

**Exploring Different Interpretations of Zionism  
within American Reform Judaism:  
Report on Historical Documents and Current Situation**

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**Abstract:**

This note is a report on part of my current research project exploring in what context a pro-Zionist slant within American Reform Judaism has emerged and how the term “Zionism” has been interpreted.

I conducted research at the American Jewish Archives (AJA), located at Hebrew Union College, the Reform Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, from February to March 2019. This report describes part of my research results. During my stay in the United States, I also had the opportunity to participate in the 2<sup>nd</sup> KAKEHASHI Project “Visiting Program to Los Angeles and San Francisco by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies,” an exchange program launched by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As part of the project, I was able to visit Temple Israel of Hollywood, a Reform synagogue where I met Rabbi John L. Rosove (1949-), the most recent National Chairman of the Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA).

In this report, also serving as a kind of record of my stay in US, I would like to present one aspect of Zionist views that positively interpret Zionism within American Reform Judaism, showing the historical transition of interpretations and the current viewpoint of on Zionism by introducing historical material stored in the AJA and Rabbi Rosove’s view.

**Keywords:**

American Reform Judaism, Zionism, American Jewish Archives (AJA), Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi John L. Rosove

## 1. Introduction

At present, I am interested in learning how rabbis who identify themselves as “Zionists” have developed a pro-Zionist slant within American Reform Judaism. In particular, in the research project, “Criticism and Acceptance: Historical Development in Zionist Thought Among 20<sup>th</sup>-Century American Jewish Scholars,” my objective is to answer the following questions while making reference to the historical transition of interpretations: Why did pro-Zionist rabbis emerge from Reform Judaism, which has generally disagreed with Zionism? Where did their understanding of “Zionism” come from and how do they understand the term “Zionism” itself?<sup>1</sup>

In order to pursue this research project, I researched material at the American Jewish Archives (hereinafter called the AJA) in Cincinnati from February to March 2019.<sup>2</sup> This note reports part of the research results. During a research period from March 17 to 24, 2019, I also had the opportunity to participate in the 2<sup>nd</sup> KAKEHASHI Project “Visiting Program to Los Angeles and San Francisco by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies,” a program consisting of sending Japanese researchers to the United States as part of an exchange programs to enhance the better understanding of Japan, launched by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>3</sup> In this KAKEHASHI Project, ten early career scholars, including myself, visited Jewish facilities and institutions (higher education institutions, synagogues, museums, etc.) in Los Angeles and San Francisco.<sup>4</sup> The Project aims to deepen mutual understanding through meetings and exchanges with individual specialists and people in the local Jewish community. This research note records an example of the existence of a pro-Zionist rabbi in current Reform Judaism by introducing Rabbi Rosove, whom I met at Temple Israel of Hollywood and his view of “Zionism”, which seems to be highly relevant to my current research project in particular.



Front of the AJA



Entrance of the Temple Israel of Hollywood

Both photos by the author.

## 2. American Reform Judaism and Zionism

Reform Judaism emerged not from the American context but from that of the European continent, particularly Germany. It is thought to have been shaped by Enlightenment and Jewish emancipation which influenced Jewish society beginning in the 18th century and originated from a change in the style of worship in Judaism as a response to modernization in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup>

But the ways in which Reform Judaism developed in Germany and America are different. The creed of Reform Judaism in America was officially determined only in 1885 when the Pittsburgh Platform was promulgated. However, as Thomas A. Kolsky briefly pointed out, Reform Judaism in America is generally considered to have developed in parallel with the process of German Jewish immigrants' assimilation to America.<sup>6</sup>

Reform Judaism had taken an official position against Zionism because Reform Judaism, aiming for a universal position, perceived Zionism, emphasizing its unique ethnicity, to be an obstacle to successful integration into American society. What Reform Judaism most clearly expressed as an anti-Zionist view would be the Statement of Principles by non-Zionist Rabbis issued by an anti-Zionist organization, the American Council for Judaism (ACJ) established by a few US Reform rabbis on August 12, 1942.<sup>7</sup> This statement declares that they could not tolerate political Zionism, no matter how special Palestine is to the Jews.

When discussing the current relationship between Reform Judaism and Zionism, it seems to be commonly perceived that this stance of Reform Judaism is anti-Zionist rather than non-Zionist which takes a wait-and-see attitude to the pros and cons of the Zionist movement.<sup>8</sup> This interpretation was also suggested to me by Dr. Jerome Chanes at City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center. (See footnote 27.)

