that is, become Zionists—"at the same time, they must . . . participate in work dedicated to raising the level of cultural sophistication, through the struggle for democracy, humanity, social justice".⁸⁴

We can look back into the pages of *Judisk Krönika* for a clearer declaration of the Jews' prophetic mission, to Wulff Fürstenberg's 1933 article "Have We a Mission?". Religious Jewry has always had a definite, divinely-appointed

mission to the world—to spread the idea of monotheism among its peoples. The non-religious Jews then? Circumstances, according to Fürstenberg, dictate a self-evident course of action:

A people can, as a result of force of circumstance, become the natural bearer of specific ideas and the obvious practitioners of certain acts which can have historic implications; it follows that due to the dispersion in which we live . . . we can become the obvious bearers of certain messages . . . It is the idea of the Messiah transferred to the arena of international politics.⁸⁵

Stig Bendixon, in an article published several months before, had expressed similar thoughts. He was certain that "Internationalism will have a place on the banner of the Judaism of the future":

opposed to the idolization of national egoism, which manifests itself more and more in our day, our people have a solution to rally round. We need not turn it into a battle in the name of hatred from our side. Instead, it can become something along the lines of what Fröding dreamt of in "Sagan om gral", that power of the future, which

kuvar himmelens hat mot de dömnda
med de förbannades kärleksbragd.⁸⁶

Bendixon calls upon historical precedence, by pointing out how the Jews of the world responded to Ezra's proclamation of the separateness of Jewry from the nations in 444 BC, by in fact "more radically internationalizing the Jewish religion", thus becoming a light unto all the nations of the Mediterranean.⁸⁷ Fürstenberg agrees with him, and says that having been excluded by the powerful, the Jews are in an ethical position to join the fight for the oppressed of the world.

. . . If we as a result of our own vulnerable and susceptible situation could feel called upon to steel ourselves (to the task), to sacrifice our energy to it, for the good of Mankind (which is also our own), we can reap

benefits both for ourselves and for Mankind as a whole.⁸⁸

Thus it falls to the Jews to join the frontline of humanity, in order to "prevent chaos", such as the world had recently experienced and was about to go through once more. In this era, witnessing the crumbling of the free-enterprise and individualist mentalities, sacrifice is the key word for the Jews. "Remaining Jewish simply so that the Jewish name will be preserved is not of universal interest";⁸⁹ but, joining the vanguard of social reform, fighting for the Zionist cause and thus for the cause of progressive elements worldwide, justifies living on as a Jew in a secular world.

It is not a coincidence ... (that) religions such as Christianity and Mohammedanism and the great movements of social reform alike ... arose among Jews or were brought to life through Jewish impulses.⁹⁰

Hugo Valentin states that the greatest asset possessed by the Jewish youth of the day (he was writing in 1933), was its self-awareness, recognition of the emptiness and unworthiness of their lives when lived outside of the context of its history and culture:

It does this youth credit that it ... experiences this ignorance as shameful, that it wants to learn about its people's past in order to understand the Jewish present and itself, that it refuses to harden its heart against Jewish need so that it may live a carefree life; that it identifies with the persecuted, defiled Jewish people and that it refuses to watch passively as this ancient civilization strives for an existence worthy of the dignity of man and inner rebirth.⁹¹

Valentin affirms this reawakening (like most Zionists) as good not only for the Jews, but for all. Divorced from tradition, Jews become, he says "stigmatized, rootless, demoralized"; the "gravity and ... pathos" of Jewish life are of "irreplaceable value".⁹²

But this national rebirth will not degenerate into "egoistic chauvinism", we are assured. Returned to their land of origin, now politically

recognized, the Jews will become a light unto the nations. Rather than become just one more flag-waving member of the League of Nations, the Jews there will become model internationalists. Daniel Brick writes about the absurdity of fearing that Zionism could be construed as "nationalistic" in the worst definition of the day, as if "this universalistic movement and its standard-bearers in Eretz Israel, the great Social Democratic worker's movement, represent some sort of chauvinism!"⁹³

Meditating on the question of whether the Jews comprise a religious group or a nation, Rabbi Elieser Berlinger rejects out of hand any notion other than that of nation. For him Jewish confessionalism is self-deceiving—the people, the land, the religion and the language, Hebrew, have always been linked.

The problem 'nation or confession' is a product of the galut, which first arose under conditions abnormal for our people. This question will disappear with the return to a normal national condition.⁹⁴

Berlinger sees this normalcy as being possible to recapture only by "reestablishing Israel in Palestine", so that "every manifestation of the Jewish people's life (will) be united harmonically in a new, blossoming life's pure white ray".⁹⁵ It is, he concludes, a "holy duty for each and every Jew" to work for aliyah and the building of the land.⁹⁶

In a longer essay by Josef Klausner, one of the firebrands behind the establishment of Hebrew University and an editor of Ahad Ha'am's *Hashiloah*, reprinted in 1938, *Jüdisch Krönika* makes its definitive statement on the connection culture-nationhood-world view. In the opinion of the author, Jewish culture in the Diaspora is stuck at a dead end. "We must create our cultural works in *our* land in *our* own language, if it is to be truly *ours*".⁹⁷ Naturally, he continues, all cultural and scientific breakthroughs belong to the whole world; however "Shakespeare and Goethe (for example) have become property of the world at large precisely because they are so national, because they respectively embody the English and German peoples' creative power. Like all creative

peoples, we too wish to serve Mankind through the medium of the nation".⁹⁸ Jewish thought is rooted in the Jewish landscape. Although it is absurd to speak of "Jewish physics" or "Jewish mathematics", "national character and language exert an influence on both form and mode of thought".⁹⁹ Behold the sciences of the English, the French, the Germans. When Jews finally establish universities, study in their own language, and receive impulses from the outside world broadening Jewish horizons, a consummate synthesis of Jewish culture will be achieved, "a synthesis which shall not be a lesser blessing upon Mankind than for the Jewish people themselves, in the same manner as the deeds of the prophets, which were of such a national character yet not were not any less universal" in effect.¹⁰⁰

