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Democratic Dreams

Richard M. Valelly

The Death of An American Jewish Community: A Tragedy of Good Intentions

Hillel Levine and Lawrence Harmon
The Free Press, $24.95

Hearing door chimes but not expecting visitors, Rabbi Gerald Zelermyer of southern Mattapan's Temple Beth Hillel in Boston opened the door of the temple's parsonage late one afternoon on June 27, 1969. He had just come home from a day of meetings with concerned African-American and white clergy from the Mattapan and Dorchester areas of Boston. The topic of their discussion was panic selling by whites in response to fears of minority influx. Standing in front of the 28-year-old rabbi were two young men, both black. One thrust a note toward the rabbi, who held it long enough to make out the words, "lead the Jewish racists out of Mattapan." Suddenly, the other threw acid into the rabbi's face. Had Rabbi Zelermyer not turned his face he would have been blinded for life.

Preparing for the next Sabbath in great physical and emotional pain, Rabbi Zelermyer wondered how Temple Beth Hillel would survive. The acid thrown in his face was a strike against the 300 families in the congregation and against their 5-day-a-week Hebrew school; the last such school in Boston, it served 125 children. He was speculating that real estate agents profiting from the panic selling had put his assailants up to the job.

Rabbi Zelermyer had been sucked into the violence surrounding neighborhood change in Roxbury, Mattapan, and Dorchester. That change began in the 1950s with the departure from Boston of a number of major, longstanding Jewish institutions. Temple Mishkan Tefila relocated from Roxbury, where it had been since 1925, to Newton. Hebrew Teacher's College moved to Brookline. An urban community that once numbered 82,000 in the 1940s shrank to about 53,000 by the 1960s and by the late 1960s was probably no larger than about 17,000. In the process the level of municipal services in Roxbury, Mattapan, and Dorchester dropped, intersecting a rising level of crime.

But many Jews remained in Mattapan (the precise numbers are a matter of controversy). And many who stayed hoped to build a special kind of Jewish community, a community based on black-Jewish fraternity. They banded together to form the Mattapan Organization, a neighborhood association that sought to counter the panic selling encouraged by "block-busting" real estate agents who profited from racial conflict. A local Catholic priest and his parishioners helped as well. Both of the main partners in the alliance, Jews and blacks, sought decent houses and neighborhoods, both knew intimately the dark side of exclusion, many in each group recognized their common interests. Rabbi Zelermyer's guidance would have been a key part of a neighborhood democracy.

But by 1969 this experiment in democracy was doomed: Local schools were in utter disarray. Crime continued to rise. And the conviction was growing among the remaining Jewish residents that the time had come to cut losses and leave. Even before the attack on Rabbi Zelermyer the board of Temple Beth Hillel had secretly sold the temple to the City of Boston. By 1975 the painful displacement of the remaining, often elderly Jewish residents came to a close.

What can be said about such a sad story? That social change inevitably triggered black-Jewish tension? That the democratic dreams of Rabbi Zelermyer and the Mattapan Organization could never have worked? That people who are really different from each other can never share a neighborhood? Democracy and the possibilities of fraternity should not be written off so quickly. That's the underlying message of The Death of an American Jewish Community, a poignant study of the demise of the Jewish community in Roxbury, Mattapan, and Dorchester by Hillel Levine, a Boston University sociologist, and Lawrence Harmon, former managing editor of the Jewish Advocate. Levine and Harmon devote considerable attention to criticizing mainstream Jewish leadership for running the government of Judaism undemocratically, and in the process betraying the Jews of Mattapan and Dorchester. But a key strength of their book lies beyond this critique. As Levine and Harmon tell their story, it becomes clear that things might have worked out differently and better. And that hopeful suggestion carries important lessons for us now.

On the side of hope was the historic promise of the black-Jewish coalition. Founded in a mutual knowledge — and an egalitarian hatred — of political, social, and economic exclusion, the black-Jewish coalition has always symbolized democratic fraternity. Rabbis marched with Dr. King in Selma in 1965. Even today, the coalition continues to play a key political role in places as different as New York City and Louisiana.