But as shown in the left column of Figure 1, in light of history, pro-Zionists have certainly existed within Reform Judaism, even though some see them as exceptions. First of all, I will refer to Article 5 of the Pittsburgh Platform (1885) as a typical example of the anti-Zionist stance of Reform Judaism. As the article stipulates, a return to Palestine is not assumed (see Figure 1). Based on a statement such as this, a reasonable deduction is that Reform Judaism cannot agree with the Zionist movement.<sup>9</sup>

It can be seen, however, that the Columbus Platform (1937), promulgated after the Pittsburgh Platform, contains certain statements that could be interpreted as pro-Zionist. (See the right column of Figure 1.)

As Michael A. Meyer points out, Article 5 of the Columbus Platform (1937) includes elements of both political and cultural Zionism. The former advocates the need for a safe

harbor for fellow Jews, while the latter believes that the center of Jewish culture, Palestine, is spiritually required.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, just comparing the Pittsburgh Platform with the Columbus Platform makes it clear that, by 1937, there were different interpretations of “Zionism” within American Reform Judaism.

**Figure 1**

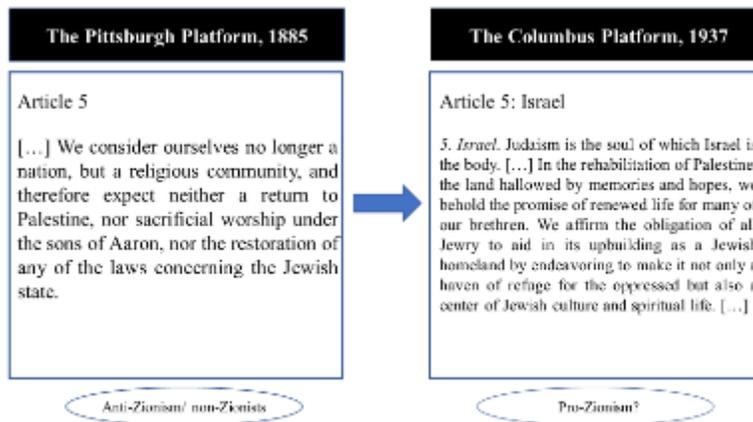


Figure 1 is based on the website of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The Pittsburgh Platform:

<https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbinic-voice/platforms/article-declaration-principles/>

The Columbus Platform:

<https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbinic-voice/platforms/article-guiding-principles-reform-judaism/>

[Both accessed on October 18, 2019]

### **3. Stephen S. Wise’s Pro-Zionist Stance: From the American Jewish Archives**

In the previous chapter, while showing that anti-Zionist views are the mainstream in American Reform Judaism, I confirmed that some of Reform Judaism had a pro-Zionist slant by citing the Columbus Platform.

In this chapter, although space does not permit a detailed analysis, I would like to introduce Stephen S. Wise (1874-1949), a Reform rabbi, with a pro-Zionist stance within American Reform Judaism.

Rabbi Wise was born the son of Reform Rabbi Aaron Wise (1844-1896) in Budapest, Hungary on March 12, 1874 and his family moved to America when Stephen was one year old. In 1893, Stephen Wise, who was ordained as a rabbi by Adolph Jellinek of Vienna, became a Reform (or Liberal) rabbi and served at Temple Beth Israel in Portland, Oregon in 1900. Wise was part of a minority of Reform rabbis who were already Zionists at that time (see footnote 5). Rabbi Wise made efforts to establish the first nationwide Zionist organization, the Federation of American Zionists (FAZ), in 1898 (and served as honorary secretary of FAZ until 1904).

Since Rabbi Wise was not satisfied with the existing Reform Judaism, he founded the Free Synagogue in New York in 1907 as a place to promote social justice and freedom of expression; he served as a rabbi there until 1943. While he was interested in social problems as a rabbi of the Free Synagogue, he also continued to act as a Zionist. He helped establish the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs in 1914, and supported the draft provisions of the Balfour Declaration in 1917. The following year, he helped found the American Jewish Congress (AJC), and served as vice president, president and honorary president of the AJC for the rest of his life. From 1918, he was involved in AJC activities, and attended the Versailles Conference in 1919 as one of the representatives of the AJC representing the wishes of the Zionists in Palestine.<sup>11</sup> He also served as deputy representative of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) from 1918 to 1920, and then served as president of the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR), which he founded in New York as a rabbinical training institution from 1922 to 1948. The JIR was consistently inter-denominational, but it was mainly Reform students who attended.<sup>12</sup> Rabbi Wise founded the World Jewish Congress (WJC) in 1936. He served as chairman of the Executive Committee of the WJC and assumed chairmanship of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs throughout the 1940s. He died in New York on April 19, 1949.