We see from the preceding that the Zionist contributors to Daniel Brick's *Judisk Krönika* considered it a necessity for the Jewish people to return to Palestine—in order to both preserve their culture and thus have a continued good influence on Mankind at large, and for sheer self-preservation in the face of the Nazi horrors. They took an anti-individualist, pro-universalist stance, rejecting any charges of "chauvinism" or exclusivity, despite the fact that they often call for an "elite" of leaders, new Moseses.

The return of the Jews to Palestine was meant to benefit all Mankind; and no more clearly would this picture of co-operation and mutual good manifest itself than in relations between the Jews and Arabs in the land of Palestine itself. Jew and Arabs must learn to live together there, wrote Valentin in 1933.¹⁰¹ The Arabs had and would continue to benefit from Jewish settlement, land reclamation and economic growth; while the Jews cannot hope to prosper without recognizing the need for a binational state. He warns youth not to heed the call of the "chauvinistic" rhetoric of Jabotinsky and the revisionists, who wanted an all-Jewish, Greater Israel, and rejected continued Jewish existence in the Diaspora. After all, "Palestine is not just populated with Arabs, but surrounded by Arabs as well".

Our goal (then) must be Arab-Jewish co-operation, as during the glorious days of the

Arab Empire in the Middle Ages.¹⁰²

References to this era reoccur often in the texts studied. It refers to the "Golden Age" of Spanish Jewry, when the Arabs ruled Iberia and Jewish life, culture and philosophy experienced one of its highest peaks. It was the age of Judah Halevi and Maimonides, a Renaissance in synagogue architecture, and Jewish involvement in political life.

Israel's encounter with Islam under the smiling heavens of Andalusia is one of the brightest pages in the spiritual history of the Jewish Diaspora [wrote Marcus Ehrenpreis in 1934]. The Jewish-Moorish cultural fellowship ... is an instructive chapter in world history, which has a message for us even today. It proves that concord between different peoples in one land leads to the advantage of all, and that no blessing is greater than the one that comes from civic unity, mutual understanding and good will.¹⁰³

It had a stimulating effect upon the civilization of the West for centuries afterwards, it built a bridge between Orient and Occident, furthered scholarly research and philosophical thought.¹⁰⁴

The reestablishment of the Jewish presence in Palestine was going to allow the Jews to fulfil their duty to be a light unto the nations and a prophetic people; to contribute to the moral, philosophical, social and scientific thought of Western civilization; and, in a mixture of romantic and Buberian practical/moral binationalism,¹⁰⁵ create a model of fruitful co-operation between Jews and Moslems, such as the world had not seen since the days of Moorish Spain.

IV. *Judisk Krönika*, 1948–1950: "Double Loyalty" and the Koestler Debate

In 1947, the United Nations' General Assembly laid forth its "Resolution on the Future Government of Palestine", better known as the

"Partition Resolution". The Resolution was "bitterly resented by the Palestinian Arabs and their supporters in neighboring countries, who tried to prevent with the force of arms the establishment of a Zionist state by 'Jewish usurpers'".¹⁰⁶ The attempt failed and as a result, Israel seized lands beyond those defined in the U.N. resolution. On 14 May 1948, the Provisional State Council (forerunner to the Israeli Knesset) published the "State of Israel Proclamation of Independence".¹⁰⁷

Finally the dream of the Zionist intellectuals at *Judisk Krönika* had been realized: a Jewish national home had been established in Palestine. This homeland may not have taken shape precisely as they had pictured it would—many had, for years, supported partition and binationalism; others, the so-called "revisionists", had expected to incorporate all of "Palestine" into the new land (which included the Transjordan).¹⁰⁸ Still, it was there—a home for the homeless, a beacon for the world.

However, with the State of Israel a fact, *Judisk Krönika* begins its slow decline as a forum for exciting intellectual debate and ideas. In the years that follow, the State of Israel is almost constantly at war, and *Judisk Krönika* naturally makes it its responsibility to defend Israel, rally support, garner aid, and publish (to a great deal, translations from the world press) articles positive toward the new state and reporting on the conflict.

The most engaging contributions during this period were featured in the years immediately following the 1948 Declaration. From 1950 until 1979 (when the journal made a major editorial change, passing out of the hands of Daniel Brick and, in the process, became a new magazine entirely), the editor(s) and contributors of *Judisk Krönika* seem content to merely secure the position of Zionism and act as a voice for the defense of Israel. The passion and immediacy of the earlier years (1932 up until statehood), working constantly in the shadow of Hitlerism and the practical and exciting work of building up and pleading the case of the Jewish national home in Palestine and reinvigorating Swedish-Jewish culture, seem to be missing from the later issues.

In these post-statehood years (1948–50),

two related topics dominate intellectual debate: viz. the question of "double loyalty", and the Koestler debate. As we shall see, these matters dovetail into one another, giving a representative picture of the most pressing issues (aside from the wars) of the day.

