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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.

Series H: United Jewish Appeal, 1945-1995.

Subseries 4: Administrative Files, 1945-1994.

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Student Coordinating Committee for the Israel Emergency Fund.
1970.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

February, 4, 1970

Dear Rabbi Friedman,

Meeting with you in St. Louis was a great pleasure for me. I could go on and tell why and how much I admire you, but I know how busy you are. Therefore, I will get right to the point and perhaps some other time write you a letter fit for framing.

In St. Louis I mentioned that I would like to run a U.J.A. campaign at the University of Cincinnati. I told you of my plan, but you were understandably too busy to give much of your time. Yesterday, I walked into the Hillel House and after talking with Stu Geller, the director, and telling him of my plan, I walked out as the organizer of a U.J.A. campaign with all the responsibility on my shoulders. I fully accept this responsibility and plan to make my campaign most successful in soliciting funds and making Jewish students more aware of being Jewish. I plan to break all records of other campus campaigns and make this one an example of what can be done.

Today I met with Don Shalit and Pat Goldberg who head the Jewish Federation of Cincinnati. I have their full cooperation. Tomorrow I am meeting with the president of a campus organization called "Friends of Israel." I will also be meeting with the boy who organized a campaign last year only collecting \$600 from 3,000 Jewish students. This year the goal which I have set is \$10,000-\$15,000.

RECEIVED			
FEB 6 1970			
NOTED BY		REFER TO	
DATE			DATE
		HAF-13	
ANSWERED			

cc Davidson
GS
SHA
EY S
MP
PAC

My plan calls for a hard core group of students who will be responsible for contacting personally the rest of the Jewish students on campus. They will rap about Isreal and solicit funds. There will also be booths stationed all over campus. Now the most important thing is that the workers are educated and prepared to talk about Isreal and solicit funds in the most effective way. My plans call for a work shop, but I also realize the importance of having a very dynamic and influential person like yourself speak to them. We also need posters, buttons, and literature. Letters will be sent to the homes of all Jewish students registered at the university informing them of the campaign and that they will be contacted after Spring vacation. The workers will be prepared to start campaigning immediately after the students return. Your help and suggestions would be greatly appreciated.

Please give my regards to "Uncle" Sam Abramson, Mrs. Sherman, and Mitch Gold.

Sincerely,



Richard Yenoff

249-3 Southern Ave.

Cincinnati, Ohio

WHY I GIVE A DAMN

MEETING

TUESDAY, FEB. 24th
8 P.M.

Executive Conference Room-T.U.C.

Dear Student,

While I enjoy getting an education and filling my mind with great ideals of peace and brotherhood, there are Jews throughout the world being persecuted because governments and citizens of other countries don't believe in religious and political freedom.

In Poland, Jewish students were expelled from the University of Warsaw merely because they were Jewish. Every Jew in Rumania is waiting to leave the country although a Jew can't obtain a passport. We are now in the process of bargaining for these Jews. The price must be paid for each head as if we were talking of cattle. A cow doesn't need a house to live in or a school to go to, but people do. Once settled, these necessities must be provided.

Although I wish everything were beautiful, and people were free to do and think as they wanted...they aren't. Although I wish that money had no great value...it does. This time money means life and freedom for human minds.

The people of Israel are trying to grow food, find a cure for Cancer, educate themselves, support their own peace corp, etc., and at the same time dodge bullets and bombs aimed at her children.

THIS IS WHY I GIVE A DAMN AND AM ASKING FOR YOUR HELP

My people are in trouble and the only way in which I am capable of helping them right now is by giving money. There will be a United Jewish Appeal campaign on campus and help is needed in every way. I plan to make this campaign personalized and although money is our main objective, I can guarantee that it will not be the only reward. Please attend the meeting at which we will organize ourselves and do what has to be done.

Sincerely,



Richard Yenoff

20 February 1970

Rabbi Haskell Lookstein
Ramaz High School
125 East 85th Street
New York, New York

Dear Rabbi Lookstein:

I tried to reach you today, in order to receive your approval for a project which I have asked Avi Neshet to undertake.

Without going into extensive details, I need his services in order to help in the preparation for a program I have in mind for youth leadership development on the American college campus. The work would require Avi's going to Israel for several weeks this spring, in order to conduct a search for some lecturers I will need for the campus in the fall of 1970.

I do believe he will be of great help, because I feel he is in tune with the mentality of today's student. If you are interested in any more details, I, of course, will be happy to give them to you.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert A. Friedman

HAF

DEPARTMENT OF UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS

Report of meeting with representatives of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations executive staff, February 17, 1970 at the UJA offices, New York City.

ATTENDING:

- Rabbi Charles J. Davidson
- Rabbi Samuel Fishman
- Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
- Rabbi Oscar Groner
- Rabbi Benjamin Kahn
- Rabbi Matthew Simon

The intent of the meeting was to discuss with BBHF the new Campus "Master Plan". (To establish on selected campuses an elite group of students who are to be trained for future leadership in the American Jewish community).

It was made clear that the "Master Plan" program to establish "garinim" (cells) would in no way compete with already existing campus organizations. The task of the "garin" would be to strengthen already existing programs and to create new programs only when a vacuum exists. It calls for a young teaching assistant or graduate student to create and guide this group in the ten point program of:

1. Combatting Arab propaganda
2. Sponsor lectures by Israelis
3. Hebrew & Israeli Culture on campus
4. Recruiting Summer Mission members
5. Running an annual campaign
6. Self-education
7. Russian Jewry
8. Political action
9. Campus communication
10. Develop contact with key Jewish and non-Jewish faculty

Each point was discussed and carefully considered by those present.

It was clearly understood that the UJA "madrich" would be independent and free to select those program areas where he felt the efforts of the "garin" would best be utilized. In selecting program areas he would consult with representatives of the various campus organizations before a decision was made.

In conjunction with the "madrich" (guide) a member of the UJA Young Leadership Cabinet will be assigned to "adopt" members of the "garin" and to maintain contact until they are eligible themselves for participation in the Young Leadership Cabinet. This YL cabinet will also serve as a liaison with the National Office of UJA to report progress and to advise what aid can be provided by the National Office to make the "garin" more effective.

It was suggested that for the fall of 1970 ten campuses be selected as pilot projects for the "Master Plan". It is hoped that the program within a year or two can be expanded to one hundred of the major college campuses across the country.

The representatives of Hillel found the plan worthwhile and expressed a willingness to cooperate. They would like to aid in the selection of the campuses so that different strengths and weaknesses could be tested, e.g., a campus with a strong, pro-Israel oriented Hillel rabbi and one where little is done in this area.

Rabbi Samuel Fishman, BBHF Director of the Department of Israel Affairs, proposed seven points (see attached) where UJA might cooperate with Hillel.

The following decisions were made regarding these seven proposals:

1) UJA-HILLEL COLLEGE FACULTY STUDY MISSION

It was decided that a sliding scale be worked out towards payment of such a mission. That according to the salary of the participant a certain per cent be paid towards the trip. This scale would be based on an honor system. The proposed mission to take place late in the spring of 1970 if possible. The duration of the trip would be 7 or 10 days according to the itinerary and program.

2) and 4) UJA-HILLEL CAMPUS CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN STUDY MISSION

It was felt that this mission should take place during the winter vacation (approximately the last week in December) of 1970. That by this time the chairman of the 1971 campus campaign would have been selected and primed for the mission. It was proposed that for this initial mission participants be limited to one bus load (approximately 40) and that they be selected from those schools with large Jewish student population.

3) VISITING STUDENTS UJA STUDY TOUR

During the coming summer a special pilot project of one week's duration be devoted to students who are visiting in Israel. That for the same amount of funds ordinarily set aside for room and board (approx. \$7.50 or \$10.00) for one week, a UJA tour of Israel be arranged. Ads are to be placed in the Jerusalem Post and the overseas edition of the Herald Tribune offering this opportunity. During this week they will be given a chance to visit UJA installations and institutions and tour the country. Rabbi Matthew Simon has volunteered to serve as the UJA staff member for this week.

5) UJA-HILLEL VISITING LECTURE PROGRAM

It was felt by all present that there should be more effective use made of visiting Israeli lecturers. Present plans call for Dr. Harmann and Col. Bar-On to suggest visiting lecturers from the Hebrew University who will be granted a two months leave of absence. In the past, academicians have been reluctant to participate because of the long stay without an official leave of absence. With the cooperation of the Hebrew University and other institutions of higher learning, men of outstanding caliber should become available to us for next year's program.

6) CAMPUS TEAM MISSION

The proposal to send student leaders, faculty representatives, the Hillel rabbi, and administrators from one school was considered and it was decided to consider this as a possibility for the summer of 1971.

7) UJA FILMS

Films for campus campaigns will be made available to the BBHF for distribution to campuses when there is no local welfare fund office. A list of requirements is to be made up by Rabbi Fishman and forwarded to the National Office.

The meeting adjourned with the suggestion that we meet again in a month or six weeks to evaluate progress on the above programs.



CJD/is
(2/24/70)
cc: HAF, IB, MS

TO: Rabbi Benjamin M. Kahn
FROM: Rabbi Samuel Z. Fishman
DATE: February 9, 1970

The following items might be placed upon the agenda of our meeting with Herbert Friedman next Monday:

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1) We should explore the possibility of arranging a faculty study mission in Israel this spring. I am certain that our contacts with academic personnel at every major university would enable us to select a group of positively-oriented Jewish professors for such a project.

YES

2) We should explore the best way of developing an Israel study mission for student welfare fund chairmen. Their program in Israel must be geared to the special needs of the campus community. An effective study mission could pay off wonderful dividends in improved campus campaigns.

last week Dec

3) We should consider ways of programming in Israel for our college students who will be visiting there this summer. I have in mind short-term study missions, especially for students who are not in Israel as part of an organized program.

one bus one week

4) We should examine again the question of UJA support for our Hillel Winter Institute based upon our experience this past year. I attach copies of the report and itinerary.

5) We should review our campus speakers program with an eye to improving our recruitment techniques. The effectiveness of this program continues at a very high level, but the task of recruiting first rate speakers has become more difficult.

6) We should introduce the idea of a "mixed mission" to Israel. I have in mind the selection of teams of 6 - 8 people from a limited number of major campuses. The teams would consist of student leaders, faculty representatives, one or two Jewish administrators, and the Hillel director. I suggest that this team approach might significantly enhance our campaigns at the campuses we select.

Summer 71

7) We should request the UJA to make available to Hillel a half dozen or so prints of current campaign films for direct distribution by us. These would serve the needs of campuses that are not within the purview of the major federations.

as much as required

SZF:jcw

Encl.

Feb. 21, 1970

Dear Herb:

It was great seeing you. I would again like to thank you for being able to find the time to speak to Hillel.

Do you recall Pat Gomez the Catholic boy I was telling you about? Well he might be converting to Judaism. Rabbi Herst suggested that he take classes, and he is.

I hope your tel-star broadcast went well, and that you had great success from it. I still feel you should have video-taped the show instead of doing it live.

We started on our campus UJA drive this week and I know it is going to be a complete success.

I am enclosing a picture of you which was taken the night you spoke to the Welfare Federation. I don't know if you have seen it, so I'm sending it. You will probably get a laugh out of it. If I were you I'd have the photographer shot.

Give my regards to Francine and the rest of the family.

Reith



UJA Executive With Local Leaders

United Jewish Appeal Executive Chairman Herbert A. Friedman (center) with Donald N. Pritzker (left), chairman of the Jewish Welfare Federation campaign, and John H. Steinhart, president of the Federation. Rabbi Friedman was guest speaker at the Federation's Advance Division Dinner Jan. 8. Forty-five gifts totalling \$1,619,000 were announced. The gifts represented an increase of more than \$140,000 over last year's total by the same contributors.

Monday Evening, May 4, 1970
4848 Lexington Avenue, # 310
Los Angeles, California 90029

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
Executive Chairman, United Jewish Appeal
Suite 2900
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N.Y. 10019

Dear Rabbi,

I would like to take a few minutes
of your time to explain a situation in which
I would like to ask for your advice.

(A brief psychoanalytical biography)
I have been attending Los Angeles City College since
I graduated from High school in 6/66. L.A.C.C.
is a two year junior college! Most of that
time I have been affiliated with Hillel across
the street from the campus. Just a few
months ago I attended the West Coast UJA
conference at the Century Plaza Hotel in L.A.
Rabbi Charles Davis ("Chuck", as he preferred it)
from New York was one of the speakers.

Anyway, my local Hillel sent me and three
other people for the entire weekend, all expenses

OVER

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paid with the implied understanding that we would help organize and man and staff a campus-wide UJA program. Two of the four dropped ~~the~~^{their} commitment because they were really opportunists for a free ritzy weekend. It next dropped out because it became misshuge working with a ~~group~~ ^{group} of ^{gentle} ^{à la} Mrs. Postroy. Please ~~do~~ understand that it shares Philip Roth's contempt of bourgeois American Jewish society which Hillel was attracting. I was in the process of switching over to American Students for Israel which is a politically vocal club on campus. Local laws prohibit religious organizations from being on campus. I am now thoroughly entwined into the fabric of ASI. We sponsor ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ mainly films and speakers on Israel, Russian Jewry etc. Anything to do with the plight of Israel and the Diaspora. We also take an active role in confronting Arab ~~prop~~ and New Left Marxist propaganda on campus. L.A.C.C. is cosmopolitan and multi-racial as well as international. The Organization of Arab Students is closely allied with the S.D.S., ~~and~~ the Chicano (Mexican American) and the Black Panther

(3)

orientated BSU. The campus is ~~off~~ politically split between apathy and New Left. Literals of the Young Democrats and conservatives of the Young Republicans (^{both} our fair-weather ideological allies) linger somewhere in the woodwork or beneath the bed.

The New Left is so apathetic that only 5 people average a ~~meeting~~ twice-weekly S.P.S. meeting in the Psychology building. Actually, the campus is teeming with politically disaffected leftists but they merely graze on the green lawns of our beautiful campus, easily mistaken as members of the love generation, displaying their long hair and beads and making casual music on an occasional guitar or flute. Frequently a dog will run about happily between groups of hippy clad students sitting in the warm sun and repping. All is beautiful, peace and love... until! Until a controversy arises and all hell breaks loose that takes at least two weeks to mellow.

It am slowly coming to the point. ⁽⁴⁾

Two weeks ago the OAS sponsored Arab-Palestine Culture Week. Every speaker and film was direct political propoganda. No art, no music, no dance, no literature, no arts and crafts, in short, no culture. ~~The~~ title was a complete misnomer. Arab anti-Zionist Enlightenment Week would have been more appropriate. Fortunately, they gained very little attention; however, they ~~do~~ almost depleted student body speakers' allocation funds.

At first we felt that it would be beneficial for the OAS to go first, so this way we could gauge the political temperament of the campus on the Middle East, as well as determine ~~the~~ and analyze the techniques for a successful presentation. Israeli Culture Week is planned and almost set for May 11-15 to coincide with Israeli Independence Day. Each day ^{we} will present a different theme and program. We are intentionally avoiding political propoganda and will stress primarily Culture.

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We will feature an omnibus of Israeli and Jewish civilization. We are doing this in a positive feeling of enlightenment and a negative feeling of underplaying the Arabs by not biting at their bait of name-calling and political confrontation.

The obstacle comes in, in that we find it extremely difficult to elicit financial aid from the local Jewish community. We must pay an Israeli accordionist \$50 for 45-minute entertainment and another ridiculous sum for a professional dance team. If people are that selfish that they must prostitute themselves to their own people for their own betterment, I will forgive them as being G-d's children with a decadent sense of morality.

However, when older generation Jews bitch about the Arab propaganda on campus and why Jewish students don't do anything about it, I almost feel compelled to say the Kaddish for them. When it comes right down to helping Jewish college students by digging in their pockets

to help us pay the ⁶bill, they're gone! No-
where to be seen. Perhaps they are paranoid
that we will pocket the money? Perhaps
they are the stereotyped, but all too exisitant
"ostrich" Jews of silence? "Sonny Looy, I
admire what you doing, but maybe better
we shouldn't make noise? What would the
goyim think?" The hell with Richard
Nixon's goyim.

