

THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE AS AN INFLUENCE ON HANS J. MORGENTHAU'S REALISM

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Hans J. Morgenthau was probably the foremost exponent of the school of political realism in the academic discipline of international relations in the United States and has left a permanent imprint on the thinking of both theoreticians and practitioners in the field. A product of a European education, he fled Nazi Germany for the U.S. during the Hitler years, and had a distinguished career at the University of Chicago and the City University of New York. This article explores certain little known aspects of the Jewish experience which affected him such as the impact of searing anti-Semitism, and his subsequent activism in Jewish causes. It argues, based on a comparison and analysis of both Jewish and general writings, that the Jewish experience influenced Morgenthau's "realist" worldview in terms of a disillusionment with enlightenment expectations of harmony and progress, and accentuated his appreciation of the power phenomenon in human relations.

Hans J. Morgenthau was perhaps the prime exponent of the school of political realism in international relations, and provided the discipline with a structured and systematic framework of analysis which rested on a firm and well articulated philosophic foundation. Building on the contribution of his predecessors in the

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field of international relations,¹ Morgenthau combined a commitment to philosophic inquiry and rigorous systematic analysis of interstate behavior. A Jewish emigré to the United States from Nazi Germany in 1937, Morgenthau in his teaching and prolific writing, particularly after World War II, effectively responded to: (1) the belief held by U.S. policy makers and elite opinion that with the conclusion of World War II and the establishment of the United Nations there would be no further impediment to a world at peace, and (2) the intellectual climate of liberal rationalism, based on the enlightenment philosophy, which held that all social and political problems are amenable to a rational and complete resolution once the appropriate knowledge and scientific effort have been applied to them.

In his magnum opus on statecraft and international politics, *Politics Among Nations* (first edition appearing in 1948), he sought to teach that the struggle for power, resulting in conflict between nations, was inescapable. The book provided a clear framework for understanding the dynamics and implications of international conflict. However, his first and perhaps most important work, *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (published 1946), laid down his basic assumptions about political life. It was published towards the beginning of his tenure at the University of Chicago — whose leading figures in the Department of Government strongly believed in the power of rationalism to solve political problems (either in the form of public administration, international law, or empirical or behavioral analysis).² In this important work, Morgenthau attacked the premises of liberal scientific rationalism and insisted that political science must be based “upon a total worldview — religious, poetic, as well as philosophic in nature — the validity of which it must take for granted.”³

Morgenthau’s imprint and formative influence on the discipline of international relations was based primarily on his resounding defense of classical political science and his translating it into a clear and powerful framework. Indeed, Henry Kissinger credited Morgenthau with making the study of international relations into a major discipline.⁴ At least as of the mid-1980s, Morgenthau’s textbook, *Politics Among Nations*, continued to be cited as the “field’s most influential textbook” and Morgenthau as the scholar who had contributed most to the field.⁵ Robert W. Tucker has attributed Morgenthau’s vital importance to the discipline, to his activity during a period (after World War II) when the United States was changing its foreign policy orientation. In contrasting him with other figures in the discipline, Tucker suggested that while Reinhold Niebuhr came prior to Morgenthau and was

was probably a more influential intellectual figure in general, Morgenthau's work was more specifically directed to international relations. According to Tucker, Nicholas Spykman came too early in time, and while other scholars such as John Herz and Arnold Wolfers had influence, it was of a more limited nature. Morgenthau had a very sharply defined point of view which he expressed through "his piercing and penetrating writing."⁶

The purpose of this article is to relate to the sources of Morgenthau's outlook and worldview, particularly in a realm that has received little attention to date, his background as a German Jewish refugee and an involved Jew, and seeks to identify aspects of Morgenthau's political thought which appear to have been influenced by these factors. The intent is to explore the connection between Morgenthau's Jewishness and various themes upon which his theory of politics and general outlook were based. It will be suggested that the Jewish aspect of Morgenthau's life and work appeared to strengthen his awareness of the harshness of the social and political environment, upon which his theory of power politics and particular brand of political realism rested. It will be argued that Morgenthau's Jewish background constituted a significant (though perhaps secondary) influence upon his outlook and that, without taking this element into account, an understanding of Morgenthau and his thought is incomplete.

The effort to introduce a Jewish dimension as a factor contributing to Morgenthau's worldview is significant in light of Michael J. Smith's observation concerning the various sources of realism, that the various realist theorists hold "different versions and justifications of realism." For as he has pointed out: "Realism can appear as theological dogma, applied social theory, diplomatic pragmatism, political science or philosophy of history."⁷

However, prior to examining some of those elements of the Jewish experience which impacted upon Morgenthau and appear to have influenced his political thought, it is necessary to briefly refer to a number of the more general intellectual and existential influences upon him.

General Sources of Morgenthau's Thought

Psychoanalyst Ethel Person, who was a friend of Morgenthau and collaborated with him on various works, cited Aristotle as one of Morgenthau's heroes.⁸ Another figure who had an important, if not central, impact on Morgenthau's intellectual outlook was Max Weber.⁹

As part of his formal education at the University of Munich, Morgenthau was introduced to the principles of Otto Von Bismarck's statecraft and foreign policy in a seminar given by Hermann Oncken. Morgenthau, in reflecting upon the impact of Bismarck's thought upon him, recalled that: "For the first time, I felt the impact of a coherent system of thought, primarily a distillation of Bismarck's *realpolitik*, that appeared to support my isolated and impressionistic judgments on contemporary issues of foreign policy."¹⁰

Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr was a close friend and intellectual colleague of Morgenthau. His influence upon and relationship with Morgenthau became strongest following the latter's arrival in the United States in 1937.¹¹

Morgenthau's Jewish Background

Morgenthau's experiences as a German Jew included: exposure to powerful anti-Semitism even prior to the rise of the Nazis; witnessing the rise of Nazism; and choosing to flee his native land in 1936, and begin a new life in the United States in 1937. Little known also is the fact that Morgenthau took a leadership role in the struggle for the rights of Soviet Jewry throughout the 1970s as chairman of the Academic Committee for Soviet Jewry, and was an outspoken advocate for Israel during most of that period as well.

It is of value that we explore the searing events that Morgenthau experienced, for significant in the development of the school of political realism upon which Morgenthau built and to which he contributed so much was the shock stemming from the rise of Nazism in Germany and the outbreak of a second World War. These events served as the historical and intellectual background for all of the exponents of realism, whether Jew or Gentile. However, as observed by Kenneth W. Thompson, an eminent authority in international relations, all realists experienced the rise of Nazism and World War II as a watershed event in shaping their outlooks. However, those who were Jews in Europe experienced those events ever more profoundly as the impact on them was that much more personal and existential.¹²

To be sure, Morgenthau's experiences as a Jew and their impact upon him were little known among most of his colleagues and contemporaries in the field of international relations. Even Alan Dowty, a former student of Morgenthau's, who had moved to Israel shortly after completing his Ph.D. under Morgenthau at the

University of Chicago, recalled that he was unaware of any strong Jewish influence on Morgenthau. Later, he was surprised to see the extent to which Morgenthau cited Jewish influences on his life in various autobiographical statements.¹³ Robert J. Myers, President of the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, who had a long association with Morgenthau, suggested that to associates in the field, Morgenthau kept “his Jewish and general side separate.” He also believed that Morgenthau’s sense of Jewishness increased after the 1967 Six-Day War.¹⁴

