

“Americanized” Zionism: the Forgotten Role of Horace M. Kallen

In the annals of American thought the name of Horace M. Kallen is best known for his early explication of the concept of cultural pluralism, that theory which urges the maintenance of various ethnic identities in the United States to ensure the preservation of the unique contribution each one is capable of making to American culture. Those who knew Horace Kallen better recognized the roles he played in the development of active movements on behalf of adult education, consumer's rights, civil liberties and environmental preservation in the United States.

Little is known, however, of the other side of Kallen's life, one which consciously reflected his awareness of himself as a Jew living in America. “I have always regarded you as the foremost creative American Jewish thinker who demonstrates by actual example that it is possible to live with distinction syn-

chronously in two civilizations,” wrote the late theologian, Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan, to Kallen in 1952, on the occasion of Kallen's seventieth birthday. Kaplan's appraisal was correct, for Kallen was unusually successful in defining and living his life both as an American and as a Jew from the single perspective of Hebraism, the source, according to Kallen, of both cultures. Hebraism, “individualism...; the right to be oneself, the right to be different,” allowed Kallen to perceive his “Jewish difference[to] be no less real, worthy and honorable than any other.” It helped him, also, to articulate an ‘Americanized’ version of the Zionist idea, one that today continues strongly to influence the perceptions of most American Jews of what Zionism means to them. Those who wish to understand the American Jewish community, therefore, would do well to become acquainted with the concepts that Kallen first expressed some eighty years ago.

Kallen, born in Germany in 1882 was brought to the United States when he

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was five years old. His father was an Orthodox Jewish rabbi and, paralleling the experience of many immigrant sons, Kallen soon found his new world alien from that of his father. By the time he was an adolescent, Kallen had denied for himself any validity in the Jewish doctrine, discarding entirely both its theological and ritual content; in later years he liked to refer to himself as an "atheistic humanist." But in 1902, Professor Barrett Wendell, Kallen's "Tory Yankee" teacher of American literature at Harvard, helped bring him back to an identification with the Jewish People, a need which had become pressing with Kallen's sense of difference and insolation at Harvard.

In his later years Kallen liked to recall how Wendell had emphasized the role of the Old Testament in defining a certain perspective and way of life. "He [Wendell] showed how the Old Testament had affected the Puritan mind [and] traced the role of the Hebraic tradition in the development of the American character... And so I developed the interest in what you might call the Hebraic, the secular, the non-Judaistic component of the entire heritage and that naturally linked with what I knew about Zionism, the Herzl movement."

When, however, Kallen 'returned' to 'Jewishness,' it was a Jewishness quite different from that of his father. Kallen continued to reject what he called the Judaist component of Jewish tradition — the theology, rituals, laws and regulations of Jewish observance. Instead, he identified with what he defined as the Hebraic past of the Jewish People, a Hebrew-Jewish way of thought that constitutes a culture and binds a people together. Zionism, a secular Hebraic

ideal whose goal was the re-nationalization of the Jewish People, became for Kallen the means through which he could affirm the past he had nearly discarded and remain within the Jewish community, i.e., his link with Jewish association. Essentially, then, Kallen adopted Zionism as a new way to interpret Judaism. The 'Jewish Idea,' as it had originally come to him, had seemed the antithesis of the freedom and democracy implicit in the 'American Idea.' After 1902, Kallen began to construe the Old Testament as the source of the American Idea, the basis of the Declaration of Independence and of the Bill of Rights. Instead of being the embodiment of the rituals of Jewish theology, the Old Testament became the catalyst that had encouraged the formation of a free society with notions of equal liberty to all individuals and to all groups, no matter how different. Zionism, an ideal that Kallen felt would help to create another state dedicated to these same concepts of freedom and equality was, therefore, highly compatible with the American Idea. A Zionist, Jewish or non-Jewish, was an individual expressing, in another mode, dedication to American ideals; this particularly held true, however, for Jewish-Americans, with their special attachment to the Old Testament and their longstanding commitment to the humanistic values of liberty and justice for all.

It is important to emphasize here that Kallen's decision to become a Zionist was an entirely personal one, based on an abstract formulation and influenced neither by the Jewish community nor by the fledgling American Zionist movement. In fact, Kallen did not recall knowing about any Zionist organization in

1902; his awareness of Herzl went back to conversations in his father's home and in the synagogue when he was a young child. Thus when Kallen later became active in the Zionist movement, his approach and stance were rather different from those whose Zionist motivation emerged from any one of several European Zionist traditions. Significantly, his formulation of Zionism was to appeal most to other American intellectuals who had become alienated from Jewish tradition and who were searching for some other way to retain or regain ties to the Jewish community.