An issue ever haunting *Judisk Krönika*, indeed the history of the Jews in dispersion, is the charge of "double loyalty". Most often a slanderous statement made in order to discredit Jewish residents in European lands, it became a source of real concern within the Jewish community with the advent of the modern era and emancipation. Much of the motivation behind the Reform movement centred on making tangible statements of Jewish loyalty to the specific nation in which each community resides. All reference to a longing for Zion was exorcised from the liturgy; the synagogue was renamed "temple" to mark this point. Hugo Valentin, in his history of the Swedish Jews, tells the story of a Jewish dinner in Stockholm in the late nineteenth century, where a Norwegian guest proposed a toast for the Jews' return to Palestine; Lipman Lipmansson of Sällskapet I.I. was beside himself in anger over the expression of such "nationalistic ideas".¹⁰⁹

Now, political anti-semitism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made the loyalty issue a burning one and, with the advent of Zionism, a Jewish national movement striving for a home in Palestine, even if it was just a spiritual one, the issue took off again, especially within the community itself, between Zionists and anti-Zionists.

Eventually, the "double loyalty"-debate widened in scope and became a more complicated matter when Arthur Koestler, wellknown European intellectual and Zionist sympathizer, stated that after Israel's statehood, the European Jew had reached the crossroads: either move to Israel and live as a Jew, or stay in Europe and abandon all claims to Jewishness. This of course contravened everything the Zionists wrote about the rich future of Israel-Diaspora relations, and sparked a fury in the pages of *Judisk Krönika*.

The "double loyalty" question is a familiar one to the pages of Scandinavian-Jewish periodicals. As early as 1924 the young Daniel

Brick addresses it in the pages of *Israeliten* (see above). He stresses that Jewish youth sympathize with the Palestinian solution of Zionism because of its "ethical-cultural" importance, as a home for the numerous homeless Jews of Eastern Europe. It would never occur to *Swedish* Jews to pull up their roots and head for the Middle East; Sweden's hold is too strong.

He thus quickly establishes that the Zionist is attached to two lands, the land of his birth and nurture and the land of his "ethical-cultural" roots. Furthermore, this experience can only turn out to be a rewarding one. "The Jew enriches his spirit greatly by dedicating himself to the best of both the Swedish and the Jewish, and brings to Swedish culture the invaluable cultural treasures of Judaism, thereby benefitting his native country".¹¹⁰

In the pages of *Judisk Krönika*, the issue comes up throughout its history.¹¹¹ We shall consider a representative selection below.

In 1936, art historian Ragnar Josephson published the pamphlet *Double Loyalty. Address to Jewish Associations in Stockholm and Gothenburg*. Here, he enters a plea for saving the disenfranchised Jews of Germany. Swedish Jews, "standing along our southern border and looking out across the sea", are in a unique position to join the world movement for finding a refuge for these helpless souls "in the new Palestine, that legendary land of the future".¹¹² Can it be considered disloyal, he asks rhetorically, to partake in such a humanitarian act, to attempt saving fellow Jews? Josephson answers by citing Hugo Valentin, and states that it is feeling, compassion that creates a nation. He goes on to liken the building of a nation to the construction of a cathedral, which grows larger over centuries, "continually adding new sections, new rooms, new extensions".¹¹³ Swedish Jews, like the Anglo-Saxons, Walloons and Finns before them, have added much to the Swedish national edifice.

Josephson continues by exemplifying the Jewish contribution to Swedish culture—the founders of Nääs, August Abrahamsson and Otto Soloman; the composer of the music to "Vårt land, vårt land", Jacob Axel Josephson; the poet Oscar Levertin.

Who would deny their Swedishness? Still,

these men have simply had the gift of being able to produce in action, in play, in song, in poetry, what thousands and thousands of Swedish Jews have also felt and done in a variety of fields.¹¹⁴

"Sweden", concludes the author, "is our destiny, as Jewishness is our destiny. We are unable to replace either in order to belong solely to the other".¹¹⁵

Earlier, in *Judisk Krönika*, Wulff Fürstenberg had pondered over the concepts "nation" and "people". He dismisses the equation "nation = people", whereas he accepts the notion of Jews, wherever they may live, being united by a common religion and culture. Can this be reconciled with love for a country? "Can we feel Swedish?". Can Swedish Jews "serve two masters?".¹¹⁶

In this era of nationalism, the importance of *the peoples* in the interplay of Mankind is usually emphasized. Most would probably agree with that. The preservation of the uniquenesses of various peoples and their ways of living must be considered a resource for fecundating civilization. Only when this turns into chauvinism does this become dangerous, become evil.¹¹⁷

The writer with the pseudonym "Mako" addresses the matter of "double loyalty" from a strictly Zionist perspective. Some serious minded Jews reject Zionism, he says, because they claim that "Zionism, patriotism and citizenship are irreconcilable factors".¹¹⁸ "Mako" defines "patriotism" as "fidelity towards the heads of state, . . . care for the interests of the state, active participating in the development of its arts and literature, science, trade and industry, politics, legislation and economy".¹¹⁹ The Zionist, committed to Jewish culture, is no less a good member of Swedish society than the Lapp, also a Swede whose cultural roots separate him from the Swedish majority. Love of country is expressed in different ways, depending upon the individual citizen's social position, his interests and class. The Jews, not belonging to any one single social class, are

intimately connected to all social classes, culturally and economically, have similar interests and work for the good of the state like all other Swedes. So long as the Zionist fulfils his duties as a citizen, namely "obeys the laws and prohibitions of the state", no conflict arises. "The Zionist fulfils his duties to obey and act loyally toward the state to the letter. Thus, he is a good citizen."¹²⁰

In 1942, Daniel Brick clarifies, from a more personal standpoint, why it may seem to some that Zionist activism is suspect, and why it most certainly is not.