The remarks that clearly demonstrated his motivation for Zionist activities can be found in a statement at the World Union for Progressive Judaism meeting held in London in 1926.

[...] but I shall, and you will, rue the day unless before we adjourn tonight you make it very, very clear that we Zionists have a place, an entire place of welcome within the Liberal Jewish movement.<sup>13</sup>

According to Rabbi Wise's interpretation, liberal Judaism and Zionism were not

incompatible.

Document 1 in this research note is the last page of a three-page letter from Rabbi Wise to Mr. Saul Odess, which is one of the historical documents I consulted at the AJA. At the beginning, Rabbi Wise writes, “I came to believe that Jews in Poland are suffering the most horrible crises of a physical violence,” and in the following pages he says that Palestine is the only land that can accept the Jews who became “homeless” and have nowhere to go. He also states that there is no other land except Palestine that is ready to accept “100,000 German Jews during the next four years.”<sup>14</sup> But following on from this statement Rabbi Wise did resolve a major logical contradiction between the growing uprising of Palestinian Arabs since April 1936 and his Zionist activities based on the Liberal Judaism? But if so, how did he do it? Was he unaware of the situation in Palestine? At the moment, it remains a matter of speculation, but I believe that these questions will induce me to explore Rabbi Wise's view of Zionism.

In the next chapter, I will refer to an example of a present-day Reform rabbi.

#### **4. Rabbi John L. Rosove’s interpretation of “Zionism”**

##### **4-1. Visiting the Temple Israel of Hollywood and Meeting Rabbi John L. Rosove**

On Monday morning, March 18, 2019, we visited Temple Israel of Hollywood as part of the 2nd KAKEHASHI Project “Visiting Program to Los Angeles and San Francisco by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies.” Temple Israel of Hollywood is a Reform Jewish synagogue established in 1926 and is adjacent to a day school. This synagogue is also famous for Martin Luther King, Jr. having preached to the congregation from the bimah (a pulpit for reading the Torah in public) in 1965.<sup>15</sup> As I have already mentioned in the second chapter of this research note, Reform Judaism, like Orthodox Judaism, has in the past taken a position against the Zionist movement and Zionist thought. However, the synagogue is also known as one that possesses a Zionist-friendly lineage from its earlier rabbis. Among other things, what surprised us is the fact that the synagogue has collected and displayed some documents and art collections related not only to the spiritual Zionism of Jewish thinkers like Martin Buber, but also to historical personages who belonged to the mainstream of Zionist history, including the first original edition of Theodor Herzl's *Jewish State* (1896) and the ID card of Ze’ev V. Jabotinsky in France.<sup>16</sup> It is no exaggeration to say that such a collection is rare in Reform synagogues.

When we visited the synagogue, we were able to meet Rabbi John L. Rosove. His

blog and the blog of *Times of Israel* described our meeting in detail, including questions that our delegation asked Rabbi Rosove.<sup>17</sup> I will briefly introduce Rabbi Rosove's biography here, and then explain his interpretation of "Zionism" in the next section.

Rabbi Rosove, who had been Senior Rabbi at this synagogue since 1988, retired only a few months ago. While serving as a rabbi, he was engaged in Zionist activities. Rabbi Rosove is known as a leader of the modern Zionist movement in America, and was recently national chairman of the Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA)<sup>18</sup>. When I met him, he had been reappointed co-chair for Rabbinic and Cantorial Cabinet of J Street.<sup>19</sup>

When I visited the AJA to conduct research and met Professor Dr. Gary P. Zola in 2019 and Professor Emeritus Dr. Michael A. Meyer in 2018, both of them told me that Reform Judaism had initially been judged to be incompatible with Zionism and that it was believed to be completely different in its way of thinking from Zionism. That has not, however been the case in recent years.<sup>20</sup> It is therefore understandable that a person like Rabbi Rosove is a Reform rabbi and is at the same time engaged in Zionist activities. There is surely a gap in what Zionism meant to the mainstream of Reform Judaism a hundred years ago and what it means today. In other words, Rabbi Rosove's interpretation of "Zionism" seems to be different from the conception that had been common in Reform Judaism at the time of the Pittsburgh Platform.