In addition, Dr. William Korey, formerly director of International Policy Research for B’nai B’rith, who had approached Morgenthau in the early 1970s to assume the chairmanship of the prestigious Academic Committee for Soviet Jewry, recalls doing so with trepidation, believing then that Morgenthau was distant from the Jewish community and Jewish concerns.¹⁵ Moshe Decter, who was involved with the Academic Committee for Soviet Jewry in a professional organizing capacity, similarly recalls that the decision to invite Morgenthau to become the committee’s chairman was based strictly on his standing as a “distinguished American authority on foreign policy” and his role “as critic of the war in Vietnam,” which was thought to be an asset in reaching out to “liberal intellectual circles.”¹⁶ In a similar spirit, Max M. Kampelman (who besides his service as a U.S. ambassador has taken a leadership role in many Jewish causes) recalled his surprise at encountering Hans Morgenthau together with Elie Wiesel and himself at a meeting called by Henry Kissinger during his tenure as secretary of state, to discuss the concerns of the Jewish community in regard to American-Israeli relations.¹⁷

But for those academic colleagues and general associates who were aware of the existence of Morgenthau’s Jewish concerns, the following testimonies appear to reflect a consensus. Former Undersecretary of State Joseph Sisco believed that Morgenthau “felt comfortable in being a Jew” in a way “that was similar to Arthur Goldberg but dissimilar to Kissinger.” Though Morgenthau “never flaunted his Jewishness,” he was “proud of who he was and never backed off from being identified as a Jew.” Furthermore, he had “a concern and a preoccupation with Israel.”¹⁸

Kenneth W. Thompson, professor of government at the University of Virginia and one of Morgenthau’s closest colleagues, recalled that “Morgenthau was very critical of German-Jewish refugees who changed their names.” He suggested that Morgenthau’s Jewish interests were possibly less well-known than might have been expected, due to the fact that he was “invariably shy and tended to hold [Jewish] groups at arm’s length.” According to

Thompson, Morgenthau was also very wary of individuals who attempted to “profit politically” from flaunting their Jewishness.¹⁹

Rabbi Max Ticktin, who served as Hillel director at the University of Chicago in 1964-1972 and whose tenure coincided with Morgenthau’s final years in Chicago, recalls Morgenthau as being “clearly an affirmative Jew.” Ticktin recalls the fact that Morgenthau’s children “were given a Jewish education, which was not the case for many of the Jewish faculty at Chicago, who were ‘closet Jews’ while Morgenthau was not.” He does believe that 1967 was a turning point for Morgenthau in asserting more of “an overt Jewishness and becoming more involved with Jewish causes.” These changes in Ticktin’s view occurred partially as a result of his coming into contact with Hannah Arendt, and then later his move to New York City in 1968.²⁰

Robert J. Lifton, Distinguished Professor of Psychiatry and Psychology at the City University of New York, who knew Morgenthau during the 1970s, recalls Morgenthau “making Jewish references and Jewish jokes easily.” He suggested that there were perhaps “two ‘Morgenthau,’ one the public, the other the private — which included his Jewish side.”²¹

Elements of the Jewish experience which appear to have affected Morgenthau, include his exposure to anti-Semitism and his activism on behalf of Jewish causes.

Anti-Semitism

As an 18-year-old graduating senior in the *Gymnasium*, Morgenthau wrote an essay in 1922 concerning “his hopes for the future.” Significantly, his point of departure was the anti-Semitism to which he was exposed and subjected. He wrote:

My relationship to the social environment is determined by three facts: I am a German, I am a Jew, and I have matured in the period following the war. Certain groups within our society and, more particularly, the socially dominant ones, are inclined to hold responsible for all changes and deficiencies of our period of history that segment of society to which I belong. Regardless of the merits of these accusations one thing is certain: I am innocent of what the Jews are reproached with. The accusations that are directed against me as a Jew are totally unjustified. Hence I consider the hostile actions evoked by these accusations, such as social ostracism destructive of the ties of love and friendship or brutal insults, as a crying injustice and a dishonoring humiliation.²²

Morgenthau's exposure to anti-Semitism was particularly severe as he grew up in Coburg, a town in northern Bavaria which for a Jew was probably analogous to a small town in Alabama for an American Black. The duke of the town, a grandson of Queen Victoria, was known for his public display of German nationalism and later became a strong supporter of Hitler's anti-Semitic policies.²³ Morgenthau had been the only Jew in his class and this had a powerful impact on him given the fact that "German anti-Semitism after the war was cruel and utterly devastating."²⁴

He referred to some especially traumatic episodes in growing up. These included the experience of being spat upon for being a Jew, while marching with the German equivalent of the Boy Scouts, and being publicly ridiculed and humiliated while participating at an annual town ceremony held to honor the Duke of Coburg.²⁵ In addition, Coburg was an early Nazi stronghold, and a Hitler rally and address, held in the town on October 15, 1922, made a strong impression on the young Morgenthau.²⁶

Morgenthau's early introduction to the harshness of the social and political environment through the medium of anti-Semitism exacerbated an already oppressive situation at home at the hands of a father whom he had frequently described as "German tyrannical."²⁷

Morgenthau recalled the internalized shame of being Jewish during his growing up, as expressed in his going to synagogue with his father on the High Holidays but "walking on side streets so that nobody would know we were Jewish." In reflecting on this, in later life, Morgenthau described a situation in which:

[O]ut of the 2,400 inhabitants of our small town, 2,399 knew that we were Jewish. But somehow we attempted to conceal from ourselves and from our neighbors that we were Jewish. The grotesque, completely irrational practice was so striking — on the one hand you honored the highest holy days, and on the other hand you wanted as few gentiles as possible to know that you honored them.²⁸

Later on in life, after Morgenthau had begun his professional career, initially as a labor lawyer, he encountered painful examples of anti-Semitic bias on the part of German judges.²⁹ Upon attempting to gain a faculty position at the University of Frankfurt, he was told bluntly: "We have too many Jewish instructors already. We can't have any more."³⁰ Morgenthau's family was directly affected by the Holocaust as several relatives disappeared during that period and his maternal grandmother perished at Theresienstadt.³¹

In 1970, Morgenthau described a visit to the Hermitage, in which he found himself in the proximity of a group of East Germans. In front of paintings by Rembrandt he heard their guide explain that "Rembrandt had to paint many Jewish types because he was indebted to Jewish usurers." Members of the group then began making a variety of anti-Semitic remarks and innuendos. Morgenthau then recalled: "I looked into the faces of these people and saw there the same smirking, gleeful hatred from which I had fled almost 38 years ago."³²

However, the encounters with anti-Semitism for Morgenthau were not to end with his sojourn in Europe. He recalled the difficulties he had in obtaining an immigration visa to the United States from American officials who were less than sympathetic to the plight of Jews attempting to flee Hitler's Germany and Europe as a whole.³³ Once in the U.S., Morgenthau's struggle to gain a foothold in American academia was impaired, in part, by the prevailing anti-Semitism in many, if not most, American universities.³⁴ Furthermore, Kenneth W. Thompson has attested that Morgenthau, throughout his career, was constantly attuned to the existence of anti-Semitism in many of the academic frameworks in which he took part.³⁵

As Morgenthau took an early public, and therefore unpopular, stand against U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam, he was frequently the target of public venom and received a good share of hate mail. Many of the letters which he received had clear anti-Semitic undertones.³⁶

