

SHALOM

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Photos of Protest

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Stefan Merken

Is the Return of the Draft in Our Future?

SEVEN YEARS AFTER ABOLISHING conscription Sweden has responded to what it believes to be possible security threats by reactivating a draft. Which leads me to a question: Is the U.S. next?

Current U.S. law is that every young male must register with Selective Service within 30 days of his 18th birthday, President Jimmy Carter's forever gift to generations of kids. Should a draft be reinstated many of these 18-26 year olds will certainly become our next war's cannon fodder.

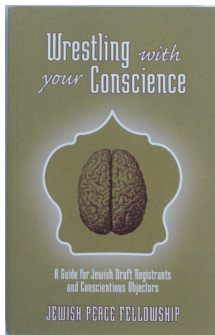
Lately some generals, retired and active, have claimed, without offering evidence, that many in today's military

are unprepared to fight. Seen in conjunction with President Trump's call for increasing the military budget and making America "strong" again, I wonder whether pointless fear and hysteria, real or imagined, may once again lead politicians and pundits to call for a revival of the justly hated draft.

Before that happens here's a reminder that the JPF has a booklet which may prove helpful and useful. "Wrestling With Your Conscience: A Guide For Jewish Draft Registrants and Conscientious Objectors."

This booklet features the most recent Selective Service regulations plus articles Can a Jew Be a CO?; The Jewish Pursuit of Justice; Judaism and War; Registration at 18; What If The Draft Is Reinstated?; Israeli Refusers....and more. ☆

STEFAN MERKEN is chair of the Jewish Peace Fellowship.



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Yonatan Mendel

Activestills Take Photographs

THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT SAYS THERE IS no occupation; the documentary group Activestills shoots back with images of Palestinians living under constant military threat. The Israeli army says that Palestinians who protest against soldiers are terrorists; Activestills shoots back with photographs of Palestinian civilians standing in silent resistance. Israeli media refuse to name Palestinians killed by the army; Activestills shoots back with coverage of their funerals. Israeli society dares not look to-

wards Gaza; Activestill shoots back with images of lives consigned to the rubble. Members of the group, which formed in 2005, are often the only external witnesses to these infractions. They record things that aren't meant to be seen, including the struggles of minority Jewish groups in Israel.

Their work has now been collected in a new volume, *Photography as Protest in Palestine/Israel*. One photograph shows 13 Jewish activists pulling on a rope together to move an army roadblock near the village of Jab'a; another shows Palestinians climbing over the separation wall in order to attend Friday prayers at al-Aqsa mosque.

Most recently Activestills has been documenting the violent clashes that followed the destruction of Bedouin houses in the unrecognized village of Umm al-Hiran, in the Negev. The residents of the village are originally from Wadi Zubala—a site on which Kibbutz Shoval now sits—but were ordered to move to the current location during the Military Regime era (1948-66). Now, after years of claiming it's too

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Activestills.org
Khan Al-Ahmar, West Bank, 22.2.2017.
Photographer: Faiz Abu Rmeleh.



Activestills.org
Khan Al-Ahmar, West Bank, 23.2.2017.
Photographer: Faiz Abu Rmeleh.

Activestills records things that aren't meant to be seen.



Activestills.org
Protest against military closure, Qalqas, West Bank, 17.3.2017.
Photographer: Ahmad Al-Bazz.

complicated to connect the village to infrastructure networks (as with 35 other unrecognized Bedouin villages in the south), the government is forcing them to relocate to one of the new townships that have been built to contain them. The move is urgent because the land has already been designated for the establishment of a religious Jewish village to be named 'Hiram', which will, of course, be well-connected for electricity, water and transportation. The anger of the local Bedouin population led to clashes with Israeli police, who arrived in great numbers for the eviction, and resulted in two dead: an Israeli policeman and a Bedouin man. The latter, a 47-year-old math teacher, was shot by police, and then quickly accused of a car-ramming attack and—because they can say what they want—membership of IS. Ayman Odeh, the head of the Joint List Alliance (the coalition which represents the vast majority of the Arab community in the Knes-

set), came to support the local population and was shot in the face and back with 'sponge coat' bullets. The Israeli public security minister later accused him of having the blood of the dead policeman 'in your hands.' According to the police, he was hit by a stone thrown by the demonstrators.