Rabbi Moller of Temple Akiba in
Culver City, Calif. points out quite well
that ~~American~~ Jews still think they are
underdogs. It took three major conflicts
with Arabs to prove that we can fight
for our existence. Why must we continue to
live with our historically-based conception
of a wandering, pious Jew who must always avoid
trouble? The Israelis have learned the lesson
of the Diaspora. When somebody ~~the~~ messes
with you, you strike first and hard. You kick
the shit out of him until he gives up or dies.
David and Goliath! It was this spirit of the
June '67 victory that has awakened the Russian
Jews that they are still a beautiful people. By
that, I mean that more and more, the

(7)
Jews in Russia are realizing ^{exactly} who they are:
Jews in Russia, not Russian Jews.

I have spent the past four weeks attempting to put together an Israeli fashion show with another student, Pam Soudy.

We have had to give up because Israeli fashions practically do not exist in L.A. because they do not sell. Our last fashion contact, our most demoralizing, occurred this afternoon. Pam and I went to Sy Devore's at the World famed intersection of Hollywood and Vine. Sy Devore, some Yiddishka-kupft. Some Jew! Pam and I explain the fashion show, strictly amateur, we have our own models (students), no selling, just culture, no political propaganda, just for the betterment of our image to the rest of the world!

"No?" "I'd really like to help but I'm awfully busy. I have an important customer. Could you two come back in an hour?" We come back in an hour and see? "Faster, I'd really like to help you out, but you should've made an appointment and you should've given me more time. But maybe some other time?" But, but,

May 22, 1970

Dear Rabbi Fishman,

Although I haven't written to you since our return from Israel over the winter recess, I have been quite involved with many of my peers on campus working to promote an educational as well as financial campaign in support of Israel.

The first and most significant action was the formation of a club, "Shomrai Ha'am." (the title Adelphi Forum for Peace in the Middle East is employed on campus.) We have been involved in the Pompidou demonstrations in New York City, an Israeli week on campus, the salute to Israel parade, campus education through a feature column in the school newspaper and weekly meetings of this club.

I would like to thank you for the two posters which you sent me. If you should come across any new or interesting posters I would appreciate it if you would send them to me.

I would also like you to extend my thanks to the Washington congregation which made available to me a year's subscription to the Near East Report. It helps me keep informed with the daily crisis in the Middle East. May I suggest that you contact Rabbi Charles Davidson of the National United Jewish Appeal; I think its paper F.Y.I. (For Your Information) is a good resource to keep a current pulse on the Middle East. If you could arrange for a copy to go to each of the Winter Instituturs I think they would be quite grateful.

Enclosed please find several articles from my campus newspaper reflecting what is happening in terms of Israeli activities and programs and copies of letters sent to other organizations have been worked with.

Please extend my regards to your father-in-law and Professor Spiegel and please keep in touch with me.

Cordially,

P.S. I am very happy to tell you that I am going to Iszael with the UJA study mission this summer.

cc: Rabbi Charles Davidson

ד'NAI B'RITH HILLEL FOUNDATION
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
GARDEN CITY, N. Y.

May 22, 1970

Israeli Student Organization
To Whom It May Concern;

Enclosed please find check for \$125.00 from the "Adelphi Forum for Peace in the Middle East." It was our pleasure to sell the "Shalom Means Peace" buttons for you.

Please contact us if we may be of future service to you.

Sincerely,

Joseph B. Kerstein
Joseph B. Kerstein
Chairman

JK/as

Joseph B. Kerstein

JK/as

EPHRAIM BIRTH HILLES FOUNDATION
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
GARDEN CITY, N. Y.

May 22, 1970

United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York
220 West 58th Street
New York, New York

Dear Henrietta;

I am pleased to enclose this check for \$750.00; the result of our on-campus drive that began in April. It is my hope that another check of approximately \$250.00 will follow shortly.

Thank you for your help in establishing this, the first of what is hoped to be an annual and growing campaign.

Sincerely,

Joseph B. Kerstein

cc/ Rabbi Samuel Fishman
Rabbi Charles Davidson

JK/as

AU Students Mobilize for Peaceful East

by Joan Flaxer

On March 2, a group of Adelphi students went into New York City to demonstrate against French President Pompidou's action in the Middle East.

The students who participated did so out of a "deep belief that Pompidou's policy is unjust toward Israel and is encouraging bad relations." A "burning desire for peace in the Middle East" and "the survival of the state of Israel" was the deep-rooted cause that led these students to demonstrate.

The day consisted basically of two rallies, one in the early afternoon at Jamshold Park, (a few blocks from the U.N.) and the other at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel where President Pompidou was staying. The earlier rally was a smaller, more intimate gathering of groups from several universities, Jewish organizations, and youth groups. A podium and microphone were set up where leaders from each group spoke as to their reasons for being there. The protesters carried picket signs displaying their strong disapproval of Pompidou's action. Adelphi students played a large part in organizing this rally, and especially in demonstrating their "ruach" (spirit). They led the crowd in singing, dancing, and chanting of familiar tunes.

In the afternoon the group went to the Israeli Consulate and the Jewish Agency to get educational information and films, which they hope to use for programs on campus.

The evening rally was a gathering of more than 4,000 persons of all ages. Several wore arm bands saying "Israel Must Live" or s'ogans saying "J'accuse Pompidou" which refers back to the Dreyfus

army tore France apart at the turn of the century. Again the crowd was "very together" singing and dancing, flag-waving, chanting, and above all, begging for peace.

Out of this core of interested Adelphi students a group for peace in the Middle East was formed. An organizational meeting was held on March 4 in Eddy Hall Lounge to set up a program and give the group a name. The club name will be Shomrim L'Am (Guardians to the Nation) and the activities thus far planned are:

- April 12-17 — Israel Week (Programs, films, talk to community groups about Middle East)
- May 3 — Eisenhower Park Rally
- May 10 — Israel Independence Day Parade (N.Y.C.)

Everyone is excited and eager to work. The next meeting is Wednesday, March 11 at 8:00 p.m. in Eddy Hall Lounge. All are invited.

YOUNG REPUBLICAN MEETING

March 11 12:50
B-105

ELECTIONS OF DELEGATES

Seminar on Pollution

Monday, March 23

12:50

GUEST SPEAKERS

Young Republicans

The Kwizzing Kameranen

by Philip Lieberman and
Larry Giustra

This week's question: "What should U.S. Policy be in the Arab-Israel conflict?"

My Isaacson, Brooklyn, junior, psychology: "Because of ancient Jewish paranoid fear of suppression, I am sorry to say that I have no sympathy at all with the Arabs, although I realize that both sides must be pacified. To attain pacification, I believe that Israel should give a minimal amount of land back to the Arabs. This land should be a small part of the Sinai peninsula—enough to make a small state for the Palestinians. Jerusalem and the Golan Heights are too sacred to give up. Neither the U.S. nor the U.N. should be involved."



Claire Fran

Stanley Beltzar, Uniondale, sophomore, chemistry: "Russia and the U.S. should agree to keep out of the whole affair in a return to an isolationist policy. We should not sell arms to Israel, nor should the Russians give arms to the Arabs. If people don't have the ability to fight, there can be no more fighting."

Claire Tierney, Baldwin, sophomore, social welfare: "I feel that neither side is really trying for peace. If the Soviets don't stop aiding the Arabs, then the U.S. should give equal aid to Israel in spite of oil interests. We don't need the Arabs for oil, which can be purchased elsewhere. I hope the Soviets stop aiding the Arabs so the U.S. doesn't get involved."

Allan Debuter, Eddy Hall, junior, drama: "I believe the U.S. should help its friends and seek

justice. Israel is, beyond all doubt, the most democratic nation in the Middle East. They are the most technologically, educationally, and benevolently advanced . . . By keeping the Suez Canal closed, they have saved countless American lives in Vietnam by forcing the Russians to transport their arms to North Vietnam and the Viet Cong around the southern tip of Africa. The U.S. should try to get Israel and the Arab nations to negotiate directly for PEACE, and in the meantime they should supply them with military equipment for SURVIVAL."

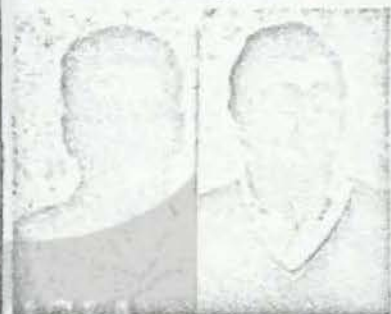
Sam Zalbee, Hempstead, junior, economics: "The U.S. should negotiate even-handedly between Israel and the Arabs. We are the only country that can find a peaceful solution because we can talk to both sides, whereas the Soviets cannot. If we continue to favor Israel, the Soviets eventually will gain control of the Middle East, and the U.S. will lose its sphere of influence there. The Arabs do not want this to happen, but they will have no other choice."

Orna Ackerman, New Hyde Park, freshman, English: "No matter what the U.S. does it will not change Israel's position. As long as the U.S. keeps supplying Israel with arms, Israel can sustain itself. Instead of being directly involved with Israeli policies, the U.S. should talk over the question of arms with the Soviets, who are giving away arms to the Arabs. The U.S. can do nothing beyond that. The main reason the U.S. has been indefinite is oil interests."

Frank Segall, Eddy Hall, sophomore, political science: "We should pledge financial support to Israel only, and sell them as many arms as the Soviets are giving the Arabs, to maintain a balance of power. We should also request the U.N. to send mediators."

Howard Bender, Laurelton, sophomore, history: "The United States at present must support Israel in the form of planes and

other war materials in order to maintain the military superiority of Israel and to prevent a full-



Stan Sam

scale war in the area. Israel should also be given the financial means in order to do this. She is our democratic friend in the Middle East, and as such she defends our interests. The United States should support Israel more vigorously in the political field in order to make Arab policies less intransigent and more rational. The United States should try to make Israel a member of NATO in order to give her the additional military and political support she needs in the pursuit of peace and tranquility."

Guardian of the People?

by Allan Dobuler

What is the vogue today? It seems as if the search for individualism and self has taken new form in the Black communities. There is something called Black nationalism with such expressions as "Black is beautiful," "Black power," etc. The Blacks have uncovered the lie of the melting pot theory. The thing that makes America so rich is not in the loss of the people's backgrounds, but because of the wide backgrounds of America's peoples. The Jews, however, a little more conservative, are a little slow, and they are still trying desperately to shake off their Jewish identity and assimilate into American society.

You will find Jews today protesting against Vietnam, for Biafra, for the Indians, and against pollution. There isn't any cause that the Jew does not seem to befriend except that of his own, the Jewish cause. The Jews in America today, particularly those in the academic spheres of secondary and college education, shirk the responsibility for their own cause. They do little for their brothers who are being persecuted in Russia, Arab lands, Czechoslovakia, nor for their brethren in Israel who are everyday faced with a problem of survival, but they bend over backwards to work to solve everyone else's ills. They are the **UNCLE TOM JEWS!**

The Jewish assimilation takes a number of forms and stems from basically two things. Children of European parents, people with foreign accents and Old World customs, find themselves embarrassed and even ashamed by what they feel to be an inadequacy of their parents. These people try to be as "in" as they can. They wear bell bottoms, peace pins, long hair, and try to be individuals along with all the rest of the crowd.

The second group is that of the second generation Americans. The behavior of first generation American Jews was a little bit different a generation ago. In trying to be "in," they tried to be as American as possible. That meant having money, luxuries, and owning property (a privilege that was rarely allowed the Jew in the Diaspora). To the youth today this means that their parents are part of the Establishment. And we all know that the Establishment is not "in" now. So, being anti-establishment, these second generation Jews throw off their Jewishness.

What are they trying to get rid of? What is there to be ashamed of? Judaism gave to the world the ten commandments with the concepts of Faith,

Freedom, Love, Justice and Equality. The essence of Judaism being the Golden Rule: "Love thy neighbor as thy self." Somewhere in my mind I recall hearing these concepts. They originated with Judaism.

Because of our laws and our beliefs we have, through our more than three thousand year existence, been the scapegoat of fear and hatred and prejudice. We have experienced persecution and humiliation of all sorts: the Ghetto, pogroms, gas chamber extermination and mass burial. How quickly people forget. Yes, we Jews also know the Ghetto. George Santayana wrote, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

Where do you think Jews got their moral conscience from if not from Judaism. We are a humanitarian people. But before aiding everyone else, we should first help ourselves. For if we do not take care of ourselves who will do it then? We know that after the Holocaust everyone was appalled, but who lifted a finger to aid the Jews during the Holocaust knowing full well that these atrocities were going on?

Do not be deluded. You may renounce and spit on your beautiful heritage and religion, you may swear to your non-belief on a stack of Bibles that the Jews gave to this world, but to the non-Jew you will always be a Jew! That is the fallacy of assimilation. No one will ever let you forget that you are a Jew (Black). You must learn, however, how to live with yourself and as yourself in society. You can never really shed your identity.

I am a person, for no matter where I would be born I would be born a person. I am a Jew (Black) for no matter where I would be born a Jew (Black). And I am an American because I was born here. This is one of the best countries in the world. It is also like a person. It has its faults. They have to be worked on. **SHALOM.**

Meetings of Shomrei Ha'am (Guardian of the People) are held on Wednesday evening from 8-10 P.M. The location varies. Paul O'Dwyer speaks March 23 in the Little Theater at 5 P.M.

April 13-17 is Israel Week. May 3 will be a pro-Israel Independence Day picnic at Eisenhower Park. May 10 is the Manhattan Israel Independence Day Parade. May 11 will be an Israel Independence celebration with food, films, music, and speakers.

For further information or for comments: Contact Allan Dobuler, Box 71, Eddy Hall.

HILLEL PRESENTS

A SUPPER SEMINAR

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11 • 5 P.M.

Joseph Kerstein will speak out on
"U. S. Options in Middle East"

ISRAEL IS REAL

Off the Record

by Allen Dukler

Several articles have come to my attention recently which is of great relevancy to my column and so I thought that I would share them. This first article is a reprint from *The Record*, Monday, December 29, 1969, and it is called "The Stakes in the Middle East."

"For President Nixon the Mideast turmoil may be a more grievous problem in the new year than the war in Vietnam. Unless the State Department resolves to pay less attention to the beseechings of economic interests and more to basic principles, the United States may find itself compromising the best Western presence in the Middle East for a mess of oil interest it will not be able to exploit, anyway. Some American businessmen have been pressing for more of a neutral stand to the Arab-Israeli struggle. They claim that America is losing contact with the Arab governments and that the American presence in Arab countries is being slowly obliterated.

This argument sounds plausible until its basic premises are examined. Without the Soviet Union there would be no Arab-Israeli impasse. Without the Soviet Union there would be no intransigent Arabs calling for a holy war against Israel. Without the Soviet Union there would have been a peace conference between Arabs and Israelis after the June 1967 war. And without the Soviet Union there might now be a Middle East cooperative economic development which would have seen Israeli technical competence joined with Arab oil revenues to eradicate disease, lift the poor of the Arab nations from despair to a level well above mere subsistence, and the beginning to make the desert bloom. These, however, are not what Russia wants. The Russians like to make progress by wangling strategic victories without committing Russians manpower or taking risks. As they have done in Korea and Vietnam, they are doing in the Mideast.

Russia controls more Mediterranean coast than the West. It achieved this control without so much as making a name in diplomatic circles. All it needed were a few Arab extremists, snarling under a whipping from an Israel which they had tried three times to destroy.