In 1965, Morgenthau wrote the following to Walter Lippmann:

Now the gates of the political underworld seem to have been opened. I receive every day letters with xenophobic, red-baiting, and anti-Semitic attacks, not to speak of anonymous telephone calls at all hours of the day and night. This goes to show how thin the veneer of political civilization is. Once one man dares overstep the bounds of what is permissible and gets away with it, the underworld shakes off its restraint and joins in the hunt.³⁷

In this connection as well, Morgenthau recalled the type of messages he grew up with in Germany, concerning one's Jewishness and the possibility of dissent:

I was told over and over not to do this or that....[People] "will see you are a Jew. They will criticize you. Especially don't dissent." My father would have turned over in his grave if he had known what I did over Vietnam. A Jew opposing the official point of view? You don't do that if you know what's good for you.³⁸

In overall terms, though, there can be little doubt that Morgenthau's exposure to anti-Semitism had a significant impact on him.³⁹ As will be seen below, Morgenthau involved himself at various times in Jewish causes, and with particular intensity in the final decade of his life. That involvement was sparked to a large degree, according to Morgenthau, by "the accumulation of a life-long experience of anti-Semitism." He asserted that: "At some point one cannot allow being treated this way without taking a stand."⁴⁰

Activism on Behalf of Jewish Causes

The peak of Morgenthau's activism on behalf of Jewish causes occurred during the last decade of his life and was reflected in his activity on behalf of Soviet Jewry and Israel's security. In 1970, Morgenthau was asked to assume the chairmanship of the Academic Committee for Soviet Jewry whose goal was to enlist the American academic community on behalf of the struggle for Soviet Jewry. Morgenthau was an involved chairman⁴¹ and served in this capacity until virtually the end of his life.

Indeed, Morgenthau was honored by the Jewish community for this service and, in February 1980, received the B'nai B'rith award for "Outstanding Service to Humanity" for his "significant leadership in heading the Academic Committee for Soviet Jewry."⁴²

Another expression of the Jewish community's appreciation and recognition of Morgenthau's contribution to Jewish causes and concerns included the conferral of the annual award of the Jewish Teachers' Association upon him in 1975.⁴³

The peak of Morgenthau's concern for and involvement in Israel was reflected in his stint as a visiting professor at Haifa University in the Spring of 1975, and his intense schedule of speaking engagements on the themes of Israel and the Middle East during 1974-76.⁴⁴ Audiences included synagogue congregations throughout the United States, university campuses, and conferences and major lectures before Jewish institutions such as the University of Judaism (the West Coast branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America) and the American Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.⁴⁵

In June 1975, Morgenthau was granted an honorary doctorate, along with author Meyer Levin, by the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. Morgenthau was asked to accept this award by Dr. Alfred Gottschalk in "recognition of his rich schol-

arly accomplishments in the fields of international studies and political science, and of his dedicated concern for Israel."⁴⁶

Among the other Jewish organizational affiliations of Morgenthau was the Association of Professors for Peace in the Middle East (APME), of which Morgenthau served as president of its National Council for two years, starting in 1976. Morgenthau's deep concern for Israel's fate was also reflected in his chairmanship of the National Committee for American Policy.⁴⁷

However, the crescendo of this public activity on behalf of Jewish causes in the last decade of Morgenthau's life was not without roots much earlier in his life and career. In Europe, Morgenthau and his wife had briefly toyed with the idea of going to Palestine in the mid-1930s.⁴⁸ Upon immigrating to the U.S. in 1937, Morgenthau showed a clear interest in identifying with the Jewish community and associating with its concerns. He made lecture appearances concerning the situation of the Jewish minorities in Europe before Jewish groups such as the American Jewish Congress and Hadassah.⁴⁹ In early 1948, at the University of Chicago, Morgenthau spoke at a public rally in support of partition in Palestine.⁵⁰ During subsequent years, Morgenthau also spoke on several occasions on the subject of the State of Israel in various public forums.⁵¹

Of even greater interest was the fact that concurrent with his first major teaching assignment at the University of Kansas in the late 1930s, Morgenthau taught in the after-school Judaic Studies program of the Kneseth Israel Beth-Shalom Synagogue.⁵²

After having moved to Chicago, Morgenthau served for a five-year period as an active member of both the Chicago Board of Jewish Education, and the Board of Trustees of the College of Jewish Studies.⁵³ Correspondence with its leadership indicated his warm relationship with the institutions and the people associated with it, and even his involvement in organizational details at a time that Morgenthau had already solidly established his reputation in the field of international relations following the appearance of *Politics Among Nations*.

At the University of Chicago, Morgenthau had a warm relationship with Hillel and spoke on numerous occasions throughout the years on subjects such as "Israel, the Arab World and the United States." He even acted as a discussant in a Hillel co-sponsored forum with the Catholic Student Center on the play *The Deputy*. While in Chicago he had a cordial relationship with Rabbi Maurice Pekarsky and Ralph Simon.⁵⁴ In addition, for several years in the early 1950s Morgenthau served as chairman of the

Academic Committee of the Chicago chapter of the American Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.⁵⁵

His own strong sense of Jewish consciousness was reflected at a meeting of the National Hillel Faculty Consultative Committee, which Morgenthau was invited to join. At a meeting held at the Harvard University Hillel House in February 1963 to discuss a program for expanding Hillel's activities among faculty, in the context of a discussion as to whether Hillel should emphasize general or specifically Jewish intellectual themes, Morgenthau said:

It is obvious that there is a cleavage in academic Jewish life, and no tactical gimmick will change this situation or change the distribution or qualitative distribution of the various groups.

I would urge that we not engage in a kind of advertising campaign to sell a product under false colors. We should openly and without hesitancy present the program as a Jewish program and a Hillel-sponsored enterprise supported by members of the faculty. It would then follow that this group would be able to do what no other group is likely to do: to emphasize Jewish concerns. If a Hillel-sponsored Jewish faculty group does not concern itself with intellectual Jewish problems, no other group will.⁵⁶

Later in his life, from 1975 until his death in August 1980, Morgenthau served as a contributing editor of *Sh'ma, A Journal of Jewish Responsibility*, a newsletter dealing with Jewish intellectual concerns. Morgenthau was asked to join the Board of Contributing Editors by editor Rabbi Eugene Borowitz, in these terms: "Your own sense of intellectual standards, of political realism linked to high humanism, and of the dignity of the Jew and Judaism, would be a noble influence on us and our work."⁵⁷

Alan Dowty reported that Morgenthau "was thrilled" to have had his textbook *Politics Among Nations* translated into Hebrew in the mid-1960s.⁵⁸ He wrote to Dowty concerning the forthcoming Hebrew translation of the book: "I feel particularly honored by this project since, considering the small market, there is great financial risk, if not sacrifice, involved in it."⁵⁹ In 1973, Morgenthau accepted the invitation of Dan Segre, on behalf of the newly formed *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, to serve on the publication's Advisory Board.⁶⁰ Probably his strongest affiliation with an Israeli educational institution was with the University of Haifa, where he served on the University's Board of Governors from 1975 until the end of his life.

Morgenthau maintained periodic contact with the Israeli consulate and was consulted at various times for his professional

opinion. At the Israeli consulate's invitation, he visited Israel in 1958. He made subsequent visits to Israel on at least four other occasions,⁶¹ during which time he took part in various academic forums and gave lectures and public presentations.