During the meeting, I commented to Rabbi Rosove, "The term 'Zionism' seems to be used in a very negative sense now, including the Israeli government's settlement activities." And I asked him, "What do you think about it?" Quite simply, he answered, "Zionism that we [including Rabbi Rosove] are seeking is basically different from political Zionism. Rather, [we] are required to present the [meaning of] true 'Zionism' [to the world] at present." Therefore what does he mean by the "true Zionism"? I will explain this in the next section.

#### **4-2. Rabbi Rosove's interpretation of "Zionism"**

Rabbi Rosove's book *Why Judaism Matters*, published in 2017, describes the view of liberal Judaism he wants to convey to the next (millennial) generation in the form of a letter to his two sons, Daniel and David. The book covers a variety of topics, such as family life, good and evil, secrets of a good life, and war and peace. Rabbi Rosove's interpretation of Zionism is most prominently explained in Part III ("Living in the World of Good and Evil, War and Peace").<sup>21</sup> He is critical of the Israeli settlements policy in the West Bank today, saying it has not implemented democracy.<sup>22</sup> But Rabbi Rosove has not

relinquished his position as a “Zionist.” He consciously represents himself as a “liberal Zionist.”<sup>23</sup> He seems to perceive that the Jews living in America are inseparable from the State of Israel<sup>24</sup> and that the observance of “justice” is the duty of Zionism based on Deuteronomy 16:20 – Justice, justice shall you pursue, that you may thrive and occupy the land that [Adonai] your God is giving you.<sup>25</sup> In this part of his book, however, he does not give a concrete example of observing “justice.” Indeed, he makes no suggestion to the Israeli government of how the problem could be solved.

For Rabbi Rosove, Zionist activities are mainly embodied in belonging to Zionist organizations such as ARZA mentioned above. The objectives of ARZA can be summarized in the following two points: (i) to consider Israel as playing an important role in maintaining Jewish identity and thus recognizing the necessity of Israel for Reform Jews in America, and also to dispatch delegations from the US to Israel often (and, in some cases, to encourage individual visits to Israel.); and (ii) to promote Israel in becoming a pluralistic and democratic nation-state.

## 5. Research Visions

In this research note, I pointed out that not all of Reform Jews in America were “anti-Zionists”; some rabbis historically showed an affinity for Zionism, and I also introduced an example of a rabbi acting as a “Zionist” by adding a new interpretation to it without abandoning the term “Zionism” even today. Furthermore, I have pointed to examples of Reform rabbis that had or have an affinity for Zionism (namely, Rabbi S. S. Wise and Rabbi Rosove). Both rabbis cannot be considered in the same way.<sup>26</sup> While Rabbi Wise was engaged in Zionist activities before the establishment of the State of Israel, Rabbi Rosove is an example of Zionism after the establishment of Israel. At least, attention should be paid to their different contexts. Unfortunately, I am unable to provide sufficient information in this research note, and it is not easy to make a definitive statement at this stage, but if I dare to presume to show the direction of my future research, I will explore more deeply the meaning of “liberal” Judaism or “liberal” Zionism, which are key terms connecting Rabbi S.S. Wise and Rabbi Rosove, in the sense of aiming for the realization of social justice as mentioned in Rabbi Rosove’s understanding of “Zionism.”

I have noted the example of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to show that there was a pro-Zionist rabbi within American Reform Judaism. But it is also necessary to note that the pro-Zionist Reform rabbis such as Rabbis S. S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes were not in the mainstream of Reform Judaism during much of their lives. They interpreted Judaism in

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their own way, and they were not representatives of early American Reform Judaism. So I must also pay attention to this point in my future consideration.<sup>27</sup>

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As you know, the fund-raising instrument in the United States of the Jewish Agency for Palestine is the United Palestine Appeal, which is seeking \$3,500,000 during 1936 for the settlement in Palestine of a maximum number of the Jews of Germany and other lands. The United Palestine Appeal is one of the participant organizations in the Council for German Jewry, headed by Sir Herbert Samuel, which is sponsoring the program for the emigration of 100,000 German Jews during the next four years.

The members of this Council have repeatedly emphasized that at least half, and probably more, of the German Jews would go to Palestine. In truth, there is no other land ready to accept them in such large numbers. To carry out this great program large funds are essential.