In 1906 Kallen came to the attention of the Federation of American Zionists, who invited him to give a paper at their annual convention. Preparation of "The Ethics of Zionism," an interpretation of the Zionist idea based on Aristotle's *Politics and Ethics*, caused Kallen to clarify his own nascent views on Zionism and in it he began to develop a cohesive expression of his Zionist reasoning.

He began by rejecting two traditional Zionist positions — that Zionism is a charity to help free the masses from anti-Semitic persecution, and that Zionism is the fulfillment of an age old religious instinct. Instead he felt that Zionism needed a new rationale, one that could show that the Jews deserved to live as a separate people in a country of their own.

In a rather elaborate exposition, Kallen extended the Darwinian principle of survival of the fittest from the individual to the social group, and applied this principle to the history of the Jewish People. Longer than any other people of recorded history the Jews had survived, remaining "masterful and ever assertive,... molding the Western

soul and setting before him definite controlling ideas." Since, Kallen argued, the message of the Hebraic prophets continues to be valid, the Jewish race has an ethical right to maintain its self-hood. But to do so, it, like the other nations of the world, needed to have "permanent occupation of a definite territory. ... People's individuality cannot receive its highest and most adequate expression under an alien environment." Kallen asserted.

He then turned to the role of the Jews, particularly those living in America. "In America our duty to Zion is our duty to our children... For of all things, the realization of the race-self is the central thing." Kallen demonstrated, also a 'radical' streak, unusual for an American Jew in the early twentieth century, by demanding that Jews be willing to fight for the justice of their cause. "Our duty is to Judaize the Jew... We have to crush out the Marrano [secret Jew], chameleon [assimilationists], and spiritual mongrel [Jews who imitated non-Jewish rituals]; we have to assert the Israelite."

In "The Ethics of Zionism" Kallen first wrote of the themes he was to develop further in later years — his emphasis on abstract reasoning rather than on tradition or sentiment in explaining the need for a Jewish state; his concern with the survival of the complex of culture he called Hebraism; his conception that "each man in the human family has the right to live and to give his life ideal expression" — an idea that he was to develop some years later into "cultural pluralism;" his stress on the need for self-respect on the part of American Jews, a need that Zionist affiliation would help to promote; his willingness to advocate self-assertion.

By chance, Solomon Schechter, the renowned Biblical scholar and then president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, happened to hear Kallen read his paper. In later years Kallen recalled, "In that paper I automatically applied what I had learned in my courses... and while most of the auditors either couldn't make out what I was driving at or were opposed anyhow — it was foreign to them in many ways and it was militant — Schechter liked it."

Schechter's positive response to Kallen's Zionist formulations, at a time when the majority of his audience could not comprehend them, is worthwhile noting, for it was predictive of events as they were to unfold some ten years later. But, in fact, Kallen was quite willing to ignore the lack of understanding on the part of most American Zionists who heard him at that time. For he was approaching Zionism as a new convert and his enthusiasm to communicate his personally realized conception of the relationship between Hebraism and the American Idea to as wide an audience as possible helped him to overlook those who neither understood, nor had the background to agree with him.

By far the most important individual to have been influenced by Kallen's formulation of Zionism was the famous "People's Attorney" of the American Progressive movement, Louis D. Brandeis. Though Kallen, while an undergraduate at Harvard, had met Brandeis and had developed a friendly relationship with him, he had not thought it relevant to bring up his own developing interest in Zionism. Brandeis, after all, was well known as an arch-typical American assimilationist, whose background included no formal religious

observances, no Jewish nationalistic leanings, no racial-cultural interests. At several public occasions Brandeis had clearly enunciated his strongly held view that "habits of living or of thought which tend to keep alive difference of origin or to classify men according to their religious beliefs are inconsistent with the American ideal of brotherhood, and are disloyal."

In 1913, however, hearing that Brandeis had expressed some interest in an economic venture in Palestine Kallen sat down to write him something of his own Zionist philosophy. "In Palestine we aim at a new state and a happier social order... I venture... to suggest [that you] consider the general problems of agricultural and industrial organization as Zionism has to face them, and to formulate such a plan as will...[address] social justice as well as economic gain..."