Activestills has documented injustices in the unrecognized villages for almost a decade. On this occasion, photographers spent all night in Umm al-Hiran. Their pictures tell a very different story to the one given by the Israeli government. They show Odeh bleeding on the ground, Bedouins weeping in front of their destroyed houses, and the disproportionate might of the well-armed police forces. They are keeping their cameras trained on the Israeli administration. ✪



New settler road, Nabi Elias, West Bank, 6.2.2017. Photographer: Ahmad Al-Bazz.



Nakba Day protest, Ofer military prison, West Bank, 15.5.2012. Photographer: Oren Ziv.



Funeral of Basel al-Araj, Al Walaja, West Bank, 17.3.2017. Photographer: Anne Paq.

Richard Middleton-Kaplan

Miss Daisy's Unnamed Rabbi

NEARLY THIRTY YEARS after *Driving Miss Daisy* won the 1988 Pulitzer Prize for Drama and the 1989 Academy Award for Best Picture, it remains memorable for the sharp verbal exchanges between Miss Daisy and her African-American chauffeur Hoke Coleburn, and for the gradually growing affection between them. Brilliant performances sear the story into audiences' memories: Julie Harris and Brock Peters in the first national tour of the play; Jessica Tandy (Oscar winner for Best Actress) and Morgan Freeman (Oscar nominee for Best Actor) in the film; and Vanessa Redgrave (Tony Award winner for Best Actress) and James Earl Jones in a 2010 Broadway production and West End revival.

Few viewers remember that Miss Daisy is Jewish. No one remembers the character of her rabbi. If you don't recall him in the play or the film, you have good reason: He does not appear and is not mentioned in either. And yet he has an essential role. Although only alluded to glancingly, Miss Daisy's rabbi is clearly the real life Rabbi Jacob Rothschild of Atlanta's Hebrew Benevolent Congregation (HBC), and HBC is her temple. He stands at the heart of two key historical events in Jewish-Black relations that the play and film subtly invoke. In this article, I will bring to the fore the hidden Jewish history that underscores and illuminates *Driving Miss Daisy*.

Setting the Scene

Driving Miss Daisy was written by Alfred Uhry (b. 1936), an Atlantan of German-Jewish descent. It forms part of his so-called "Atlanta Trilogy" of Jewish life; the other two parts are *The Last Night of Ballyhoo* (1996), about a Jewish



The Hebrew Benevolent Congregation on Peachtree Road in Atlanta, as featured in the 1989 film Driving Miss Daisy.

community annual social ball coinciding with the Atlanta premiere of *Gone With the Wind* on the eve of World War II, and *Parade* (1998), about the 1913 lynching of Leo Frank.

Driving Miss Daisy begins in 1948, with widow Daisy Werthan age 72 and her new chauffeur Hoke age 60, and ends in 1973 with Daisy at 97 and Hoke at 85. It thus spans the Civil Rights era. Daisy is an assimilated Jew whose prejudices are challenged as her relationship with Hoke develops across the decades.

Jews had a presence in Atlanta since its founding. In 1860 the Hebrew Benevolent Society was formed as the city's first formal Jewish religious organization. In 1867, the first Jewish wedding in Atlanta was held and the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation received its charter. In the same year, Morehouse College was founded by an ex-slave—the same Morehouse College that in 1944 would admit 15-year-old Atlanta-born Martin Luther King, Jr. From the 1860s through the 1880s, Atlanta's Jewish population and its freed ex-slave population moved on parallel tracks toward greater independence and power; for example, in the thirteen-year span from 1869 to 1883, Congress passed the 15th Amendment that gave

RICHARD MIDDLETON-KAPLAN is a lay rabbi in Walla Walla, WA. He was dramaturg for Harper College's production of Alfred Uhry's *Atlanta Trilogy* in 2013-14.

“Well, it’s a mistake. I’m sure they meant to bomb one of the conservative synagogues or the orthodox one.”

African American men the right to vote, construction began on the HBC Temple, Spelman College (the nation’s oldest black college for women) and the AME’s Morris Brown College were founded, and the Gammon Theological Seminary was established as the premiere black seminary in the South.¹

In 1946, Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild became rabbi at the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation Temple, serving there until his death in 1973.