While apparently Morgenthau's reaction to Israel was not enthusiastic after his first trip there in the 1950s,⁶² this changed dramatically after the Six-Day War. Interestingly, the change of his feelings toward Israel had much to do with the element of power as displayed by Israel in its overwhelming triumph in 1967. In an autobiographical statement, Morgenthau conveyed the transformation which he underwent:

People have asked me why, in the last several years, I have become more sympathetic to Israel and more Jewish. I really don't know. When I first went to Israel in 1955 I thought and said that it was a nation of schnorrers (freeloaders), a people who had no real sense of their own identity. They lived on handouts from the United States and the world Jewish community. And they could make it as long as those handouts continued. I was not mistaken at that time....But the war of 1967 proved Israel was a nation, that its people could fight and stand on their own feet. I remember vividly being in a cab here immediately after the war. I started talking to the driver. I didn't know that he was Jewish until he turned back to me and said, "I am a Hebrew and I'm proud of it." It was this transformation which also took place in me. That war, in relation to experiences of four thousand years, worked its magic.⁶³

He highlighted this point by emphasizing that the pride he felt in 1967 "was based in part on a military victory, but also upon the type of military victory. I mean the triumphant way in which Israel overcame all its surrounding enemies. It was a kind of biblical victory. You could imagine the cohorts of God fighting the battle of the Jews."⁶⁴

While Morgenthau's strongest involvement with the Jewish community appeared to manifest itself in the earlier part of his career in the United States, and then in the last 10 to 13 years of his life, at no time was a Jewish aspect of Morgenthau's life totally absent. For instance, in 1960 he gave the annual address to the Leo Baeck Society on the theme of "The Tragedy of German-Jewish Liberalism."

Myron Kolatch, the editor of the *New Leader*, for which Morgenthau wrote frequently, knew Morgenthau for about two decades. He reflected that, given Morgenthau's stature, he could well have become part of many other types of activities and circles, including, for instance, "Reinhold Niebuhr's group at Union

Theological Seminary”; however the fact that he chose to involve himself in Jewish causes was significant. He sensed that “Morgenthau had a passion about Israel and the plight of Jews everywhere.”⁶⁵

Having established the impact of anti-Semitism on Morgenthau’s life and his involvement in Jewish causes, it is now critical to examine a number of themes in his political thought that appear to have been affected by his Jewish background.

As stated earlier, this essay contends that Morgenthau’s Jewish background played a contributory role in the development of certain important themes in his political thought which had relevance to his theories of international politics.

Rejection of Enlightenment: *Scientific Man* and “The Tragedy of German Jewish Liberalism”

Fundamental to Morgenthau’s approach to international politics is his rejection of enlightenment assumptions which stressed man’s inherent rationality and goodness, and the possibility of easy progress in human affairs. Morgenthau’s first book written and published in the United States, *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics* (1946), provided the philosophic underpinnings for his subsequent work. Morgenthau brought a general European outlook to the United States which had despaired of the power of reason alone to transform the human social and political condition. However, Morgenthau’s background as a Jew did not appear coincidental to reinforcing the harsh lessons of the contemporary world, which he then sought to teach in the New World.⁶⁶

Sociologist Reinhard Bendix, in a significant memoir, *From Berlin to Berkeley: German Jewish Identities*, recalled a generational struggle in his own family against the background of German-Jewish existence just prior and subsequent to Hitler’s rise to power. Bendix, who was born in 1916, stressed the difference in worldview of his generation and that of his father’s against the background of unfolding tragedy. His father, a lawyer by profession and commitment, was himself raised in a home with expressions of Jewish commitment, but subsequently and for much of his life he rejected any involvement with organized Jewish life. However, his worldview was deeply affected by the ideals of the German enlightenment which was expressed in a devoted and even “neo-religious” commitment to pursuing law and justice. His worldview was essentially optimistic, holding a deep faith in law, which he could not abandon even after the Nazi rise to power.⁶⁷

Reinhard Bendix, on the other hand, in describing the process of his own growing up and that of his peers, recalls a deep pessimism which he and his contemporaries took on, which appeared appropriate to and accurately expressive of the social and political chaos which they saw emerging around them.⁶⁸

Morgenthau, having been born in 1904, fell in between the two generations described by Bendix,⁶⁹ and in his growing up appeared to represent this dichotomy between optimism and pessimism, which are fundamental philosophic starting points concerning what can and cannot be expected from the political realm.

Until the age of 18 Morgenthau looked at the world through idealistic lenses. At age 18 in 1922, Morgenthau's entire approach was transformed based on his exposure to a Hitler rally and the even more extreme anti-Semitism which he subsequently began to experience.⁷⁰ This transformation was so thorough in causing Morgenthau to look at the world in detached, pessimistic terms that even his handwriting changed.⁷¹

In his address before the Leo Baeck Society, "The Tragedy of German Jewish Liberalism," referred to earlier, Morgenthau traced the worldview of German Jews who gained so much from the enlightenment and yet suffered the most in its denial with the rise of Nazism. Indeed, there seems to be a mirror or parallel of the outlook expressed in *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*. His description of the optimism that reigned among Jews in pre-Hitler Germany seems to mirror the optimism of the liberal outlook in general:

German Jewry appeared to have a particular reason for partaking in this general optimism; for it had progressed farther and faster and against much greater odds than the general middle-class population. Within less than a century, a tiny minority, despised, disenfranchised, and confined to the ghetto, had made a creative contribution of the first order to the intellectual, moral, and economic life of Europe, and this in the face of continuing disabilities and discrimination. Why should it not look to the future with optimistic anticipation?⁷²

In *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*, Morgenthau points to the deep connection between the rise of the middle class and the emergence of liberalism:

It was as the main moral, intellectual, and political weapon of the rising middle classes that rationalistic philosophy became the foundation for political theory and practice and, as such, has never lost the imprint of these historic origins. This combination

of rationalistic philosophy and the moral, intellectual, and political needs of the rising middle classes was to become a fateful one in both domestic and international affairs; for in this combination lie the strength of this political philosophy and its weakness as well. This political philosophy was victorious wherever there existed a political situation similar to the one which had created it.⁷³

On the other hand, Morgenthau stressed that:

[T]his political school failed and was bound to fail wherever it tried to achieve its aims without modification of its original intellectual premises and political methods under conditions which differed essentially from those under which it had originated.... Forgetful of the historic relativity of all political philosophy, the nineteenth century elevated the product of a unique historic and philosophic configuration into an immutable system of rational suppositions and postulates to be applied, regardless of historic conditions, everywhere and at all times.⁷⁴

In his Leo Baeck Society address, Morgenthau stressed the middle class affiliation of most German Jews and the consequent effect on their outlook:

It is not by accident...that, at least in Germany, the great bulk of the Jews belonged to the middle classes. Many of them were at the same time eminent and typical representatives of the middle classes and of German Jewry. When the middle classes suffered political and economic defeat in the aftermath of the First World War and economically became in a large measure proletarianized in consequence of a succession of economic crises, the position of the Jews radically changed. Here we are at the beginning of the development of Nazism.⁷⁵

Morgenthau pointed out that German Jewry was not prepared for this change of circumstance as "being predominately middle class in social composition and liberal in political and philosophic outlook, [it] shared to the full the optimistic mood of the liberal middle classes." To them the world they inhabited "before the First World War was perhaps not the best of all possible worlds, but it was certainly a good world for the middle classes, and it was bound to get better and better as time went on."⁷⁶

In his analysis of the rise of Nazism, in the same address, Morgenthau focused on the issue of "the economic, social, and moral decline of the German middle classes." The Jews, unable to perceive that with the collapse of the middle classes, philosophic liberalism would also be threatened, clung to their position, "as

the only important, conspicuous, and seemingly potent fraction of the middle classes." They sought to "retain their economic position and cling to their political rights." Consequently, "for the proletarianized middle classes with a Fascist psychology and a Fascist philosophy, the Jews became the main enemy, a reminder of what they once were and of what they might have been but could no longer be."⁷⁷

Another important theme expounded by Morgenthau in *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics* concerned the liberal or "rationalistic premises" which asserted that "the deficiencies of human action stem from lack of knowledge, enlightenment." Therefore, "dissemination of knowledge, education will overcome the 'social stupidity' which alone stands in the way of progress and reason."⁷⁸

In tracing and analyzing the predominant outlook of German Jewry, Morgenthau touched on a parallel theme to the one mentioned above.

