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9

Young leadership. 1974-1975.

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# SPECIALTIES OF MEDICAL RESEARCH

Box 5123  
Computer Park East

Albany, New York 12205  
(518) 458-9246

December 5, 1974

Rabbi Herbert Friedman  
c/o World Education Center for Progressive Judaism  
13 King David Street  
Jerusalem, Israel


Dear Herb:

I just wanted to drop you a note to tell you that I appreciated the opportunity that you gave to me to sit with you for a few hours and discuss where we have been and where we are going. You gave me alot of food for thought and I am hoping somehow to be able to activate some of the things that we talked about next week at the UJA conference in New York. I will be going over alot of the areas that you and I discussed with our Executive Committee and I hope to be in touch with you shortly thereafter.

You had mentioned to me that if you could you would send me a list of those people that you felt were the up and coming potential leaders of the state of Israel. You were going to attempt to get me the list before I left Israel. I didn't get the list so I wonder if it would be possible some time in the near future to mail it to me. I am very interested in your ideas and suggestions about these people.

I will be in touch.

Hag sameah, shalom,

  
Donald S. Gould

DSG/asm

COUNTERPART LIST OF YOUNGISH ISRAELI LEADERS

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January 10, 1975

Mr. Donald S. Gould  
Research Supplies Pharmaceutical Corporation  
Box 5123  
Computer Park East  
Albany, New York 12205  
USA

Dear Don:

I really have not forgotten you and the promise I made to try to get going a list of young Israelis. Somehow or other the desk is always full, and I never seem to get caught up with correspondence. I am working on accumulating the list now, and as soon as I have something reasonably complete, I will send it to you.

Meanwhile, if there is anything else you want me to do, do not hesitate to ask. I expect to be in the United States for two quick weeks from February 14 - 28, on a mission for the Encyclopedia Judaica. As the details of the trip shape up, I will try to get in touch with you again to see if we can meet.

As ever,

Herbert A. Friedman

הקבוצה הירושלמית לתכנון לאומי  
THE JERUSALEM GROUP FOR NATIONAL PLANNING

file  
young leadership

מוסד ון ליר בירושלים  
THE VAN LEER JERUSALEM FOUNDATION

November 24, 1975

Mr. Herbert Friedmann  
Hebrew Union College  
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Friedmann,

Last summer I was told by Don Gould that I should contact you, and that advice has been repeated by others involved in the Young Leadership movement. At this point, I think my project is sufficiently developed that I can describe it to you, and ask for your cooperation.

First, a word of background. The work I am doing is a new project, having nothing to do with the previous study done at Van Leer on the UJA. Because of the repercussions of that study, I thought it best to clear the air. Second, this project I have outlined for myself has developed out of a broader subject, which the Jerusalem Group has undertaken to study: the cultural-religious character of the Jewish people in Israel and the United States. The noble sounding endeavor is actually a long range proposal, which has been broken down into specific areas with various researchers and various methods. I have begun work on the American Jewish community, from the particular perspective of the sociology of religion. A full portrait of the kind of approach I use is contained in the enclosed basic paper. Since writing this paper, I have done a lot more thinking and empirical work. As a result, I have decided to concentrate on the sector which I consider crucial for the future and that sector about which very little is known: the communal volunteers, and specifically, the Young Leadership.

It is clear why the Young Leadership is important to understand. I don't need to tell you that. What I would like you to understand is that I would like to study this group in order to understand what traditional codes and symbols are active, resonant, for so called secular Jews. I assume that Israel, as a symbol, stores a constellation of meanings, and it is this which I would like to understand systematically. I began with foot-work, making contacts, explaining myself, getting to know the operation of the Y.L. During the Koach mission I worked closely with one group, Philadelphia, and established friendships which could be used for depth interviews, which I hope to conduct. Also, members of the Jerusalem Group, including Seymour Fox, Alex Keynan, myself, and several other young people, met with David Adler, Alan Rudy, and Mrs. Rudy to discuss my project and other areas of possible cooperation between Van Leer and the Y.L.

I am waiting for a response to that meeting and permission to do the depth interviews I need. In the meantime, I am trying to learn as much background as I can, a sort of oral history, on the origin of the group, its self-conception, etc. There is precious little written material, as far as I have been told. Rafi Bar-Am suggested that I

הקבוצה הירושלמית לתכנון לאומי  
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THE VAN LEER JERUSALEM FOUNDATION

contact you immediately, and if you agree, that we meet. I would very much appreciate your advice on the entire project.

I have enclosed the original proposal as background for what I am doing.

Sincerely,

*Janet O'Dea*  
Dr. Janet O'Dea

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



(see page 6.)

YOUNG LEADERSHIP

# DIALOGUE

# דו-שיחה



December 1974 – January 1975

VOL. 1 NO. 5

YOUNG LEADERSHIP • דוד המשך • דוד  
counterparts



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**COUNTERPARTS**

The editors . . . . .	3
Allen Hoffman on psalms . . . . .	3
Twenty-six orthodox leaders on Jewish ethics . . . . .	4
Allan Pakes on aliyah . . . . .	5
Ronnie Milikowsky on Israel and the Palestinians . . . . .	5
Ralph J. Stern on UJA Young Leadership . . . . .	6
Elkanah Schwartz on dealing with the future . . . . .	6
Joanne Jahr on becoming competent leaders . . . . .	7
Noah benShea on other media for dialogue . . . . .	7
Meir Hurwitz on religious issues . . . . .	8
Chaim Waxman on a meeting with Yigal Allon . . . . .	8
Leonard Altman on AIPAC . . . . .	9
Bob Loeb on criticism and BREIRA . . . . .	9
Jeff Maas on the need for dialogue . . . . .	11
Shlomo Cohen on philosophical traps . . . . .	11
Arthur Kahn on Arab propaganda . . . . .	12
David Glanz on religious doves . . . . .	13
Robert Goldman on Charles Leibman and religious perspectives . . . . .	15
Amatsia Hiuni on a post-Rabat policy . . . . .	16
Bill Novak on working for Israel . . . . .	17
News of Counterparts . . . . .	18

Cover illustration by Marc Podwal, M.D. . Dr. Podwal is an artist and political caricaturist who is also attending dermatologist on the faculty of New York Medical School. He recently began a private practice in Manhattan.

DIALOGUE is published approximately every six weeks by Dor-Hemshech-New Jewish Leadership, a project in Jewish unity, initiated by Israeli leadership under the age of 40 to foster understanding and cooperation with counterparts around the world. Dor Hemshech-New Jewish Leadership sponsors or coordinates meetings, seminars, visits, and other projects to bring together influential young Jews of every orientation around the world.

DIALOGUE is a private forum, not for sale or reproduction in any form (without the consent of individual writers) distributed to Jews between the ages of approximately 25 and 40 who hold positions of influence in Jewish life or are recommended as capable of making significant contributions to Jewish communal experience.

Submissions to DIALOGUE should be in the form of informal open letters of no more than 2000 words, in the spirit of a dialogue. The editors reserve the right to select and abridge correspondence for space requirements. Submissions can also be in the form of art, poetry or other media which facilitate personal statements.

Suggestions of names to be added to the mailing list must be accompanied by addresses and brief identifications. The editors reserve the right to remove from the mailing list those who have not expressed an interest in dialogue (e.g., by correspondence, return of a questionnaire, participation in a new leadership program, etc.). Names of current American counterparts are available on request.

Dear Counterparts,

DIALOGUE exists to foster personal communication among people who will share responsibility for leading world Jewry in troubled times. It depends on the willingness of almost three thousand counterparts around the world to take the risk and the time to share information, ideas and feelings with others like themselves. It is open to your personal letters and responses, personal comments on readings you would like to share, and personal news.

DIALOGUE is your forum. We do not reprint material unless you request it. We are not a magazine or journal. We are only a medium for bringing together young or potential Jewish leaders around issues and topics of their own choosing.

Much as we are encouraged by compliments and guided by criticism, we hope to become less obtrusive editors as you become more active correspondents. If you write, write to all of us—honestly and personally—who might find you, your activities, ideas and concerns interesting. If you feel our content is one-sided on any matter, write on the other side. No letter need be a masterpiece. We are—we hope—among friends, and we can share our as yet unfinished thoughts together on our unfinished mission.

The ways in which Jewish leaders communicate with each other are of as much concern to us as the substance of their statements. We invite you to help us consider the process of this dialogue. The rabbis suggested that the Second Commonwealth was destroyed because of *sin'at chinam* (baseless enmity) exemplified by one prominent Jew's humiliation of an unwanted guest. Lack of mutual respect (and, consequently, trust) among Jews perpetuates the desecration of our heritage and our mutual estrangement. The greatest recent halachist, the Chafetz Chaim, made it his first priority to dissuade Jews from *lashon hara* (unnecessary gossip, malicious talk or personal judgments).

We hope to discuss issues, institutions, policies, ideologies and even individuals without dehumanizing others. Our generation of leadership cannot afford old vices as we face a decade more challenging than any since the 1940's. The mutual trust that can help insure Jewish survival demands mutual understanding, respect and compassion. Certainly we must deal with Jews who threaten the survival or meaning of Jewish life. Richard Reeves wrote in the December 23rd issue of *New York Jew* who refused to associate themselves with Israel at the recent miniconvention of the Democratic party. How shall we act responsibly toward Jews who present problems to Jewry without excluding from Jewish life principled objection to our varied opinions? To paraphrase Weitzmann, we are the only Jews we have. We total, as Milton Himmelfarb has noted, less than a minor error in the Chinese census. We face challenges to our existence that have destroyed more numerous peoples. We cannot afford to ignore any Jew or his opinions. Jewish survival requires responsible, responsive and inspiring leadership. We invite all counterparts to join us in discussing how we can provide that.

We are delighted to have received graphic contributions from Dr. Mark Podwal and look forward to receiving further artistic and literary additions to our dialogue. We still seek letters on two poles of our mutual concerns: living ones' own Jewish life and assessing critical issues affecting world Jewry. We have received few publishable responses to our questions on policy options after Rabat nor, for that matter, any on the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations, on meetings of the World Jewish

Congress, national U.J.A., the American Zionist Federation, or American visits of Israeli counterparts and vice versa. We hope more of you will respond personally to each other's letters. We are still talking about dialogue more than doing it.

We pass on the suggestion of Eliezer Sheffer of our Israel office, that we invite comments on Zionism today. Again, we urge you to write and let the rest of us know something about you.