This is the backdrop against which *Driving Miss Daisy* takes place, tracing Daisy and Hoke’s relationship in the context of Civil Rights-era Black-Jewish relationships, chronicled over dates (1948 to 1973) that correspond almost exactly to Jacob Rothschild’s rabbinic tenure at HBC (1946 to 1973). In that chronicle, two major historical events involving HBC serve as plot points. The allusions to them are so understated as to be easily missed, but once recognized they attain rich and resonant significance.

The Temple Bombing of October 1958

The first historically-based scene is set on October 12, 1958. As Hoke drives Daisy to synagogue, they encounter a traffic jam. Hoke gets out to see what is stopping traffic. As he returns to the car, Daisy says, “Well, what is it? You took so long!” This exchange ensues:

HOKE. Couldn’t help it. Big mess up yonder.

DAISY. What’s the matter? I might as well not go to Temple at all now!

HOKE. You cain’ go to Temple today, Miz Daisy.

DAISY. Why not? What in the world is the matter with you?

HOKE. Somebody done bomb the Temple.

DAISY. What? Bomb the Temple!

HOKE. Yassum. Dat why we stuck here so long.

DAISY. I don’t believe it.

HOKE. That what the policeman tell me up yonder. Say it happen about a half hour ago.

DAISY. Oh, no. Oh my God! Well, was anybody there? Were people hurt?

HOKE. Din’ say.

DAISY: Who would do that?

1 Sources: Mark K. Bauman, “Jewish Community of Atlanta,” *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2008. Web; and Alton Hornsby, Jr., “The Historically Black Colleges of Atlanta,” *Atlanta and Historians 2007 Supplement to the 121st Annual Meeting*, American Historical Association, 2007. Web. Both accessed 15 July 2013.

HOKE. You know as good as me. Always be the same ones.

DAISY. Well, it’s a mistake. I’m sure they meant to bomb one of the conservative synagogues or the orthodox one. The Temple is reform. Everybody knows that.

HOKE. It doan’ matter to them people. A Jew is a Jew to them folks. Jes like light or dark we all the same nigger.²

Daisy’s certainty that “it’s a mistake” reveals that she thought being an assimilated Reform Jew would protect her. Hoke’s trenchant rejoinder exposes her misguided thinking. Nor was there any mistake in the actual temple bombing to which this scene alludes—the October 12, 1958 bombing of the HBC Temple with fifty sticks of dynamite. UPI staff received a call from “General Gordon of the Confederate Underground” who said, “We bombed a temple in Atlanta. This is the last empty building in Atlanta we will bomb. All nightclubs refusing to fire their Negro employees will also be blown up. Negroes and Jews are hereby declared aliens.”³

Far from being bombed by mistake, or because ignorant attackers didn’t know Orthodox from Reform, the HBC Temple was targeted specifically in retaliation for Rabbi Rothschild’s Civil Rights activism. Having grown up in Pittsburgh, attended Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and served as an Army Chaplain in World War II, he was deeply unsettled by the racial prejudice he saw when he arrived in Atlanta in 1946. “He first broached the topic [of civil rights] in his 1947 Rosh Hashanah sermon but remained mindful of his status as an outsider and proceeded with some caution to avoid alienating supporters during his first few years in Atlanta.”⁴ By 1953—as young Dr. King was settling in Montgomery with his wife Coretta—Rabbi Rothschild was on firmer footing and civil rights had become a regular topic of his sermons. In 1957, Rabbi Rothschild helped to draft “The Minister’s Manifesto” calling for interracial negotiation and signed by eighty ministers. Although he felt that he could not sign the final draft because of its “strong Christological language,” he endorsed it in an article he published in *The Atlanta Journal* and *The Atlanta Constitution*. He hosted regular interfaith events with

2 Alfred Uhry, *Driving Miss Daisy* (New York: Dramatists Play Service, Inc., 1987), pp. 29-30.

3 Danielle Rose Kerker, “‘The Implacable Surge of History’: Investigating Jewish Activism in Atlanta During the Civil Rights Movement” (2015). *University of Pennsylvania Undergraduate Humanities Forum* 2014-2015: Color. p. 20.

4 Edward A. Hatfield, “Jacob Rothschild (1911-1973).” *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 1 June 2007. Web. Accessed 7 July 2015.