This week the Council for German Jewry announced in London that its first official act is the allocation of \$1,250,000 this year for the settlement of German Jews in Palestine. This allocation was made possible because the United Palestine Appeal pledged to the Council the sum of \$250,000 for this one item, if American Jewry's response will make it possible to do so. This is in addition to the regular program of the Jewish Agency for the colonization of Jews, the purchase of land and the general development of the Jewish homeland which the United Palestine Appeal is helping to finance.

When you think of the Jewish situation abroad this Passover, will you not consider the facts presented above? It is customary that during this season Jews in America express their gratitude for the liberty which is their own by making generous contributions to the cause of those who still need to be liberated.

As National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, I would be deeply grateful for a Passover message from you that you are contributing to the historic work which we are doing: enabling Jews to get out of the dark lands of intolerance into the bright haven of freedom in Palestine.

Faithfully yours,



Stephen S. Wise  
National Chairman

**Document 1:** Letter from Stephen S. Wise to Mr. Saul Odess (April 1, 1936), (3 of 3 pages)

MS49, Box4, Folder 8, AJA

Rabbi Wise's letter to Mr. Saul Odess was sent during the Passover season. Rabbi Wise as

National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal (UPA) wrote in the fourth paragraph, “When you think of the Jewish situation abroad this Passover, will you not consider the facts presented above [i.e., the miserable state of the Jews in Germany and other European countries]?” Rabbi Wise put this question to Mr. Odess asking for his contribution to the project of liberating the German Jews from the intolerant dark land to the free shining haven of Palestine and concluded by thanking him in advance.

\*The UPA was founded in 1925 as an American-led fundraising organization dedicated to helping the Jews inside and outside Germany settle in Palestine. The UPA was reorganized in 1936.



Rabbi John L. Rosove (the fourth person from the top left)  
with delegates of the 2<sup>nd</sup> KAKEHASHI Project

Source: Asia Pacific Institute: Quarterly Update

<http://links.ajcglobal.org/servlet/MailView?ms=MzY0ODgxNQS2&r=ODU5MTI2ODIzODAS1&j=ODIwMDM4MDAwS0&mt=1&rt=0> [Accessed November 6, 201].

## Acknowledgements

※1 My research for material at the American Jewish Archives (AJA) conducted from February 4 to March 29, 2019 (excluding the period of our participation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> KAKEHASHI Project) was supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) KAKENHI Grant Number JP18K12210.

※2 My research for material at the American Jewish Archives (AJA) owes much in

particular to Professors Dr. Gary P. Zola and Dr. Dana Herman. Having learned that I was interested in Rabbi Stephen S. Wise's view of Zionism, Dr. Zola gave me an opportunity to listen to part of Wise's voice-recorded sermons at the Free Synagogue along with transcripts<sup>28</sup>, and also kindly allowed me to attend a lecture titled "Reform Judaism: Then and Now." Dr. Herman not only arranged for my research in the archives to be conducted smoothly, but also took great care of me in the unfamiliar surrounding of life in Cincinnati.

※3 I would like to take this occasion to give thanks to all the parties concerned who allowed us to participate in the 2<sup>nd</sup> KAKEHASHI Project "Visiting Program to Los Angeles and San Francisco by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies" (March 17-24, 2019) and provided us with valuable opportunities. Especially I am grateful to Ms. Dganit Abramoff, Acting Chief of Staff, American Jewish Committee (AJC), Los Angeles, and Ms. Barb Kilkka (Youth For Understanding, YFU). And I would also like to express my appreciation to Dr. Satoko Kamoshida and Dr. Masahiro Shida for taking the initiative as leaders of the delegation to make this project a bond between the North American Jewish community and Japan and always taking care of our delegation members.

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> This research project is partly dealt with in the following papers: Anri Ishiguro, "Americanized cultural Zionism from the 1900s to the 1920s: reflecting the prism of Aḥad Ha'am's thought -- Magnes, Kaplan, Kallen" in *The World of Monotheistic Religions*, Vol. 9, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2018 (Doshisha University, The Center for Interdisciplinary Study of the Monotheistic Religions, 2018), 1-18 [in Japanese]; and Anri Ishiguro, "Progress and Ambiguities: Kaufmann Kohler's Vision for Jewish Women and Zionism during the Transitional Period of the Reform Movement," in *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Jewish Studies Judaism in Modern Era: Interpretative Studies of Ancient and Current Texts*; Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 19<sup>th</sup> 2018 (Ed. Ada Taggar Cohen; Kyoto: Doshisha University, The Center for Interdisciplinary Study of the Monotheistic Religions, 2019), 102-111.
- <sup>2</sup> The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives (AJA), located on the historic Cincinnati campus of Hebrew Union College, was established in 1947 by the renowned American historian, Dr. Jacob Rader Marcus (1896-1995). For detailed information about the establishment of the AJA, see the following essay: Jacob Rader Marcus, "The Program of the American Jewish Archives (1948)" in *The Dynamics of American Jewish History: Jacob Rader Marcus's Essays on American Jewry* (Gary Phillip Zola ed.; Hanover, London: Brandeis University Press, University Press of New England, 2004), 108-115.