Kallen sent Brandeis, also, a copy of a paper he had written in 1910 in response to rabbinical attacks aimed at Kallen's rejection of Reform Judaism. In that paper Kallen had hinted at some of the cultural pluralist rationale he was later to make more explicit, using phrases like "culture... constitutes a harmony... to which each [nation] contributes its unique tone" and "what really destroys the Jews is what 'universalizes' them, what empties their life of distinctive particular content."

Several months later, in response to a request from Brandeis for an elaboration of his views, Kallen framed a memorandum, "The International Aspects of Zionism." He presented this paper to Brandeis on an overnight boat trip they took together to attend the "Extraordinary Conference of Representatives of American Zionists," a meeting at which

Brandeis, overcoming his concerns about dual loyalty, allowed himself to accept the Chairmanship of the Provisional Executive Committee which would guide Zionist affairs during the period of the first World War.

The initial section of Kallen's memorandum incorporated much of his Zionist thinking. In it he argued that a new Jewish nation would revive the Jewish culture and, though presenting the viewpoints of both the so-called practical and political Zionists, concluded that "there can be no 'cultural center' without a political center." Again, he rejected the idea of Zionism as philanthropy, stressing that Palestine must become free from dependence on charity in order for Jews to express their "ethnic nationality" freely and autonomously. He showed how the American Jewish community was in danger of dying without a Jewish national homeland with which it could identify. He reiterated the thoughts he had expressed in a 1913 speech before a convention of the Boston Order, Knights of Zion.

... As the individual Jew makes the best of himself as a citizen of the United States... only by developing and expressing what is best in his nature as a Jew freely and autonomously, so the Jewish People can give their best to civilization... only by expressing the nature of the race freely and autonomously. We must seek, therefore, first and foremost, this autonomy of the Jewish State among the states of the world...

Kallen's thoughts were new to Brandeis, for most of them were not part of the standard European Zionist ideology with which he might have been familiar. Their effect on Brandeis and their contribution to Brandeis' decision to move

from a somewhat lukewarm sympathy for the aspiration for a Jewish State to his assumption of the active leadership of the entire American Zionist movement can be only a matter of historical conjecture. But the fact that shortly thereafter Brandeis was to repeat almost verbatim many of Kallen's ideas demonstrates, with some certainty, that they made a significant impression on him.

Indeed, an analysis of the arguments for Zionism that Brandeis so forcefully and consistently brought before the American people after 1914 shows that they bear, almost phrase by phrase, an uncanny similarity to the Zionist statements of Horace Kallen. By 1915, for example, Brandeis, the former apostle of assimilation, was saying that "the new nationalism adopted by America proclaims that each race or people, like each individual, has the right and duty to develop." Negating his earlier concepts of dual loyalties, Brandeis now suggested that American Jews, free from civil or political disability, were best fit to lead the struggle to found a Jewish nation which shared America's "fundamental law" of the brotherhood of man as well as "America's insistent demand" for social justice. As with Kallen some ten years earlier, Zionism as Americanism had become Brandeis' way to ease his identity conflicts as an American Jew.

The influence of Kallen's ideas, reflected in Brandeis' statements, went even further, however. As Kallen indicated to me two years before he died.

Now Brandeis took up the ideas... and after he identified himself with the Zionist movement... he presented in his own language the essential ideas. And in pres-

enting those ideas, the conflicts that he had imagined between Zionism and Americanism... were simply nullified. Now that gave Zionism publicly a philosophical status in terms of what you might call the American faith, and gave it a public force that it couldn't possibly have had from me alone.

Kallen, through Brandeis, thus became the philosopher of an Americanized Zionism, the intellectual who worked behind the scenes with a leader who was to remake the Zionist movement in America. From 1914 until 1921, when a major dispute between the American Zionist leaders and their European counterparts over their differing conceptions of Zionism forced Brandeis and Kallen to leave the Zionist movement, Brandeis relied on Kallen, in many ways. Kallen, like Brandeis, an advocate of 'progressive' reform in American life, helped to formulate and to implement plans for efficient reform of the American Zionist organization; his fertile mind originated many of the practical ideas that Brandeis and others used as a basis for action in the Jewish community; he became a 'missionary' trying to convert both Jews and non-Jews to the Zionist cause; he was, for quite some time, the sole American link with important Zionist activity in Great Britain. But perhaps his single most lasting contribution to American Zionism was his preparation of the plans which American Zionists used, down to the last detail, as the basis for their vision of a newly constructed Jewish State.