What was still missing in that solution of the Jewish problem in the form of disabilities and discrimination was regarded as nothing more than minor deficiencies to be remedied by the application of liberal principles to situations which still resisted them. The persistence of such solutions was attributed to "prejudice," a preliberal and, hence, backward and unenlightened state of mind, bound to be erased by the continuing progress of mankind.⁷⁹

The connection between liberalism and Jewish survival was most strongly perceived and articulated by Morgenthau in these terms:

The liberation of the Jew was a by-product, and in a sense an inevitable by-product, of the rise of liberalism, and the rights of Jews in the Western world stand and fall with the belief in, and the practice of liberal principles. For, once you assume that men are not endowed with inalienable rights which require that with regard to their social and political positions they be treated as equals, you have already left behind the basic principle upon which the rights of Jews depend. If you can assume that any particular minority, however defined, does not have a claim on the enjoyment of equal rights, you have already destroyed the very moral and philosophical basis upon which the rights of Jews depend.⁸⁰

Also, Morgenthau felt it important to share *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*, just after its appearance, with a number of

rabbis whom he knew,⁸¹ and indeed gave a presentation on the book to a forum connected with the College of Jewish Studies in Chicago.⁸² Coupled with the similarity of themes in “The Tragedy of German Jewish Liberalism,” these factors lend greater probability to the thesis that Morgenthau’s background and experience as a Jew constituted an influence on this work.⁸³

Furthermore, Morgenthau’s choice of topic, “The Tragedy of German Jewish Liberalism,” for presentation to the Leo Baeck Society was not accidental. Fritz Bamberger, an officer of the Leo Baeck Society at the time, in inviting Morgenthau to give the lecture, initially suggested as a topic “a ‘typology’ of Jews (such as Simson, Stahl, Bamberger, Lasker, Lassalle, and Rathenau) in German politics.”⁸⁴ In his response to Bamberger, Morgenthau suggested as an alternate topic, “The Tragedy of German Jewish Liberalism,” explaining his concept as follows:

I would deal as the main theme with the inherent limitations of liberalism, the impossibility for German Jewry as a whole to take any other but a liberal position, and how those two factors made German Jewry the impotent victims of historic development.⁸⁵

Man’s Power Drive

In *Politics Among Nations*, Morgenthau presented an excerpt from the Dead Sea Scrolls to make a point about the perennial character of man’s power. “[I]s there a single nation that has not oppressed its neighbor? Or where in the world will you find a people that has not plundered the property of another? Where indeed?”⁸⁶

In a lecture text prepared for presentation at Notre Dame University entitled “Power and Ethics,” Morgenthau similarly connected the perception of man’s perennial striving for power to the Old Testament. He stated:

I am indeed pessimistic enough to believe that the aspirations for power are an innate element of human nature. It was what the Prophets of the Old Testament called “pride,” the desire to elevate oneself above one’s fellow man, and enjoy greatest satisfaction, the supreme experience of domination.⁸⁷

To students at the New School for Social Research, during an Aristotle Lecture Series in 1972, Morgenthau powerfully illustrated the human craving for power by recalling that in the Ger-

man Nazi period, there was “not only the glorification but the dedication of the nation.”

[For] here you have an automatized society in which the individual is a cog in the machine, and extension of the assembly line and all of a sudden he becomes a member of the master race....All of a sudden this powerless, automatized individual looks in the mirror at the uniform and has a position and he looks for somebody he can kick around. He may be kicked around by lots of people above him but there are a few below which he can also kick around. And this is great.⁸⁸

During a follow-up lecture, in response to a student’s question, Morgenthau even sharpened the point through the following graphic point: “If he dominates and terrorizes his block in which he lives — if his word can send one inhabitant to the concentration camp, the other to his death and the third one to a high position in the Nazi hierarchy, he certainly has political power which he hadn’t had before.”⁸⁹

To students at the University of Chicago, earlier in his career in 1964, Morgenthau had focused on a similar theme, explaining that during the Nazi period “racism created domestically...a sort of aristocracy, to which everybody belonged. Everybody could test his membership in the Master Race by kicking a Jew or throwing mud at a man or woman in religious garb...a game which involved no risks and gave enormous satisfaction.”⁹⁰

Similarly, in 1962, during a lengthy analysis of Nazi anti-Semitic and racial theories, Morgenthau again related to the power theme as he explained to his students that:

[W]ithout any risk, the members of the master race could every day prove to themselves that they were superior to the one inferior race which lived among them, the Jews, by kicking a Jew around. So you might say that the presence of some Jews in Germany under the Nazis was a necessity in order to demonstrate experimentally and without any risk involved the truth of the master race theory. And so the German proletariat, the dispossessed member of the German middle class, looking down on a Jew, or sending a Jew to a concentration camp, or beating him up could prove to his own satisfaction that he was a kind of aristocrat, that he was really superior, to the lower races, of which the Jews were, you might say, a representative sample.⁹¹

In citing the Nazi period to highlight man’s craving for power, Morgenthau, in response to a student’s question, warned that

every "individual to a greater or lesser extent is susceptible to the kind of temptation which a totalitarian religion offers."⁹² He did indicate, however, that "some milieus produce different kinds of outlook than others," as, for example, the difference in progress of "Fascism in Italy and in Germany."⁹³

Much earlier in Morgenthau's career, in 1946 during a class discussion, he illustrated and emphasized the dynamics of the power drive within society by making special reference to the Nazi period. He described the strategy of Goebbels who utilized the "pacifists, Jews, Poles" to become the "objects for the frustrated power drives of the lower classes."⁹⁴ He explained to his students that: "The whole idea of lower races had nothing to do with racial theory or scientific fact but was a deliberate device to give at least partial satisfaction to otherwise unsatisfied power drives."⁹⁵

At the University of Chicago, in his political theory course, during a question and answer period, Morgenthau again pointed to the sense of power with which Nazi racial policies imbued the population:

If you consider the traditional inferiority complex which Germany has in relation to other nations, here was a doctrine which not only gave meaning to life but which was also flattering. Everybody in Germany had become an aristocrat with regard to the minorities in Germany and also with regard to the rest of the world.⁹⁶

In addition, in his later years, in describing the inherent harshness of the political environment, Morgenthau began to refer more to examples from the Israeli experience, in possible reflection of his greater involvement with that cause. For instance, in an article written for *Social Research* on the issues of justice and power, he quoted an Israeli soldier in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War who said: "We know that there is no justice in the world, and we must make our own justice with our own strength."⁹⁷

Conclusion: The Jewish Experience and Morgenthau's Political Realism

At the core of the realist approach to international relations, to which Hans Morgenthau contributed so much, are assumptions opposed to enlightenment expectations concerning the attainment of easy progress in social and political affairs, as well as the em-

phasis on the primacy of man's power drive. Morgenthau, a German Jewish emigré to the U.S. from Hitler's Germany, experienced the searing impact of anti-Semitism while growing up in Germany, which apparently led him to engage in substantial Jewish activism at various times. The rise of Nazism fundamentally undermined the optimism of the generation of German Jews prior to Morgenthau, who were intense believers in the promise of the German enlightenment.