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- <sup>3</sup> The KAKEHASHI Project, Visiting Program to the North America by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies, was first implemented in 2017. In the 1<sup>st</sup> KAKEHASHI Project, seven young Japanese researchers visited New York and Boston along the East Coast. For more details about the newsletter of the 1<sup>st</sup> KAKEHASHI Project, see the following link:  
<http://alderekhhaemet.blogspot.com/2018/06/newsletter-kakehashi-project-2018.html>  
 [Accessed July 25, 2019]
- <sup>4</sup> For more details about the second destination we visited, see the following link to the Japan International Cooperation Center (JICE):  
<https://www.jice.org/exchange/report/2019/05/kakehashi-project-2019317324.html> [Accessed July 25, 2019]
- <sup>5</sup> For more details about the development of Reform Judaism and conflicts between assimilation of German Jews into American society and the retention of their identity in the United States, see the following book. Michael A. Meyer, *Judaism within Modernity: Essays on Jewish History and Religion* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001). Although my paper could not cover it due to space constraints, Meyer's book deals with Abba Hillel Silver (1893-1963) as an example of a "Zionist" within Reform Judaism.
- <sup>6</sup> Thomas A. Kolsky, *Jews Against Zionism: The American Council for Judaism, 1942-1948* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 20-22.
- <sup>7</sup> MS 17, box 6, folder 1, American Jewish Archives. This statement is also included in the following collection of historical materials. Gary Phillip Zola and Marc Dollinger (eds.) *American Jewish History: A Primary Source Reader* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2014), 253f; and also see Kolsky's analysis: Thomas A. Kolsky, *Jews Against Zionism*, 54f.
- <sup>8</sup> For another view, see Jack Wertheimer, *How Jews Practice Their Religion Today: The New American Judaism* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), 107. In this book, however, Jack Wertheimer says that Reform rabbis took a neutral attitude towards Zionism as opposed to one of hostility (i.e. in a sense different from the anti-Zionist stance of the American Council for Judaism) until 1937.
- <sup>9</sup> Theodor Herzl's book, *The Jewish State*, was published in 1896 and the 1<sup>st</sup> Zionist Congress took place in the following year. Therefore, at the time when the Pittsburgh Platform was promulgated in 1885, the Political Zionist movement that reform Judaism opposed has not yet begun. But until the Columbus Platform was promulgated in 1937, Reform Judaism often referred to the Pittsburgh Platform as an explanatory reason for anti-Zionism.
- <sup>10</sup> Michael A. Meyer, *Judaism within Modernity*, 320.
- <sup>11</sup> Stephen Wise, *Challenging Years: The Autobiography of Stephen Wise* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949), 206-208.
- <sup>12</sup> In 1949, when Stephen Wise died, the JIR merged with Hebrew Union College (HUC). Mark Lee Raphael, *Profiles in American Judaism: The Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, and Reconstructionist Traditions in Historical Perspective* (Harper & Row, 1984), p. 54.