In August 1914, in "The International Aspects of Zionism," the memorandum which Kallen had submitted to Brandeis on their way to the formation meeting of the Provisional Executive Committee,

Kallen had included an outline of the Utopia he foresaw for Zion. The aim of the Zionist organization, as he saw it then, was to establish a state in which the government would facilitate the expression of the ethnic nationality of the Jewish People — their language, literature, religion, philosophy, art. He suggested, therefore, a centralized international organization to work out "a carefully reasoned plan of the central control of all practical activity in Palestine." This organization would have five divisions: (1) a ministry of public affairs to be in charge of "the consistent development of the settlement, the establishment of industries, etc.;" (2) a ministry which would apply uniform laws, "so as to maintain the practice of democracy and to avoid economic and social injustice;" (3) a ministry to develop a system of national education from grade school to university; (4) a ministry of public health and (5) a ministry to establish a Bureau of National Art.

For some time the working out of the implications of this scheme occupied Kallen's mind. In April 1915 he wrote of it to Brandeis and shortly thereafter attempted to involve Felix Frankfurter more closely with the Zionist movement by offering him a job as "a director of a 'Ministry of Interior'" in the proposed new state. *

It seems to me [Kallen wrote] that your particular job ought to be the consideration of the following things: (1) What are the economic and commercial assets of Palestine?... How shall the work of development be organized so as to secure social justice and the ends of public happiness and safety? How shall [we] give all of our young people at one and the same time training in defense of their country... and positive services to the country for its

development, i.e. can we really establish a "moral equivalent" for war?

Though there is no record of any response by Frankfurter, Kallen continued to focus on the development of practical plans for the Jewish nation-to-be. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1918, taking quite seriously what he construed to be the British promise in the Balfour Declaration, Kallen began to formulate specific programs, along American progressive reform lines, to ensure the economically and socially just development of Palestine.

He began to sell his ideas by writing to the leaders of the Zionist movement in both the United States and England to remind them of their obligations to look beyond the victory of the movement towards the problems of the future. To Alfred Zimmer, an English political scientist and authority on international relations who was his closest contact in Great Britain, he noted, "I am sure than an experiment in social justice in Palestine, because of the limitations of the area, the concreteness of its problems, is much more likely to be significant... than anything that can happen in Russia for generations...." And, "I want as nearly as possible to think out a *modus vivendi* which will lead to an ultimate United States of Asia Minor, involving the Jews, Arabs, Armenians, etc., under international or British guarantee." Somewhat presciently he warned Brandeis, "I am frank to say that I am disturbed by the possibility that the [Palestinian] colonies may be restored and new undertakings begun without regard to the fundamentals of economic organization that would insure a real democracy.... I hope that we may have a frank consideration by the leadership of

what is involved, and the definition of a progressively democratic economic program. Unless we do this, we shall saddle ourselves at once with a labor problem and a workman's party which will shame us, and rightly."

Though he was reluctant to contact Chaim Weizmann directly, he did so finally in January 1918. He urged Weizmann to initiate serious discussions "on methods which will establish fundamental economic, as well as political democracy in our new homeland." In a strong allusion to his own definition of Zionism, Kallen concluded, "This [economic and political democracy] is primarily within the original tradition of our people and its reformulation in contemporary terms will not break but help the continuity of our history."

Kallen did not wait, however, for others to act. In the spring of 1918 he published his "Constitutional Foundations of the New Zion," a description of the structure of the new "commonwealth" as Kallen envisioned it. Kallen had been influenced by Robert Owen, a British socialist of the early nineteenth century, who held that the key to human progress was in economic, not political, reform. Owen wished to make the existence of the private landowner and capitalist impossible; his socialism consisted of a reorganization of society on the basis of public property, i.e., common ownership of the land and of the machinery of wealth production as well as communal supervision of the distribution and production of all material goods. Moreover, Owen devised a form of child-centered education which would teach a new generation to feel comfortable in a society where a sense of trust would replace the competitive drive.

Kallen felt that plans such as Owen's were especially appropriate for the reconstruction of Palestine, where the Jews would have a great advantage in building, from the beginning, a "genuine creative democracy." By democracy Kallen had come to mean the "liberation and encouragement of differences among men, the increase of human individuality and spontaneity and hence of human cooperation." The constitutional foundations he proposed were designed to bring the new state to this level of democracy.