A careful comparison of *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*, which was effectively a statement of Morgenthau's basic approach to politics, with his 1961 address to the Leo Baeck Society, "The Tragedy of German Jewish Liberalism," yields the strong impression that Morgenthau's rejection of enlightenment principles in the political realm was at least to some extent a reflection of German Jewry's disillusionment with the promise of the enlightenment as a result of Hitler's rise to power.

Morgenthau's intense preoccupation with the power dynamic in human relations as expressed in *Politics Among Nations* also appeared to be reinforced by powerful examples of Jewish persecution in Germany, which he conveyed to his students and which appears to have affected his general worldview.

Notes

1. These included E.H. Carr, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Nicholas Spykman (who formulated a more systematic analysis of interstate behavior).
2. Kenneth W. Thompson, *Masters of International Thought* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1980), p. 84.
3. Greg Russell, *Hans J. Morgenthau and the Ethics of American Statecraft* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1990), p. 59.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
5. Michael J. Smith, *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1986), p. 2 (footnote 1), citing John A. Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, pp. 17, 26.
6. Interview with Robert W. Tucker in Jerusalem, May 10, 1991. The importance of Tucker's testimony lies in his being a recognized authority in the field of international politics who "lived" the transition from the idealist to realist orientation, as he originally wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on a normative aspect of international law, but later in his writings adopted a realist approach. Furthermore, although half a generation younger than Morgenthau, he was well acquainted with his work, as evidenced by his important essay critique of Morgenthau which appeared in the *American Political Science*

Review. While still at an early stage in his career, Tucker published an essay entitled "Professor Morgenthau's Theory of Political Realism" (*APSR*, March 1952, pp. 214-224).

7. Smith, *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger*, p. 3.
8. Interview with Dr. Ethel Person, New York City, July 15, 1991.
9. Morgenthau cited the great influence upon him of a seminar at the University of Munich on the political writings of Max Weber. In personal testimony concerning this experience, he said: "I learned a great deal there and this was one of the formative experiences I had." See "Bernard Johnson's Interview with Hans J. Morgenthau," in *Truth and Tragedy: A Tribute to Hans J. Morgenthau*, Kenneth Thompson and Robert J. Myers, eds. (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1984), p. 347.

Morgenthau in further reflecting about Weber, asserted that at the time, in Germany, when he took the above mentioned seminar, he came to believe that: "Weber's political thought possessed all the intellectual and moral qualities I had looked for in vain in the contemporary literature inside and outside the universities. For one who has not lived through this period of German history, it is not possible to visualize the ignorance, confusion, meanness, and general moral and intellectual degradation that dominated German public life and upon which the authority of great scholars bestowed a semblance of moral and intellectual legitimacy. Weber was everything most of his colleagues pretended to be but were not. While as a citizen he was a passionate observer of the political scene and a frustrated participant in it, as a scholar he looked at politics without passion and pursued no political purpose beyond the intellectual one of understanding." See *idem*, "Fragment of an Intellectual Autobiography," in *Truth and Tragedy*, p. 7.

Even a cursory look at various themes in Weber's work yields observations of some evident similarities in Morgenthau's life and work. These include Weber's initial legal education, and most significantly Weber's deep recognition of the decisive role of power politics in human and international relations, although accompanied by a "humanistic orientation" and an attempt to rationally come to grips with man's irrationality.

10. Morgenthau, "Fragment of an Intellectual Autobiography," in *Truth and Tragedy*, p. 6.
11. Kenneth W. Thompson affirmed that Morgenthau "almost certainly knew something about Niebuhr's work when Morgenthau was still in Europe," that Morgenthau's interest in Niebuhr "certainly intensified when he came to the U.S.," and that by 1946 "he was citing Niebuhr in his lectures." Kenneth W. Thompson, senior professor of government at the University of Virginia, to Ben Mollov, 21 March 1994, personal files of Ben Mollov, Jerusalem, Israel.
12. Kenneth W. Thompson made this point in a series of interviews and discussions in Charlottesville, Virginia, during August 1990.

13. Alan Dowty, who was formerly a member of the Department of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, conveyed these impressions during a conversation in Ramat Gan, Israel, on May 28, 1991, and in Haifa on May 4, 1993.
14. Interview and discussion with Robert J. Myers in New York City in July 1991.
15. Interview and discussion with William J. Korey in August 1990.
16. Interview and discussion with Moshe Decter, New York City, July 17, 1991.
17. Related by Max M. Kampelman in a discussion on January 3, 1993, in Jerusalem.
18. Interview and discussion with Joseph Sisco, Washington, D.C., June 30, 1992.
19. Interview and discussion with Kenneth W. Thompson, Charlottesville, Virginia, August 1990.
20. Interview with Rabbi Max Ticktin, Washington, D.C., July 1, 1992.
21. Interview and discussion with Robert J. Lifton, Cape Cod, Massachusetts, July 30, 1992.
22. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Fragment of an Intellectual Autobiography," in Kenneth Thompson and Robert J. Myers, eds., *Truth and Tragedy: A Tribute to Hans J. Morgenthau*, pp. 1-2.
23. Kenneth W. Thompson, *Masters of International Thought*, p. 80.
24. "Bernard Johnson's Interview with Hans J. Morgenthau," in *Truth and Tragedy: A Tribute to Hans J. Morgenthau*, p. 339.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 339-341. Morgenthau, despite being a Jew, was the best student in the school and was thus selected to participate in the ceremony by making a speech and crowning the duke. Nevertheless, the crowd and dignitaries did not restrain their anti-Semitic feelings; many shook their fists at him and shouted anti-Semitic slogans, all held their noses while he spoke. Morgenthau described it as "probably the worst day of my life."
26. Telephone discussion with Swiss Morgenthau researcher Chris Frei, June 6, 1991.
27. "Bernard Johnson's Interview with Hans J. Morgenthau," in *Truth and Tragedy: A Tribute to Hans J. Morgenthau*, pp. 338-339.
28. Hans Morgenthau, "The Tragedy of the German Jewish Intellectual," in Bernard Rosenberg and Ernest Goldstein, eds., *Creators and Disturbers: Reminiscences by Jewish Intellectuals of New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 76.
29. "Bernard Johnson's Interview with Hans J. Morgenthau," *op. cit.*, p. 351.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
31. Hans Morgenthau, "The Tragedy of the German Jewish Intellectual," *op. cit.*, p. 77.
32. TM (typed manuscript) in Hans J. Morgenthau Papers, "From Napoleon to Armageddon," 1970, p. 12, Box 106, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

33. "Bernard Johnson's Interview with Hans J. Morgenthau," *op. cit.*, p. 362.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 365.
35. Conveyed by Kenneth W. Thompson in the course of discussions held during the summer of 1991 in Charlottesville, Virginia. Thompson even recalled Morgenthau articulating to him at conferences his concern that "if he didn't react [in discussions] he'd be considered indifferent, and if he did he'd be called or considered a pushy or aggressive Jew."
36. Excerpts from two letters include: TMS (typed manuscript signed), Jack Hutchings, April 30, 1965:

While I am certainly not anti-Semitic, it is a curious thing that many prominent Jews like yourself are among the foremost Communistic sympathizers. Another noteworthy fact is that eight out of ten convicted American spies were Jews. The Goldbergs at the University of California are Jews; and the signed letter protesting our participation in Vietnam which recently appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* were nine-tenths Jews. Why? Why?