The Russian presence in the Mideast isn't due to John F. Dulles' stopping aid to the Aqawa Dam. It is due to the Arabs' knowledge that all they need to do is cry that America is deserting them. Thereupon diplomatic backing for Israel is reduced in Washington to a few well chosen words—and fewer weapons. This is while the Russians send tons of material to the Arab countries and the French Pompidou sells jets to Libya while licking his lips at the possibility of occupying Wheelus Air Force Base, built by Americans to service the Sixth Fleet and protect the inland sea from Russian domination.

Recent speeches of Secretary Rogers have conveyed to his Arabs hope that their refusal to sit down with the Israelis and create a permanent peace will eventually isolate the Israelis. The more American equivocates, the higher go the Arab hopes.

The Israelis pursue one course—they will not budge an inch until the Arabs give up their insane desire to wipe out Israel and sit at a table to write a lasting peace. All talk, all maneuver, all action stem from this central tenet.

The Israelis have no alternative. It is either peace, permanently and with ironclad guarantees, or continued self-defense. "We've didn't survive three wars . . . so that the Russians can celebrate victory with Nasser."

The United States has a stake in the preservation of Israel. This is the last bastion of freedom in the Middle East. No Arab nation can turn back from dependence on Russia, even if it wants to. If we give up on Israel we shall, like blind Samson, pull down the pillars. They are the ungrinding of peace in the eastern Mediterranean if not the structure of free Europe."

March 2nd was a successful and spirited day of rallies protesting Pompidou's Mideast policy. There was a nice representation by Adelphi students enlisted by our Forum for Peace in the Middle East. If you would like to work for Israel's survival and for peace in the Middle East, please contact me, Allen Dukler, Edgy Hall, Box 71, room 103. Future major activities to look forward to are: a learn about Israel week in mid-April, and a series of rallies, parties, and celebrations beginning in the beginning of May for Israeli independence Day (sort of like the St. Patrick's Day thing). Next week's article will be entitled "Uncle Tom and Other Such Jews." I promise you that it will be both controversial and informative. In the meantime, please support the sale of: Shalom means Peace-plex. They are only fifty cents each. Help us Help Israel! Help themselves. Survival is such a small thing. Shalom!

HILLEL COUNCIL



Serving Students at Arizona State University

HAF

BAKER CENTER / 213 EAST UNIVERSITY DRIVE / TEMPE, ARIZONA 85281 / (602) 966-5371

Joyce Axelrod, Coordinator of Student Activities
Rabbi Jerrold Goldstein, Counselor

May 25, 1970

Dear Chuck,

I'm making three contacts here for the Students Mission.
Hope to get some results in the next few days.

Enclosed is the survey that we talked about.

Family
Joyce

Happy May 28th!
זכר אלה יעקב וישׂראל

RECEIVED	
JUN 9 1970	
NOTED BY DATE	REFER TO DATE
	<i>Dunbar</i>
ANSWERED	

cc HAF
(1)



Joyce Axelrod, Coordinator of Student Activities
Rabbi Jerrold Goldstein, Counselor

SURVEY RESULTS-1970

This study is the result of 55 face to face contacts with Jewish college students attending ASU. An estimated 1000 Jewish students attend ASU. Of the thousand students an estimated 500 are full-time, single students between the ages of 18-21. This study, therefore, represents a 10% sampling of 500 students.

The purposes of the study were: identification (what makes up the Jewish college community?) and to attempt to try and find out why more students do not attend Hillel at ASU.

Method

The names were chosen from the Hillel file by random sample and therefore represent the "known" Jewish students attending ASU. The Hillel file contains names of those who turn in their Religious Preference card during registration. Submitting this Religious Preference card is optional.

The students were interviewed in the Hillel office, in their apartments, dorm lobby or at the library on campus. The questionnaire is both closed and open ended.

Results

Twenty-two males and thirty-three females were interviewed. All were single and full-time students. The majority live on campus or in off campus housing close to the university.

51% stated they were raised Conservative, 40% were raised Reform and 9% stated "other". None stated he was raised Orthodox.

In answer to the question, " Was there a strong religious influence in your home?", 64% responded yes while 36% responded no.

71% stated they were active in a religious teenage group. 80% of the students attended Sunday school as a child and 12% received no Jewish education. 42% of these students also received Hebrew training.

67% of the male students observed Bar Mitzvah while 33% of the females observed Bas Mitzvah. 64% of all the students were confirmed and, for all but 8% of the students, this represented the end of their formal religious education.

Before attending college, 70% of the students interviewed attended religious services often, 21% responded seldom and 9% stated never. 9% now attend "often", 58% seldom and 33% never.

72% of the students thought religious leaders should take positions on social political problems and 75% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: Hillel should take stands on controversial issues.

64% of the students felt they would marry a Jew while 36% did not know. None stated they would marry a non Jew.

In response to the question, "How many of your friends are Jewish?", 44% responded few, 29% responded half, 25% said most and 2% stated none.

All of the students interviewed were previously aware that there is a Hillel on the ASU campus and the most effective means of publicizing functions was the newsletter mailed to the students. University press publicity appears to be the second most effective way to publicize Hillel.

How have you heard about Hillel?

State Press publicity	56%
Newsletters	76%
Kiosk notices	44%
Word of mouth	40%
Other	29%

The students were asked what Hillel functions they had attended during the first semester. 47% had not attended any Hillel function. The most popular function was the Tuesday lunch at Hillel and 43% of the students who had attended functions attended at least one luncheon.

60% of the students felt that non Jews should be included in Hillel functions.

The response to the following statements are as follows:

Hillel should take stands on controversial issues. 75% agree
Hillel should sponsor campus celebrations of Jewish holidays. 93% agree.

Hillel should sponsor discussions on Arab- Israeli relations. 96% agree.

Hillel should invite prominent Jews to speak on campus. 98% agree.

Hillel should sponsor a Yiddish class. 54% agree

Hillel should campaign for funds to help other Jews? 91% agree.

Hillel should promote joint activities with other groups?
94% agreed.

Hillel should run discussions on sex ethics today. 78% agree.

Hillel should sponsor social functions. 89% agree.

Hillel should sponsor a project to tutor needy children. 93% yes.

Individual Comments and Conclusions

Generally, most students either strongly agreed or -- agreed with proposed or existing programs but several admitted honestly that nothing would induce them to Hillel. Note that all students were aware that there was a Hillel on campus but 47% of those interviewed had not attended any functions.

I received varied answers to the open ended questions regarding Hillel's role on campus and why they did not attend the functions and have been able to distinguish four categories. The first category is: "It's fine for others but not for me."

Individual responses include:

"I'm not organization oriented"

"My sorority takes priority."

"My father is always bugging me to go to Hillel, but I don't have time."

"None of my friends are Jewish."

The second category is: "It's good for these away from home for the first time." Individual responses include:

"Being a freshman and away from home can be lonely."

"It's good for kids away from home for the first time and especially from back east."

"I go to Hillel because everyone there is Jewish. I'm from N.Y. and miss home."

The third category involves the religious stigma and is summarized by the following student statements.

"I wouldn't be interested in Hillel because I'm not the religious type"

The final category I have designated as "Hillel doesn't do anything meaningful".

Specific responses included: "It should be a giving organization and not a taking one."

"There should be more emphasis on doing for others and not on parties, etc."

Submitted by: Maureen Hughes, Graduate Student Social Worker
Arizona State University May 1970

HAF

B'NAI B'RITH HILLEL FOUNDATION

MEMORANDUM

ADELPHI COLLEGE
Garden City • New York

RECEIVED		MAY 29 1970	
NOTED BY	REFER TO	DATE	DATE
	Davidson		
ANSWERED			

To: Rabbi Charles Davidson
 From: Joseph B. Keestem
 Date: 5/22/70

cc HAF (1)

Dear Rabbi,
 Enclosed please find copies of letters
 I have sent in regards to work being done
 on my campus

JB

STAGE
 2 :
 RECORDED

An important message

Starting with this issue Network has a new editor and the World Union of Jewish Students, a new U.S. representative. Itzhak Epstein, who, I am sure, is familiar to most of you through his previous activities, including the Jewish Liberation Project, is replacing Howard Davis. We are confident that under Itzhak's leadership, WUJS and Network will continue and increase their various supportive and communicative activities for all Jewish student groups in North America.

Those who have worked with Howard during the past year know of the tremendous amount of time and effort he put in to establish Network and WUJS in North America. As Howard moves on to greener pastures we send with him our deep appreciation and hope that he will continue to avail us of his experience.

Malcolm Hoelein
Vice Chairman, N.A.
WUJS World Executive

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

A few words from Itzhak

Chaverim v'chaverot;

This is the last Network issue for the 5730 academic year. I have taken the responsibility for the WUJS-Network office in April and am reorganizing it for the next academic year. It seems that the metropolitan and regional unions of Jewish students which are now being organized, as well as national organizations and campus groups, will provide the framework for the future program and direction of our office.

A national convention in the fall will be called to provide democratic control. The staff should be answerable to the North American constituency rather than to a vague mandate. Whether centralized programming and political activities should be handled by the national organization will be decided by the conference.

At the moment, we are reorganizing the office and are looking for a new location as well as additional funding sources. We are also preparing for the WUJS congress which will take place in Arad late in July. We can arrange accreditation for some Jewish student activists who will be in Israel this summer and are interested in participating in the Congress. Please write us immediately in case you are interested.

We hope to be fully prepared to function as soon as the next school year starts. There might be some staff openings for capable and responsible people who are willing to work hard at relatively modest wages. Besides the proposed convention, we intend to undertake the following service projects:

1. Network publication: To come out twice monthly, serving as a transcontinental bulletin and message board for the Jewish student and youth community. It will not have theoretical articles or lengthy news reports. It will inform about publications available for sale as well as buttons, posters, and other media; actions and conferences contemplated, short informational reports on what

is happening everywhere; tips, leads, and warnings; want-ads and messages. It should be printed in a tabloid form, but is not intended to compete with any of the periodicals of the constituent communities and organizations.

2. Syndicated News and feature Service:

- a) Minimum--Compile a list of all the Jewish underground and student publications. Receive news and feature items from any interested party (preferably already reproduced) and channel them to the constituent publications.
- b) Desirable--Also provide translation services upon request, provide technical assistance to budding publications, establish communication vehicles among the constituent papers, solicit news coverage and encourage special features.

Each publication will automatically get copies of its sister publications. These will eventually establish an association to take over control of the service.

3. Establish a central system for the distribution of literature (for free, nominal cost, or for sale) as well as posters, buttons, tapes, films, records and other artifacts. It will include sources of publication and production (already in existence), distribution centers in major metropolitan areas, responsible contacts in specific organizations, and a standardized billing and distribution system. It can still be flexible and serve the needs of local activists and organizers.

4. Encourage and strengthen the formation of Metropolitan and/or Regional Jewish Student associations (such as Philadelphia Union of Jewish Students and Baltimore-Washington Union of Jewish Students). North American student organizations cannot be organized like their counterparts in Israel or Belgium, and local independence and initiative are highly important.

5. We will do our best to inform Jewish students about what is happening and where they might get assistance and/or cooperation for their concerns. However, unless we have funds or responsible volunteers to do our work, we will not be able to do everything for everybody and will have to chose among priorities.

Our mailing list will be reorganized. Around September, we will send out to our present list short self addressed cards to be returned to us with a few essential details for our information. There are 400,000 Jewish students in North America as well as other people who might be interested in receiving our mailings.

The best that we can do for the time being is to prepare to move on with effective programs come September.

Faternally,

Itzhak

Itzhak Epstein

Community for a Jewish Federation (CJF Press Release)

A group of 41 young Jewish activists were arrested after a 6-hour occupation of the executive offices of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies here.

The activists, all members of a newly-formed coalition called Community for a Jewish Federation, have won the support of prominent Jewish intellectuals and rabbis, among them Elie Wiesel, the author, and Rabbi Irving Greenberg and Rabbi Norman Lamm, noted Orthodox scholars.

The action began 8 a.m. Wednesday (April 8) when 85 young men and women took over the seventh floor of the building, which houses the offices of the president and the executive vice-president, and the switchboard.

The demonstrators danced and sang Hebrew songs in the corridors to the accompaniment of a guitar. Some sat in the halls, the Talmud in their laps studying the laws of tzedaka (charity). There was a teach-in held on the laws of Jewish education.

The main demand of the Community for a Jewish Federation was that an impartial commission of respected and committed Jews be set up to hold open hearings in the Jewish community to determine how New York Jews feel the Federation should meet their needs.

There were also three subsidiary demands: that the Federation make an emergency grant of \$10,000 to the Exodus March for Soviet Jewry April 26; set up a foundation to fund independent Jewish youth projects; and reveal its allocations budget to the public (it is the only federation in the United States that refuses to do so.)

These demands were presented to the Federation's executive vice-president, Mr. Sanford Solender, last week and turned down seven days later. This set off the action.

The demonstrators said that they would accede to Mr. Solender's demands that they give up the switchboard and the corridors if they were given an appointment to present their demands at an upcoming Board of Trustees meeting.

The activists said that they had had numerous meetings with Federation officials and that what they wanted was to talk with those who had the power to make decisions.

Mr. Solender turned this down and called in the police, who had been on call for several hours.

At 2 p.m., the police came up to the seventh floor. The demonstrators stood in a circle, their arms around each other, and sang "Ani Ma'amin". After the charges were read to them they sang the "Hatikvah".

A huge crowd gathered outside the building watched as the 41 arrested youth marched out of the building holding a Jewish flag above their heads. Singing "Am Yisrael Chai", they were loaded by police onto a paddy wagon and taken to a local precinct to be booked for criminal trespass.

The growing number of rabbis and intellectuals supporting the students have "deplored" the arrest and called upon the Federation to drop the charges and meet with the activists in "good faith" on their "just" demands that the organization "meet its obligations to Jewish youth and education".

The activists said they would continue their struggle to have the Federation accept the following principles: that it guarantee the right of every Jew in New York to Jewish education of his choice; finance youth projects; support programs promoting Jewish solidarity, including the Soviet Jewry struggle; provide funds for Jewish culture and learning, including research, theatre arts and libraries; and "end the situation whereby the vast majority of New York Jews have no voice in determining its allocations priorities." They added:

"The community does not belong to a board of trustees; it belongs to those who care. The select circle which runs Federation and formulates its policies has remained stubborn in its determination to deny a major commitment of the Jewish community's funds" to Jewish education and culture. It considers them "alien" to its scope and functions.

The community for a Jewish Federation is a coalition of members of young adult and college organizations in the New York area. Members of the following groups participated in the action: Betar, Mahonim, Jewish Liberation Project, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Response magazine staff, Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry and Yavneh. Participants in the action also came from these groups at individual colleges in the New York area: Ad-hoc Committee for Jewish Education of Yeshiva University, Jewish Cultural Foundation of New York University, the Jewish Students Unions at City College and Long Island University, and Kadimah and Radical Jewish Union of Columbia University. Rabbinical students from the major Orthodox, Conservative and Reform seminaries also participated.

Religious leaders call for no arms - NO MORE KILLINGS

The following statement was received from the Jewish Peace Fellowship working in conjunction with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Clergy and Layman Against the War, the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, and the Catholic Peace Fellowship.

Kent State College and Cambodia have brought home to us the inevitable destructiveness of a society that relies upon coercion to pursue its goals.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AND HUMANITY we call upon the President of our nation, and have sent to him the following telegram:

"As representatives of the religious community in America, we urge you to act against that spirit of senseless violence which has been made so vivid to us by the killings at Kent State; to this end we urge you to permit all military and police personnel in Washington D.C. and on campuses to set aside their weapons, be they guns, clubs, or tear gas, and join with our spirit of peace."

IN THE NAME OF GOD AND HUMANITY we call upon our brothers in uniform, abroad and throughout the campuses of our nation, to set aside their weapons and join with us in an act of faith, determined with us to seek peace by living peace.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AND HUMANITY we call upon all our brothers to come to Washington, D.C. this week-end (May 8-10) to join a nonviolent and unyielding witness for the cessation of violence in Cambodia and Vietnam now. We stand willing to give up such freedom as we have left to make clear our dissent. We shall not be part of the committed silent in face of continued killing and deceit.