Kallen proceeded to compare the function of the state to that of a traffic policeman: "It is to keep the ways of life open to the free movement toward the expression and fulfillment of their natural capacities by individuals and groups." Its most important role would be the abolition of private ownership and "privilege of any sort," and, even more important, to prevent them from arising in the first place.

To this end, Kallen made several concrete suggestions. He felt that there should be public ownership of "the whole Jewish land," as well as of all natural resources, means of transportation and communication. Individuals or groups undertaking any operation using the land or its resources would become the tenants of the state and leases would terminate, as in ancient Israel's "Year of the Jubilee," every fifty years. No tax system would be needed, for the public treasury would accrue enough funds from these leases to finance the needs of the state. Every industrial or agrarian organization would have to be a cooperative company, in which all its members would share alike; each cooperative unit would join with others to form a national

association of the industry or profession, charged with responsibility for its own progress.

Kallen saw only two fundamental functions for the state — public defense and education. He defined medicine as "public defense against disease," and suggested that all doctors, hospitals and schools of medicine be socialized. The other line of public defense would be against crime and war. Here Kallen recommended the creation of a state's militia to consist of "young men and young women of whose education this work will be a part." He proposed, also, universal schooling to be financed by the state through college; part of each school year would be devoted to police and military training and to service on public works.

These propositions do not seem particularly shocking today. As a matter of fact, the State of Israel has incorporated almost all of them. But in the context of post World War I Zionist thought, Kallen's ideas were seen as revolutionary. The English Zionists, for example, feared Kallen's leap in accepting the premise of a State, and criticized his ideas for being 'too little Jewish.' Nevertheless, Kallen defended his proposals. "I do not think we ought to bother about 'Jewish point of view and Jewish policies'," he wrote to Jacob deHaas, a leader of the Zionist Organization of America. "Jews working together will have these automatically and the only thing they can mean, considered without the principles of justice, is an emphasis on rabbinic practice...." Honesty and tactics, he felt, required the American Zionist movement, his audience for the "Constitutional Foundations" to "stand publicly by the 'great program.'"

Indeed, Kallen and the American progressive oriented Zionists whose mentor he had become went even further with plans for a Jewish State. Kallen's draft, "A Memorandum on the Principles of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine," formed the basis of the so-called Pittsburgh Program," a series of seven principles that the delegates to the 1918 convention of the newly formed Zionist Organization of America adopted as its credo. Following along the lines both of Kallen's "Memorandum" and "Constitutional Foundations," the Pittsburgh Program stressed political and civil equality for all inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race, sex or faith; ownership and control of the land and of all natural resources and public utilities "by the whole people;" application of the cooperative principle in the organization of all agricultural and industrial undertakings; a fiscal policy to protect the people from the evils of land speculation; and a system of free public education in the Hebrew language, for all grades of instruction.

To Kallen and his followers, the Pittsburgh Program, based as it was on Kallen's ideas of pluralism, Hebraism and the American Idea, represented their crowning achievement in expressing their faith and vision in re-ordering Palestine as a model Jewish democratic nationality. Like many of Kallen's ideas at that time, however, the Jewish masses and the leaders of Zionist movements in countries other than the United States never understood or accepted it. The American Yiddish press, for example, ignored it, and the American Zionists of European background who by their vote of no confidence, forced Brandeis to resign from the Zionist

movement in 1921, repudiated it by implication.

One of the most poignant ironies of Kallen's rejection by the American Zionist movement was that the cultural pluralist argument he had formulated had been the theoretical underpinning which gave the Jewish immigrants the freedom to join the Zionist movement without worrying about being accused of dual loyalties. Most American Jews, recent immigrants similar to the majority of the delegates to the 1921 convention, had been reluctant to identify themselves as Zionists before 1914, when Brandeis became the Zionist Chairman. It had seemed, then, un-American, and, therefore, un-patriotic. The Americanized Zionism of Kallen and of Brandeis had made membership in the Zionist organization respectable. Cultural pluralism implied that being a hyphenated American was better than being an assimilated, or 'melted' one. Yet it was these new members of the Zionist organization, men and women of European background who Kallen felt certain could be educated to his vision of Zionism as the real possibility for a better world through the application of intelligent planning, who found Kallen's approach to Zionism too American and, therefore, foreign. Kallen, who all his life had championed majority rule, now found himself a victim of it. The Zionist masses simply could not follow the Utopian vision of this "melioristic" intellectual whose unfamiliar ideas they had come to resent.