Certainly the Jews in Communistic Russia have lost most of their synagogues, are discriminated against by the Party as far as jobs are concerned. What have you to gain in the long run, except further discrimination?

I doubt that you will reply to this letter, but believe me, the above subject is a matter of heated discussion these days, and people are beginning to wonder.

An excerpt from another letter went as follows: "I noticed where you fled from Nazism to the Grand Ole U.S.A., in 1937, and have lived here ever since, you people want to live off the fat of the land but do not want to do anything....When I think that I fought in 2 world wars for people like you, I get sick." Both in file: Vietnam War and Reaction to Teach-In (MS, James Powers, July 20, 1965, in Morgenthau Papers, Box 95).

37. In file: Walter Lippmann, TM, Hans J. Morgenthau, May 6, 1965, in Hans J. Morgenthau Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
38. Hans Morgenthau, "The Tragedy of the German Jewish Intellectual," *op. cit.*, p. 76.
39. Chris Frei, in correspondence to this writer, reflected that Morgenthau's "traumatic experiences with anti-Semitism were important, but were embedded in the general economic, social, and political situation he experienced in Coburg between 1918 and 1923." Frei also observed that Morgenthau's worldview was significantly shaped by "the constant awareness of crisis." TLS (typed letter signed), Chris Frei, St. Gallen, Switzerland, March 16, 1991.

40. Hans Morgenthau, "The Tragedy of the German Jewish Intellectual," *op. cit.*, p. 75. Throughout his career, Morgenthau also expressed deep concern for other American minorities such as the Blacks, and linked that concern to his own experiences as a Jew who faced discrimination and anti-Semitism. As one example, see his article, "The Coming Test of American Democracy," *Commentary*, January 1964, reprinted in Morgenthau's anthology, *Truth and Power: Essays of a Decade, 1960-70* (New York: Praeger, 1970).
41. Irving Louis Horowitz, Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Political Science at Rutgers University, indeed met Morgenthau for the first time through the organizing activities of the Academic Committee and recalls that Morgenthau took the work of the Academic Committee "very seriously." Interview with Irving Louis Horowitz, New Brunswick, New Jersey, July 16, 1992.
42. See TMS from Jack J. Spitzer, President of B'nai B'rith International, February 6, 1980, in Hans J. Morgenthau Papers, B'nai B'rith, 1954-80, Box 8, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
43. The *Jewish Week* newspaper, in reporting the conferral of the Avoda award "for service to Judaism" to the awardee of 1980, recalled that the award had been "presented previously to such luminaries as Golda Meir, Eli Weisel, and Hans Morgenthau." *The Jewish Week*, March 30, 1980, p. 44.
44. Dr. Israel Singer, secretary general of the World Jewish Congress, who was a graduate student of Morgenthau's at City College and developed a friendship with him, conveyed to me his impression of Morgenthau's "obsession with Israeli security" and "his sense of mission" in making these speaking engagements concerning Israel and Middle East politics. Interview and discussion with Israel Singer, New York City, August 27, 1991.
45. Examples include the "Experiment in Jewish Learning" at the University of New Mexico in Spring 1976 (topic: American-Israeli Relations); the American Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem Golden Jubilee Academic Conference in Miami Beach in February 1975 (topic: "The United States and the Middle East"); and the prestigious annual Sklar lecture (topic: "America's Stake in Israel") at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles in April 1975 which annually featured the presentation of a distinguished Jewish figure. In April 1975, Morgenthau appeared on a Middle East symposium panel at the University of Alabama (Huntsville) along with Moshe Dayan in parallel to Saadat Hasan and Ashraf Ghorbal — a Palestinian and an Egyptian spokesman, respectively.
46. In file: Hebrew Union College, 1964-75 (TMS, Alfred Gottschalk, February 12, 1975), in Hans J. Morgenthau Papers, Box 25, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
47. According to Dr. Mordechai Hacohen, one of the founders of this organization, the National Committee was created following the Yom Kippur War in response to fears concerning the direction of Henry Kissinger's statecraft particularly in regard to Israel. In dis-

- cussions held on July 12 and 21, 1991, in New York City, Hacothen recalled that Morgenthau was approached to lead this committee because it was believed that only he had the necessary stature and connection with Kissinger to effectively “challenge him.”
48. Related by Susanna Morgenthau in a discussion on July 15, 1991, in New York City.
 49. This was reflected during a relatively brief period in New York City, and then later in Kansas City.
 50. According to the *Chicago Maroon* of February 20, 1948, Morgenthau was on the program along with Paul Douglas, Democratic candidate for U.S. senator, to speak on the theme: “America’s Stake in the Partition of Palestine.” The article reported that the rally was to be a “double barreled plea, urging the United States to implement the United Nations decision to partition Palestine, and to lift the arms embargo in the Holy Land.”
 51. These appearances included an address on “The State of Israel in World Politics,” as part of “Israel Week” at the University of Chicago during November 1948, and a lecture on the theme “Israel Among the Nations” on the occasion of Israel’s fifth anniversary (in 1953) in a program sponsored by Roosevelt College and the College of Jewish Studies. In files: Clippings/Miscellany 1948, 1953, in Morgenthau papers, Boxes 178, 179.
 52. In his book on Kansas City Jewry, *Mid-America’s Promise: A Profile of Kansas City Jewry* (Kansas City: American Jewish Historical Society, 1982), Jewish historian Joseph P. Schultz described Congregation Knesseth Israel-Beth Shalom as being one of the premier Conservative congregations of the U.S. and “a showcase for the Mid-West” during that time period. According to Schultz, the congregation achieved this stature in large measure due to the leadership of “its highly capable and scholarly” rabbi, Gershon Hadas. In personal correspondence with this writer, Schultz recalled that Hy Vile, a former president of the congregation, “spoke very positively about Morgenthau, particularly his strong identification with the Jewish community and Judaism.” Shultz also recalled Rabbi Gershon Hadas’s high opinion of Morgenthau. TLS, Joseph P. Schultz, May 27, 1992.
 53. Documentation in file: Board of Jewish Education, 1945-54, in Morgenthau Papers, Box 8. Activities that Morgenthau undertook included his membership on the Library Committee and the Academic and Personnel Committee, and his giving of a special presentation to the College of Jewish Studies. In a TLS from the director, Dr. Samuel Blumenfield, of May 2, 1946, Morgenthau was asked to “bring out the brighter and the more promising phases of Jewish destiny” as the “Jews are dis-heartened” and teachers have the “task to encourage our people to carry on despite hardships and disappointments.” In the Fourth Annual Institute of the Board of Jewish Education of Chicago held in 1950, according to a report in the *Board Reporter*, No. 1, September 1950, published by the Board of

Jewish Education of Chicago, Morgenthau participated in a panel on the theme of "Can Jewish Education in Chicago Meet the Challenge of the Hour?" In file: Clippings/Miscellany, 1950, in Morgenthau Papers, Box 178.