אמטסיה חיוני רוברט גולדמן Sincerely

AMATSIA HIUNI ROBERT GOLDMAN

Since we will no longer reprint articles except in the context of your letters, we would like to call your attention to a few publications likely to be of general interest. Well known and readily available are monthlies like *Commentary* and *Midstream*, organizational publications such as *Hadassah* magazine, *National Jewish Monthly* (B'nai B'rith) and the *American Zionist* (Z.O.A.), and the various rabbinical quarterlies. *Response: A Contemporary Jewish Review* is an independent quarterly published by counterparts and offering a stimulating mix of Jewish literature, art and comment (\$8.00 in the U.S. / \$9.00 abroad per year; 523 W. 113th St., N.Y.C. 10025). *Sh'ma: A Journal of Jewish Responsibility* is an outstanding intellectual forum which appears bi-monthly except summers; several counterparts publish regularly in it (\$12.00 for 2 years, \$15.00 for 3 in North America / \$15.00 per year elsewhere / free to Jewish institutions requesting on their letterheads; Box 567, Port Washington, N.Y. 11050). *Judaism* is an intellectual quarterly published by American Jewish Congress (\$8.00 / 10; 15 East 84th Street, N.Y.C. 10028). The Fall, 1974 issue includes a symposium in which several of our counterparts participated. *Analysis*, published bi-monthly by the Synagogue Council of America's Institute for Jewish Policy Planning and Research offers the best in-depth studies of specific Jewish issues available (\$4.00; SCA, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036). *Shdemot*, the journal of the kibbutz movement is published in Hebrew and English by counterparts quarterly (\$7.50; c/o Habonim, 575 Avenue of the Americas, N.Y.C. 10011). *Near East Report: Washington letter on American policy in the Near East* is distributed weekly by the America Israel Public Affairs Committee (see letter from Leonard Altman in this issue) (\$10.00; 1341 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005). *The Jewish Spectator*, aside from its editor's crusades, covers Jewish life broadly and interestingly as a quarterly (\$10.00 / \$11.00; 250 W. 57th St., N.Y.C., 10019). We call your attention to a stimulating article, "All the World Wants the Jews Dead," which appeared in the November *Esquire* (reprints available from AJ Congress). Congress also published a useful pamphlet *The Structure and Functioning of the American Jewish Community* by Will Maslow (\$1.00; AJ Congress, 15 E. 84th St., N.Y.C. 10028). We welcome disinterested recommendations of readings on topics of mutual concern.

☆☆☆☆☆☆

Dear Counterparts,

... [In synagogues around the world, Jews are responding to the current threat to Israel by a traditional reading of Psalms, notably and appropriately Psalm 83.] No words are as expressive as the psalms of King David. They are the words of peace: the peace beyond sorrow, the peace above joy. And in times of need,

national or individual, they are the perfect petition of faith. According to the Midrash, King David requested that his book of psalms be accepted as a book of prayer. The words of King David are the words of life, always appropriate, and always necessary . . .

ALLEN HOFFMAN  
New York City

PSALM 83

(Jewish Publication Society translation, 1972)

A song, a psalm of Asaph.

Oh God, do not be silent. Do not hold aloof, Do not be quiet.  
Oh God!

For your enemies rage, your foes assert themselves.

They plot craftily against your people and take counsel against your treasured ones.

They say let us wipe them out as a nation. Israel's name will be mentioned no more.

Unanimous in their counsel, they have made an allegiance against you.

The clans of Edom and the Ishmaelites, Moab and the Hagarite, Gebal, Ammon, and Amlek Philistia, with the inhabitants of Tyre.

Assyria too joins forces with them. They give support to the sons of Lot.

Deal with them as you dealt with Midian, with Sisera, with Jabin at the brook Kishon

Who were destroyed at En-Dor, who became dung for the field.

Treat their great men like Oreb and Zeeb, all their princes like Zebah and Zalmunna,

Who said, "Let us take the meadow of God as our possession".

Oh, my God, make them like thistledown, like stubble driven by the wind.

As a fire burns a forest, as flames scorch the hills,

Pursue them with your tempest; terrify them with your storm;

Cover their faces with shame so that they seek your name. O Lord, May they be frustrated and terrified, disgraced and doomed forever.

May they know that your name, yours alone, is the Lord, supreme over all the earth.

Allen Hoffman's stories have appeared in *Commentary* magazine.

☆☆☆☆☆☆

Dear Counterparts,

Critical challenges facing Jewry require communal solidarity. The moral stance of Jewish leaders and the trust they inspire affect solidarity. Jewish piety does not distinguish between ritual and ethics. We, the undersigned orthodox Jews, challenge Jewish—especially religious—leadership to restore high ethical standards to Jewish life. Since recurrent rumors and publicity alleging wrongdoing by Jews in leadership has brought no communal reform, we address this initial appeal to our associates and request endorsements, comments and similar initiatives from all our fellow counterparts.

*Any appearance of corruption or ethical cynicism is inconsistent with Jewish values. It threatens Judaism, weakens Jewish life, encourages anti-semites, and undermines support for Israel. Jewish honor has no price. Jewish leadership is a privilege de-*

*manding unquestionable probity. Those who want to lead us must meet Jewish standards (e.g., respect for the old, sick and poor, generous tzedakah, moral compliance with law—Jewish and secular—denying honor to the dishonorable, refusing profit from impropriety, and ostracizing those who bring Judaism into disrepute). Public affairs may foster arrogance among the powerful and wealthy; but we insist that discredit to Jewish values disqualifies anyone from Jewish honors.*

*We serve notice on those who hesitate to give moral leadership: we will not permit our people, threatened outwardly to rot inwardly. We pledge to act in every area of our influence to apply scrupulous ethical standards, to oppose organization or leaders who tolerate corruption, and to reorder our Jewish house, with leaders deserving by Jewish standards of guiding us.*

*As our first step, and without prejudice to legal presumptions of innocence, we 1) call upon any individual prominently identified with Jewish life in Israel or diaspora whose conduct or reputation reflects adversely on Jewish ethics to suspend himself from positions of Jewish leadership pending official exoneration; 2) admonish all Jewish organizations in Israel or diaspora—notably those speaking for orthodox Jews—to exonerate or suspend from membership anyone whose reputation discredits Judaism or Jews; and 3) urge all Jewish organizations in Israel or diaspora to empower ethics committees to establish and maintain standards of conduct for their leaders by publication and responsible application of codes, and issuance of advice, warnings, chastisement and, when necessary, disciplinary judgments.*

This statement, with your endorsements and comments (and those of your respected acquaintances), will be presented to appropriate Jewish leaders and organizations. We request suggestions for cooperative actions to pursue our principles in every area of Jewish life. Please reply promptly to Zedek, Apt. 161, 200 West 86th Street, New York, N.Y. 10024.

(Signed—partial listing—affiliations for identification only)

Rivkah Ausubel, student body president, Wurzweiler School of Social Work, Yeshiva University

Rabbi Saul Berman, Chairman, department of Judaic studies, Stern College of Yeshiva University

Chaim Billet, co-founder, Geshur Foundation

Ephraim Buchwald, director, Joseph Shapiro Institute, Lincoln Square Synagogue

Max Casin, Esq., former member, Australian Board of Jewish Deputies

David Derovan, Stone-Saperstein Center for Jewish Education, Yeshiva University

Margy Ruth Greenbaum Davis, past-chairman, North American Jewish Youth Council

Dr. Perry Davis, special assistant, New York Board of Education

Rabbi Mordecai E. Feuerstein, graduate student, Harvard University  
Moses Feuerstein

Edward Freedman, Esq., Secretary-General, North American Jewish Students' Network

Robert Goldman, editor, DIALOGUE

Matt Hoffman, National President, Yavneh—Religious Jewish Students Association.

Rabbi Henry Horwitz, M.I.T.; member, Board of Directors, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America

Rabbi Norman Lamm, Jewish Center

Isaac Mann, *semicha* student, Yeshiva University

Marc Mishaan, Chairman, Social Action Committee, American Sephardi Federation

Glenn Richter, National Coordinator, Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry

Rabbi Steven Riskin, Rosh Yeshiva, Yeshiva University; Yeshiva Or Torah

Rabbi Ronald Roness, Hillel Director, Hofstra University

Rabbi Charles Sheer, Jewish Chaplain, Columbia University

Yosef Sief, Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture  
 Rabbi Avraham Weiss, former national vice president, Religious Zionists  
 of America  
 Paul Wimpfheimer, staff assistant to Congressman Edward I. Koch  
 Rabbi Walter Wurzbarger, Congregation Shaarei Tefilah

☆☆☆☆☆☆

Dear Counterparts,

I was delighted and moved by David Twersky's description of his Aliyah in the last issue of DIALOGUE. David, I hope you and others will let us all hear about your experiences in becoming Israelis. As a professional involved in encouraging Aliyah—I myself left America to settle in Israel many years ago and only recently came back to work for the World Zionist Organization—I think others may be interested in new and attractive programs for social workers, school psychologists, guidance counselors, psycho-therapists, vocational therapists, nurses and teachers who wish to settle in Israel. There are also several places available in training and re-training programs for careers in Israeli social work, banking and financial management, library science, and systems analysis for new olim with appropriate undergraduate backgrounds.

Those who wish further information about Aliyah can subscribe to *Aliyon*, a publication of the Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah, or you can write to me c/o 515 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022. I hope others contemplating, making or looking back on the Aliyah experience can share their thoughts with us.

ALLAN PAKES  
 New York City

Allan Pakes is an expert on employment at the Israel Aliyah Center in New York City.

☆☆☆☆☆☆

Dear Counterparts,

I write in response to some of the questions raised in the last issue of DIALOGUE and after a tour of many American Jewish communities. Let me share with you my perception of the "Palestinian" problem.

During the War of Independence the Mufti of Jerusalem issued a directive to the Arabs of Palestine to leave in order to return as victors after the elimination of the newly born Jewish State. This was the first step in creating the Arab refugee problem in the Middle East. The Arab states—which could easily have solved the refugee problem by settlement in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt or Kuwait—consciously caused suffering to their brethren by turning them into a political tool to serve the Arab drive to eliminate Israel.