The European Zionists sensed rightly that plans for a utopian economic democracy to be implemented by the scientific management methods stressed by the American progressive movement, plans

which seemingly ignored the core issues of Jewish nationalism and which made the question of Jewishness almost irrelevant, were alien and "un-Jewish." Kallen had rejected the Jewish religious tradition, and his Zionist formulation was primarily an intellectual one, conceived "in terms of the philosophical pluralism with which [William] James was identified and in terms of the interpretation of the American tradition by [literary historian] Barrett Wendell" rather than in terms of what he "had learned of Torah at home or in *Cheder*." It was an ideal that allowed him to preserve his American identity with others in a pluralistic society at the same time that he could advocate a broader extension of the precepts of liberty and equality which he attributed to the American Idea. To the mainly Eastern European Jews, however, whose national allegiances were always subordinate to their Jewish identity, and whose Zionism was a deeply felt reaction to the suffering which Jews had experienced because they were Jews, this formulation was absurd.

In the years after 1921 Kallen remained a Zionist, continuing to work for the creation of a Jewish State in the way he thought best. He circulated among the "Brandeis group" yet another memorandum proposing a new Zionist group. "The Palestine Cooperative Trading and Credit Company," which would raise money to foster Zionist undertakings in Palestine, with the aim of developing as many self-supporting Jewish settlements as possible. Brandeis picked up the idea and suggested to several prominent — albeit non-Zionist — philanthropists that they devote themselves "to raising money

and spending it in Palestine for productive purposes," a proposal which, at the time, bore little fruit. Ultimately, however, Kallen turned most of his energies away from the Zionist organization towards groups where he could more effectively express his concern with individual freedom and with social justice. "The Zionist situation didn't seem to me to offer any opportunities for usefulness," he recalled in 1972. By that time, too, he had become well aware that his approach to Zionism had given it a uniquely American cast that had differentiated it, and in many ways alienated it, from the Zionist formulations made elsewhere.

Americanized Zionism was ultimately to make several critical contributions to the American Jewish community. It offered to Westernized acculturated Jews for whom religious tradition seemed outmoded or sterile an alternative, secular, way to preserve their Jewish identity. As Kallen had suggested in his formulation of cultural pluralism, it gave American Jews an outlet for their ethnic sentiment, allowing them to participate on equal terms with other ethnic groups of the pluralistic American society. It became the major factor in uniting the American Jewish community, thus helping to slow the rate of assimilation in "an open society that encouraged it. But not until after the tragic events of the 1930s and 1940s in Europe, and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, did a new generation of acculturated, more secure American Jews feel free to affiliate with an Americanized Zionism. Ironically, it is the role that Kallen and Brandeis had outlined in 1921, that of fundraisers for specific projects within the Palestinian

community, that American Jews have adopted as their "Zionist identity."

Ironically, too, it was Kallen's fate to have lived long enough to see the creation of the Jewish state, only to analyse it in 1958, with some disappointment, as *Utopians at Bay*. Happily he remained a meliorist, whose hope sprang eternal. When he was 91 years old he wrote,

...[There are those] who think[of] Israel as the present phase of an ongoing struggle to embody a historic faith in present fact, [who] regard Israel as an ideal bet on a future of equal liberty and equal safety under law; but a bet which cannot be a sure thing and nevertheless must have the generous support of American Jews as Americans and also as Jews....

Implicit, of course, in this formulation, as in those he had made over a half century earlier, is Kallen's assumption that American Zionism does not expect its

followers to move to Israel; indeed, there is no special need for them to live, or to express their "ethnic identity" there. On the contrary, American Zionists support Israel primarily as *Americans* expressing American values, while their Jewishness becomes, from this perspective, almost incidental. It is this "Americanized" formulation of Zionism, notwithstanding its rejection in 1921, that has become now close to an article of faith among American Jews, deep-rooted and fundamental because it is based on the American-Jewish self-definition in pluralist terms.

That Horace Kallen's role in "Americanizing" Zionism has gone unacknowledged for so long is an impressive tribute to his own modesty. But it is appropriate, even as we recognize both the strengths and the weaknesses of an Americanized Zionism, that we give credit, finally, where credit is due.