Jewish Federation Council of Los Angeles, UCLA, and the Jewish Student

On April 14, the Jewish Federation Council of Los Angeles took what must be the most dramatic step ever (by an organized Jewish Community in the United States) to approach College-aged youth. In an unprecedented action, the JFC of LA approved \$61,000 of funding to be used exclusively for hiring staff to work with college-age Jews. This allocation was done on the recommendation of a recently reconstituted Committee of College Age Youth and Faculty, chaired by Mrs. Lawrence Weinberg. The committee also included professionals working with the mentioned youth groups as well as some faculty members from local campuses.

The committee consisted of leaders of the Lay leadership of the LA Jewish Community. Sitting with the committee for four months of almost bi-weekly meetings were representatives of Jewish Youth Council, Atid, Hillel, Jewish Radical Community, Yavneh, Brandeis Camp Institute, Concerned Jewish Students, American Students for Israel, and California Students for Soviet Jewry.

The students joined the committee as a result of a JFC decision to take an option on a \$750,000 building which it hoped to purchase for student use at the UCLA campus. All Jewish student leaders at UCLA combined to send a telegram to its JFC leadership which was in Boston in November for the national meeting. The telegram expressed displeasure at another imminent manifestation for the Jewish Community's edifice complex, and demanded some say as to where community money for youth should be spent.

Upon their return to LA the JFC leaders invited the student leaders to meet with them and found a great deal of unexpected hostility where they had anticipated love and gratefulness for a new building. Student demands that the building not be purchased seemed to be getting nowhere. At that point, the Jewish Radical Community of Los Angeles organized a demonstration which it held at the annual meeting of the JFC on December 7th, where the microphone was given to a student speaker during the luncheon. Requests were made that the building not be purchased, and several positive alternatives were proposed, among them--purchase of a camp for weekend retreats, hiring of an Ombudsman (to serve as Youth's public defender in organized Jewish community, assist youth organizations in developing new and better programs and activities, and to be a communications link between adult and youth communities), funding of a newspaper, and that youth be given power (votes) in the decision making process of the Jewish Community.

After that, the College Age Youth and Faculty Committee began to meet. During the early meetings of the Committee on College Age Youth and Faculty, there was a continuation of the mistrust and closed mindedness of the earlier meetings. This behaviour was exhibited by all at the meetings. But it quickly dissipated, as the youth and adults began to recognize each other as individuals worthy of respect because of common concerns and real commitments.

The early meetings were taken up with presentations by all the youth groups in attendance. And during those presentations the greatest gap among people at the meetings proved to be between those youth who wanted the building and those who did not. David Derovan (West Coast Representative of Yavneh and member of NOP) and Martin Ballonoff (Program Assistant at UCLA Hillel and member of Jewish Radical Community) published for the committee a 90 page booklet entitled "It Should Only Happen! Plans, Projects, and Programs for the Jewish Youth at UCLA" which went into great detail discussing ways in which Jewish youth could become more involved in a search for their identity as Jews. Emphasis was on personal contact and experiences, not on buildings. Based upon this booklet a list of priorities was developed.

The first level of priorities was approved by the committee, and it is this list which totaled \$61,000. Included in it were: Another rabbi for the UCLA campus (which has one rabbi for 8,000 Jewish students), 10 half-time student organizers who would spend all their time developing new groups and programs (retreats, study groups, action projects), an Ombudsman as described above, 3 half-time assistants to the Ombudsman who would assist student groups in greater doses of time than the Ombudsman could afford. These assistants would also serve as coordinators of programming areas of special interest (Soviet Jewry, Education, Israel, Draft Counseling, Social Action, Religious programming), a full time secretary for the Ombudsman office, and funding to handle production costs of a newsletter. The positions approved for the UCLA campus (rabbi and 10 organizers) are to be coordinated through the Hillel auspices at UCLA. Rabbi Richard Levy, director of Hillel, was the originator of these proposals in a paper he wrote last year "On Creating a Jewish Community at UCLA". Hillel involvement in the program is possible because at UCLA it has become a neutral ground for all Jewish groups which use its facilities and receive assistance from its staff.

It is important to note that all of the funds allocated are for salaries. This is a daring step for an organized Jewish community which too often seems to prefer capital outlays. All of the salaried people have been specified as students with the exception of the Ombudsman, Rabbi, and Secretary. This will provide those students who want to become active in Jewish activities the opportunity to spend all their time doing just that.

Probably the most significant result of these meetings has been not the funding but the creation of a body through which adults and youth can discuss things which concern the youth, knowing that the body will be open to suggestions, willing to respond, and capable of responding in a meaningful and powerful way. Action is what we understand. And this committee has come through with action. It was careful in deliberations (they took four months), but they were deliberations with a purpose. Knowing that something important can happen in a period of four months should serve as a model for the virtue of patience.

Up to this minute that the budget proposal was approved we did not believe it would really happen. Being skeptical to the end we found ourselves the ones being accused of mistrust in the battle of the generation gap. It was an eye-opening experience for all of us.

Though overwhelmed by the positive response of the JFC here in LA, and though we have still not found the appropriate words to express our great appreciation of their having actually shown "good faith" which all too often is merely rhetoric, we have told them that our demands on their finances and cooperation are far from over. We have been promised voting positions on the Committee on College Age Youth and Faculty, and hope to get onto all the committees of the JFC in less than due time. Plans to begin discussions on Jewish Education and other areas of primary community concern are now developing.

The building was finally voted upon again, and this time rejected. Things are beginning to smell lovely in LA, and we hope that it is an indication of good things to come in all Jewish Communities throughout the country.

Martin Ballonoff

HUC-JIR

Classes at the Hebrew Union of College-Jewish Institute of Religion (New York School) have been cancelled so as to observe the seven traditional days of mourning, shi-vah, for the four students who were killed at Kent State and for those dying in South East Asia. In addition, in order to free students at this time to intensely pursue ways of accomplishing the following demands, students have voted to replace their academic responsibilities with other forms of collective and individual activities.

The demands passed by the Rabbinical and Cantorial Student bodies were:

1. We demands an immediate cessation of all U.S. Military involvement in Cambodia.
2. We demands the withdrawal of all American forces and military support from Southeast Asia.
3. We demand an end to domestic political repression.

Besides direct involvement in anti-war activity, the students are presently organizing task forces of Rabbinical and Cantorial students to work in the community at large, to provide education, guidance, counselling motivation and direction by applying the teachings of Judaism to the present political crisis.

More on the Greenblatt-Kahane Debate

We have received the following note from Bob Saks, the director of the Jewish Culture Foundation. It is in regards to a correction of a past article published on the Greenblatt-Kahane debate:

Correction: According to the Network Newsheet, the fighting which broke out at the debate at N.Y.U. between Rabbi Meir Kahane of the Jewish Defense League and Professor Robert Greenblatt of the National Jewish Organizing project was started when a Jewish Defense League member rose and accused the chair of bias. This is not correct. We have no reason to assume that this man was a Jewish Defense League member. In fact, his action was met by violence from Jewish Defense League members and as a result of this the melee ensued.

Correction: You state that "swarms" of Jewish Defense League members disrupted the hall and fought with various members of the audience. The truth is that half a dozen Jewish Defense League members attacked the "heckler" and attempted to force him from the hall. Order, was not restored, as you claim, by the Police Department, but rather by two University guards.

Regards from Louis Goldberg:

I am in the land of our people preparing myself for God knows what. Probably spend the next few months moving around getting to know people. I was up in the Golan for a while and then started on Ulpan at Kibbutz Fin Dor which I've quickly given up. Not the right time to start learning Hebrew, I guess. Just wanted to let my Jewish brothers and sisters back in the States know where I am. Hope all is well in everything. My mailing address in Israel is:

Louis Chaim Goldberg
 c/o Sasha Weitman
 Faculty of the Social Sciences
 Ramat-Aviv
 Tel Aviv, Israel

Jewish Theatre Initiated

Is God here? Was God at Auschwitz?

These questions, hurled at individuals within the audience, open the performance of the Jewish Free Theatre. This unique new theatre group, initiated by Howard and Judy Wasserman, staff members at the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at the University of Maryland, was conceived out of the belief that there are few art forms existing today that fulfill the criteria of being contemporary, Jewish and American. Jewish Free Theatre derives its techniques and approaches from street theatre, guerilla theatre, living theatre of confrontation. Its content stems from the American Jewish experience.

The troupe's performances consist of a collection of movements, actions and dialogue worked out beforehand by the group in long, chaotic sessions. Movements are tied together by dialogue and activity initiated by audience members. Each performance is geared to the particular audience for whom it is performed, embracing the issues that cast members consider most relevant at the time; including Soviet Jewry, Jewish education, Israel, and the general practices of the American Jewish community.

At their last performance, JFT engaged in an intricate body exercise with a roll of string. Cast members, each representing a "role-model" in Jewish life, took on the movements and sounds of human robots. Rabbi rabbi imploring people to pray, Harriet Hadassah asking us to "Join, Join", Ronnie Radical screaming "Right on" and Larry Lox 'n Bagels motions to "eat, eat", after moving through the aisles all become entwined in the string, inextricably involved with each other's existence. This scene ends with Alice Assimilationist moving toward the collectivity, cutting the strings and breaking up the troupe. JFT through its actions, are calling upon diverse groups within the community "to get our thing together" rather than everyone going off in their own direction.

Wasserman has stated that "some audience members have criticized us for raising issues but not giving them the answers. We're question-raisers, not answer-givers." Elie Wiesel has written "the essence of man is to be a question, and the essence of the question is to be without answers." The answers will come out of thinking and feeling Jews of the Diaspora struggling together to explore new directions for a creative Jewish life. JFT always stays around after a performance for intensive discussion with the audience.

Howard Wasserman

Report from Boston

In Boston, the Concerned Jewish Students of Greater Boston have succeeded in getting student representation on virtually all the committees of the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston (Boston's Federation). Students now comprise at least 10% of all of CJP's committees including the executive and allocations committees. There are also student representatives on the Board of Trustees. CJS has also been invited to participate in Boston's Jewish Community Council and has taken a major role in publicizing the needs of various local day schools for funding. It has succeeded in getting an interim allocation of up to \$12,000 for summer projects from CJP and almost completed negotiations for the establishment of a Greater Boston Jewish Students Projects Agency, intended to serve as a source of funds for youth programs, especially innovative ones, now lacking money to go on. For further information on CJS contact Meyer Goldstein, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. 01154

Torah Community Project, a traditionally oriented havurah, is planning to set up a house and meeting center this summer. It plans to offer small courses on Jewish subjects to Jewish students in Boston this summer and will be holding retreats and Shabbatonim for its members. For further information, contact Irvin Asher, 14 Marion Street, Brookline, Mass., 02146.

The New England Jewish Free Press is planning to put out an expanded version of its guide to the Boston Jewish community, to include a supplement of Jewish life throughout New England. It is looking for volunteers to help write up sections on communities in New England outside of Boston. NEJFP has also published Nightwords: a midrash on the holocaust by David Roskies. Copies are available from NEJFP for \$1 plus 15¢ mailing to help pay for the hundreds of free copies distributed. NEJFP has also put out a Black-Jewish friendship button* (black and white hands shaking inside a star of David) available at \$3 for 25, \$10 per hundred. It also puts out a Jewish peace button (peace symbol superimposed on a Star of David)

available at \$4 for 25, \$12.50 per hundred; Shalom bumper stickers (\$1/5; \$4/25; \$12.50/100; \$90/1000). The Jewish Free Press is also distributing Jewish peace posters and stationery and is looking for other buttons, bumper strips, posters and novelties to help it finance free publication of Jewish student literature in the New England region. For further information contact NEJFP, P.O. 302, B.U. Station, Mass, 02215.

Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry in New England held the areas largest and most successful program for Soviet Jewry on April 26, a "night of watching" for Soviet Jewry which included a seder and vigil which attracted almost one thousand people, many of whom drove down to New York after a sleepless night to march in the "exodus march" for Soviet Jewry. Bumper strips ("Save Soviet Jewry") are available from N.E. SSSJ at \$1/5; \$4/25; \$14/100; \$110/1000 as are posters of Boris Kochubiyevsky (\$7.50/10; \$20/50; \$35/100, C.O.D.). For further info contact New England Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, 113 Washington Street, Brighton, Mass. 02115.

Subscriptions to Genesis 2 and copies of the past three issues are available at 15¢, annually \$1 from P.O. 224 Chestnut Hill Station, Brookline, Mass. 02146. Genesis 2 is interested in writers, artists, photographers and poets who expect to be in the Boston area this coming year.

Response magazine, the Spring-Summer issue of which has just appeared will be moving in the person of its editor, Bill Novak, to the Brandeis-Boston area in the coming year. Copies of this and past issues are available at \$1 from Room 30, 160 West 106th Street, New York, N.Y. 10025.

The American Jewish Historical Society on the Brandeis campus has compiled a collection on Jewish Youth and student organizations which has now over 100,000 documents spanning the country from the nineteenth century to the present. All organizations are urged to put the Society on their mailing lists and use its collections. Send materials to Robert Goldman, assistant librarian, American Jewish Historical Society Two Thornton Road, Waltham, Mass. 02154. Student memberships in the Society, (including a subscription to the American Jewish Historical Quarterly, the last issues of which were on "Hebrew and Yiddish in America" and American and Nazi Germany") are available for \$5 annually.

Bob Goldman

Radical Zionist Alliance

A number of developments and questions have come up regarding the convention of June 5-7.

Voting: It has become clear that many groups will have their full allotment of delegates at the convention, while others may have difficulty, especially the Mid-West and Coast areas. If possible, we suggest the following for these groups. Send as many delegates as possible. Discuss the likely questions with your groups, so that those who come will, at your discretion, be able to deliver Block Votes. The technical aspects of this are left to each organization.

Issues: There has been much discussion as to the nature of RZA, especially regarding policy making processes and centralism,. This should be thoroughly discussed. Keep in mind that policy centralism does not necessarily deprive local groups of autonomy, and that there are several alternative mechanisms which may be employed. This will form the base of the organization, and determine its actions.

The Middle East: The Palestinian question, political solutions, attitudes toward the Israeli government, the left on campus.

Domestic: Jewish power structures, involvement and relation to other liberation struggles.

The World Zionist movement: Its present nature, our role, the question of education (we are in present negotiation to gain representation at the A.Z.F. convention to present certain group policies) and demand that each of our affiliates be represented at the A.Z.F. convention as a legitimate Zionist organization (since we have not yet fully constituted ourselves).

The convention will be in Atlantic City, New Jersey, which is a on hour drive from Philadelphia by the A.C. expressway.

Invitations have been sent out to about 70 organizations of varying stripes. Others interested are invited to attend, if you have reservations about affiliations, don't hesitate to talk them over with us - or write!

For further information about the conference please contact:

RZA
911 Fraser Road
Philadelphia, Pa. 19118

BWUJS

One of the failings of the Jewish student movement in North America has been its inability to get together as our brothers and sisters in Europe and South America.

It is therefore with great pleasure that we announce the formation of local unions of Jewish Students. The newest is the Baltimore-Washington Union of Jewish Students which represents 8 groups on 5 campuses in the area.

Ira Gelnik

Garin Omer

A group of young Americans is planning on making aliya in 1972 to Tel Katsir, a kibbutz of young Israelis. Together they will experiment with life styles, create a community, and perhaps revolutionize not only their lives but those of many others. For further information, write: The Bayit, 552 Bergen, Brooklyn, New York.

Jewish Radical Community

Among the many activities that the JRC have had include:

1. Participating in Israeli-Independence Day program
2. Get together at the University of Judaism with Nathan Glazer speaking.
3. Organizing a political education group along with Torah study on Saturday mornings.
4. Compounding various motions that are being presented to the Court in Salinas California to release material being held by prison officials in the case of the death of 3 Black prisoners and one guard in Soledad prison in January.