In the past 10 years, the enemies of Israel and Zionism created "the Palestine entity" by exploiting the refugees and turning them into the spearhead of their war against Israel. The Arabs of Palestine never saw themselves as an independent Palestinian entity. Most of them reached Palestine around the turn of this century. After Jewish pioneers had made Palestine economically attractive, they still saw themselves as Syrians, Jordanians, Iraqis or Egyptians. The refugee problem, which was created by the Arabs themselves, greases the wheels of the Arab chariot aimed at the destruction of the Jewish State. Anyone who saw the refugee camps in Gaza knows how simple it could have been for the Arabs

to solve this painful problem, even without billions of petrodollars.

Let us not forget that, as against 600,000 Arab refugees, the State of Israel has absorbed 700,000 Jewish refugees from Arab lands. The murderous gangs under the leadership of Arafat, Habash, and Hawatmeh do not disguise their objective—the destruction of the Jewish State in Israel. The Jewish people, who have suffered a disastrous holocaust in the 20th century and were persecuted through centuries, will not give up their national revival in Israel, which it had sought for so many years of exile. Even the Jewish liberal intellectual, who attempts to examine everything in extreme objectivity—as opposed to the subjectivity by which his Jewishness has and will be considered—can easily conclude that, in the Arab-Jewish conflict, one side is more right than the other, and that is the Israeli-Jewish side.

One Jewish State can exist in Israel with an Arab minority besides 17 Arab-Moslem states. The issue which is debated presently in Israel and among Zionists in the world—whether to withdraw from Judea and Samaria (the West Bank)—is closely tied to the above. Judea and Samaria cannot be controlled by Hussein. It is obvious that the terrorist organizations will use it as a launching pad to strike at women and children in Israel. It is only a few kilometers from Nablus, Hebron, Kalkiliya or Jenin to the centers of Jewish population. All airports, military and civilian, will be in the range of "Palestinian" artillery from the West Bank. Israel will find itself with indefensible borders, with the terrorist organizations constantly threatening the heart of the Jewish State. No doubt the next stage, after an Israeli withdrawal, will be a demand for withdrawal to the 1947 partition lines. From that point to the complete extinction of Israel the road is very short. The overriding reason for the opposition of the majority of Israelis to a withdrawal from Judea and Samaria is the future security and survival of the State of Israel.

Although the national historical argument must not be forgotten, the right of the Jewish people to the land of Israel is indivisible. Our right to a Jewish State in Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem is not stronger than our right to a Jewish State in Hebron, Nablus, Bethlehem and Jericho. The moral argument is not less important than the pragmatic security argument. They complement each other and jointly form the prospects for the future of Israel. And if anybody should ask, what about the desire of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination, they can find the answer to that in Jordan, where the majority of the population defines itself as Arab-Palestinian and the Bedouin minority is the segment that protects the reign of King Hussein.

In the Jewish State of Israel there is room for an Arab minority with equal rights, just as there is a French minority in Algeria, or a Polish minority in the Soviet Union. The Arab minority can choose between living in Arab states and living in a Jewish state. We Jews have no choice. We have only one Jewish state, Israel, and we have to do our utmost to insure its survival. Israel is the only guarantee for the future and security of the Jewish people. The U.N. Resolution to receive a Palestinian delegation is a first precedent for recognition of terrorist organizations, whose aim is to destroy a member state. We, the Jews of Israel and Jews of the U.S., must stop the snowball now before it is too late.

RONNI MILIKOVSKY  
 Tel Aviv

Mr. Milikovsky is an attorney and chairman of the Young Herut executive committee.

Dear Counterparts,

What is one of the most effective ways that a young Jew in the United States can feel that he plays a part in the destiny of his own life and in the destiny of his people?

That answer for over 240 young Jewish men between the ages of 25 and 40 is the Young Leadership Cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal. The idea, conceived almost twelve years ago by Rabbi Herb Friedman, has continued as an ever developing organization into its present form and is presently headed by Don Gould of Albany, New York.

To better understand what the Y.L.C. does, it is important to first understand what motivates its members, understanding that this is a very personal thing, and the views expressed here are those of the author of this article.

The Rabbis say that every Jew who has ever lived, as well as all those who are to come, received the Law at Mount Sinai with Moses. If we truly accept this, everything our people has experienced in our history has been experienced by each of us. It is incumbent upon us to understand these events, learn from them, and apply them to our total lives. If I was thrown out of Spain after some 700 years of comfort and peace, if I lost 1,500,000 of my children during the holocaust, if my athletes were killed in Munich, if my children were killed in Maalot, then what is my goal in life? It is to see to it that my children and my children yet to come can find what we have yet to find, "Shalom" and the ability to lead our lives as Jews in our own homeland and wherever we may sojourn and to teach our children those Jewish values that hasten the coming of the Messianic Era. Every Jew is responsible for every other Jew and must learn to feel his pain as well as share his joy. Israel is the modern miracle that is the centrality of our existence to which our destinies are tied. If we fail to learn these lessons and to transmit them to others, then our history was for naught and we are destined to repeat the past.

It naturally follows that if this is our motivation then we must do everything in our power to strengthen Jewish involvement in the United States. Then, by their commitment, they will see that the quality of Jewish life is such that we will have strong communities, educate our young, care for our old and fulfill our obligation to our people. At the same time, a strong Jewish community can influence our political leaders and help to insure the continued support of Israel and of Soviet emigration.

Every time we establish another leadership development group in a community, of which there are many with thousands of participants today, we see to it that the study of Judaism is enhanced. These groups have been established all over the United States and are in most cases still directed by members of the Y.L.C. The major thrust of these groups is Jewish self-education. We are concerned about future Jewish leaders in the local communities and on a national level; this leadership development program is a constant source of dedicated young Jews who have begun to explore the directions they want their lives to take. It is interesting that there has been a growth in the Jewish Day School movement which may partially be a result of more and more young Jews questioning the quality of Jewish education of their young.

With Jewish knowledge comes Jewish commitment, which is our goal. Every time we sit with a person or a group and demand that they translate their commitment into dollars, which is their obligation, we raise millions of dollars for our people and help to educate others to do the same.

In achieving this task we travel hundreds of thousands of miles and help to upgrade the whole procedure of fund raising. We feel that we have earned the right to ask others for money, because no other group in the world taxes itself at such a high percentage of net worth and income on a year after year basis as we do.

Because of our zeal and understanding, our few young men are in constant demand as speakers at both large and small gatherings all over the United States. We are first and foremost Jews, with all that this word implies. It is our dream to swell our ranks so that instead of being two hundred forty-eight committed Jews there will be thousands of us influencing all phases of Jewish life.

We are our brothers keepers.

RALPH J. STERN  
Morristown, New Jersey

Mr. Stern has been chairman of the Morris county UJA and is currently national associate chairman of the UJA Young Leadership Cabinet.

☆☆☆☆☆☆

Dear Counterparts,

Part of the criticism against the space program is that it would only expand the scope of earthly problems. The moon or Mars will become just another arena for the same contentions being waged in the New York subways and Tel Aviv cafes.

I begin to feel the same about this forum/publication.

When I received the first communication about *Dor Hemshech*, I was deeply impressed—as I still am—about the challenge of anticipating a share in the leadership of the next generation of Jews, and of the necessary need for opening channels of communication now, before personal roles and positions become hardened. As such, I expected material which would address itself to formulating relationships, express anticipations, and share hopes and anxieties among comrades going forth into battle—the battle against Jewish apathy and, Heaven forbid, Jewish discontinuity.

Instead, the impression is made (upon me) that another forum has been created for the thrashing out of existing conflicts.

Certainly, this has its place. Hopefully future leaders want to know how other hopefully future leaders think. But should we not anticipate the problems of ten years from now, rather than respond to the painful problems of today, where our own thrashing about only adds to the pain?

Perhaps the essential feature of the future which deserves our attention is the question of how, if at all, Jews will relate to and with each other—Jews from Israel with Jews from the Golah, Jews committed to Halachah with Jews who are not, Jews who believe that Israelis should be Jews first with Jews who believe they are first Israelis, and Jews who have differing views as to who owes what to whom, if at all.

I am more concerned about discussing what organizations should be around ten years from now, and which should not. I am more concerned about Israelis leaving Israel to settle in the Golah than about Diaspora Jews going on Aliyah. I am more concerned about the projected future composition of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs than I am about the current composition of its Ministry of Defense. I am more concerned about what the second-quarter-century generation will produce than I am about how the pre-first-quarter remains will be reshaped.

Because of my personal commitment to Torah as the way of life, I do not denigrate the past. On the contrary, I venerate it, to learn from it for the future. It is for that reason that I ask that the usual agenda of Israel-oriented and general Jewish issues be left to yesterday's future leaders. This is the moment they have been waiting for, so let them solve the problems their forbears created. Let us, instead, anticipate the lot that shall be ours.

ELKANAH SCHWARTZ  
Brooklyn, New York

Rabbi Schwartz is Public Affairs Director of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

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Dear Counterparts,

After a day of writing what must be written if the tiny cogs of one small corner of Jewish communal life are to run, I feel drained and wiped out; unable to write about just one of the concerns that may even best be left tucked way down into the subconscious. Raising doubts may prove destructive to achieving one's goals. But what goals? That's a question a budding Jewish professional dare not ask.

The problem is as follows: Here we are, promising young Jewish professionals, promising young lay leadership, most of whom have just tumbled into our work—backwards, blindly—without any real preparation.

Some of us may, in some dim way, have dedicated our lives to Jewish communal work, some may be ego-tripping under the guise of commitment; nevertheless, all of us have decided that, given a choice between working in the secular world—in whatever capacity—or the Jewish world, we opt for the latter. For better or worse we're devoting our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to Jewish communal work, and many of us are, if not drowning, sinking very slowly.

We are faced with an additional problem in that, whether professionals or lay leadership, we are still not in a position where we can truly assert our presence because many of us lack, in addition to a cachet of expertise, that most essential of ingredients in modern Jewish communal life: large sums of money. We have our youth, we have our enthusiasm, we have our energy, but they aren't tangibles that can be flaunted. Those with money, if no longer "young", may have the energy if not the enthusiasm. All we can "sell" is knowledgeability and expertise. And few of us have that—yet.