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- <sup>13</sup> Stephen S. Wise, “Zionism and the Liberal,” in *The Growth of Reform Judaism: American and European Sources* (W. Gunther Plaut ed.; Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society, 2015), 150f.
- <sup>14</sup> This might be interpreted as a remark that Wise seemed to unconsciously accept the myth shown in Israel Zangwill (1864-1926)’s infamous slogan “A land without a people for a people without a land.” However, in order to judge the validity of this interpretation, it should be considered carefully with reference to other relevant materials.
- <sup>15</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr.’s sermon in 1965 at the Temple Israel of Hollywood can be viewed at the following URL:  
<https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlktempleisraelhollywood.htm> [Accessed July 25, 2019]
- <sup>16</sup> For the exhibition at this synagogue, refer to the following link of the 2<sup>nd</sup> KAKEHASHI Project Newsletter:  
<http://alderekhaemet.blogspot.com/2019/08/newsletter-kakehashi-project-2019.html>  
[Accessed October 31, 2019]
- <sup>17</sup> See the following link to Rabbi Rosove’s blog:  
<https://rabbijohnrosove.wordpress.com/2019/03/19/10-young-japanese-scholars-of-judaism-and-jewish-history-visit-los-angeles-times-of-israel-blog-march-19-2019/>  
[Accessed July 25, 2019]
- <sup>18</sup> The Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA) was founded at the Reform Judaism biannual meeting in San Francisco in 1978. See the following article written by Rabbi John Rosove on July 2, 2018:  
<https://jewishjournal.com/blogs/235631/american-reform-movement-accepts-jerusalem-program-world-zionist-organization-becomes-zionist-movement/> [Accessed July 25, 2019]
- <sup>19</sup> J Street, one of the Israeli lobby organizations in America, was established in 2008 by generations who could not agree with AIPAC which is said to be the most influential Israeli lobby group existing that adopts an uncritical attitude and policy towards the Israeli government. J Street differs from other existing Israeli lobbies in that it strongly criticizes the current Israeli state policy towards Palestine and opposes its settlement activities in the West Bank and military policy in the Gaza Strip. See the official website of J Street: <https://jstreet.org/> [Accessed July 25, 2019]. As for J Street, see also Ryoji Tateyama, *The Jews and America: Swinging Israeli Lobbies* (Chuokoron-Shinsya, 2016), especially 4-12 and Chapter 5 [in Japanese].
- <sup>20</sup> As is mentioned in footnote 5, Meyer refers to an example of “Zionist” within Reform Judaism.
- <sup>21</sup> Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters: Letters of A Liberal Rabbi to his Children and The Millennial Generation* (Nashville, Tennessee: Jewish Lights Publishing, 2017), 58-68. See especially Rabbi Rosove’s response to an email from Sarah, a rabbinical student (58-61) and Rabbi Rosove’s additional thoughts (61-68).
- <sup>22</sup> Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters*, 58.
- <sup>23</sup> Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters*, 57.

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- <sup>24</sup> Throughout the book, assertions are often found that the Jews are tied to Israel no matter where they live. Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters*, 57, 61 and 67f.
- <sup>25</sup> As regards the observance of justice, see Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters*, 61ff.
- <sup>26</sup> Rabbi Ammiel Hirsh, senior rabbi at New York City's Stephen Wise Free Synagogue that Rabbi Wise founded, was executive director for 12 years of the Association of Reform Zionists in America (ARZA) of which Rabbi Rosove was the last National Chairman. See the following link: <https://www.swfs.org/about-us/our-staff/member/307848/> [Accessed September 25, 2019]. As regards Prime Minister Netanyahu's settlement policy, Rabbi Hirsh said, "Israel's relationship with American Jews has deteriorated significantly during the premiership of Prime Minister Netanyahu," and bitterly complained about Netanyahu's surrender to "the ultra-Orthodox monopoly over religious life." See Eric Cortellessa, "With Israeli elections looming, liberal US Jews set their ire on Netanyahu," in *The Times of Israel*, 5 April 2019: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/with-israeli-election-looming-liberal-us-jews-set-their-ire-on-netanyahu/> [Accessed September 25, 2019]
- <sup>27</sup> This is the point that Dr. Yitzhak Conforti, Bar Ilan University, and Dr. Jerome Chanes, City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center made concerning my report "Keeping Two Zions: The Ambiguity of Americanized Zionism in the Developing Context of Reform and Conservative Judaism" in the 35<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Association for Israel Studies at Kinneret Academic College June 24-26, 2019.
- <sup>28</sup> During my research for material, I could not collect and audit all Wise's sermons and his real voice records because this project was ongoing and time was limited. When I visited the AJA and listened to Wise's recorded sermons in the 1940s, he said that Zionism and American democracy were not incompatible. As of March 2019, it is not clear who really recorded these sermons, so I have to research further to identify the person. If I cannot do this, the validity of these recorded sermons as historical material remains questionable. However, unlike simply reading manuscripts of sermons in typographical form, the recorded sermons show us how Wise's sermons were received by the congregation because of the atmosphere and applause. Consequently, on the next research visit, I would like to collect and audit those of his sermons which seem to be necessary for my research project as reference material.