Progressive Students for Israel

This is to inform you of certain changes which have taken place at Progressive Students for Israel, York, University. Stan Steinman and Arnold Recht are no longer affiliated with the group. Lyle Issacs has been elected chairman for the summer. Mike Luther and Leesa Fine were also elected to work with Lyle on the summer steering committee. All future correspondence should be sent to:

Progressive Students for Israel
 c/o Leesa Fine
 58 Brookview Drive
 Toronto 392, Ontario

Soviet Jewry Action Group

Action Group is a relatively new organization, established in August of 1969 for the purpose of doing something to save the three million persecuted Jews of the Soviet Union. The goals of the group are to link up other groups and individuals interested in the Soviet Jewry cause across the Nation. Together, they feel that they will be more effective in pressuring the USSR. Among its numerous activities, the group has:

1. Helped solicit more than \$800 from the Jewish Community at large for the rally treasury.
2. Set up Soviet Jewry tables on four campuses during the week preceding the rally, of October 12th in San Francisco and in Marin County.
3. Demonstrated outside the Jack Tarr Hotel during the special anniversary meeting of the American-Russian Institute on November 9th, speaking after the meeting with Y. M. Verontsov and M. Polonik, Political Affairs Counselor, USSR.

At present a course is being offered at the University of California, Berkeley, on Soviet Jewry after one of the members took to organize and coordinate the course.

For further information about this group of young Bay Area adults, contact may be made to:

Soviet Jewry Action Group
40 First Street
San Francisco, California 94105
(585-1400)

Jews for Peace

Join the Jews for Peace Campaign to mobilize the Jewish Middle class against the war.

For further information, please call :

Mark Rosenstein
724 - 3925

or write:

Jews for Peace
220 W 9th Street
Apt. 3F
New York, N.Y. 10025

World Federalists

The 14th World Congress of World Federalists will take place during August 23-27, 1970 at Carlton University, Ottawa, Canada. The theme of the Congress is "Humanity's Goal for the 1970's".

The Congress will be conducted both in English and in French. Applications and additional information can be obtained from:

World Federalist Youth
2200 Copenhagen N
Denmark
Tel. (01) 37 70 40

Rocky Mountain Religious School

The Rocky Mountain Religious School is planning a conference for Jewish youth for the purpose of creating an experimental curriculum for religious schools designed by workshop participants. During the conference of June 19-27 they will assess present religious school methodologies and devise new ones, and send new and exciting curriculum proposals to several congregations all over the United States for adoption by their religious schools.

Further information about this conference may be obtained from:

Mrs. Don Friedman
3206 South St. Paul
Denver, Colorado 80210

A copy of the Workshop results may be obtained for three dollars each, from the above address.

Ashkelon Beach Party

All those Jewish Activists who plan on being in Israel this summer are invited to a week-end get together on July 3rd at the beach in Ashkelon. The meeting place is at Ashkelon National Park, Friday, July 3, 1970 at 4 p.m.

Jobs wanted

Summer visitors from England have asked for assistance in finding then work in the States this coming summer. Also needed are places to stay (kosher) across the country. If you know of any organization that has work and funds for the two fellows (3-4 weeks) or wish to offer hospitality, write Johnathan Taylor, 89 Valley Drive, Kingsbury, London, N.W. 9, England.

They are planning on arriving July 8th, hopefully working for several weeks and then travelling across country for the following seven weeks.

Publications that have passed through the office

A number of Haggadah were printed for the past seder by different organizations:

World Union of Jewish Students' 4th World Haggadah, can be obtained from our office, 2307 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10024 at \$1.25 a copy.

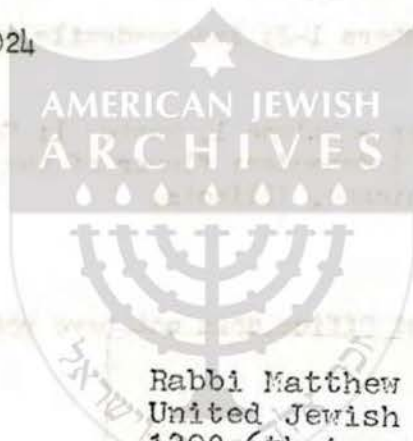
The Jewish Liberation Hagada by Aviva Zuckoff can be obtained from the Jewish Liberation Project, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 700, N.Y., N.Y. 10011 at \$1.00 a copy.

The Freedom Seder, a new haggadah for Passover, was written by Arthur I. Waskow, can be obtained from the Jewish Organizing Project, P.O. 19162, Washington, D.C. 20036, for \$1.50 per copy.

Haddadah for Passover, published by the students from the University of Minnesota.

The current issue of the New Outlook (middle east monthly) has come into the office and is available in limited quality. Some main topics included are: the Palestine question and Ethics; Alternatives to War; Nasser and Eban interviewed; Africa in Egyptian Identity; and the Bi-nationalist solution. We still have some back copies of the New Outlook which can also be obtained from us. They include the issues of February 1970, January 1970, November-December 1969, and October 1969.

NETWORK
2307 Broadway
New York, New York 10024



FIRST CLASS MAIL

Rabbi Matthew H. Simon
United Jewish Appeal
1290 6th Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019



TO: HAF

FROM: MHS

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
THE KIDS ARE
STILL ALIVE
IF DIRECTION
LESS.

- ACIID - Volume 1, Number 3; A call for insight into Israel's dile non-profit student publication of Washington University published monthly under a rotating editorship.
- Dawn - Volume 1, Number 1; publication created with the intention stimulating thought and thereby provoking a sense as well activity amongst Jews. Published by the Long Island Univ Brooklyn center.
- Doreinu - Volume 1, Number 1; Baltimore-Washington Union of Jewish Students.
- Flame - Volume II, Number 2; Published by the Jewish Student Union-City College of New York.
- Genesis 2 - Volume 1, Number 3; an independent voice for Jewish renewal, Boston, Mass.
- Ha-orah, the Light - Volume 2, Number 10; Jewish Student Independent newspaper, Los Angeles, California.
- The House Forum - Volume 1, January 70; publication of the Ann Arbor B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation.
- Irgun - Volume 1, Number 1; The Radical Jewish Monthly of the Carol. published monthly by the Jewish Liberation Project of North Carolina.
- Jewish Liberation Journal - Number 6; Published by the Jewish Liberation Project, New York
- The Jewish Radical - Volume 2, Number 4; published by the Berkeley Union of Jewish Students.
- Response - Volume 4, Numbers 1-2; independently published 4 times a Year.
- The Well-Diggers Daughter - Volume 1, Number 1; Editor: Joel Harris, Underground and independent flower of the radical Jewish student movement. Chicago, Illinois.

PLEASE NOTE: If the Post Office does not have your change of address, make sure that we do!

FLASH

The First Organizational Conference of the West Coast Jewish Student Groups will take place in Berkeley on June 19, 20, 21.

For more information, please write Mark Tribwasser, Center for the Study of Democratic Institution, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103; or phone Daviv Denola at (415) 843-3404.

D. C. - MARYLAND REGIONAL BOARD
OF THE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE



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B A C K G R O U N D

The Israel Committee was appointed by the Chairman of the D.C.-Maryland Regional Board responsive to the expressed concern of the full board for the continual melting down of pro-Israel public opinion. As the committee reviewed the total community picture, it also investigated the numerous counteraction programs of the ADL. Without question, current ADL activity brooks no disagreement and certainly deserves approbation for its dialogues with clergy on Israel; dissemination of teaching and informational tools and materials to schools and mass media opinion-molders; activities like the important trip to Israel of the black publishers and mass electronic media materials which creates a powerful impact on listening audiences and readers.

But one area evidences a dearth of impact, a dearth of facts and a dearth of counteraction. This is the youth segment, particularly on college campuses, which led the committee to decide that this aspect would be the basic area for its operations.

1. To what extent, if any, do the left-wing led segments of the current campus movements contain an anti-Jewish, anti-Israel quotient? How much impact does it have? How does it manifest itself? Is there any connection between the New Left political force, Arab propagandists and black extremists?

2. Is the security of the Jewish community and its future leadership in serious danger because of the apparently growing numbers of Jewish youth becoming disenchanted with the Jewish 'establishment'?

The committee held numerous meetings and separated its investigation into the following areas:

1. Staff reports, documentation and evaluation.
2. Investigation of campus and high school activities of traditional youth-serving agencies through review of their programs and personal interviews with their professionals.
3. Discussions with a broad spectrum of the campus youth segment both in committee and on a one-to-one basis, including those from the liberal left from various organizations on all metropolitan area campuses; national non-sectarian organizations; international church-sponsored youth group leadership.
4. Investigation of varied official and non-official campus publications and discussions with editors and editorial staffs.
5. In-depth discussions with faculty members regarding course content, faculty attitudes, teaching methods and general campus atmosphere.
6. Co-sponsorship and experimentation with all-day area-wide university teach-in.
7. Attendance for evaluative purposes at numerous sessions, special forum meetings and institutes on the Middle East sponsored by the

Organization of Arab Students, Middle East Institute, Young Socialist Alliance, Society of Afro-American Students, American Committee for a Balanced Policy in the Middle East, Jewish radical students (during the national New Mobe demonstration), Committee for New Alternatives in the Middle East (newly-formed extremist left "front" group); college symposia featuring Rabbi Elmer Berger, Stokely Carmichael, Arab faculty and dignitaries; special Arab-sponsored campus film showings.

8. Assembled and examined a multitude of propaganda pieces currently being disseminated by Arab embassies, OAS, black radicals, white extremists, pro-Arab campus lecturers...as well as pro-Arab flyers, Al Fatah buttons and stamps, bumper stickers, posters and cultural exhibits on display at local campuses.



INTERVIEWS AND CONFERENCES CONDUCTED

D.C.-Maryland Regional Office Staff

National Program Director, BBYO

National Director, Israel Activities, Hillel

Hillel Departments of University of Maryland, American University,

George Washington University, Georgetown University.

Young Zionist Association

Jewish Liberation Project

American Students for Israel

Organization of Arab Students

Freedom Leadership Foundation

Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East (National

Director and Executive Committee Chairman)

Baltimore-Washington Jewish Coordinating Committee

American Mission to Israel

Editor and Staff, Doreinu, area-wide liberal left Jewish student publication

Staff and advisers, Hatchet and Eagle (GW and AU publications)

Israeli Embassy officials

Non-affiliated students from Maryland, George Washington, Georgetown,

American, Johns Hopkins

Supervisors of Curriculum, D.C. and Baltimore public schools

Faculty member and department head, American University

Foundation trustees

FACTUAL FINDINGS

1. That the current unrest on the college and high school campus which has led to strikes, violence, bitterness and alienation is inevitably intertwined with Arab appeal to youth because the liberation movement generally has a revolutionary thrust as its wellspring.
2. That there appears to be a continual melting down of pro-Israel public opinion on the college campus similar to melting down in the general community but more sharply accelerated on the campus as the anti-Israeli propaganda charging Israel with being a settler state, colonialistic, imperialistic, and war-like appeals to the New Left segment on campus.
3. That the contemporary Arab line, a "Palestine Revolution" seeking to aid the oppressed and underprivileged Arab peoples (refugees) by establishing a secular state; "non-discriminatory"; in which Jews, Christians and Muslims can enjoy equal rights and opportunities -- appeals to the moderate segment of the student campus as well as the New Left.
4. That the Organization of Arab Students provides trained activists in classroom discussion, social life, clubs, teach-ins, and special "cultural" and "Palestine Week" programs. Arab students outnumber Israelis 1500 to 50. Formal OAS units function at Georgetown, George Washington and University of Maryland with unstructured faculty-student activities on all others. Arab students are affluent, subsidized and free to participate actively in on-going activities, while the few Israelis must work as well as attend classes. Arab students are well indoctrinated while Jewish students are not.
5. That virtually all student activity meetings and assemblies feature literature tables, exhibits, buttons, stamps, with pro-Arab arguments and appeals.
6. That Arab students in area-wide coalition find wide distribution for their publication Free Palestine pleading the "revolution" cause.
7. The "Palestine Revolution" appeal seeks and finds support in the anti-Vietnam movement and in the Black Student Union movement because of the equation of pan-Arabism and pan-Africanism.
8. The basic Arab design to win left and black students has had initial success and led to newly formed coalitions and front groups like the Committee for New Alternatives.
9. That Al Fatah and other guerilla organizations are being romanticized by more and more students as freedom fighters and true revolutionaries rather than as saboteurs and assassins.
10. That the Black Panther movement, SDS, the Weathermen, the Patriot Party (white counterpart and close ally of the Black Panther Party), and New Left publications like the Free Press, Quicksilver Times, Liberator Magazine, attack Israel with cartoons and articles appealing to latent anti-Semitic instincts.

11. Jewish students pose one of the most serious problems on campus:

a. Traditional youth-serving agencies do not relate or have relevancy to students and their contemporary concerns. "I think Hillel serves the purpose of bringing religion to the campus but I don't think it is the best vehicle we can use to bring Judaism to the campus." Most agencies are not reaching the students who regard them as part of the autocratic "establishment".

b. Jewish students lack Jewish training and/or information. While some possess positive attitudes, their campus antagonists have far more knowledge and expertise in spreading their point of view. A Georgetown University student (Catholic with 15% Jewish students) expressed his anguish at being the only Jew in his dormitory, therefore obliged to get involved in campus discussions and expected to display expertise which he does not have. All Jewish students queried concurred that non-involvement of many Jewish students is due less to lack of commitment than to lack of knowledge and lack of materials especially designed for today's college element.

c. Growing numbers of Jewish students, committed to contemporary social justice issues, are confused by the difference between a Jewish radical and a radical Jew. Insecure in their relationship with their non-Jewish peers, they seek solace, companionship, and empathy by rejecting traditional Jewish institutions and causes.

d. High-school activists have not focused or become involved in anti-Semitic and anti-Israel causes.

12. Despite Arab disclaimer, anti-Zionism is a euphemism for anti-Semitism.

13. A small but strong cadre of Jewish students, committed to the liberation movement and with a general antipathy to the Jewish establishment, are nonetheless ardently devoted to the cause of Israel and are producing counter-propaganda along radical lines. They claim a great problem is coping with Jewish students who support Al Fatah and also the new extremist Jewish Student Bund.

a. With minimal dollars they have established an area-wide newspaper called Doreinu (Our Generation) as a counterthrust to the Arab publication Free Palestine. Both are now distributed at all colleges and universities in this area.

b. They counter Arab student propaganda with their own displays, literature and buttons.

c. They cover meetings and challenge speakers.

d. They debate in classrooms and at social affairs.

e. They respond to negativisms in student publications.

14. A movement of non-sectarian students have joined in the issue forming a national organization called the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in; the Middle East. Chapters are being established in the Washington area.

15. Traditional arguments and appeals of history, the holocaust, religious covenants and political commitments, while acceptable in the general community, are rejected on the college campus.

16. There are also faculty problems. Pro-Arab professors have in the past been silent, because the standard propaganda "drive them into the sea" type of line was clearly unpalatable to a campus community and undignified when expressed by a member of its faculty. With the new approach, however... helping the disadvantaged; black-Arab equation in a third world; liberation and freedom movements; establishment of a united, democratic, secular state; Vietnam equation; colonialism and imperialism...the pro-Arab faculty members can adopt this intellectual approach with comfort and have been making effective impress in the classroom as well as influencing the New Left and other university organizations. Teaching techniques are skillful, like classroom utilization of Middle East area maps issued prior to 1948. Sympathetic faculty members indicate alarm at this emerging pro-Arab posture among their colleagues as well as an imbalance of course content favoring Arabic studies with a lack of Judaic. (i.e. From student classroom notes:... "Hebrews not part of Middle East land...build walls around themselves everywhere...village of Diracene attacked and terrorized by Irgun...Zionists spread black propaganda...after 1948 Zionists took political situation into their own hand...idea of equality means all minorities (Arabs) have right to participate in state of Israel.") One student said: "After taking the course I was sure now that Zionism was a dirty word."