Very little in our past education has truly prepared us for the roles we are enacting. A BA in Sociology, Political Science, Jewish Studies, some post-graduate courses here and there. All tangentially "relevant" but nothing concrete or *tachlis*. We are in possession of some "knowledge" but is it enough? Are we unique in what we are doing or can anyone with even less background do what we are? What is the professionalism of the Jewish professional? What are the appropriate qualifications of lay leaders and what should they be taught? Is our enthusiasm enough to carry us and, by extension, the Jewish community, through an increasingly complex communal structure and through increasingly complex issues and problems? Do fund-raising or community relations or ideological organizing on the professional or lay level require special skills that can be acquired, or are good instincts

enough? Can instinct be developed into a conscious technique which will work effectively in most situations rather than hit-and-miss every so often? Can programming skills be developed? Can Jewish communal service be conceptualized clearly enough, taking into account all our ideological diversity, to specify the competence needed to deal with each of its components? Is there a need for us to further develop skills so we can be more than just promising new leadership? If so, what kind of skills, and can they be formally taught? And, if they can be formally taught, wherever will we find the time? Most of us work full-time; we must if we and our families are to eat. Most graduate schools will only accept full-time students. And then, how could we, and what we want, fit into the scheme of a formal curriculum?

If we are to become effective leaders we have to increase our knowledge and sharpen our skills and instincts. Otherwise, we will never be more than "new."

JOANNE JAHR  
New York City

Ms. Jahr is director of the Zionist Council of the Arts and Sciences and has served on the staffs of ADL, Network, and the Jewish Association for College Youth. She holds a graduate degree in library science.

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Dear Amatsia,

I have read the issues of *DIALOGUE* that come my way and enjoy them. Yet, as sound as the ideas are . . . they nevertheless speak primarily to a particular consciousness. However you describe this, it is some sort of political science/historical/spiritual insight (often brilliant), and no matter how delightful it may be . . . *DIALOGUE* remains in the realm of the two dimensional, that is locked within the reality of paper and pen communication.

At the same time, I have felt in all our conversations (from Houston, to New York, to Jerusalem to now) that what you are reaching towards was a vibrant expression of the inevitable and dynamic relationship between American and Israeli Jews. To that end, I would like to share something special that has happened to me.

Approximately one year ago in Jerusalem, you asked me to introduce the American contingent to President Katzir at his home. Afterwards, as we stood sipping tea, Menashe Gadish, an Israeli Dancer from the Inbal group, and I began a conversation. That conversation has crossed continents, grown into a friendship and into the reason for this letter.

During Menashe's last two dance tours of the West Coast, he and I have spoken over and over about the mutuality of emotion and thought that we aim for in our respective programs (he through dance and myself through stories).

There are many people in this country and Israel who would be receptive to the idea behind *counterparts*, and your reason for being sent by the World Zionist Organization, BUT they are not going to read monthly pamphlets.

What I propose is that Menashe and I be given the opportunity to put on an evening program. We would explain how we met, the nature of *counterparts*, and give an evening of dance and stories that would link minds separated by oceans, if not fear.

The simple truth is that we are a living example of what can happen, and we would like to share what is happening with

many of our brothers and sisters.

So often, I have read your communications and yearned to participate, but love is a response that must come from the inside and cannot be glued together solely with intent.

Menashe will be in touch with you very soon in order to explore some possibilities.

If something can work . . . fine. If not, then at least you should know that two men, two artists perhaps . . . but most importantly two who would never have met become one and realized what is always a union between Jews but is too often separated by geography.

In that aim, I wish you my very best. Warmly,

NOAH BENSHEA  
Los Angeles, California

Mr. benShea is a writer and lecturer.

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Dear Counterpart,

The following are my comments on the issues raised in the September "Dialogue."

1. Rabbi Riskin is correct when he states that the real issue at stake is not "Who is a Jew?", but "What is a Jew?", or better "What is the essence of Judaism and what are the trappings that may be dispensed with?" This last question is ultimately one which each individual answers for himself. Once he has found the answers that suit him he then identifies with one of the existing religious movements (or vice versa). Those who do not identify with any religious movement (70% of the heads of households under 30 according to Harold Goldmeier) are those who do not ask this question at all.

2. The question of "Who is a Jew?" should not be within the jurisdiction of any government including the State of Israel. However, because of the Law of Return, the State of Israel must define its terminology. Changing the wording of the Law Return would be preferable to trying to define Who is a Jew. The term "Jew" may be replaced by the expression "whosoever identifies him/herself as a Jew and/or is related to a Jew." This would allow the State of Israel to accept under the Law of Return any and all of those who might have been persecuted as Jews or who identify themselves with the Jewish people.

The specification of nationality and religion in the Law of Population Registry is superfluous. It is a basic right for people to marry whoever they wish. Civil marriage for those who do not want a religious marriage is necessary. Under what conditions the Orthodox are willing to marry is their problem and not the state's.

3. Religious cooperation is a good idea. There should be cooperation between Judaism and other religions as well. One of the negative aspects of Judaism is the lack of contact and respect for others. Historically there was a time when such stand-offness was justifiable. Today, organized Jewry must find a way to cooperate with non-Jews. If not, it will find an increasing number of Jews leaving organized Judaism. The problem of cooperation while keeping a separate identity is the major ideological problem facing Western Jewry today. Too often the individual Jew decides

that cooperation is more important than his Rabbi does, and is ready to sacrifice anything unique in his Judaism. This is why we have the startling statistics about assimilation and intermarriage that Harold reports.

4. Jewish non-orthodox education is a problem in Israel as in the diaspora. Not enough thought and effort are concentrated in this direction. Both the content of such an education and the facilities have to be discussed and experimented with.

5. The idea of closer contact between young Jewish leaders in Israel and in the diaspora is a good one and an important one. Closer contact between people is in general a good idea even when they have nothing in common. All the more so when there is so much that is dear to us that needs our attention and care.

MEIR HURWITZ  
Kibbutz Urim

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Dear Counterparts,

For the past several weeks I've been walking around with something which really "ticked me off," and while I know that there is nothing that you can do about it, directly, I would like to share it with you and get your reactions. About a month or a month and a half ago, I received a letter from an official of the Israeli Consulate in New York strongly urging me to attend a meeting with the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Yigal Allon. The meeting was called at his request, "to discuss with a selected group of Jewish young leadership current events and the relations between American Jewry and Israel" The meeting took place on Sunday afternoon, September 29. As I was leaving to go to that meeting, my wife jokingly remarked that since I'm going to hear him, I should ask Mr. Allon to return with me after the meeting to help me finish putting up my Succah. It so happens that that Sunday was the Sunday before the holiday of Succot, which commenced on Monday evening, and was the only day I had to construct the Succah. I was confident that the meeting was called at that time only because no more convenient time could be found, and the importance of the meeting would certainly outweigh any inconvenience it caused to me and any others like myself. I was confident that no insensitivity was involved in the timing, and perhaps so.

Well, to make a long story short, I came to the meeting with about 300 others and was subjected to, not a discussion, but a 45 minute talk by Mr. Allon. After about 40 minutes of a simplistic, and occasionally distorted, overview of recent Jewish history, he finally came to the point. Mr Allon was disturbed by the paucity of Jewish education in the United States. I must admit that, disturbed and even insulted, as I was by the lack of depth to the whole of the talk, I did appreciate Mr. Allon's concern, was happy to hear him voice it, and felt that this is really part of what I consider to be the Israel-Diaspora relationship; namely, that just as American Jewry should criticize Israel when it does not live up to its responsibilities, so, too, Israel should criticize American Jewry along the same lines. And, Mr. Allon emphasized that he wasn't talking about Zionist ideology, Aliyah, nor contributing to U.J.A.; he was restricting himself to *Jewish* education. Very admirable; he was showing concern about the

quality of Jewishness of American Jewry. And the data support his cause for concern. It has been estimated that only about 6% of American Jewish children receive anything which may be called an intensive Jewish education.

Yet, at the same time that I was listening to Mr. Allon's expressions of concern, I could only feel a similar concern for the quality of Jewish education among Israel youth. How ironic that I had just recently spoken to someone in the Israeli Office of Education, and he told me that when Allon was Minister of Education his subordinates felt leaderless because he did not concern himself at all with education; he was, rather, interested in foreign policy and other such problems! And during the same week that Mr. Allon expressed his deep concern I saw a newspaper article about a recently-arrived Israeli Jew, one who fought bravely during the Yom Kippur War, who just married a non-Jewish woman, complete with church ceremony. To top things off, I couldn't help remembering hearing, just a short time earlier, that the Minister of Tourism in Israel had made a vendetta about removing the *mechitsah*, the barrier which separates the sexes, from in front of the Western Wall, and that when Orthodox Jews protested, he boldly proclaimed, "I don't care if Orthodox Jews don't come to Israel; we don't need them anyway."

Please understand that I understand fully that all of these things are not necessarily typical. Nor do I for one moment wish to detract from all of the good qualities of Israel. I am not speaking as a hostile critic, but as one who loves Israel deeply, and it's precisely because of this love that it hurts me so to see things like these. Please tell me, is all of this a hang-up of mine, or are there others who feel as I, and, if so, can we perhaps do something to change the situation.

I anxiously await your response. Shalom Ulehitraot.

CHAIM I. WAXMAN  
New York City

Prof. Waxman is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Brooklyn College.

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Dear Counterparts,

I am Leonard Altman, 26 years old, and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee representative in Greater New York. AIPAC is the registered lobby that works to win diplomatic, military and economic support for Israel on Capitol Hill and within the Administration. We testify before various Senate and House Committees concerned with foreign relations, appropriations and foreign aid.

AIPAC is a member of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations with whose consent and association we give our testimony to the various Congressional Committees. AIPAC distributes the highly authoritative Near East Report to members of Congress and key members of the Administration. The Near East Report is edited by I.L. Kenen, often referred to as Israel's Man on Capitol Hill. AIPAC's new executive director is Morris Amitay, 38, formerly Senator Ribicoff's legislative assistant. Mr. Amitay is a native born New Yorker who holds a degree from Harvard Law School (1961) and served as a Foreign Service officer for seven years in the State Department. AIPAC's two major concerns are continued Congressional support for Israel and to help win

the support of American public opinion.

I invite all those interested to join AIPAC and receive the *Near East Report*. Please write or call me at 515 Park Avenue, Room 515, New York City—PL 2-2790. It is vital to get more people to *write* and visit Congressmen and Senators (notably Senator John Sparkman (D., Ala.), the new Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) as well as State Department people (especially Joseph Kisco).