It can happen, from time to time, that a person belonging to two peoples pays more attention to one instead of the other, not because he loves the one more than the other, but because he feels that one, for the moment, is in more acute need of his attention than the other. If the Jews lived a free and happy life, and the Swedes were persecuted, I would naturally dedicate the greater part of my interest and energy to the Swedish people instead of, as now, the Jewish people.¹²¹

Norman Bentwich, the English lawyer and Zionist who served as Attorney General for the British Mandate Government in Palestine from 1920 to 1931 (before resigning in protest over the Mandate's anti-Zionist measures), sees the cultivation of ethnic uniqueness as essential to the preservation of democracy and liberal values. Writing in 1944 and quoting Lords Acton and Bryce, among others, he holds that the non-Jewish world must "preserve and further increase the principles of democracy, tolerance and cultural plurality", by allowing the Jews as a nation to take their place among the nations and support "the Jews' legitimate striving for a homeland". Thus, he finds "Jewish separatism to be equally essential to the good of society as Jewish assimilation".¹²² The Jews will then prove, when the national home is erected and while still numbering themselves among the citizens of other lands, to be the true bearers of the message of internationalism.

In contrast to the writers examined above, Hugo Valentin dismisses the entire question of "double loyalty" as a product of anti-semitism.

The whole idea, as put forth by Ragnar Josephson and others, that by pointing out Jewish contributions to "host" cultures one can defuse anti-Jewish feeling, is ludicrous.

Nazi anti-semitism had a predilection for attacking the Josephsons of Germany . . . who were portrayed as dangerous and destructive and proof of the alleged power and influence of the Jews.¹²³

Nothing that the Jews themselves can do will prove what good citizens they are. Instead, world opinion must discredit anti-semitism for all time.

In the mid-1940s as the situation around Palestine was reaching a climax, with boatloads of survivors from German concentration camps seeking to dock at Haifa against the wishes of the British Mandate authority, with Jewish militias battling the British, the Arabs, and even among themselves and with impartial mediators, Arthur Koestler entered the scene. His book *Thieves in the Night* (1947), showed his enthusiasm for the Jewish colonists in Palestine. *Judisk Krönika's* reviewer warmly welcomed Koestler's contribution, though he does not approve of the author's "extremist", revisionist sympathies.¹²⁴

Shortly thereafter, the magazine reprinted Koestler's fresh "Letter to the Father of a British Soldier in Palestine" (orig. publ. 16 August 1947 in *The New Statesman and Nation*). In it, Koestler attacks British policy in Mandate Palestine, rhymes off broken promises and breaches of international law, and excuses any instances of Jewish terror. The Jews have proved "that they can fight as mercilessly and wildly as any other people driven to despair".¹²⁵

Two years later, Koestler published *Promise and Fulfilment. Palestine 1917-1949*. Intended as a "survey (of the events) which led to the foundation of the State of Israel", and a personal view of "the Jewish war and of everyday life in Israel"¹²⁶ (the author having spent much time in Palestine as a war correspondent), the epilogue is in fact the book's most pregnant section. In the space of four pages, the author expounds his view of the drastic changes wrought upon Jewish existence by the

establishment of the state, and his considered response to them.

The second paragraph of the new state's "Proclamation of Independence" refers to the Jews' faith in the land of Israel in all times, and their faith in its eventual restoration and their return.¹²⁷ "The logical consequence of the fulfilment of a prayer," Koestler writes, "is that one ceases to repeat it".¹²⁸ If then a prayer is removed (as it must be), the Jewish religion loses its essence and foundation. Exclaiming "Next Year in Jerusalem" "has now become mere lip service".¹²⁹ Ever since 15 May 1948, "the greater part of the formulae and vocabulary of Jewish ritual has become meaningless".

The existence of the Hebrew state ... puts every Jew outside Israel before a dilemma which will become increasingly acute. It is a choice between becoming a citizen of the Hebrew nation and renouncing all conscious or implicit claim to separate nationhood.¹³⁰

The spectre of "double loyalty" thus rears its ugly head again. Koestler is worried about it, because anti-semitism is on the rise again.

Before the prayer was fulfilled by the rebirth of Israel this was difficult if not impossible. To renounce being a Jew meant in most cases to deny solidarity with the persecuted ... Now, the climax is reached, the circle closed. It is no longer a question of capitulation, but of free choice. The proclamation of the Hebrew state is a signal to Jewry to pause on its long journey, review its situation with sincerity towards itself, and face facts ...¹³¹

No longer tenable are such creatures as "the Englishman of Mosaic faith" in the view of Koestler; in fact, it is a contradiction in terms:

The conclusion is that since the foundation of the Hebrew state the attitude of Jews who are unwilling to go there, yet insist on remaining a community in some way apart from their fellow citizens, has become an untenable anachronism ... they must [in order

to break the vicious circle of being persecuted for being 'different' and being 'different' by force of persecution] either follow the imperative of their religion, the return to the Promised Land—or recognize that that faith is no longer theirs.¹³²

Koestler is worried about the effect such a "divided loyalty" could have, not the least upon the children of such parents who cling to the Jewish faith yet refuse to leave their European homes. The psychological repercussions would certainly be great, he feels. And indeed, as we may read in an interview with the French-Jewish author Maurice Carr in *Judisk Krönika* in 1950, Arthur Koestler followed his own advice, and renounced his Jewishness, and urged as many others as possible (living outside Israel) to do likewise.¹³³

The effect of Koestler's words and deeds had a great impact on the Swedish-Jewish community, if the pages of *Judisk Krönika* are a reliable barometer—there was a storm of articles and debates.¹³⁴ The reaction was almost entirely negative, with few supporting his conclusions (the exceptions being several debaters identified as "revisionists"). He did, however, cause attention to be focussed once again on the never-quite-dead "double loyalty"-problem.