Atlanta mayor William Hartsfield (left) and Jacob Rothschild, rabbi of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation in Atlanta, examine rubble on October 13, 1958, the day after the bombing of the congregation's synagogue, known as "the Temple."



Rabbi Jacob Rothschild and Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on January 27, 1965 at the UJA banquet honoring Dr. King for the Nobel Peace Prize. This was reportedly the first racially integrated banquet in the South.

black ministers at the Temple, and also "invited prominent black leaders, such as Morehouse College president Benjamin Mays, to lead educational luncheons at the temple..."⁵

These are the reasons that HBC was singled out for bombing—as retribution for Rabbi Rothschild's interracial, anti-segregationist activism. Refusing to be intimidated, he sent a letter to his congregation urging courage.

Miss Daisy would be 82 in 1958. We do not know exactly how long she has been attending HBC, but Hoke driving her to synagogue is a regular routine. Either she has not been paying any attention to Rabbi Rothschild's sermons during all those years, or at some level she knows that the bombing was no mistake at all.

If Miss Daisy returned to synagogue the following Shabbat, she would have heard Rabbi Rothschild deliver a sermon titled "And None Shall Make Them Afraid," in which he said, "This despicable act has made brighter the flame of courage and renewed in splendor the fires of determination and dedication. It has reached the hearts of men everywhere and roused the conscience of a people united in righteousness. All of us together shall rear from the rubble of devastation a city and a land in which all men are truly brothers and none shall make them afraid."^{6, 7}

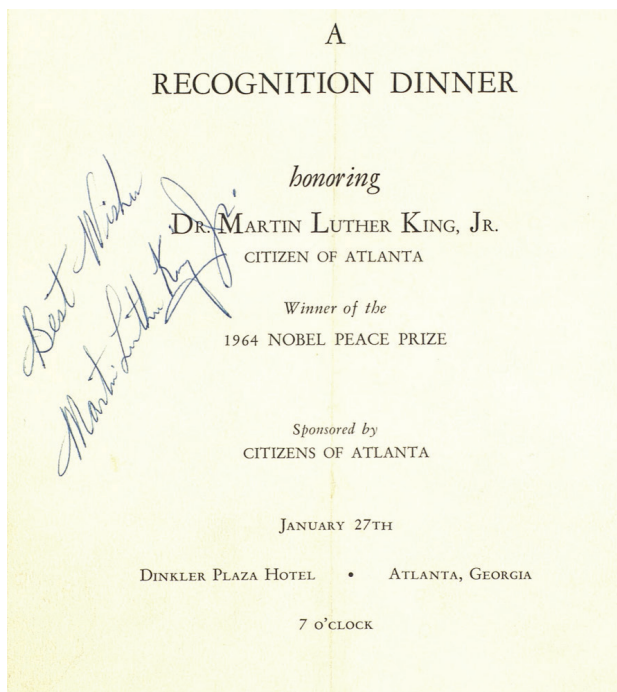
UJA Banquet Honoring King for Nobel Peace Prize

The next scene takes place on April 22, 1964. The intervening years were fraught with racial tension, even though Atlanta prided itself as "the city too busy to hate"—a bizarre moniker that seems to reject racism not because it is morally reprehensible but because it wastes time that might more profitably be devoted to commerce. Anti-segregationists did not find themselves too busy to vehemently protest integration of the city's buses, schools, stores, and movie theaters. On the other hand, Atlanta became a center of non-violent activism and interracial cooperation. In 1962, Jewish physicians Irving and Marvin Goldstein built and opened Atlanta's first integrated hotel, the Americana. Rabbi Rothschild

5 Ibid.

6 "The Temple Bombing," *The Temple*, n.d. <<http://www.the-temple.org/AboutUs/History/TheTempleBombing.aspx>>. Accessed 8 Mar. 2017.

7 For an account of another Southern rabbi's response to his temple being bombed, see Murray Polner's moving account of Rabbi Perry E. Nussbaum of Beth Israel Congregation in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1967, in Murray Polner, *Rabbi: The American Experience* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), p. 73. See p. 87 in Polner for Rabbi Nussbaum's support of Rabbi Rothschild after the bombing of HBC Temple. Polner's "Mississippi" chapter details the varied responses of several Southern rabbis during the Civil Rights Era.