LEONARD ALTMAN  
New York City

Leonard Altman is the New York Representative of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

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Dear Counterparts,

I'm no longer surprised, but dismayed to find a widely held assumption in post-Watergate America that criticism of Israeli governmental policies is synonymous with disloyalty to the Jewish people and with undermining the existence of the Jewish State. It is particularly disturbing to hear Israelis condemn American Jewish criticism when, in fact, dissent is an everyday phenomenon in the Israeli Knesset and in the Israeli press. It is a sign of a vital and healthy society struggling for survival, not the reverse.

Moreover, too many American Jews are willing to "fight to the last Israeli" in uncritical support of policies which have failed to focus on the underlying political causes of the conflict. Again, this is not surprising if one considers that Yigal Allon, in speaking before a young Jewish leadership group in New York, spent his entire time talking about the need for aliya, rather than informing a concerned audience about current Israeli policy options vis a vis the Arab States and the Palestinians. One could expect more from the Israeli Foreign Minister. Besides, doesn't he know that American aliya is virtually non-existent and that the situation is unlikely to change?

Let us be frank. American Jews have not, for the most part, made any great sacrifices in support of Israel. Most contributions, for example, come from a relatively small percentage of American Jews who do not generally dip into capital to make their charitable gifts. Israel, however, has become the dominant mode of Jewish identification and participation in the Diaspora. Reflecting this, domestic fundraising has been linked through the combined appeal to continued crises in Israel in order to maintain a variety of American Jewish institutions which are losing support and membership by failing to confront the difficult issues which most directly affect the lives of Diaspora Jews.

The contradictions involved in this process cannot long be avoided. Already, large amounts of unfulfilled U.J.A. pledges reflect that some American Jews are confused by the fact that Israel appears in ever deeper trouble today despite millions of dollars of contributions and overwhelming and uncritical American Jewish support. Moreover, U.S. inflation, the oil crisis, and shifting U.S. strategic interests in the Middle East, have placed American Jews in a more difficult position vis a vis support of Israel. Whether we are capable of relinquishing our vicarious (and therefore vacuous) pursuit of a full Jewish existence through Israel and of assuming the responsibility to meet the very real challenges to Jewish survival both here and in Israel, remains to be seen.



At least, let us not delude ourselves, nor encourage the Israelis to accept our delusion as reality. One hundred thousand people in Dag Hammarskjold Plaza may make us feel good, but the November 4 "Rally Against Terror" had little practical effect in influencing international and, in particular, Arab opinion in Israel's favor. On the contrary, I'm sure that Arafat could not have been more pleased to have 100,000 Jews prove to the world just how important it is to deal with him on his own terms. This is why BREIRA issued its recent statement (see below). More importantly, we must realize that Jewish public opinion in this country has failed to define with courage either Israeli or Jewish self-interest. For example, one meeting with State Department officials appears to have been enough to convince even the ADL (which, remember, published *The New Antisemitism*) to cease further inquiry into the "General Brown Affair". Ironically, despite Brown's contention as to the power of Jewish interests, the Kenen lobby in Congress finds itself increasingly the tool of U.S. foreign policy interests world-wide—interests which include growing arms shipments and economic aid to the Arab countries. [See Dan Margolit's article in Sept. 20, 1974 *Haaretz* (translated by SWASIA, Vol. 1 No. 44 as "The Stock Exchange on the Hill". Also *analysis* (#44) published by the Institute for Jewish Policy Planning Research.]

What's the alternative? We are told (and we know for a fact) that Israel faces a hostile world in almost total isolation and that the Diaspora must be ever aware of potential antisemitism. However, the irony of this message, especially when delivered by a committed Zionist, is its implicit assumption that Zionism has failed (or at best faltered) in its attempt to alter the fundamental nature of Jewish existence. Do we not owe it to ourselves at least to attempt, in all honesty and candor, to evaluate our current patterns of response to the problems of Jewish survival? Certainly the early Zionists would not have been content to cry "Ein Breira"; had they, needless to say, Israel would not exist today! Even 'Arik' Sharon has of late voiced a call for critical discussion in the Diaspora (though for different reasons). Yet, no matter what the reasons, the question which must be addressed is not *who* you are for, but *what* you are for: what kind of Jewish State, what kind of American Jewish Community can best secure Israeli survival?

This is what BREIRA is all about. We are committed Jews calling upon the full range of Jewish opinion in an effort to revitalize an independent Diaspora Jewish Community capable of participating fully in the decisions which confront the Jewish people as a whole. Only by promoting a more mature and mutually beneficial relationship between the Diaspora and Israel can we face the serious challenges to Jewish survival which exist today.

BOB LOEB  
New York City

Bob Loeb is a member of the Working Committee of BREIRA. He enclosed the following statement, which was distributed by BREIRA: A Project of Concern in Israel-Diaspora Relations at the November 4 "Rally Against Terror" (which was largely organized by other counterparts, who might like to respond).

The recent decision to invite the Palestine Liberation Organization to address the United Nations General Assembly has heightened Jewish anxiety concerning Israel's security. The increase of terrorism within the State of Israel, coupled with her

increased isolation within the international community, have further contributed to this mood. It is, therefore, understandable that American Jews have united to reaffirm our identification with Israel's future. BREIRA has joined in this expression.

Indeed, it is precisely because of our concern for Israel that we question whether the "Rally Against Terror" on November 4, 1974, organized by the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, has reflected a reasoned consideration by American Jews of Israel's best interests.

Our understandable Jewish anxieties, conditioned by the historical experience of antisemitism, should not blind us, either in anger or resignation, to the realities which affect Jewish existence. In particular, our justified condemnation of the terrorist activities of some Palestinians must not deter us from affirming the legitimate human and national aspirations of the Palestinian people, with whom the Israeli people must eventually find a way to live. Lova Eliav, former Secretary General of Israel's ruling Labor Party, has observed that "relations with the Palestinian Arabs constitute the most important element of Israel's relations with the Arab world as a whole and the two are inseparably linked. Herein lies the key to the solution of the overall problem." As long as Palestinian self-determination remains unresolved and unfulfilled, there can be no hope of peace for Israel.

Therefore, we must engage in activities that promote constructive dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians, rather than simply buttressing our forces for the next round. By failing to take advantage of admittedly limited options for discussion, we contribute to Israel's further isolation in the Middle East conflict.

The Israeli government's unwillingness to talk with PLO terrorists is understandable. Terrorist activities, especially those which shed innocent blood indiscriminately, serve to harden positions on both sides and undermine the fragile hopes for peace that still exist. Furthermore, the PLO is clearly not representative in any democratic manner of the diverse elements of the Palestinian people, most of whom have not engaged in terrorist tactics against the State of Israel. More importantly, the avowed long term goal of the PLO is still the creation of a secular democratic state in Palestine, which would necessitate the dismantling of the State of Israel as it exists today.

The dilemma which confronts us is that both Arab and Israeli governmental policies have prevented the growth of any other national Palestinian leadership. Twenty-six years of life in Arab refugee camps, seven years of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and the slaughter of thousands of Palestinians during the 1970 civil war in Jordan, have caused many Palestinians, even moderates, to turn to the PLO. Ironically, opposition now to an international hearing for the PLO serves, in part, to confirm the position of those Palestinian groups which have recently withdrawn from the PLO, protesting the abandonment of exclusive reliance on terrorist tactics against the State of Israel and opposing even limited use of diplomatic and political measures. Moreover, as long as the PLO remains outside all international forums of discussion, international condemnation of terrorist activities for which the PLO is responsible will carry little weight.

Most importantly, the recent decision by Arab leaders in Rabat, recognizing the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, indicates the necessity of coming to terms with the future role of the PLO in negotiations with Israel. Now that the Arab States have linked their hopes to the PLO in negotiating for Israeli withdrawal from Arab territory captured in 1967, we believe that a public affirmation by the Israeli government of its

willingness to talk to the full range of Palestinian leadership, while at the same time demanding recognition of Israel's right to exist, will thrust responsibility and pressure back on the PLO to alter its long term objectives vis-a-vis the State of Israel.

By ignoring these options and considerations, we are fearful that the "Rally Against Terror" has only reenforced Jewish anxiety and Israeli isolation. Moreover, the publicity with which the rally was promoted has tended to create an atmosphere in which "you are either with us or against us" and, in doing so, has precluded open discussion and thorough evaluation of viable options for American Jewish response to problems which critically affect Israel's future. Indeed, the complexities of the Palestinian issue, widely discussed in the Israeli press and in the Knesset, have been reduced in the American Jewish Community to the single question of 'community loyalty'. Ultimately, the pressures associated with this process are bound to create considerable tensions between Diaspora Jews and Israelis.

BREIRA, therefore, encourages a full airing of all these vital issues. Toward this end, we will provide information resources and community forums to bring to bear the full range of American Jewish opinion. We urge individuals who share our concerns to bring this statement to the attention of their synagogue and community organizations and to make their views known to the Presidents' Conference. In this way, this experience can lead to the involvement of a broader cross-section of the American Jewish Community in a much healthier decision-making process.

This statement has been endorsed by the following members of BREIRA's Working and Advisory Committees:

Edya Arzt  
Rabbi Arnold Asher  
Rabbi Al Axelrad  
Rabbi Bernard Bloom  
Rabbi Eugene Borowitz  
Ross Brann  
Rabbi Richard A. Davis  
David DeNola  
Rabbi James Diamond  
Laurence Edwards  
Rabbi Chaim Feller  
Peter Geffen  
Ken Giles  
David Glanz  
Rabbi Jerold Goldman  
Chester Goldstein  
Lynn Gottlieb  
Rabbi Isadore Hoffman  
William Kavesh  
Rabbi Stanley Kessler  
Rabbi Neil Kominisky  
Rabbi Larry Kushner  
Rabbi Daniel Leifer  
Michael Levien  
Rabbi Charles Lippman

Bob Loeb  
Rabbi Hershel Matt  
Prof. Sidney Morgenbesser  
Prof. Jacob Neusner  
William Novak  
Don Peretz  
Rabbi Sanford Ragins  
Rosalie Reichman  
Rabbi Roy Rosenberg  
John Ruskay  
Rabbi Murray Saltzman  
Rabbi David Saperstein  
Rabbi Judah Schachtel  
Prof. Morris U. Schappes  
Rabbi Larry Scheindlin  
Henry Schwarzschild  
Rabbi Gerald Serotta  
Rabbi David Wolf Silverman  
Rabbi Martin I. Silverman  
Rabbi Max Ticktin  
Arthur Waskow  
Rabbi Arnold Jacob Wolf  
Michael Wolf  
John Woocher

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Dear Counterparts,

The very fact that you are operating in the United States is recognition of the fact that somewhere there exists a cognizance that the situation is not what it should be.