A group of intellectuals met 24 January 1950 in Stockholm, at the invitation of the Jewish Students' Club, Wizo and the Zionist Federation, to discuss Koestler's "anachronism" charge, and to ponder the question, as formulated by the evening's chairman, Carl Hirsch, of the relation of (Diaspora) Jews to Israel and Judaism.¹³⁵ According to Hirsch, those Jews who remained "at home" were now confronted with a "triple loyalty": to the land in which they live, to Judaism, and to Israel. Some of the participants saw the idea of double or triple loyalty as a challenge ("Double loyalty will perhaps become the natural maxim for Jews who do not become Israelis. On the matter of the future of our congregations, our hope is that the ancient words will gain new meaning ..."¹³⁶), while Hugo Valentin unearthed two major flaws in Koestler's thesis that assimilation would be a straightforward matter, now that Israel was established:

First and foremost is the fact that it depends less on us, if we wish to assimilate, than upon our surroundings, and anti-semitism is always an obstacle. The second mistake is to assume that the matter of Israel is now completely cleared up.¹³⁷

Valentin sees the duty of the Diaspora, now united not through ties of religion but rather "national feeling", to aid Israel in its efforts to settle its enormous immigrant population. The triumph of Zionism, he added, is that it succeeded in "saving a doomed people from extinction by creating a new, better type of Jew".¹³⁸

Walter A. Berendsohn, himself a refugee from Germany, dismisses the notion of either religion or nationalism as the uniting element in Jewish life: "adversity and need" [nöden] create stronger bonds than national, religious or cultural motivations ... Most Jews, the world over", he writes, "have realized this, and have formed a fellowship of need [nödgemenskap]".

Whatever impels the individual Jew to join (this fellowship) is his own business ... but what is obvious is this: the experience of need must be so great, that it leads to enormous personal sacrifice ... our need is our fate! The Jewish state of Israel is our shining hope for the future!¹³⁹

After one critic denounced Berensohn's theory as "negative",¹⁴⁰ the latter clarified his position with the example of a Jew who attempted to assimilate and, after being rebuffed by anti-semites, found his way back into the Jewish fold:

When such a spiritual, inquiring mind approaches the grand Jewish tradition completely from the outside, when he ... is seized and fascinated by it, it gives one hope that in the future, it can have an even stronger influence on the Jewish fellowship of need and thereby eventually transform it into a fellowship of the spirit and of culture ... The worldwide Jewish fellowship also has a spiritual responsibility: to preserve and develop Jewish civilization.¹⁴¹

It appears then that Berendsohn considers Judaism to have its origins as a religious grouping, subsequently dispersed throughout the world and left in need, which leads to a reawakening of Jewish culture and religiosity as a result of the support its individual members receive from one another. His theory may not be as preposterous as it first seems, given the revival of religious interest currently taking place among Jews.

Berendsohn may indeed have the "last laugh", as it were. The establishment of the state of Israel has indeed revolutionized world Jewry. Most Jews identify strongly with Israel; Jewish culture and thought in the Diaspora, especially in France, the United States and even Sweden, is enjoying an unprecedented renaissance, both inside and outside the Jewish community.¹⁴² And contrary to what many of the contributors to *Judisk Krönika* dared think possible, the number of young Jews "returning" to Orthodox forms of Jewish worship and living is increasing steadily in the Diaspora as well as in Israel. "Need" seems to have played a part in this; many Jews, especially in East European land after the "Six-Day War" have felt enormous pressure if not out-and-out persecution the result of their Jewishness. In response, many of them have shown a new interest in Jewishness where none was before.¹⁴³

NOTES

1. "Elias David Brick", (obituary), *Judisk Krönika*, vol. 4, no. 7 (Sept 1935), p 135.
2. Quoted in Susie Benedikt, "Daniel Bricks skog", *JK*, vol. 23, no. 12-13 (1951), pp 169-70.
3. *Ibid.*, p 169.
4. Erik Vendelfelt, "Ett halvt sekel med Daniel Brick", *JK*, vol. 46, no. 1 (1979), pp 124-27.
5. Daniel Brick, "Vår ungdom och judendomens framtid", *Israeliten*, vol. 12, no. 1-2 (Oct-Nov 1924), pp 8-10.
6. *Ibid.*, p 8.
7. *Ibid.*, p 9.