An invitation like the one Miss Daisy would have received to the UJA banquet co-organized by Rabbi Rothschild.

intensified his activism and developed a close partnership with Rev. Dr. King, who in 1959 moved from Montgomery back to Atlanta and in 1960 became co-pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church. Not coincidentally, Ebenezer is the church that Hoke attends in *Driving Miss Daisy*.

Now five years after the temple bombing, Daisy has bought tickets for herself and her son to a “UJA banquet honoring Martin Luther King on the seventeenth.”⁸ The banquet referred to actually took place. It was co-organized by Rabbi Rothschild in honor of Rev. Dr. King receiving the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize and was held in Atlanta with Rabbi Rothschild speaking and serving as Master of Ceremonies. Miss Daisy would have received an invitation because she was a member of his congregation. (See photo above for a copy of the invitation she would have received.)

Daisy invites her 55-year-old son Boolie to go with her, but he demurs, fearing that anti-integrationist and antisemitic backlash would cause the family business to decline: “...a lot of the men I do business with wouldn’t like it. They wouldn’t come right out and say so. They’d just snicker and call me Martin Luther Werthan behind my back.”⁹ Special favors would evaporate, he would be excluded from high-powered business lunches, contracts would go to others. Rationalizing, Boolie says, “If we don’t use those seats, somebody else will and the

good Doctor King will never know the difference, will he?”¹⁰

Pressured by Boolie to invite Hoke instead and thereby prove she is not prejudiced, Daisy awkwardly asks Hoke to accompany her to the dinner—an invitation extended in the car as he is driving her to the banquet. Hoke recognizes that he was not her first choice; when Daisy celebrates racial progress (and her own progression) by saying, “Isn’t it wonderful the way things are changing?,” Hoke exposes her false front as he retorts, “Invitation to disheah dinner come in the mail a mont’ ago. Did be you want me to go wid you, how come you wait till we in the car on the way to ask me?,” and then adds, “Things changin’, but they ain’t change all dat much.”¹¹

He has been more than her driver in the sense of her chauffeur; in terms of plot function, he has been the driver of her character growth. She gets out of the car herself rather than expect Hoke to open her door, and the stage directions suggest that she may open Hoke’s door for him.¹²

The End—and Beyond

The final scene of *Driving Miss Daisy* occurs in November 1973, with 85-year-old Hoke visiting 97-year-old Miss Daisy in a nursing home. Their brief conversation reveals the rapprochement, the respect and affection they have developed over the years. With this leap ahead to 1973, we have thus leapt past King’s assassination in 1968—and with it over the memorial service organized by the “combined clergy of Atlanta” at which Rabbi “Rothschild was selected by his peers to deliver the eulogy.”¹³

Why does Uhry end Miss Daisy and Hoke’s story in 1973? I suggest that the choice of date marks his tribute to Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, who died on the last day of 1973. His death marks the end of an era in Atlanta Jewish history, and Uhry acknowledges that by ending Daisy’s life and story at the same time. Although not mentioned in the play or film, he along with Hoke drove Miss Daisy’s evolving racial consciousness through the sermons and interracial events which she would have attended during all those years in his congregation.

The challenges faced sixty years ago by Rabbi Rothschild in Atlanta remain urgently relevant. In our time of racial and political divisiveness, today’s rabbinate struggle with questions of how political they can be from the pulpit without alienating their congregants. The Hebrew Benevolent Congregation of Atlanta was not scared into silence; it continues Rabbi Rothschild’s legacy and remains an active force for social justice, with numerous efforts including an anti-human trafficking initiative. Rabbi Rothschild gave us one way of responding to that challenge—an example which is both apt and instructive for the present political moment.✡

8 Ibid., p. 31. The actual banquet date was January 27, 1965. The reason for the date change in the play is not clear.

9 Ibid., p. 32.

10 Ibid., p. 32.

11 Ibid., p. 34.

12 Ibid., p. 34.

13 Hatfield, par. 9.

Murray Polner

A Nuclear War?

HERE'S WHAT SENATOR Chuck Schumer said after Washington erupted in a nasty civil war between Trump & Company and the Intelligence Community's accusation of Russian hacking. Chuck warned that our new President was "really dumb to criticize the intelligence community because they have six ways from Sunday at getting back at you." Translated, that means that even so powerful a guy as the Senate Minority Leader has to take great care before he and presumably others in Washington dare cross what Mike Lofgren once famously dubbed "The Deep State."