The idea of creating a dialogue between young Israelis and young Jews is nothing new. Zionist Congresses, since the creation of the state, were supposed to serve this function. The Zionist movement in fact, is after all, a galut movement, must be responsive to the changing milieu. It is encouraging to note that the Dor

Hemshech is attempting to cross all political lines and ideological biases in furthering this dialogue. However, I would like to relate to you a rather disturbing incident.

I have been in correspondence with a young Israel poet for the last several years. In a recent letter she indicates to me, and I quote: "A friend of mine told me that in the U.S., Israel 'hasbarra' is 'very weak' and is bad." She continued, "He also told me that the U.J.A. has to do something which they are not doing."

Jewish leaders have been talking for years about the partnership between Israel and Diaspora. Dor Hemshech is part of the continuing process which will form this partnership.

As one who has been connected with Israel, things Jewish and Zionist for all of my life, to hear, in this, Israel's most critical period, these words from a sensitive, perhaps misinformed young poet, are most disturbing. The failure in communication, it would seem, has permeated all levels of Israeli society. The criticism (justified or unjustified) is symptomatic of the schism that exists between Israeli young people and American Jews.

Let us hope that as time goes on and programs such as Dor Hemshech develop, we will be able to afford the luxury of talking to each other and not *at* each other. With every best wish for continued success,

Sincerely yours,

JEFFREY MAAS  
New York City

Mr. Maas is on the staff of the Commission on Synagogue Relations of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York.

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Dear Counterparts,

It seems that Jews always respond to crises by returning to basic philosophical questions, knowing in advance that, whatever the answer, the course of action is more or less defined anyway. I have found many passionate supporters of Israel here who ask questions from "Is the whole thing (Israel) worth the bother?" to "How many more wars can Israel endure?" Even when put in a more sophisticated manner, in an historical context, some of us seem to challenge, at least for argument sake, the ideological premises on which Israel is based, be it the idea of a haven for physical safety (!) for Jews, or the search for autonomy. I do not think there is really need for answers. It is premature to judge the success of the Jewish-Israel project at this point in history. It is only some seventy years old, a tiny fraction of Jewish history. Moreover, it is certainly not the end of a process, it is not even, to quote an inspiring spirit, "the beginning of the end; it may be the end of the beginning."

Such an answer—which seems to satisfy millions of communists about the state of their revolution—does not settle a Jewish mind. We want more concrete answers, while realizing that they make very little difference. (Even if we discover that the course which the Jewish people have taken in the past century is irrational, that would be no new phenomenon in Jewish history.)

Two developments in this century seem to point to the emergence of a new era in Jewish history. Events have enabled most of the Jewish people to join in a concerted organized effort

for the benefit of Jews; and Jewry has emerged as a political creature, which can no longer be ignored or neglected. Both these developments are relatively new. True, they reflect to some extent the 19th century European nationalistic ideology, one which still prevails today in various forms. Although overshadowed by such gigantic, undigestable events as the holocaust, or the recurrent Middle East wars, these developments are dominant and indicative of the new direction of Jewish history.

For the first time Jews are sufficiently settled and organized in Israel, in the United States, and in other places to engage in ongoing political activity to insure the survival and welfare of all Jews. Thus, Jewish communities have not only succeeded in solving many problems which seemed insoluble only a century ago (organized Jewish education on a mass scale supported by local government, physical safety, a large degree of openness of Gentile society and economy, etc.) but have also chosen to take an active course, one of a political nature, to insure their welfare and to serve the interests of other Jews. Remembering that not so long ago Jewish fraternity usually meant one community absorbing the remnants of another, destroyed Jewish community, the case of Soviet Jewry (which certainly has not yet reached a successful end) demonstrates the revolutionary change. Such a venture was not possible a hundred years ago—not even 30 years ago. Within this process, Israel is an indispensable factor, a premise which is essential, even though not the sole one for pursuing this political path.

This political unification of the Jewish people around a Jewish state has been accepted by most of the developed world, as exemplified by the unwillingness of any European state (eastern or western) to accept the PLO scheme of replacing Israel with a "secular democratic Palestine." While one may argue, quite justly, that anti-semitism has now "advanced" from an inter-personal phenomenon to an inter-national condition, it seems that this is a level much easier to cope with, simpler to expose and denounce. If Jews have to experience war, I would rather it be as an army on a battlefield, and not in a pogrom. The question is not how many more wars Israel can endure; wars, although fought and categorized differently, have been a Jewish reality on and off for millenia. It is, it seems, one lesson of the holocaust and its aftermath—notably the establishment of Israel—that Jewish survival and progress are best achieved through a political course with a firm geographical base. Jews can succeed in war, and advance in peace through such political conduct.

Falling into the traps of demoralization and despair, merely because "it is not the end, but perhaps the end of the beginning," is not only "un-Jewish" behavior, it is a negation of a historical perspective which is one of our most important gifts to civilization. It would be sad if we, young Jews in Israel and diaspora, the most privileged Jewish generation in centuries, fall into that trap.

SHLOMO COHEN  
Ramat HaSharon

Mr. Cohen is an attorney currently working on his doctorate at N.Y.U. Law School.

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Shalom Haverim:

I enclose an answer to your question, "How Should We Deal with the Palestinians." I suppose what I have sent you should really be titled, "Before We Can Begin Dealing with the Pal-

estians," or possibly, "How Should We Deal about the Palestinians." Some of this material will be appearing in *Congress Bi-Weekly*.

The first and most important thing we can do in dealing with "the Palestinians" is to stop calling them "the Palestinians", or at least—the very least—put quotations marks around the phrase, The Arab refugees may be Palestinians, but they are not *the* Palestinians, because there is no one people with a monopoly on Palestine. (Although I would not be embarrassed to defend the position that, if there is only one Palestinian people, that people is the one who put Palestine on the map of history and in the consciousness of mankind, who nourished its memory through two thousand years of exile, who prayed for the dew to fall there no matter where they themselves were, who wanted to have a bit of Palestinian earth in their coffins—the Jewish people.) There are at least two Palestinian peoples—the Jews, and a part of the Arab people—and maybe three or four, depending on how you wish to classify the Druse and the Circassians.

This is not just a word game, nor is the constant reference to "the Palestinians" and to "the people of Palestine" some quaint Middle Eastern whimsy. Arab intellectuals have devoted much time and considerable talent to formulating and disseminating the concept of a single Palestinian people—an Arab people, although that is not usually emphasized when non-Arabs are being addressed—who, though they were expelled from their land by imperialist colonists . . . are still its rightful and exclusive owners.

Like all great slogans, "Palestine for the Palestinians" is simple, reasonable on its face, and emotionally attractive. After all, who owns France? The French. Bulgaria? The Bulgarians. Spain? The Spaniards. Mexico? The Mexicans. The Canadians own Canada, the Nigerians, Nigeria; the Germans, Germany, the Portugese, Portugal, the Somalis, Somaliland, and so on . . .

There is no question that there is today a substantial number of Arabs who have a connection with the place called Palestine. Acknowledging that does not mean that we are foreclosed from insisting that saying "the Palestinians" when one means "Arab Palestinians" is inaccurate and misleading . . . It may not be going too far to suggest that no rational discussion will be possible until international usage begins to reflect reality instead of the dreams of Arab ideologues, and until the Arabs themselves recognize that they are not the only Palestinians.

Large space advertisements by the Arab League (which in the United States uses the name "League of Arab States") notwithstanding, specifically Palestinian Arab nationalism is a new idea, probably dating from 1948, and as a real movement from sometime after 1967. Before 1948, "Palestinian" without a qualifier meant Palestinian Jews. The Palestinians who organized an espionage group to help the Allies during World War I, who fought with Allenby to free Palestine from the Turks, who fought in Spain, who organized the Palestine Electric Company, the Palestine Foundation Fund, the Palestine Workers' Fund, the Palestine Philharmonic, The Palestine Maritime League, the newspaper "Palestine Post" and the magazine "Palestine and Middle East," and the Palestinians who fought in the British Army in World War II, were Jewish Palestinians . . .

The Americans who supported the League for Labor Palestine, the National Committee for Labor Palestine, the American League for a Free Palestine, the American Christian Palestine Committee, the Council on Palestine, the Federated Appeal for Palestinian Institutions, the Hebrew Educators Committee for Labor Pal-

estine, the Palestine Economic Corporation, the Ampal (standing for American Palestine) Corporation, and the United Palestine Appeal, who read the New Palestine magazine and proudly marched under the banner of the American Palestine Jewish Legion, who bought Palestinian products at Palestine House, who thronged the Palestine exhibit at the 1939 New York World's Fair, who bought records and sheet music of Palestinian songs and dances, were intent on encouraging the building of a national home for the Jewish people, not the creation of a 21st Arab state . . .

Another successful verbal rape is the constant repetition of the phrase "a secular, democratic state" when describing the PLO's vision of a reconstituted Palestine . . . Every newspaper, magazine and commentator uses this phrase, even though it is meaningless, since no one really knows what it would mean in practice. We can, of course make some predictions; and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has pointed out in advertisements that none of the Arab states supporting the PLO is secular, and none of them is democratic. When a PLO spokesman can say, seriously, "We condemn any act resulting in injury or killing of innocent people," (*New York Times*, November 25, 1974) it appears fairly clear that they are not talking the same English language that we are.

If the media did their job properly, it would not be necessary to use expensive advertising space to discuss this, or to spend any time at all explaining it. The words should appear within quotation marks, which would make it obvious that they are part of a political and propaganda campaign, and are not descriptive of an actual state of facts. In the alternate, they could appear in initial caps, as "The Democratic Secular State of Palestine." . . . [Like the German Democratic Republic] . . .

. . . Making the Arab refugee problem into an expelled Palestinian problem . . . besides being clever politically, has collateral benefits for the oil-rich countries which are the League's main financial supporters. They are then not responsible for airplanes hijacked, athletes murdered, families attacked as they sleep, children in a school bus ambushed and killed, bombs left in public markets and bus terminals, and so on . . . done by the suffering and understandably fanatic, "Palestinians." . . . Moreover, it relieves them of pressure to accept the refugees—whose tragic situation they had a major role in structuring—as citizens, with claims for shares in the incredible wealth being collected by the rulers of these countries . . .