17. The nation's capital has an exceptional reservoir of pro-Arab 'talent'. There are numerous Schools of International Relations...retired government officials with service in Arab countries...professors with backgrounds at the American University in Beirut...former State Department personnel who still maintain an imprimatur of officialdom...many of whom are more and more in demand for public platforms and whose credentials provide exceptional receptivity on college campuses.

18. Arab students link their cause with issues of special student concerns and involve themselves with campus organizations, especially trying to relate to student leaders.

19. There are many faculty advisers for foreign students who are pro-Arab.

20. The teach-in is a popular and accepted vehicle to reach students.

21. Hate group anti-Semitic, anti-Israel material has begun to appear with increasing frequency on all area campuses.

22. Pro-Israel groups on campuses are several and splintered, including local, national, Jewish and non-sectarian. Each is chauvinistic and insists on preserving its own identity.

23. Growing American isolationist feeling makes the ability to effectuate pro-Israel attitudes among the uncommitted on campus more difficult.

24. There is an escalation of anti-Israel, anti-Jewish sentiment in college, underground and black radical publications.

C O N C L U S I O N S

1. Traditional programs of the organized Jewish community, the failure of American Jewish education, the anti-establishment attitude, the failure to find relevancy for Jewish youth within the existing structure, is disenchanting an alarming number of Jewish youth and threatens the future of the Jewish community.

2. There is a growing number of Jewish youth intimately associated with the radical left side of the political spectrum which is anti-Israel. Direct links and/or liaisons exist between this New Left political force, Arab propagandists and black extremists.

3. The campus situation which forms the basis for this report demands our highest priority attention. It has not only emerged sharply as a focal point of societal change, but from the Jewish community aspect, it must be recognized that the campus provides the wellspring of future economic and community leaders. Failure to influence this segment now emerging will result in a Jewish community within the next decades virtually devoid of guidance and positive leadership.

4. We recognize the inestimable value of Hillel in serving the needs of the affiliated Jewish student. We also recognize, however, that there is a much larger number of unaffiliated, uninvolved Jewish students who must be reached. We recommend that the focus of action be towards this group.

5. Emphasis in educational counteraction should be directed principally to Jewish youth of late high school and early college years.

6. Israeli students in this country cannot be heavily relied upon as a factor in fighting pro-Arab propaganda.

7. ADL efforts, tools and materials must be directed towards the mass amorphous uncommitted group in the middle on campus...a philosophy which parallels our activity in the general community.

8. There is a need to develop on the college campus accredited courses in Hebrew, the sociology and philosophy of the Jewish community, history of the Jewish people, and contemporary problems within various disciplines.

9. Existing organizations servicing college youth are not believed by them to be relevant to their needs relating to the problem of Arab-Israel confrontation on campus.

10. Jewish students, with very few exceptions, generally lack basic information...are not at all prepared to face antagonists...and are therefore unable to cope with the Middle East issue.

11. Concerned and committed Jewish students are excellent catalysts for campus-wide counteraction. They require funding, tools and materials, consultative and supportive services, a role in our decision-making process... all provided, however, with no adult control and censorship.

12. ADL can, within its traditional function, handle the problem of unfriendly faculty members.

13. The problem of anti-Israel attitude cannot be separated from anti-Jewish or anti-Zionist attitude.

14. The Jewish extremist student fails to recognize the anti-Semitic subtleties of the Arab-Israel confrontation.

15. If ADL is to combat anti-Semitism, it must concern itself with the problem of alienated Jewish youth and his apathy and antipathy towards Judaism.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That ADL together with Hillel and BBYO continue mutual efforts towards continuing examination of the problems and trends, towards applying the most effective remedial action.

2. That ADL cooperate with other traditional youth-serving agencies, helping them to find greater relevancy with the new student movement.

3. That this Board recognizes the need to work cooperatively with all Jewish groups and institutions and that we should share our findings and opinions with the Jewish community.

4. That all programming and visible presence on the campus be through youth leaders, not adults.

5. That ADL make every effort to support continuation and expansion of the publication Doreinu.

6. That ADL's tools and resources (according to our student informants) are the best available and can find maximum acceptance with all segments of the campus community.

7. That ADL support creation and servicing of Institutes for Jewish Studies to be officially established on the local college campus.

8. That we recognize the need to support and expand individual youth groups whether they prefer to operate unilaterally or together.

9. That we advise ADL's National Program Department of the need to develop specialized programming tools in the parlance of today's youth.

10. That we suggest to our local UJA that it provide funds to support existing on-campus pro-Israel organizations.

11. That we invite Jewish youth to serve on our Regional Board and/or committees.

12. That our regional staff accelerate promotion and distribution of ADL's important educational resources on the campus.

13. That we support efforts to coalesce splinter campus groups presently operating unilaterally.

14. That we enlist individual B'nai B'rith lodges and chapters to give Israel top priority in programming for the coming year.

15. That a Board of Supervisory Trustees be established composed of the Chairman of the Regional Board and of its Executive Committee together with three additional appointees who shall provide counsel to the staff in implementation of the program.

C O M M I T T E E A C T I O N S

1. Provided staff services, ADL tools, literature and display materials to Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East's teach-in at American University.

2. Provided continual consultation and resource materials to members of pro-Israel, non-violent youth activist groups on local college campuses.

3. Promoted use of ADL audiovisual and publication materials to department heads and faculty in various disciplines.

4. Funded issues of Doreinu, and enabled it to considerably increase its distribution.

5. Distributed Near East Report: Myths and Facts and ADL's FACTS on Al Fatah to all college campuses.

6. Provided library of materials to editorial staffs of college publications.

7. Brought about the establishment of a Judaic Institute centralized at American University to service the consortium of colleges and universities in the Metropolitan Washington area. Funded principally by a private foundation, it will commence operations in Fall 1970.

HERSCHEL BLUMBERG

New Town Center Federal Building, Prince Georges Plaza, Maryland 20780 • Phone: 773-1800 ac 30.

July 2, 1970

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
Executive Chairman
United Jewish Appeal
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10019

Dear Herb:

The program that you outlined to us at the Executive Committee Meeting concerning the pilot program for "UJA College Youths" is an exciting one and like your other ideas will undoubtedly lead to great things. Recent developments in our community lead me to think that there may be an additional program in which UJA could involve itself.

The enclosed report by the A-DL was written by Bernard Levy, a close friend of mine. The findings of the committee are undoubtedly known to you, but the direction that the committee has decided to take is one which I think will help to solve, not just the many problems of anti-Semitism and anti-Israel feelings on campus, but will also be of lasting benefit to the Jewish students.

The committee has secured funds from a Baltimore based foundation and with the cooperation of American University, courses will be offered in Hebrew language, Jewish philosophy, Jewish history, and other Jewish subjects. It seems to me that in order for us to be able to have a strong Jewishly-oriented generation of leaders in the years to come, United Jewish Appeal should consider sponsoring the solicitation of funds from foundations and individuals for the establishment of departments of Judaica. I think this would be in keeping with our goals, and would be appreciated by the Jews in America as well as our co-religionists elsewhere.

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
July 2, 1970
Page Two

If you wish, I know that Alvin Steinberg, Chairman of A-DL Executive Committee and Bernard Levy, Chairman of the A-DL Israel Committee would be more than happy to meet with you to discuss the report and the committee recommendations.

Sincerely,

Herschel W. Blumberg

HWB/pp

Enclosure



A "Democratic" Palestine

(What the Terrorists Propose)

The official statements of the Arab guerrillas leave no illusions as to their view of what constitutes a "democratic Palestine." Articles 5 and 6 of the "Palestinian National Covenant," formally adopted by the Palestinian National Council in July, 1968, defines who is to be considered a Palestinian after the "liberation": any Arab who lived in Palestine until 1947 or anyone born to a Palestinian Arab in or out of Palestine. Article 6 deals with the Jews of Israel: "Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians." In Arab terminology the "Zionist invasion" starts with the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Consequently, by this definition only a handful of Israelis would qualify for citizenship in the new state; over two million Jews would be expelled as aliens.

In the declaration of "The Unified Command of the Palestinian Resistance Movement" (May, 1970) the Arab objective is defined as "the liberation of the whole of Palestine to establish a community in which all citizens will coexist with equal rights and obligations within the context of the Arab nation's aspirations for unity and progress." The "equal rights" of even such few Jews as could remain are by this provision made subject to the "Arab nation." The final paragraph of the declaration promises the annihilation of Israel. "The aim of the Palestinian Revolution is to dismantle this entity [Israel] with its political, military, social, syndical and cultural institutions and to liberate all of Palestine."

An illuminating footnote to this program is provided by an interview with Ghannassan Kanafani, a leader of the PFLP and editor of its weekly journal, Al-Hadaf, which appeared in the French quarterly, Elements. The interviewer asked how he thought the Israelis would react to their proposed destruction. Kanafani answered: "When we shall have proved to every Israeli citizen that his place is not here, that he would be safe in Jordan, for instance, or in the United States or in the Soviet Union, he will have understood." Such is the nature of the "pluralistic Palestine" which the guerrillas seek to establish.

For the information of our readers we print the relevant documents in full.

The Palestinian Covenant

Article 1: Palestine is the homeland of the Palestinian Arab people and an integral part of the great Arab homeland, and the people of Palestine is a part of the Arab nation.

Article 2: Palestine with its boundaries that existed at the time of the British Mandate is an integral regional unit.

Article 3: The Palestinian Arab people possesses the legal right to its homeland, and when the liberation of its homeland is completed, it will exercise self-determination solely according to its own will and choice.

Article 4: The Palestinian personality is an innate, persistent characteristic that does not disappear, and it is transferred from fathers to sons. The Zionist occupation, and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people as a result of the disasters which came over it, do not deprive it

of its Palestinian personality and affiliation and do not nullify them.

Article 5: The Palestinians are the Arab citizens who were living permanently in Palestine until 1947, whether they were expelled from there or remained. Whoever is born to a Palestinian Arab father after this date, within Palestine or outside it, is a Palestinian.

Article 6: Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.

Article 7: The Palestinian affiliation and the material, spiritual and historical tie with Palestine are permanent realities. The upbringing of the Palestinian individual in an Arab and revolutionary fashion, the undertaking of all means of forging consciousness and training the Palestinian, in order to acquaint him profoundly with his homeland, spiritually and materially, and preparing him for the conflict and the armed strug-

gle, as well as for the sacrifice of his property and his life to restore his homeland, until the liberation—all this is a national duty.

Article 8: The phase in which the people of Palestine is living is that of the national (*watani*)* struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Therefore, the contradictions among the Palestinian national forces are of a secondary order which must be suspended in the interest of the fundamental contradiction between Zionism and colonialism on the one side and the Palestinian Arab people on the other. On this basis, the Palestinian masses, whether in the homeland or in places of exile (*Mahajir*), organizations and individuals, comprise one national front which acts to restore Palestine and liberate it through armed struggle.

Article 9: Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine and is therefore a strategy and not tactics. The Palestinian Arab people affirms its absolute resolution and abiding determination to pursue the armed struggle and to march forward toward the armed popular revolution, to liberate its homeland and return to it, [to maintain] its right to a natural life in it, and to exercise its right of self-determination in it and sovereignty over it.

Article 10: Fedayeen action forms the nucleus of the popular Palestinian war of liberation. This demands its promotion, extension and protection, and the mobilization of all the mass and scientific capacities of the Palestinians, their organization and involvement in the armed Palestinian revolution, and cohesion in the national (*watani*) struggle among the various groups of the people of Palestine, and between them and the Arab masses, to guarantee the continuation of the revolution, its advancement and victory.

Article 11: The Palestinians will have three mottoes: national (*wataniyya*) unity, national (*qawmiyya*) mobilization and liberation.

Article 12: The Palestinian Arab people believes in Arab unity. In order to fulfill its role in realizing this, it must preserve, in this phase of its national (*watani*) struggle, its Palestinian personality and the constituents thereof, increase consciousness of its existence and resist any plan that tends to disintegrate or weaken it.

Article 13: Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary aims. Each one paves the way for realization of the other. Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, and

* Two Arabic words, *watani* and *qawmi*, are here both translated as "national"; but *watani* means territorial, in this instance Palestinian, nationalism, and *qawmi* refers to Pan-Arab nationalism.

the liberation of Palestine leads to Arab unity. Working for both goes hand in hand.

Article 14: The destiny of the Arab nation, indeed the very Arab existence, depends upon the destiny of the Palestine issue. The endeavor and effort of the Arab nation to liberate Palestine follows from this connection. The people of Palestine assumes its vanguard role in realizing this sacred national (*qawmi*) aim.

Article 15: The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab viewpoint, is a national (*qawmi*) duty to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion from the great Arab homeland and to purge the Zionist presence from Palestine. Its full responsibilities fall upon the Arab nation, peoples and governments, with the Palestinian Arab people at their head.

For this purpose, the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, material and spiritual capacities to participate actively with the people of Palestine in the liberation of Palestine. They must, especially in the present stage of armed Palestinian revolution, grant and offer the people of Palestine all possible help and every material and human support, and afford it every sure means and opportunity enabling it to continue to assume its vanguard role in pursuing its armed revolution until the liberation of its homeland.

Article 16: The liberation of Palestine, from a spiritual viewpoint, will prepare an atmosphere of tranquility and peace for the Holy Land, in the shade of which all the holy places will be safeguarded, and freedom of worship and visitation to all will be guaranteed, without distinction or discrimination of race, color, language or religion. For this reason, the people of Palestine looks to the support of all the spiritual forces in the world.

Article 17: The liberation of Palestine, from a human viewpoint, will restore to the Palestinian man his dignity, glory and freedom. For this, the Palestinian Arab people looks to the support of those in the world who believe in the dignity and freedom of man.

Article 18: The liberation of Palestine, from an international viewpoint, is a defensive act necessitated by the requirements of self-defense. For this reason, the people of Palestine, desiring to befriend all peoples, looks to the support of the states which love freedom, justice and peace in its territory, and enabling its people to exercise national (*wataniyya*) sovereignty and national (*qawmiyya*) freedom.

Article 19: The partitioning of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel are fundamentally null and void, whatever time has

elapsed, because they were contrary to the wish of the people of Palestine and its natural right to its homeland, and contradict the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the first of which is the right of self-determination.

Article 20: The Balfour Declaration, the Mandate Document, and what has been based upon them are considered null and void. The claim of an historical or spiritual tie between Jews and Palestine does not tally with historical realities nor with the constituents or statehood in their true sense. Judaism, in its character as a religion of revelation, is not a nationality with an independent existence. Likewise, the Jews are not one people with an independent personality. They are rather citizens of the states to which they belong.

Article 21: The Palestinian Arab people, in expressing itself through the armed Palestinian revolution, rejects every solution that is a substitute for a complete liberation of Palestine, and rejects all plans that aim at the settlement of the Palestine issue or its internationalization.

Article 22: Zionism is a political movement organically related to world imperialism and hostile to all movements of liberation and progress in the world. It is a racist and fanatical movement in its formation; aggressive, expansionist and colonialist in its aims; and fascist and Nazi in its means. Israel is the tool of the Zionist movement and a human and geographical base for world imperialism. It is a concentration and jumping-off point for imperialism in the heart of the Arab homeland, to strike at the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity and progress.

Israel is a constant threat to peace in the Middle East and the entire world. Since the liberation of Palestine will liquidate the Zionist and imperialist presence and bring about the stabilization of peace in the Middle East, the people of Palestine looks to the support of all liberal men of the world and all the forces of good, progress and peace; and implores all of them, regardless of their different learnings and orientations, to offer all help and support to the people of Palestine in its just and legal struggle to liberate its homeland.

Article 23: The demands of security and peace and the requirements of truth and justice oblige all states that preserve friendly relations among people and maintain the loyalty of citizens to their homelands to consider Zionism an illegitimate movement and to prohibit its existence and activity.