8. *Ibid.*, p 10.
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. In *Israeliten*, vol. 12, no. 6 (Feb 1925).
 12. For an account of *Zionisten's* fate, see Morton H. Narrowe, "Zionism in Sweden", *Nordisk Judaistik*, vol. 3, no. 2 (March 1981), pp 17–20.
 13. See "Anmälan", in the premier issue of *Judisk Krönika*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1932), p 3.
 14. Daniel Brick "Till läsekretsen!", *JK*, vol. 46, no. 1 (1979), p 122.
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. The eighth issue (vol. 2, no. 1 [Feb 1933]) added "och andra judiska kulturorganisationer" to its sub-heading; while the ninth rids itself altogether of any qualifier.
 17. C. Vilh. Jacobowsky, "Judiska tidskrifter i Norden", *Judisk Tidskrift*, vol. 19, no. 10 (Oct 1946), pp 312–17.
 18. Daniel Brick, "*Judisk Krönika* 1933", *JK*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Feb 1933), p 2.
 19. "Anmälan", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1932), p 3.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. Remaining members: Stig Bendixson, Leon Fried, Sandor Izikowitz, Bernhard Tarschys and of course Daniel Brick.
 22. Front page, *JK*, vol. 1, no. 7 (Dec 1932), p 121.
 23. See eg., Felix M. Warburg, "Hur jag blev Palestinarvän", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Aug 1932), pp 47–48.
 24. See eg., Charlotte Mannheim, "Barndomsminnen från besök hos familjen Melchior", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 2 (June 1932), pp 29–30.
 25. See eg., Simon Brick, "Sportglimtar från Los Angeles, Österrike och Palestina", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Aug 1932), pp 54–55.
- The Maccabi movement, involved in the promoting of Jewish sports interest, was aimed, like the agricultural education programmes of the Hachsharah, at changing the image of the Jews as a nation of pale professionals, unacquainted with the arduousness of physical labour. This was a topic close to the heart of Simon Brick, and he contributed dozens of articles on the subject the first few years of publication. Like many Zionist ideas, it was unpopular among the Orthodox; however, in 1935 (vol. 4, no. 6), *Judisk Krönika* reprinted an enthusiastically supportive message to the movement for "muscular Judaism" from an Orthodox rabbi, E. Bloch, who considered it as valid a means to put Jewish youth in touch with Jewish values as any.
26. See eg., Walter Fuch, "Samtal med Gösta Ekman", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 6 (Nov 1932), p 117; Boris Abramovitz, "Tevje der Milchiger", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 2 (June 1932), p 36.
 27. See Hugo Valentin, "Den skandinavisk-judiska ungdomen och den judiska saken", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1932), pp 4–5; Ernst Klein, "Brev till en vän", Hugo Valentin, "Svar till en vän", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 2 (June 1932), pp 25–27.
 28. Daniel Brick, Sandor Izikowitz, "Israelsmissions kollekt", pp 65–66; "Sandor Izikowitz contra Josua Tillgren", pp 70–72; both *JK*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Sept 1932).
 29. See eg., Hugo Valentin's remarks in the first issue: "There is only *one* Jewish problem in Scandinavia: Jewish youth". *JK*, vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1932), p 4.
 30. "*Judisk Krönika* 1932–1942", *JK*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Jan-Feb 1942), pp 2–3.
 31. Daniel Brick, "Max Hüttner 60 år", *JK*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Feb 1933), p 21.
 32. Wulff Fürstenburg, "Har vi en uppgift?", *JK*, vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1933), pp 26–27.
 33. *Ibid.*, p 27.
 34. *Ibid.*
 35. Hugo Valentin, "Den skandinavisk-judiska ungdomen och den judiska saken", *JK*, *passim*.
 36. Ernst Klein, "Brev till en vän", *JK*, *passim*.
 37. *Ibid.*, p 25.
 38. *Ibid.*, p 26.
 39. Hugo Valentin, "Svar till en vän", *JK*, *passim*, p 27.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. Abraham Brody, "Chaim Nachman Bialik", (obituary), *JK*, vol. 3, no. 7 (Sept 1934), pp 119–20.
 42. *Ibid.*, p 120.
 43. Daniel Brick, "Månadsrevy", *JK*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Feb 1935), pp 22–25.
 44. Hugo Valentin, "En bok om det nya Palestina", *JK*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Feb 1935), pp 28–29.
 45. Ella Melbye, "Palestinska vardagsintryck", *JK*, vol. 6, no. 3 (March 1937), pp 54–55.
 46. André Mercier, "Den judiska själens förvandling" *JK*, vol. 7, no. 5, (May 1938), pp 79–80.
 47. Herbert Friedländer, "Den judiska ungdomens problem. Reflexioner över en gammal bok", *JK*, vol. 6, no. 3 (March 1937), pp 45–47.
 48. Herbert Friedländer, "Den judiska ungdomens problem. Vid skiljevägen", *JK*, vol. 6, no. 4 (April 1937), pp 64–66.
 49. *Ibid.*, p 64.
 50. *Ibid.*
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. *Ibid.*, p 65.

53. *Ibid.*, p 66.

54. Aside from Ehrenpreis' voluminous output elsewhere, see his articles and comments in *Judisk Krönika*, including: "Professor Ehrenpreis besvarar aktuella frågor", vol. 10, no. 10 (Dec 1941), pp 146-47; "Hebreiska universitetets 20-årsjubileum firat i Stockholm", vol. 14, no. 4 (April 1945), pp 54-56. Also Walter Klein, "Vad kräver stunden", vol. 7, no. 10 (Dec 1938), pp 162-63.

55. Daniel Brick, "Ungdomen och zionismen", reprinted in *JK*, vol. 10, no. 7 (Sept 1941), pp 99-101.

56. *Ibid.*, p 100.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, p 101.

59. For *Judisk Krönika's* viewpoint on Böök, see Leon Fried, "Jerusalems undergång", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 6 (Dec 1932), pp 107-09.

60. See the foreword to Daniel Brick, *Varför anklagar man judarna?* (Stockholm, 1939).

61. See "En zionist möter en ortodox rabbin", *JK*, vol. 12, no. 10 (Dec 1943), pp 163-64, a tale describing a meeting between a European Zionist and a Sephardic rabbi in an unnamed "North African village", where the visitor brings the message of Zionism to his quaint interlocutor.

At the same time, with the years of war taking its toll and the gruesome facts of the Holocaust emerging, Brick displayed a very negative attitude toward the West in answering Eli Heckscher's and Arthur Montgomery's "attacks on Zionism": "Most of Europe's surviving Jews have lost faith in the West as a safe abode". (Daniel Brick, "Angreppen mot zionismen", *JK*, vol. 16, no. 7 [Sept 1947], p 130).

Heckscher, a Swedish Jew committed to Europe and an outspoken anti-Zionist, corresponded for years with Hugo Valentin on the questions of Jewishness, the conditions for their continued presence in the West, and Zionism. This correspondence has been studied by Grzegorz Flakierski in his essay "Rötter. Den judiska frågan i brevväxlingen mellan Hugo Valentin och Eli Heckscher" (*Historisk Tidskrift*, 1982:2, pp 177-201).