. . . What would happen if a new leadership were to arise, courageous enough to face the fact that Israel will not disappear, and which said to the Arab countries: "Brothers, you told us to get out so that you could get in. We got out, and we are still out. It is time you treated us as brothers, and not as you treat emancipated slaves." By agreeing that the PLO is the exclusive representative of Palestinian Arabs, and then paying the PLO \$50 million a year, the feudal Arab rulers may feel confident that no such leadership will be allowed to arise. By paying \$1 billion a year to Syria and Egypt, they assure that there will be no peace with Israel. And peace, more than anything else, would jar the Arab Palestinians into a realization of where their hostility and their aspirations might be more properly—and more profitably—directed . . .

I could cite more examples of misleading usages which seem to be taken for granted: the frequent, though I am happy to say not universal, use of "expelled" in describing Arabs who formerly lived in Palestine; *Time* magazine's reference to the murder of a quite innocent German hijack victim as an assassination; the *New*

*York Times* reporter's description, in a generally sympathetic report on the anti-PLO, anti-terror rally in the UN Plaza, of women who wore red-soaked bandages to protest "what they alleged" were Arab atrocities; the AP dispatch which spoke of "the PLO and other Arab governments." I don't believe that there is any organized campaign to favor the Arabs. It is simply very easy, even for reporters, to use the language which one hears most often, and the Arabs have been propagandizing for many years, while Israel and its friends were elsewhere concerned. One hopes it is not too late to substitute truth for falsehood.

ARTHUR H. KAHN  
Princeton Junction, N.J.

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Dear Counterparts,

Most American Jews, I suspect, do not read Israeli papers regularly enough to describe ourselves as well-informed. As a result, I like most people are at the mercy of the *New York Times* reports of Terence Smith and a few other English language sources. Often this leads to American Jews perceiving only one side of the complex political and religious tensions in Israel. Recently, I came across the article [in *The Jewish Observer*, September, 1974] reprinted below, which demonstrates that, although the issue of withdrawal from the occupied ("administered" is a more euphemistic term) territories has been portrayed as one of religious versus non-religious positions, this is in fact incorrect. Here we have a distinguished member of the "right-wing" Agudah taking a position against the more "liberal" stance of that section of the NRP which claims a "religious" imperative prohibits negotiations over the return of the territories. Beyond the integrity evidenced in Rabbi Sternbuch's statement, it is important to recognize that the glib generalities of "Orthodox vs. non-Orthodox" do not really reflect the realities of Israeli life. We need to go beyond old categories in order to understand ourselves and Judaism anew.

DAVID GLANZ  
New York City

Mr. Glanz is a doctoral candidate in sociology at Columbia University.

[The article, "Withdrawal from Administered Territories?" reviews considerations for and against withdrawal. It notes the National Religious Party's demand "that Israel not surrender territories promised to Abraham by G-d; incorporated into ancient Israel by Joshua, David, Ezra, Herod . . . where Jews lived and died and where patriarchs are buried . . ." It summarizes a rebuttal of the NRP's four basic religious arguments against withdrawal written by Rabbi Moshe Sternbuch in the youth journal of the opposition Agudath Israel.]

### Preserve the Sanctity of the Land

*One of the first points raised in decrying withdrawal from administered territories is a plea for preserving the sanctity of the Land.*

The plea is not based on a fiction, for to be sure, there is sanctity in the Land. But this sanctity exists by Divine decree,

regardless of whether the specific Lands are under the jurisdiction of one state or another. During our centuries of exile from *Eretz Yisroel*, the Land remained sacred. And those of us who desire to dwell in the Land because they thirst for its sanctity will not necessarily experience more *kedusha* in Hebron and other cities of Judea, than in Haifa, Jaffa, and other cities of Israel. All who truly aspire to it can experience this sanctity in existing territories, without resorting to actions that could precipitate warfare. — And, in all our deliberations, we must never lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with a situation that risks a war that can involve the entire *yishuv* and even spread to the furthest reaches of the globe. In no way does the *Kedushas Ha'aretz* factor in the occupied territories justify triggering such a conflagration.

### We Must Not Abandon

*The Ramban (Nachmanides), in his comments on the Rambam's Sefer Hamitzvos, adds to the general command of capturing the Land: "We must not abandon it in the hands of any other nations." To withdraw and leave the Lands in the hands of another nation would be to transgress this prohibition. For this reason, withdrawal is not negotiable.*

The prohibition against relinquishing Lands to other nations does not apply in a life-and-death situation. On the contrary, at such a time, we would be obligated to return the Lands, should security considerations so dictate. This is not unlike the person in ill-health who must contemplate eating on Yom Kippur. The question is essentially a religious one. Yet, the decision will be determined by the judgment of doctors, not rabbis.

Here, too, strategic and diplomatic factors come into play and can well dictate a decision to withdraw. This is especially so in the present situation where we are bound by G-d's three vows to Israel—one of which enjoins us not to revolt in war against other nations before the time of *Moshiach*. At a time as this, when most of the people yearn for peace above all, it is dishonest to contrive an argument, ill-based on religious convictions, to drag a weary nation into battle.

### "You Shall Not Fear Them"

*The entire discussion thus far is based on the fear of becoming involved in a war with the Arabs and perhaps the Russians, as well. This should not enter our considerations, for a Jew is never justified in fearing an enemy, especially when he is engaged in a Holy War securing the Holy Land. After all, the Torah says: "When you go forth in battle against your enemy and you see horses, chariots, and a multitude greater than you, you shall not fear them" (Devarim 20:1).*

The prohibition against fearing an enemy of "greater multitude than you" is truly a puzzling one. After all, soldiers are human beings, not angels, and are subject to the cruelest punishments of the battlefield, including death. The Torah speaks of the insecurity a man experiences "should he perhaps die in war and another man will take her (his betrothed) . . ." Under such circumstances, how can a man pretend not to be afraid, and how can such fear be pitted in contrast to faith in God?

The Rambam in *Hilchos Melachim* (Chap. 7, Halacha 16) clarifies the prohibition as applying to the soldier who panics from fear. A man paralyzed for fear of death and the specter of

leaving a family without provider is incapable of fulfilling his military obligations. Should he remain in the field, he would transgress this *mitzvah* of "thou shalt not fear." By contrast, the soldier who is fearful but manages to contain this fear in his heart without immobilizing himself, is not a transgressor and is duty-bound to remain on the battlefield. This entire discussion has no bearing whatsoever on the fears we may entertain regarding the thought of war with the Arabs and the Russians. These fears, as stated, are normal and are permitted.

In addition, the *mitzvah* in *Devarim* and the discussion in the Ramban refer to war being waged with the sanction of a *Sanhedrin*, the guidance of the *Urim V'tumim* (the High Priest's sacred breast-plate) and *Ruach HaKodesh* (Divine spirit). The current option of a war for occupied territories, to be decreed by a government devoid of Torah and *mitzvos*, is obviously a matter of quite different circumstances. Such foolhardy steps would be flirting with annihilation, and could incur G-d's wrath for dealing irresponsibly with Jewish lives; to risk war for the sake of extending national boundaries for the ultimate purpose of national aggrandizement would be in violation of our religious convictions.

### Fear, From Lack of Faith

*Isn't fear an indication of lack of faith in G-d, who is always capable of performing miracles? To withdraw from the Lands for reason of fear, in search of security, is an obvious indication of lack of faith, and can never be justified.*

A Jew's obligation to "have faith" requires him to accept that all that befalls him—insufficient funds, ill-health, being childless—as indications that G-d is dissatisfied with his conduct. He is then required to examine his actions, to improve his ways, and at the same time, to pursue all natural means for improving his lot. Nothing requires him to throw his fate to the winds and to invite catastrophe, under the guide of "having faith." (It is rather hypocritical of some political leaders to call for faith from the multitudes in the face of cannons and missiles, when many of these same leaders lack the very rudiments of faith regarding livelihood and prestige in their personal lives.)

### In Brief . . .

THE "TORAH" THAT HAS GAINED PUBLICITY as of late—that lives should be risked rather than hand over territories to the Arabs—is not an honest application of Jewish religion and tradition, and it is an injustice to foist it upon a people who look back on a series of wars primarily as a source of increase in the number of widows and orphans.

The purpose of considering withdrawal is to reduce the current hazards to peace and security in every way possible. At the same time, we must realize that relinquishing occupied territories to the Arabs can in no way *guarantee* peace. We are, as ever, subject to the will of *Hashem Yisborach*, and are as liable as ever to His decrees of reward and punishment by virtue of our merit. For in the long run, security depends not on established boundaries, but on G-d's mercy and love, which are ours when we merit them. The merit we seek in the eyes of G-d is not enlarged upon by retaining the territories, nor is it reduced by returning them; and retention of custody of these Lands would not warrant sacrifice of precious lives.

We have no right to depend on miracles, for as our wise men taught us, "Whoever depends on a miracle, for him a miracle is not performed" (*Rashi, Parshas Emor*). As we enhance our security by all normal means, we must direct our hopes and prayers to *Hashem Yisborach* that He guide us to act in accordance with His will, so we will merit His eternal protection.

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Dear Counterparts,

For all our good will, there are some real differences between Jews which complicate communication. One such problem is the lack of understanding between religious and secular Jews, those whose lives are inspired by faith in a tradition deriving from divine revelation and those who find adequate meaning in life without supernatural beliefs. My childhood in New Orleans was thoroughly secular. In the past decade I have developed my world view around experiences of divinity and their implications for my life and that of my people. Although I have worked extensively among secular Jews, I return in prayer three times a day, after each meal, one day out of the week, on holidays and in many less obvious ways to the reaffirmation of a system of values alien to many around me.

I think that it is easier for me—even for those born into Orthodox homes who have studied and worked in a secular world—to understand the non-religious than vice versa. In Israel, particularly—where intimate self-revelation has not been popularized—religious Jews rarely share the personal content of their ideology with secularists. As differential birth, intermarriage and apostasy rates and the rising socio-economic and educational status of religious Jews give them more prominence in Jewish life, the problems of mutual understanding grow. Unfortunately the politicization of religion in Israel and the sanctification of "culture" in America have worsened confusions, (despite the good work of such groups as Geshar to foster mutual appreciation).