Article 24: The Palestinian Arab people be-

lieves in the principles of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity and the right of peoples to exercise them.

Article 25: To realize the aims of this covenant and its principles the Palestine Liberation Organization will undertake its full role in liberating Palestine.

Article 26: The Palestine Liberation Organization, which represents the forces of the Palestinian revolution, is responsible for the movement of the Palestinian Arab people in its struggle to restore its homeland, liberate it, return to it and exercise the right of self-determination in it. This responsibility extends to all military, political and financial matters, and all else that the Palestine issue requires in the Arab and international spheres.

Article 27: The Palestine Liberation Organization will cooperate with all Arab states, each according to its capacities, and will maintain neutrality in their mutual relations in the light of, and on the basis of, requirements of the battle of liberation, and will not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab state.

Article 28: The Palestinian Arab people insists upon the originality and independence of its national (*wataniyya*) revolution and rejects every manner of interference, guardianship and subordination.

Article 29: The Palestinian Arab people possesses the prior and original right in liberating and restoring its homeland and will define its position with reference to all states and powers on the basis of their positions with reference to the issue [of Palestine] and the extent of their support for [the Palestinian Arab people] in its revolution to realize its aims.

Article 30: The fighters and bearers of arms in the battle of liberation are the nucleus of the popular army, which will be the protecting arm of the gains of the Palestinian Arab people.

Article 31: This organization shall have a flag, oath and anthem, all of which will be determined in accordance with a special system.

Article 32: To this covenant is attached a law known as the fundamental law of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in which is determined the manner of the organization's formation, its committees, its institutions, the special functions of every one of them and all the requisite duties associated with them in accordance with this covenant.

Article 33: This covenant cannot be amended except by a two-thirds majority of all the members of the National Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization in a special session called for this purpose.

The Unified Command

A. All resistance movement groups regard the Palestine Liberation Organization as the broad framework for national unity.

B. Matters agreed upon commit (all groups) collectively while matters still in suspense are left for each group to deal with as it deems fit. Matters related to the security of the revolution commit the groups collectively.

C. All groups shall participate in the forthcoming Palestinian National Congress and the institutions emanating from the Palestine Liberation Organization. The question of the percentage representation of each of the organizations in the National Congress shall not become a point of issue among the commando organizations.

D. By a National Congress decree, a Central Committee shall be formed, with the participation of all resistance groups, to assume its leadership role in the resistance movement. The Central Committee emanating from the National Congress, shall replace the current Unified Command. The Central Committee shall comprise the Executive Committee of the PLO, representatives of the commando organizations, the head of the Palestinian National Congress, the head of the Palestinian Liberation Army and a number of independents.

The Palestinian Resistance Movement, represented by the Unified Command and following long discussions, agreed that the points listed here below represent, together with the Palestinian National Pact and National Congress resolution, the broad framework for joint political and military action:

1. The working, toiling and all other forces of the Palestinian and Arab masses that have an interest in the stage of national liberation and in the complete liberation of the Palestinian homeland constitute the forces of the Palestinian Revolution.

2. The Palestinian struggle springs from the faith in the unity of the people on the Palestinian-Jordanian terrain as well as from the faith that the people of Palestine are part of the Arab Nation and that the land of Palestine is part of the Arab land.

3. The Palestinian Revolution is an integral part of the contemporary Arab revolutionary

This program of the various Palestinian terrorist groups was adopted jointly on May 6, 1970. It was signed by Fatah, the PDP, the PFLP, the Arab Liberation Front, the Arab Palestine Organization, the PLO Executive Committee, the Popular Palestinian Struggle Front, Saiqa, the PFLP (General Command), the Action Committee for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Organization for the Liberation of Palestine.

movement and an integral part of the world national liberation movement against world imperialism and Zionism.

4. The enemies of Palestinian national liberation are represented by Zionism, Israel, imperialism and all lackey forces that are, dialectically or self-regardingly, linked to imperialism and colonialism.

5. The objective of the Palestinian struggle is the liberation of the whole of Palestine to establish a community in which all citizens will co-exist with equal rights and obligations within the context of the Arab nation's aspirations for unity and progress.

6. Popular revolutionary war is the main path to the liberation of Palestine.

7. The people of Palestine and their national liberation movement struggle for all-out liberation and reject all peaceful, stifling and submissive solutions; all reactionary and colonialist conspiracies to establish a Palestinian state on parts of Palestinian territory; and the stifling United Nations resolution of Nov. 22, 1967.

8. The Palestinian Revolution considers Arab land surrounding Israel as legitimate ground for Palestinian struggle and any attempt to close down any Arab country to the Palestinian resistance would be tantamount to treason to the objectives of the people of Palestine and the Arab nation in liberating Palestine.

9. The Palestinian Revolution declares its complete independence from all Arab regimes and rejects all attempts to circumscribe it, tutor it, contain it or subordinate it.

10. All resistance groups consent to the formation of a unified military committee to develop armed struggle and move into a new stage of commando action and popular liberation warfare.

11. To arm the masses of our Palestinian and Arab people in the Arab countries bordering occupied Palestine, to protect the resistance from attempts to crackdown on it and liquidate it and to participate effectively in confronting any Zionist/imperialist invasion of the Arab territories bordering Palestine.

12. Israel, by virtue of its structure, represents an exclusivist, racist society tied to imperialism. As such, the limited progressive forces within it cannot effect any basic change in its Zionist, racist and imperialist structure. This is why the aim of the Palestinian Revolution is to dismantle this entity with its political, military, social, syndical and cultural institutions and to liberate all of Palestine.

MEMORANDUM

Date 11/3/70

To Herb

From Mike Goldberg

Subject: This piece of "information"

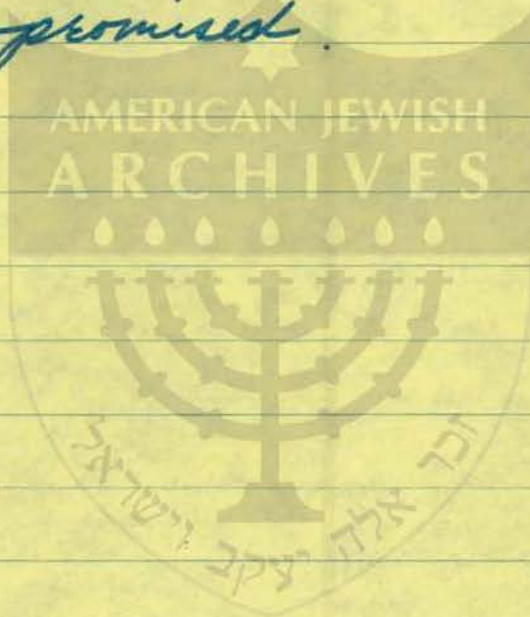
There are much better things around.
I will be ^{you} sending you ~~of them~~; a translation
of the Palestinian National Covenant of 1968
with a commentary by Harkabi. Also Harkabi's
piece, "Three Articles on the Slogan of the 'Palestinian
Democratic State'" is particularly enlightening.

11/5/70

TO: HAF

FROM: MIKE GOLDBERG

~~is~~ Here's a copy of the Palestinian
National Covenant with commentary
that I promised.





The
Palestinian
National
Covenant

Translation by J. Kraemer

Commentary by Y. Harkabi



*The body of the document is translated from the Arabic original. Articles of the 1964 Covenant repeated here are rendered on the basis of the official English translation of that Covenant but with alterations of style and terminology. The same procedure is followed in translating quotations from the earlier Covenant cited in the commentary

This Covenant will be called "The Palestinian National Covenant"
(Al-Mithaq Al-Watani Al-Filastini).

In the previous version of the Covenant of May, 1964 the adjective "national" was rendered by gawmi, the usual meaning of which in modern Arabic is pan-Arab and ethnic nationalism, whereas here they use the adjective watani, which signifies nationalism in its narrow, territorialistic sense as patriotism toward a specific country. This change intends to stress Palestinian patriotism.

sup. national vs pan-Arabism

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT
ARCHIVES

ARTICLE 1)

Palestine is the homeland of the Palestinian Arab people and an integral part of the great Arab homeland, and the people of Palestine is a part of the Arab nation.

In most Arab constitutions it is simply stipulated that the people of that country constitutes an integral part of the Arab nation. Here, because of the special problem of territory, it is also stressed that the land is an integral part of the general Arab homeland. The previous version in the Covenant of 1964 was more vague: "Palestine is an Arab homeland bound by strong Arab national ties to the rest of the Arab countries which together form the Great Arab Homeland." The combination "the Palestinian Arab people" recurs often in the Covenant and is also intended to stress the special status of the Palestinians, though as Arabs.

ARTICLE 2)

Palestine with its boundaries that existed at the time of the British Mandate is an integral regional unit.

The same formulation as in the previous version. It is implied that Palestine should not be divided into a Jewish and an Arab state. Although it is an accepted tenet of Arab nationalism that existing boundaries should be abolished, since they were artificially delineated by the imperialist powers, here they are sanctified. The expression "that existed at the time of the British Mandate" is vague. The article is subject to two interpretations: 1) The Palestinian State includes also Jordan and thus supercedes it; 2) The West Bank is detached from Jordan.

Decision of self-determination to Jews

ARTICLE 3)

The Palestinian Arab people possesses the legal right to its homeland, and when the liberation of its homeland is completed it will exercise self-determination solely according to its own will and choice.

The decision concerning the problem of the internal regime is deferred until after the liberation. The crux of this article is to postpone the decision concerning the relation to the Kingdom of Jordan and Hashemite rule. There is also the emphasis here that only the Palestinian Arabs possess a national legal right, excluding of course the Jews, to whom a special article is devoted below.

Res. Report Committee Middle East

ARTICLE 4)

The Palestinian personality is an innate, persistent characteristic that does not disappear, and it is transferred from fathers to sons. The Zionist occupation, and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people as result of the disasters which came over it, do not deprive it of its Palestinian personality and affiliation and do not nullify them.

The Palestinian, therefore, cannot cease being a Palestinian. Palestinianism is not citizenship but an eternal characteristic that comes from birth. The Jew is a Jew through the maternal line, and the Palestinian a Palestinian through the paternal line. The Palestinian, consequently, cannot be assimilated. This article implies that Palestinian citizenship follows from the Palestinian characteristic. This is the Palestinian counterpart to the Law of Return.

ARTICLE 5)

Parrot (see below)

The Palestinians are the Arab citizens who were living permanently in Palestine until 1947, whether they were expelled from there or remained. Whoever is born to a Palestinian Arab father after this date, within Palestine or outside it, is a Palestinian.

A reinforcement of the previous article. This definition refers solely to the Arabs. With reference to the Jews the matter is different. This is because being Palestinian is basically equivalent to being Arab.

ARTICLE 6)

Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.

In the section on resolutions of the Congress, in the chapter entitled "The International Palestinian Struggle" (p. 51), it is stated: "Likewise, the National Council affirms that the aggression against the Arab nation and its land began with the Zionist invasion of Palestine in 1917. Therefore, the meaning of "removal of the traces of the aggression" must be removal of the traces of the aggression which came into effect from the beginning of the Zionist invasion and not from the war of June, 1967...."

"The beginning of the Zionist invasion" is therefore at the time of the Balfour Declaration. This conception is current in Arab political literature. In the 1954 version the corresponding article was: "Jews of Palestinian origin will be considered Palestinians if they are willing to endeavor to live in loyalty and peace in Palestine." The expression "of Palestinian origin" is vague, for the article does not specify which Jews are to be considered of Palestinian origin. Since in the previous article (5 in the new version, 6 in the old) the date which determines being Palestinian is set at 1947, the implication could be that this applies also to the Jews. Since the aim is the return of the Arab Palestinians, it is necessary to make room for them. However, in the meantime, Jews have taken up residence in Arab dwelling-places, especially those Jews who immigrated after 1947; hence also from a practical aspect it is necessary to remove these Jews in particular.

The Jews who will not be recognized as Palestinians are therefore aliens who have no right of residence and must leave.

The National Covenant is a public document intended for general distribution. The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization specified in its introduction to the official report of the proceedings of the Congress as follows: "In view of the importance of the resolutions of the Palestinian National Council in its session convened in Cairo from July 10 to 17, 1968, we publish them in this booklet so that the Palestinians in every place may read them and find in them a policy and a program..." (pp. 17-18).

One might expect that those hundred members of the National Council would have recoiled from adopting such an extreme position which could serve as a weapon against the Palestinians. The fact that they did not is itself of great significance and testifies to the severity of the Palestinian Arab position.

A year and a half has elapsed since the Covenant was amended, sufficient time to raise criticism against this manifestation of extremism. However, until now no Arab body, including the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which is usually critical of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Fatah, has dissociated itself from the position presented in this article. To the best of my knowledge, no article has been published in an Arab newspaper that raises criticism against it. This silence is also highly significant.

The amended version of this article points to a radicalization of the Palestinian Arab position. It contains decisive evidence as to the nature of the slogan Arab leaders brandish concerning a "pluralistic, democratic state." Pluralism that is expressed in the elimination of two million four hundred thousand Israeli Jews is nothing but throwing dust in the eyes.

Arab spokesmen add that the aim is for the Palestinian state to be secular, as opposed to Israel, which they condemn as an anachronistic state founded upon a religious principle. It should be noted, however, that in all the constitutions of the Arab states (except Lebanon)

Handwritten signature
10/10/68

Islam is explicitly established as the state religion. The Syrian constitution of 1964 stipulates that the president of the State must be a Muslim. In most of the constitutions it is also emphasized that the Shari'a (Islamic Law) is the source of the laws of the state. Fatah appealed to a congress held in al-Azhar University in September, 1968 to consider contributions to the fedayeen Zakat (a religious alms tax) and warfare against Israel, Jihad. Thus they wage a religious war in order to establish a secular state. The crown of democracy, with which Palestinian spokesmen adorn the Palestinian state, also arouses scepticism in view of the Arabs' failure to set up democratic regimes.

Even if the Palestinians, realizing how this article damages their cause, amend it, such an amendment would be tactical and reactive, a response to foreign criticism, while the 1968 version reflects the more spontaneous mood.

ARTICLE 7)

The Palestinian affiliation and the material, spiritual and historical tie with Palestine are permanent realities. The upbringing of the Palestinian individual in an Arab and revolutionary fashion, the undertaking of all means of forging consciousness and training the Palestinian, in order to acquaint him profoundly with his homeland, spiritually and materially, and preparing him for the conflict and the armed struggle, as well as for the sacrifice of his property and his life to restore his homeland, until the liberation--all this is a national duty.

The second part, the preparation for the struggle, is new and was formulated under the influence of the special place that is now given to fedayeenism.

ARTICLE 8)

The phase in which the people of Palestine is living is that of the national (Watani) struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Therefore, the contradictions among the Palestinian national forces are of a secondary order which must be suspended in the interest of the fundamental contradiction between Zionism and colonialism on the one side and the Palestinian Arab people on the other. On this basis, the Palestinian masses, whether in the homeland or in places of exile (Maha-jir), organizations and individuals, comprise one national front which acts to restore Palestine and liberate it through armed struggle.

It is necessary to postpone internal disputes and concentrate on warfare against Israel. The style of "secondary contradictions" and "fundamental contradictions" is influenced by the language of Fatah and the younger circles. In the previous corresponding article it is stated: "Doctrines, whether political, social or economic, shall not divert the people of Palestine from their primary duty of liberating their homeland...."

ARTICLE 9)

Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine and is therefore a strategy and not tactics. The Palestinian Arab people affirms its absolute resolution and abiding determination to pursue the armed struggle and to march forward toward the armed popular revolution, to liberate its homeland and return to it, /to maintain/ its right to a natural life in it, and to exercise its right of self-determination in it and sovereignty over it.