Had the Mattapan Organization and its black allies succeeded, they could have shown how to make an integrated city neighborhood work while maintaining religious and ethnic diversity. To know what that success might have looked like, we need a good deal more information about the black side of the story in Mattapan and Dorchester. Here Levine and Harmon are, unfortunately, largely silent. They picture black rage and black teenage crime as if those responses exhausted black involvement in the history they describe. They offer quick portraits of Tom Atkins, Paul Parks, and others, but their treatment of the black community has none of the depth and insight of their characterization of the Jewish community. Indeed, they hardly recognize it as a community. A second study, from the black side of the process, is waiting to be written.

Levine and Harmon are more successful, however, in their description of the pressures that helped to kill the ideal of inter-racial, neighborhood democracy. The first pressure arose, ironically, from the government of Boston-area Judaism, for which Levine and Harmon have scathing criticism. Government by makhers, say the authors, lacks internal democracy, accountability, and debate. Their critique has not gone unmet — it was the centerpiece of the spirited, instructive exchange in the Jewish Advocate (March 27 - April 2, April 10 - 16, and May 1 - 7, 1990) between the authors and Gerald Gamm, an accomplished student of Boston social and political history who teaches at the University of Rochester. Gamm suggests that the nature of Jewish institutions determined
the leadership's behavior and the conti-
nuity of Jewish community through social change.

Still, Levine and Harmon insist, there were limits on the capacities of main-
stream leadership to represent the aspi-
ration of urban, working and middle-class Jews who cherished their neigh-
borhoods. Heads of philanthropies and many others could have helped the

The second source of pressure came from bankers and other wealthy Boston elites.

working and middle-class Jews of Matta-
pan and Dorchester. But they did too lit-
tle too late. According to Levine and
Harmon, the roots of that failure lay in a
combination of class bias, a fixation on the
rectly of the civil rights movement,
a shallow optimism about the happy
inevitability of suburbanization, and a
belief that they knew best how to pro-
tect the Jewish community in a hostile
world.

The second source of pressure came from bankers and other wealthy Boston
elites. The analysis of the role played by
these elites focuses on a private, fed-
erally-backed mortgage program.
Amidst the turmoil in 1958, in the wake of Mar-
tin Luther King's assassination, the
program was put together by B-BURG, the
Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group.
Levine and Harmon provide telling
details about the people who established
such organizations as B-BURG and The
Vault, Boston's private business round
table. While portraying themselves as
statesmanlike emissaries from the private
sector to a helpless public sector, they
in fact come across as flawed, even narrow
people. There were, of course, men and
women of good will who sincerely
believed that they were creatively solv-
ing social problems and adjusting con-
ict. But their capacity to address social
ills was fatally undermined by their resis-
tance to public accountability.

In response to private complaints, B-
BURG made clear its wish for complete
autonomy. So downtown bankers
enforced a flawed mortgage program
that was placed beyond democratic
scrutiny. B-BURG redlined money into a
sector to a helpless public sector, they in
response to public accountability.

S o alternative policies were possi-
ble. Ultimately, however, the
details of these alternatives are
less important than the recogni-
tion that racial and ethnic divisions are
not simply “natural” or inevitable, but are
instead the product of social and political
institutions. As such, those false social
divisions can be overcome by people
who genuinely care about democracy.
Levine and Harmon offer a critical book,
but it’s not a complaining book. Instead it
argues — though not as fully as one
might like — that ethnic and racial fra-
ternity are at once the cause and the conse-
quence of democratic social policy.

Neighborhood democracy requires
very hard work — but there were people
who gave that kind of hard work. In a
more democratic society their struggle
just might have paid off. Next to the
story that Levine and Harmon tell, in
other words, is another story that could
have been told. They write their book so
that the counterfactual story about the
realization of democratic possibilities is
always there, between the lines.

The actual history is truly tragic.
blacks got lousy housing, Jews got hurt,
though both wanted the same thing in the
same place — a decent neighbor-
hood. The other story, of what could
have been, is encouraging. It is a vision
of what America ought to be. We very
much need a comparable vision to guide
our national struggle both with the con-
sequences of the growing political isola-
tion of America’s cities, and with the
obstacles to building a working demo-
cracy — together. W

The source

Short Story Contest

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Short Story Contest

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or fame of the author.

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