62. Daniel Brick, "Från zionistkongressen i Prag 1933", *JK*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Dec 1933), pp 155-59.

63. See Ahad Ha-'am, "Negation of the Diaspora", esp. pp 276-77; in Arthur Hertzberg (ed.), *The Zionist Idea* (Philadelphia, 1960).

64. Berthold Lachmann, "Nobelpristagare", *JK*, vol. 6, no. 7 (Sept 1937), pp 116-18.

65. Daniel Brick, *Varför anklagar man judarna?*, passim, p 40.

66. *op. cit.*, p 117.

67. Gösta Carlberg, "Palestina-kunskap", *JK*, vol. 17, no. 14-15 (3 Oct 1948), pp 171-72.

68. Hugo Valentin, "Månadsrevy", *JK*, vol. 3, no. 3 (March 1934), pp 39-42.

69. *Ibid.*, p 41.

70. Hugo Valentin, "Palestina som invandringsland", *JK*, vol. 2, no. 6 (Oct 1933), pp 123-25.

71. Hugo Valentin, "Månadsrevy", *JK*, vol. 3, no. 6 (June 1934), pp 97-100.

72. *Op. cit.*, p 125. A recent study of the training of chalutzim in Sweden is Emil Glück, *På väg till Israel. Hachscharah i Sverige 1933-1948*. (Stockholm, 1985).

73. Daniel Brick, "Judisk Krönika 1932-1942", *JK*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Jan-Feb 1942), pp 2-3.

74. Quoted in "Zionistkonferens i Stockholm", *JK*, vol. 13, no. 4 (April 1944), pp 59-60.

75. Hugo Valentin, "Zionistisk arbetarrörelse", *JK*, vol. 15, no. 6 (Aug 1946), pp 135-36.

76. Critics of Zionist thought have pointed out a lack of mention of the Arab natives in Zionist writing. Edward W. Said, commenting on Arthur Hertzberg's reader *The Zionist Idea*, writes:

The book is a six-hundred page compilation of excerpts from the principal figures in the history of Zionism . . . The readings cover one hundred years, precisely those years during which Zionism went from a theory to a movement. An astounding fact is that in this six-hundred page book there are scarcely a dozen pages that refer to Arabs . . . (Edward W. Said, "Arabs and Jews", repr. in Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin [eds.], *The Israel-Arab Reader. A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*. (New York, 1984), pp 518-31, see esp. p 525.

Paul R. Mendes-Flohr claims on the other hand that from the time of Ahad Ha-'am, "in every generation of Zionism, we find numerous essays, diaries, speeches, manifestos and even belles-lettres which address the Arab question". See his introduction to *A Land of Two Peoples. Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs*. (New York, 1985), p 5.

77. Hugo Valentin, "Månadsrevy", *JK*, vol. 3, no. 8 (Oct 1934), pp 133-36.

78. Hugo Valentin, "Månadsrevy", *JK*, vol. 4, no. 5 (May 1935), pp 78-81.

79. Daniel Brick, "Läget i Palestina", *JK*, vol. 5, no. 6 (Jun-Aug 1936), pp 85-89.

80. *Ibid.*, p 87.