As Lofgren, who spent 28 years working for Congress, put it in his book *The Deep State*, a "shadow government" of corporate and national security interests from Wall Street to Washington, are the real bosses and not the White House, Congress and the courts, many of whom are tied one way

It can happen again if we're not careful, very careful.

or another to the real movers and shakers. "The Deep State," he wrote, "is the big story of our time. It is the thread that runs through the war on terrorism and the militarization of foreign policy."

Agree or not, we're currently inundated with accusations that Trump is Putin's stooge while his presidential responses only add to the confusion and inflame our domestic war.

We could use some clarity and common sense. Arthur Pearl, a writer I admire, warned long before the emergence of Donald Trump and his critics that "The most reasonable and probable result of criticism without a defensible alternative is a change that really is no change."

This is precisely what the memorable Admiral Gene La Rocque, who died last October 31 at age 98, tried to do. He wrote an article or two for a magazine I edited and as a result I once had a leisurely lunch with him and his friend John Glenn. They agreed that Ike's farewell warning about the failure to heed the growing power of our military-

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Atomic cloud during Baker Day blast at Bikini - NARA - 520714.tif

Putin is no angel but calling him a war criminal and a monster is not exactly helpful.

industrial complex was a critically missed opportunity.

La Rocque, a combat veteran of 13 major naval battles in WWII and recipient of the Legion of Merit, was effectively dumped by his postwar comrades because he believed the Vietnam War was a mistake. He co-founded the Center for Defense Information, its main aim to avoid a nuclear war with the Russians while keeping a close eye on the very lucrative military-industrial complex, all of which challenged views held by many of his erstwhile comrades, who deemed his views an unpardonable offense.

We can use similar realists now. Avoiding a nuclear war with Russia (or for that matter any nuclear power) will sooner or later involve dealing with Vladimir Putin. He (or his successors) runs a vast country spanning nine time zones from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean and occupying one-sixth of the earth's land mass. It also possesses, thanks to the original Cold War, thousands of nukes.

Putin is no angel but calling him a war criminal and a monster as some American politicians and pundits have been doing is not exactly helpful. He's a classic Holy Mother Orthodox Church Tsarist ruler, though still without gulags. He reminds me of Konstantin Pobedonostsev, the lay head of the Russian Orthodox Church from 1880 until 1905 and chief advisor to the Tsar, a powerful Russian who loathed democracy, censored the press, crippled

the *zemstvos* (local governments established by a reform-minded Tsar), excommunicated the great Tolstoy, who he called "a madman," and silenced prominent critics like Vladimir Soloviev, the theologian, as I described in my 1965 Foreword to his book *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*.

Putin certainly violated international law by annexing Crimea. But somehow in all the outraged, sometimes justified, commentaries about that peninsula's takeover there was little said about other violations of international law, let alone morality, as in Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan, Grenada and Panama, a bloody proxy war in Central America, helping wreck Libya and turning it into a terrorist's paradise, and now inflicting misery on Yemen.

These days few Washington-based VIPs (pro and con Trump) seem too concerned about the potential for a nuclear war with Russia, now that an erratic and unpredictable President controls the nuclear button. At the very least we desperately need a law requiring that, unlike Truman, LBJ, Clinton, Bush 2, and Obama, no President can make war or declare a state of emergency, without congressional approval.

I like best what David Foglesong, a rational professor of history at Rutgers, wrote recently: "Trump must vigorously make the case for cooperation—as Reagan did with Gorbachev and as Kennedy did in his American University speech of June 1963, when he urged Americans 'not to see only a distorted and desperate view of the other side, not to see conflict as inevitable, accommodation as impossible, and communication as nothing more than an exchange of threat.'"

I know it's commonplace to say that a nuclear war would finish most of us off. But as Robert McNamara explained in the documentary *The Fog of War*, few outside JFK's inner circle knew how close we came to a nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1963. It can happen again if we're not careful, very careful. ☆

ILLUSTRATIONS: Cover 3, 4 • Activestills.org. 5 • Photo courtesy of <http://the-temple.org/AboutUs/History/TheTemplefeaturedinDrivingMissDaisy.aspx>. 7 • Top Photo Courtesy of New Georgia Encyclopedia. 9 • U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, via Wikimedia Commons.

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