54. Pekarsky, now deceased, was the Hillel rabbi at the University of Chicago. In a TLS, June 6, 1991, his widow Nell Pekarsky recalled Morgenthau's relationship with her late husband: "[H]e [Morgenthau] was not an institutional related Jew....I don't recall that he attended Synagogue services. But I guess he didn't think of Rabbi Perkarsky as an institutional rabbi....I'm sure on their encounters they could kibbitz about his relationship to religion (or non-relationship) but he had a faithful relationship to Hillel — attended special events, participated in lectures and discussions; with his family attended the Pesach Seders at Hillel and enjoyed them. I know he was a proud Jew and I'm quite sure anybody who attacked him as a Jew would get a punishment from him not to be forgotten." Simon, the rabbi of the Rodfei Zedek Congregation in Hyde Park, in a TLS dated April 24, 1991, recalled that Morgenthau joined his congregation after the passing of Rabbi Pekarsky. [In that context] "He visited my home and demonstrated great interest in the Jewish tradition although he was not a regular attendant at services. He did want his children to become Bar and Bat Mitzvah."
55. See correspondence in file: American Friends of the Hebrew University, 1945-75 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 3).
56. In file: Hillel Foundation, 1945-71, TMS, Rabbi Benjamin M. Kahn, and minutes, in Hans J. Morgenthau Papers, Box 27, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., p. 13.
57. MS, June 10, 1975, Eugene B. Borowitz, in Hans J. Morgenthau Papers, Sh'ma, 1977-80, Box 54, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
58. Interview with Alan Dowty, Ramat Gan, Israel, May 28, 1991.
59. In file: Alan Dowty, 1964-78, TM, September 13, 1965, in Hans J. Morgenthau Papers, Box 17, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
60. In file: *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*, 1973-77, Morgenthau papers, Box 31.
61. In 1967-68, 1971, 1974, and 1975 (spring tri-semester at Haifa University).
62. Kenneth W. Thompson recalled that Morgenthau "was disappointed" with Israel after his first trip although this certainly changed later after Morgenthau had gone to New York and "began to read more about Israel." Discussion with Kenneth W. Thompson in Charlottesville, Virginia, August 13, 1990.
63. Morgenthau, "The Tragedy of the German Jewish Intellectual," *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.
65. Interview with Myron Kolatch, New York City, July 16, 1991.

66. *Newsweek* Magazine in January 1963, in a profile of Morgenthau, recalled his decision to leave Germany based on his perception "that the Nazis would soon make life in Germany impossible for a Jew." The article suggested that "his narrow escape from catastrophe helped make Morgenthau so wary of political illusions and so respectful of political power." See Education section, *Newsweek*, January 14, 1963, p. 46.
67. Reinhard Bendix, *From Berlin to Berkeley: German-Jewish Identities* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1986). Bendix relates to these themes specifically on pages 50, 108, and 110.
68. In *ibid.*, page 128, Bendix writes: "We sought what comfort we could in facing up to the brutality that engulfed us, for there was comfort of a kind in taking the least favorable view of human affairs — to paraphrase Francis Bacon. Sad to say, that comfort included the feeling of being more realistic, more down-to-earth than my father with his stubborn adherence to the legal possibilities still open to him." Bendix makes another reference to his pessimism on p. 150.
69. This comparison between Morgenthau and Bendix has added validity based on an observation made by Prof. Irving Louis Horowitz that there was indeed similarity between the two scholars in terms of background and general outlook. Observation made during interview in New Brunswick, New Jersey, on July 16, 1992.
70. Telephone interview and discussion with Chris Frei, June 6, 1991.
71. *Ibid.*
72. Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Tragedy of German-Jewish Liberalism," in *Politics in the Twentieth Century*, vol. I, p. 249.
73. Morgenthau, *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*, p. 19.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
75. Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Tragedy of German-Jewish Liberalism," *op. cit.*, p. 248.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
78. Morgenthau, *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics*, p. 210.
79. Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Tragedy of German-Jewish Liberalism," *op. cit.*, pp. 249-250.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
81. Rabbi Gershon Hadas, of Congregation Keneset Israel-Beth Shalom in Kansas City, wrote in a November 25, 1946, correspondence to Morgenthau: "It was indeed most thoughtful of you to have sent your very excellent volume. I really have been enjoying reading it, and find to my pleasant surprise many perspectives on our present scene of which I was not aware." To Rabbi Felix Levy of Chicago, Morgenthau wrote on December 23, 1946: "I want to thank you for your note of December 18 and your kind comments on my book. I appreciate greatly this encouragement and hope to have the opportunity of talking to you about your reactions to the book." Both in

- file: *Scientific Man Versus Power Politics* — Correspondence, 1945-46, TMS in Morgenthau Papers, Box 146.
82. See TLS, Albert K. Epstein, March 3, 1947, in Morgenthau Papers, Board of Jewish Education, 1945-54, Box 8.
 83. Tang Tsou, author of "Scientific Man Versus Power Politics Revisited," in Myers and Thompson, eds., *Truth and Tragedy*, wrote to this author in a letter dated March 7, 1992: "The characteristic of Professor Morgenthau which I felt I can detect but am not yet ready to state in print is that he was philosophically a conservative but in all policy matters was on the 'liberal' side. His philosophical conservatism may have to do with his disappointment in liberalism as a Jew living in the 1920s and 1930s in Europe."
 84. In file: Lectures/Correspondences, July-December 1960, TMS, Fritz Bamberger, August 10, 1960, in Morgenthau Papers, Box 156.
 85. In file: Lectures/Correspondences, July-December 1960, TM, Hans J. Morgenthau, August 19, 1960, in Morgenthau Papers, Box 156.
 86. *Politics Among Nations*, p. 36.
 87. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Notre Dame Lecture: Power and Ethics," Undated, TM in Morgenthau Papers, Box 176, p. 4.
 88. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Lectures/Texts," March 21, 1972, TM in Morgenthau Papers, Box 175, p. 10.
 89. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Lectures/Texts," April 11, 1972, TM in Morgenthau Papers, Box 175, p. 7.
 90. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Modern Political Theory Lectures," *Political Science* 358, February 18, 1964, TM in Morgenthau Papers, Box 80, p. 1.
 91. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Lectures/Texts 1962," Lecture 9, May 1, 1962, TM in Morgenthau Papers, Box 171, pp. 12-13.
 92. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Modern Political Theory Lectures," *Political Science* 358, February 18, 1964, TM in Morgenthau Papers, Box 80, p. 5.
 93. *Ibid.*
 94. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Lectures/Texts 1946," Course in international politics, January 21, 1946, TM in Morgenthau Papers, Box 168, p. 9.
 95. *Ibid.* Morgenthau presented a similar point in *Politics Among Nations*, pp. 103-104 (4th ed.).
 96. Hans J. Morgenthau, "University of Chicago Modern Political Theory," undated, TM in Morgenthau Papers, Box 80, p. 20.
 97. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Justice and Power," in *Social Research*, vol. 41, no. 1 (Spring 1974):165.