81. See Laqueur and Rubin, passim, pp 17-18 and pp 113-22.

82. See his telling of Jewish history through the endeavours of thirty individuals from Moses down through the Prophets, Maimonides and Herzl in *De som byggt Israel*. (3 vols.: Stockholm, 1929; Uppsala, 1931; Stockholm, 1943). Note also his characterization of Ahad Ha'am as a modern-day prophet in *Frågetecknet Israel*. (Stockholm, 1948), p 87.
83. Daniel Brick, "En zionists syn på judiska problem. Ur ett diskussionsinlägg", *JK*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Jan-Feb 1942), pp 5-7.
84. *Ibid.*, p 6.
85. Wulff Fürstenberg, "Har vi en uppgift?", *JK*, vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1933), pp 26-27.
86. Stig Bendixon, "Judendomens framtid", *JK*, vol. 1, no. 7 (Dec 1932), pp 122-23.
87. *Ibid.*, p 123.
88. *Op. cit.*, p 26.
89. *Ibid.*, p 27.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Hugo Valentin, "Judisk Krönika 1933", *JK*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Feb 1933), p 3.
92. *Ibid.*
93. Daniel Brick, "Judisk Krönika 1932-1942", *JK*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Jan-Feb 1942), pp 2-3.
94. Elieser Berlinger, "Nation eller konfession?", *JK*, vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1933), pp 51-52.
95. *Ibid.*, p 52.
96. *Ibid.*
97. Josef Klausner, "De judiska studiernas historia", *JK*, vol. 7, no. 3 (March 1938), pp 42-45.
98. *Ibid.*, p 44.
99. *Ibid.*
100. *Ibid.*
101. Hugo Valentin, "Araber och judar i Palestina", *JK*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Dec 1933), pp 152-54.
102. *Ibid.*, p 154.
103. Marcus Ehrenpreis, *Israels möten med folken*, Uppsala, 1934, esp. pp 120-21.
104. *Ibid.*, p 116.
105. Throughout his life-long Zionist involvement, Martin Buber wrote on the need for just and amicable reconciliation between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. His writings on this issue have been collected in *A Land of Two Peoples. Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs*. (edited and with a commentary by Paul R. Mendes-Flohr).
106. Laqueur and Rubin (eds.), *The Israel-Arab Reader*, passim, p 124.
107. Reprinted beginning on the front page in *JK*, vol. 17, no. 10 (30 May 1948), pp 113-15.
108. The revisionist point of view was never very popular nor well-represented in *Judisk Krönika*; and as it became identified with intransigence and terrorism, was discredited in these pages.
109. Hugo Valentin, *Judarna i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1964), p 137.
110. Daniel Brick, "Vår ungdom och judendomens framtid", *Israeliten*, vol. 12, no. 1-2 (Oct-Nov 1924), pp 8-10.
111. See *Judisk Krönika*, eg., Elisabeth Wærn-Bugge, "Saknar judarna medborgarsinne?", vol. 2, no. 3 (May 1933), pp 46-47; Wulff Fürstenberg, "Nation och folk. Några subjektiva funderingar", vol. 4, no. 8 (Oct 1935), pp 142-44; 'Mako', "Zionism, patriotism och medborgarskap", vol. 5, no. 7 (Sept 1936), p 116; Herbert Friedländer, "Emigrationen som psykologiskt problem" (review of: Erich Stern, 'Die emigration als psychologisches Problem'), vol. 7, no. 8 (Oct 1938), pp 136-38; Daniel Brick, "En zionists syn på judiska problem. (Ur ett diskussionsinlägg)", vol. 11, no. 1 (Jan-Feb 1942), pp 5-7; Norman Bentwich, "Zionisterna och den dubbla lojaliteten", vol. 13, no. 1 (Jan 1944), pp 2-3; Hugo Valentin, "Antisemitismen och den dubbla förbundenheten", vol. 17, no. 12 (29 Aug 1948), pp 138-39; "Sionist—ett föräldrat begrepp? Diskussionstafton i judiska föreningen", vol. 20, no. 19 (1951), pp 300-01.
112. Ragnar Josephson, *Den dubbla lojaliteten. Tal till judiska sammanslutningar i Stockholm och Göteborg*. (Stockholm, 1936), pp 9, 12.
113. *Ibid.*, p 18.
114. *Ibid.*, pp 20-23.
115. *Ibid.*, p 27.
116. Wulff Fürstenberg, "Nation och folk. Några subjektiva funderingar", *JK*, passim, p 143.
117. *Ibid.*, p 144.
118. 'Mako', "Zionism, patriotism och medborgarskap", *JK*, passim, p 116.
119. *Ibid.*
120. *Ibid.*
121. Daniel Brick, "En zionists syn på judiska problem. Ur ett diskussionsinlägg", *JK*, passim, p 5.
122. Norman Bentwich, "Zionisten och den dubbla lojaliteten", *JK*, passim, pp 2-3.
123. Hugo Valentin, "Antisemitismen och den dubbla förbundenheten", *JK*, passim, pp 138-39.
124. H. Meyer, "Koestlers Palestinabok", *JK*, vol. 16, no. 5 (May 1947), pp 88-89.
125. Arthur Koestler, "Brev till fadern till en brittisk soldat i Palestina", *JK*, vol. 16, no. 7 (Sept 1947), pp

118–21.

126. Arthur Koestler, *Promise and Fulfilment. Palestine 1917–1949*. (London, 1949), p vii.

127. Laqueur and Rubin, p 125.

128. Op. cit., p 332.

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid., pp 332–33.

131. Ibid., p 333.

132. Ibid., p 335.

133. "Arthur Koestler har avsvurit judendomen", *JK*, vol. 19, no. 12 (9 June 1950), pp 147–48.

At the end of the interview, Koestler states, "I consider myself first as a member of the European community and secondly as a naturalized British citizen of mixed, uncertain race, who accepts the Hellenistic-Jewish-Christian tradition's ethical values but rejects its dogmas".

134. A sampling from *Judisk Krönika* includes: "Löfte och uppfyllelse". Livfull stockholmsjudisk diskussion", vol. 19, no. 3 (13 Feb 1950), pp 26–27 (Participants quoted include Carl Hirsch, Frans Arnheim, Erwin Leiser, Gunnar Heckscher, Åke Meyerson, Lars Ulvenstam, Thorwald Åkesson, Nella Rost, Abraham Brody, Hugo Valentin); Walter A. Berendsohn, "Judisk nödgemenskap", vol. 19, no. 4 (28 Feb 1950), p 43; Ernst Benedikt, "Den dubbla lojalitetens problem", vol. 19,

no. 7 (30 March 1950), p 83; Stig Bendixon "Den dubbla lojaliteten än en gång", vol. 19, no. 8 (20 April 1950), p 94; Emil Kronheim, "Arthur Koestler vill inte vara såsom sina fäder", vol. 19, no. 14 (14 July 1950), p 170; Walter A. Berendsohn, "Tillbaka till judendomen. Ett egendomligt återvändande", vol. 19, no. 23–24 (23 Dec 1950), p 299.

135. "Löfte och uppfyllelse". Livfull stockholmsjudisk diskussion", *JK*, passim, p 26.

136. Erwin Leiser, quoted in *ibid*.

137. Hugo Valentin, quoted in *ibid*, p 27.

138. *Ibid*.

139. Walter A. Berendsohn, "Judisk nödgemenskap", *JK*, passim, p 43.

140. Ernst Benedikt, "Den dubbla lojalitetens problem", *JK*, passim, p 83.

141. Walter A. Berendsohn, "Tillbaka till judendomen. Ett egendomligt återvändande", *JK*, passim, p 299.

142. For a Swedish report, see Gabi Gleichmann, "Judisk renässans", *JK*, vol. 5 (52), no. 1 (Feb 1983), pp 10–11.

143. For one study, see Julian Ilicki, *Identitetsförändring hos den yngre generationen polska judar som kom till Sverige 1968–1972*. (unpublished seminar paper, 1986).