The expression "a strategy and not tactics" is from the lexicon of Fatah expressions (see Y. Harkabi, Fedayeen Action and Arab Strategy [Adelphi Papers, No. 53, The Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 1968], p. 8). They use it with reference to fedayeen activities: they are not a support weapon but the essence of the war. "The armed struggle" is a broader concept, but here too stress is placed on action of the fedayeen variety. "The armed popular revolution" signifies the participation of the entire people in the war against Israel. It is depicted as a stage that will be reached by means of broadening the activity of the fedayeen. They are merely the vanguard whose role is to produce a "detonation" of the revolution until it embraces all levels of the people.

The radicalism in the aim of annihilation of the State of Israel and the "liberation" of all its territory eliminates the possibility of a political solution, which is by nature a compromise settlement. Such is the reasoning in this article and in Article 21. There remains only the way of violence.

ARTICLE 10)

Fedayeen action forms the nucleus of the popular Palestinian war of liberation. This demands its promotion, extension and protection, and the mobilization of all the mass and scientific capacities of the Palestinians, their organization and involvement in the armed Palestinian revolution, and cohesion in the national (Watani) struggle among the various groups of the people of Palestine, and between them and the Arab masses, to guarantee the continuation of the revolution, its advancement and victory.

This article is new. It describes the "alchemy" of fedayeenism, how its activity broadens and eventually sweeps the entire people. The masses in Arab countries are described in the language of Fatah as constituting "the supportive Arab front," the role of which is not only to offer aid but to assure that the Arab states will not deviate, on account of local interests and pressures, from their obligation to support the Palestinian revolution.

ARTICLE 11)

The Palestinians will have three mottoes: national (Watamiyya) unity, national (Qawmiyya) mobilization and liberation.

Here there is no change. These mottoes are inscribed above the publications of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

*Arabs
Nationalism*

ARTICLE 12)

The Palestinian Arab people believes in Arab unity. In order to fulfill its role in realizing this, it must preserve, in this phase of its national (Watani) struggle, its Palestinian personality and the constituents thereof, increase consciousness of its existence and resist any plan that tends to disintegrate or weaken it.

||| The idea of Arab unity requires giving priority to the pan-Arab character over the local character. From the aspect of a consistent doctrine of unity, stressing local character of distinctiveness is divisive because it strengthens difference, whereas unity rests on what is common and uniform. The issue of the relation between local distinctiveness and pan-Arab unity has much preoccupied the ideologues of Arab nationalism. The conservative circles tend to stress the need for preserving local character even after unity has been achieved. By this means Arab unity will be enriched through variegation. The revolutionary circles, on the other hand, stress unity and homogeneity. This is based either on a practical consideration, that internal consolidation will be reinforced in proportion to the reduction of distinctive factors, or on the view that the local character is part of the heritage they wish to change. The controversy between distinctiveness and unity is also reflected in the conception of the structure of unity. Those who seek to preserve distinctiveness deem it necessary to conserve the existing political frameworks in a loosely confederated unified structure. Those who stress unity tend to try and obliterate the existing political frameworks, along with their boundaries, which were merely the adjunct of a colonial system, with the object of achieving a more consolidated political structure. This controversy may be represented as an antinomy in which Arab nationalism is caught: Unity which tries to suppress the distinctive character of its parts will arouse local opposition; unity which conserves the local distinctive character may abett divisive tendencies.

imp. contradiction

This article intends to answer the charge that stressing Palestinian distinctiveness is an objective that conflicts with Arab unity (in the language of Arab nationalism, the sin of Shu'ubiyya or Iolimiyya). This charge was heard, for example, from within circles of the Qawmiyyun al-'Arab movement, who were dedicated to the idea of Arab unity. Previous to the Six Day War that excessive stress on the Palestinianism of the struggle against Israel diminished the role of the Arab states as direct participants in this confrontation. The response to this charge is, therefore, that preservation of Palestinian distinctiveness is merely a temporary necessity, to be transcended in favor of Arab unity. There is, however, a contradiction between this contention and the previous assertion of the eternity of the Palestinian personality.

ARTICLE 13)

X

Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary aims. Each one paves the way for realization of the other. Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, and the liberation of Palestine leads

to Arab unity. Working for both goes hand in hand.

This again is an antinomy. Victory over Israel requires concentration of all Arab forces upon the struggle, a concentration made possible only by the establishment of a supra-state authority to control all these forces, that is, a common government. Nasser repeatedly warned that unity is a precondition for initiating war against Israel. But attaining unity is a long-range affair. Consequently, war against Israel is deferred until a remote time, because undertaking a war without unity would only lead to defeat. On the other hand, unity can be attained only by the detonation of a spectacular event, like victory over Israel. The ideologues of Fatah were much preoccupied with this issue (see Fedayeen Action and Arab Strategy, p. 9). Their response is contained in their slogan: "The liberation of Palestine is the road to unity, and this is the right substitute for the slogan, 'unity is the road to the liberation of Palestine.'" Actually, this article offers a verbal solution, circumventing the problem of priority by characterizing both events as contemporary, just as in the previous version of the Covenant.

ARTICLE 14)

The destiny of the Arab nation, indeed the very Arab existence, depends upon the destiny of the Palestine issue. The endeavor and effort of the Arab nation to liberate Palestine follows from this connection. The people of Palestine assumes its vanguard role in realizing this sacred national (Qawmi) aim.

Critical analysis of Fatah

This is a common notion in the Arab position. It is often stated in Arab political literature that the Palestine issue is fateful for the very Arab existence. It is maintained that the existence of Israel prevents the Arabs from achieving their national goal. Furthermore, the existence of Israel necessarily leads to its expansion and the liquidation of the Arabness of additional Arab lands. The Palestinians have an interest in stressing the fatefulness of the struggle against Israel and its centrality for the whole Arab world. They thus spur on the others to take an active role in the struggle against Israel. It may be that there is also hidden here the intention to lend symmetry to the conflict. Thus, both sides threaten each other with extinction, and the Arabs are not alone in this. A formula for division of labor is also presented here. The Palestinians will be the vanguard marching before the Arab camp.

ARTICLE 15)

The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab viewpoint, is a national (Qawmi) duty to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion from the great Arab homeland and to purge the Zionist presence from Palestine. Its full responsibilities fall upon the Arab nation, peoples and governments, with the Palestinian Arab people at their head.

The goal is, therefore, twofold: defense of the rest of the Arab countries and removal of Zionism from Palestine.

For this purpose, the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, material and spiritual capacities to participate actively with the people of Palestine in the liberation of Palestine. They must, especially in the present state of armed Palestinian revolution, grant and offer the people of Palestine all possible help and every material and human support, and afford it every sure means and opportunity enabling it to continue to assume its vanguard role in pursuing its armed revolution until the liberation of its homeland.

There is the implied concern lest, without the support of the Arab states, the drive of "the Palestinian revolution" will dissipate. The distinction of this version as compared with its predecessor, is mainly in the accentuation of "the active participation" of the Arab states and the issue of "the armed Palestinian revolution," which is certainly to be attributed to Fatah's ideological influence upon the Palestine Liberation Organization.

ARTICLE 16)

Religious basis of the (spiritual)

The liberation of Palestine, from a spiritual viewpoint, will prepare an atmosphere of tranquility and peace for the Holy Land, in the shade of which all the holy places will be safe guarded, and freedom of worship and visitation to all will be guaranteed, without distinction or discrimination of race, color, language or religion. For this reason, the people of Palestine looks to the support of all the spiritual forces in the world.

ARTICLE 17)

The liberation of Palestine, from a human viewpoint will restore to the Palestinian man his dignity, glory and freedom. For this, the Palestinian Arab people looks to the support of those in the world who believe in the dignity and freedom of man.

The very existence of Israel and the lack of a Palestinian homeland create alienation in the Palestinian, for these deprive him of his dignity and bring him to a state of subservience. As long as Israel exists the Palestinian's personality is flawed. This is an addition in the spirit of Fatah which was not in the previous version, and it is probably influenced by recent revolutionary literature, such as the teaching of Franz Fanon.

ARTICLE 18)

The Liberation of Palestine, from an international viewpoint, is a defensive act necessitated by the requirements of self-defense. For this reason, the people of Palestine, desiring to befriend all peoples, looks to the support of the states which love freedom, justice and peace in restoring the legal situation to Palestine, establishing security and peace in its territory, and enabling its people to exercise national (Watanīyya) sovereignty and national (Qawmīyya) freedom.

As in the previous version, the existence of Israel is illegal; therefore war against it is legal. In Palestinian literature there is a frequent claim that the fedayeen assaults against Israel are legal, while the self-defense and reactions of Israel are illegal, for their aim is to perpetuate the state which embodies aggression in its very establishment and existence. To the foreign observer this distinction between the legality of attacking Israel and the illegality of the response may appear as sham innocence that is indeed even ludicrous. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that there are Arabs for whom this is not only a matter of formal argument but a belief.

Ibrahim al-'Aid, in an article entitled "The Reasons for the Latest Israeli Aggression" (The Six Day War), writes: "Fedayeen action is a right of the people of Palestine because the right of national liberation is an extension of the right of peoples to self-defense, and it is the right which the United Nations Charter affirmed as an original natural right" (Anis Sayegh, ed., Pilastinyyat. PIC Center for Research, Beirut, 1968, p. 107).

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defense
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ARTICLE 19)

The partitioning of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel is fundamentally null and void, whatever time has elapsed, because it was contrary to the wish of the people of Palestine and its natural right to its homeland, and contradicts the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the first of which is the right of self-determination.

It is often found in Arab literature that the Mandate and the Partition Resolution, though accepted by the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization, have no legal force. They represent an aberration and not a norm of international law. The reason for this is that they contradicted the fundamental principle of the right of self-determination. This article is copied from the previous version.

ARTICLE 20)

The Balfour Declaration, the mandate document, and what has been based upon them are considered null and void. The claim of a historical or spiritual tie between Jews and Palestine does not tally with historical realities nor with the constituents of statehood in their true sense. Judaism, in its character as a religion of revelation, is not a nationality with an independent existence. Likewise, the Jews are not one people with an independent personality. They are rather citizens of the states to which they belong.

cast

Again an identical formulation. This article incorporates the principle claims concerning historical right: The Jews lived in Palestine for only a brief time; their sovereignty over it was not exclusive; the Arabs did not conquer it from them and need not restore it to them; and the Arabs remained in the country longer than the Jews. Moreover, a state embodies a national, not a religious, principle. The Jews, as having merely religious distinctiveness, do

not need a state at all, and a Jewish state that makes of Judaism a nationalism is a historical and political aberration. Therefore, Zionism, as a manifestation of Jewish nationalism, distorts Judaism.

Since the State of Israel is not based on a true nationalism, it is very often described in Arabic as "an artificial entity." This is also brought as proof that Israel can be destroyed. This conception is also at the basis of fedayeen theory: since the Jews have no real nationalism, terror will cause their disintegration to the point that they will consent to relinquish Jewish statehood.

The conception that the Jews do not constitute a national entity is a vital principle for the Arab position. For if the Israelis are a nation, then they have the right of self-determination, and the claim that only the Palestinian Arabs have the right of self-determination, and that only they must decide the national character of the country, is not valid. Moreover, the Arab claim for exclusive national self-determination appears in all its starkness as chauvinism that demands everything for itself while denying any right to the other.

ARTICLE 21)

The Palestinian Arab people, in expressing itself through the armed Palestinian revolution, rejects every solution that is a substitute for a complete liberation of Palestine, and rejects all plans that aim at the settlement of the Palestine issue or its internationalization.

This rejection of any compromise settlement is an addition to the previous version. In the resolutions of the fourth session of the Palestinian National Council a long and detailed section is devoted to the rejection of the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1957 and any peaceful solution, with insistence upon the intention to undermine any attempt in this direction.

ARTICLE 22)

Zionism is a political movement organically related to world imperialism and hostile to all movements of liberation and progress in the world. It is a racist and fanatical movement in its formation; aggressive, expansionist and colonialist in its aims; and fascist and Nazi in its means. Israel is the tool of the Zionist Movement and a human and geographical base for world imperialism. It is a concentration and jumping-off point for imperialism in the heart of the Arab homeland, to strike at the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity, and progress.

In this new version there is an accentuation of Israel's relation to world imperialism and intensification of its denunciation. This is in the spirit of the Leftist sentiments that prevail among the up-and-coming Arab generation. The claim that the hostility of Zionism is directed, not only against the Arabs, but against all that

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is good in the world, is also an addition. Thus, warfare against Israel is elevated from an Arab interest to a universal humanistic mission.

Israel is a constant threat to peace in the Middle East and the entire world. Since the liberation of Palestine will liquidate the Zionist and imperialist presence and bring about the stabilization of peace in the Middle East, the people of Palestine looks to the support of all liberal men of the world and all the forces of good, progress and peace; and implores all of them, regardless of their different leanings and orientations, to offer all help and support to the people of Palestine in its just and legal struggle to liberate its homeland.

ARTICLE 23)

The demands of security and peace and the requirements of truth and justice oblige all states that preserve friendly relations among peoples and maintain the loyalty of citizens to their homelands to consider Zionism an illegitimate movement and to prohibit its existence and activity.

The attachment of Jews to Israel expressed in Zionism creates dual-nationality and political chaos. Arabs apparently do not sense the contradiction in this claim. Despite the prevalence of supra-national tendencies among circles in the progressive world, with which the Palestinians claim to have an affinity, a narrow, formal nationalistic approach is stressed here, which maintains that a man cannot cherish a loyal attachment to any factor apart from his own state.

ARTICLE 24)

The Palestinian Arab people believes in the principles of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity and the right of peoples to exercise them.

ARTICLE 25)

To realize the aims of this Covenant and its principles the Palestine Liberation Organization will undertake its full role in liberating Palestine.

This article (with the omission of the conclusion, "in accordance with the fundamental law of this organization") is identical to the previous version. In this and the next article the Palestine Liberation Organization is presented as the umbrella organization bearing the general responsibility for the struggle of all the Palestinians against Israel.

ARTICLE 26)

The Palestine Liberation Organization, which represents the forces of the Palestinian revolution, is responsible for the movement of the Palestinian Arab people in its struggle to restore its homeland, liberate it, return to it and exercise the right of self-determination in it. This responsibility extends to all military, political and financial matters, and all else that the Palestine issue requires in the Arab and international spheres.

The addition here, as compared with the previous version, is that the organization assumes also the role of bringing into effect the regime it prefers after the victory.

ARTICLE 27)

The Palestine Liberation Organization will cooperate with all Arab states, each according to its capacities, and will maintain neutrality in their mutual relations in the light of, and on the basis of, the requirements of the battle of liberation, and will not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab state.

The obligation of neutrality, therefore, is not absolute but is qualified by the requirements of the battle of liberation.

ARTICLE 28)

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The Palestinian Arab people insists upon the originality and independence of its national (Wataniyya) revolution and rejects every manner of interference, guardianship and subordination.

The Palestinian movement is not the tool for any Arab state and does not accept orders from any outside authority.

ARTICLE 29)

The Palestinian Arab people possesses the prior and original right in liberating and restoring its homeland and will define its position with reference to all states and powers on the basis of their positions with reference to the issue /of Palestine/ and the extent of their support for /the Palestinian Arab people/ in its revolution to realize its aims.

This is a new article, which includes a threat that the friendship of any state toward Israel will entail the enmity of the organization. A similar principle was established in the First Arab Summit Conference.

ARTICLE 30)

The fighters and bearers of arms in the battle of liberation are the nucleus of the popular army, which will be the protecting arm of the gains of the Palestinian Arab people.

In other words, there is a future in the fedayeen or military career.

ARTICLE 31)

This organization shall have a flag, oath and anthem, all of which will be determined in accordance with a special system.

ARTICLE 32)

To this Covenant is attached a law known as the Fundamental Law of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in which is determined the manner of the organization's formation, its committees, institutions, the special functions of every one of them and all the requisite duties associated with them in accordance with this Covenant.

ARTICLE 33)

This Covenant cannot be amended except by a two-thirds majority of all the members of the National Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization in a special session called for this purpose.