It may help clarify some religious attitudes to examine a few concluding paragraphs from a book by Charles Liebman (chairman of the political science department of Bar Ilan University and a contemporary of ours) *The Ambivalent American Jew* (Jewish Publication Society, 1973). After thoughtfully analyzing the characteristics and problems of American Jewry from the perspective of a social scientist, Professor Liebman turns to personal considerations. If, he suggests, divine will is the primary determinant of Jewish survival in the United States, "then the free choice of Jews concerning their ethical and ritual conduct will determine their future." Our concentration on other variables, he notes, "really means that we are either ignoring God's will or making it a constant . . ." While granting that "evaluating the prospects of Jewish survival involves intelligence we do not possess," he insists that "our evaluation is also a function of our belief system concerning God, the nature of Judaism, and human behavior." He warns that the way we perceive and define Jewish concerns can itself shape our reality.

For non-scientists, Liebman writes, the problem is not "estimating the possibilities of survival," but how "to articulate a vision of the nature of survival. The challenge before the community is not to determine whether survival is possible, but to determine the dimension of *meaningful* survival and whether that is possible at all in the United States." He concludes:

. . . Like many others, I also have a definition of Judaism which establishes criteria by which I can judge not only whether Jews

have survived but also the quality of Jewish life. My first criterion or condition is a sense of peoplehood. In my opinion a community is not Jewish if its members do not sense a special feeling of unity with and responsibility for the physical and spiritual welfare of all other Jews, wherever they are or whatever else they may be. To be Jewish is to sense that Judaism transcends national, regional, racial and cultural boundaries and that one has special loyalties to other people outside of one's nation, region, or culture. A second aspect in my definition of Judaism is Torah. I understand Torah, at its least, to mean that a Jew must submit himself to a set of laws and practices which exist objectively or in a reality which is not of his construction. Torah is outside of us and calls upon us for an affirmation to which we must respond. If my community or I fail to respond, then we are bad Jews. But if the community, in its collective sense, denies the existence of Torah, then we are not Jews. The third aspect in my definition of Judaism is Jewish education as the study of Torah and sacred texts. This implies the belief that not only are some texts sacred but also that as a Jew one has special obligations to study and transmit them to others as sacred. I would not call any community Jewish if any of these three qualities or characteristics were lacking. It does seem to me that all three are threatened today in the United States. The threat is implicit rather than explicit, and hence all the more dangerous.

Jewish peoplehood is threatened by cosmopolitanism and universalism, by the vision of an undifferentiated and diffuse love and the desire to destroy all that separates men. It is hard to argue against unity and love, hard to maintain the belief that more lasting unity and love may come through each community's fulfilling the best in its own tradition, rather than through cutting itself off from its roots.

Torah and the study of sacred texts are absurd in a society which stresses the primacy of conscience and individual freedom against even society's own laws. The very notion of sacred texts is antiquarian and outmoded. There is no room for a tradition of study when modern culture finds the very term sacred to be anachronistic and affirms the value of activity, as against the value of study, the relativism of all laws and values, and the individual as the final arbiter of right and wrong.

Judaism, as I understand it, is threatened by contemporary currents in American Jewish life. Fewer and fewer areas today are even neutral to Jewish values. Literature, theater, art, scholarship, politics—all seem to undermine what I consider to be essentials to Judaism. More than ever before, the values of integration and survival are mutually contradictory. At least until we enter a postmodern world, it seems to me that Jewish survival requires a turning against the integrationist response.

I agree with Professor Liebman, but I wonder if he did not consider as much Israel as America. Faith in a transcendent Jewish destiny may give courage in times of trouble which secular Zionism seems no longer able to provide for many. Nevertheless, belief in a mutual relationship between divinity and a people implies a self-critique which must distress any religious lover of Israel. One who takes the Bible seriously must believe that the land of Israel is given to the Jewish people in trust, conditional on our following divine mandate. Review the prophets and consider whether, even excluding ritual and foreign policy, contemporary Israeli society and notably its leadership lives in a fashion likely to encourage divine increase of "your days and the days of your children on the land which the Lord promised your ancestors." Those who base our claim to the land on two thousand years of faith might well consider the implications of that argument for the way that faith is now respected.

I believe that we Jews in Israel and diaspora who were given a reprieve from the gas chambers of our enemies have been offered thirty years of opportunity to prove to our Creator our capacity to create societies which reflect His will. I cannot believe that the military or economic fate of His people is divorced from its attitude toward His will. I cannot believe that a people running everyone after his own conceit and fancy can maintain a national sovereignty as well as one passionately devoted to a mutual ideal.

The state which I would like to consider "the first flowering of our redemption" has so often been invoked as a substitute for traditional faith, norms and values by leaders who present survival as an end (and not an opportunity) and whose beliefs are rarely displayed, that I wonder what religious significance this state has. If I apply Professor Liebman's criteria for Jewish survival to Israel, if I believe that Jewish trials and failures as much as successes reflect divine judgment, I am distressed.

For me, as for others who do not discuss this dilemma publicly, there is no alternative to persevering in the attempt to "perfect the world under divine kingship." I do not know if these qualms mean anything to my non-religious counterparts. I would like to find out. I would also like to know what other religious Jews think about the paradox of living by criteria which cast doubt on the success of cherished loyalties. I hope you will respond.

As a postscript to my participation in a reluctant decision to print two responses, not written in a spirit of dialogue, to a controversial letter (both appearing in earlier issues of DIALOGUE), I extend my apologies to all those who were offended by their tone and my part in the decision to publish them.

ROBERT GOLDMAN  
New York City

Mr. Goldman, an editor of DIALOGUE, has been active as a lay leader, executive and consultant in various Jewish organizations. He is currently pursuing a degree in social work and contemplates aliyah.

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Dear Counterparts,

The last issue of DIALOGUE posed several questions about policy options after Rabat. On November 19, the following article, co-authored by one of our Israeli counterparts, appeared in the *Jerusalem Post*. I bring it to your attention as one thoughtful response to the current dilemma.

I have been hoping to see a concise presentation of options from the point of view of those who sympathize with the Likud or National Religious Party positions. I hope that those of you who hold such views will share them with us. I also urge those who agree with my belief, that aliyah is and should be Israel's chief national interest, to write. An aliyah of 50,000 American Jews annually would not, I think, harm American Jewry, but it would be invaluable to Israel.

AMATSIA HIUNI  
New York City

Mr. Hiuni, an Israeli film producer, has directed Dor Hemshech—New Jewish Leadership operations in North America for the past year.

## WEST BANK IN THE BALANCE

by Mordechai Nessyahu and Yoav Lavie

Time is running out.

Prospects for an Israel-Jordanian settlement, as a substitute for the "Palestinian state" arrangement have diminished even further as a result of the Rabat conference. They were certainly better three months ago when we submitted a memorandum to members of the Labour Party's Bureau and its Knesset faction, warning that the "Palestinian solution" was in fact becoming "a real and actual danger" to Israel. Although this was obviously the one "solution" to which the overwhelming majority of Israelis were most resolutely opposed, there were strong indications, we said then, that the idea of a Palestinian state might soon:

"(1) become the cause round which all Palestinians would rally; (2) win almost universal support around the world; (3) gain the adherence of Jordan itself, under pressure from those circles in Hussein's court which would prefer to pull out of the West Bank altogether, and (4) eventually, receive the endorsement of the United States."

We pointed out that the establishment of a new Soviet-protected terrorist base in the guise of a "Palestinian state" could only be prevented by cooperation with the Kingdom of Jordan, the moderate Palestinians and the United States. That, we suggested, would require a compromise over the future of the West Bank. The avoidance of compromise, by clinging to the *status quo*, would only lead to Israel's total isolation on the Palestinian issue.

Has Rabat killed the last opportunity for such compromise? We do not think so. Hussein's signature to the Rabat resolutions may prove to have been a mere tactical move—inevitable in the circumstances—any may yet be cancelled out by a strategic move in the opposite direction. And the U.S. has still not had its final say in the matter.

Before it hops on the bandwagon to recognize the PLO, the U.S. may safely be expected to offer both Israel and Jordan one alternative option: to come nearer towards each other than they have in the past in the face of the growing power of the PLO.

There can be little doubt that not only Israel but also Jordan, the moderate Palestinians on both banks of the river and the U.S. all have a common interest in fighting the growing strength of the PLO. Nor is actual authority over historic Eretz Yisrael, from the sea to the desert, in the hands of either the PLO or the Soviets. Conditions are therefore still opportune for a bid to divide up this area into two moderate states—one Jewish-Israeli and the other Jordanian-Palestinian—and thus to put paid to the PLO-Soviet plot.

Without political daring, and political leadership, however, the opportunity will be lost. Whether Hussein, for his part, can muster enough daring and leadership is a question that only he can answer. But Israel, too, is called upon to make a bold choice between two risks: the risk of the PLO's gaining all Arab and indeed worldwide backing, with all that this prospect implies, and the risk of a substantial, and indeed painful, compromise over the West Bank. The latter would make possible a political settlement agreeable to the more moderate elements among the Arabs and acceptable to the West, notably the U.S.

The settlement we are discussing at this stage would not be a peace settlement. Peace cannot be achieved without agreement

on permanent boundaries and a final solution of the Jerusalem problem. This in turn can only become possible at the very end of a process of normalization in the relations between Israel and Jordan, in the course of which Jordan would turn Palestinian—that is, would in fact solve the Palestinian problem. The beginning of that process of normalization could be marked by a prolonged, yet still interim, political agreement on mutual non-belligerency.

Full-fledged peace, moreover, need not necessarily require a strict territorial division and the delineation of new frontiers. One can conceive of an ultimate peace settlement based upon a confederation of a Jewish Israel and a Palestinian Jordan, with the West Bank enjoying a “special status” in which both of the confederated states would have a share. The offer of such a special status was, in fact, made by Hussein within the framework of his own plan for a Jordan-Palestine federation. And it is very likely that, had Israel given up all hope of settlement with Jordan, it would itself have made a similar offer.

Any compromise settlement would, in any case, have to guarantee each party's most vital interests, but it would also require each party to surrender less vital interests, at least for the time being.

In Judea and Samaria—the West Bank—it is obviously security which constitutes Israel's paramount interest. And in the foreseeable future, it is Israel's Defense Forces alone which can be counted upon to safeguard the security of the West Bank—in other words, to prevent its conversion into a Soviet-protected base for terrorism.

The historic bond between the Jewish people and Judea and Samaria long preceded the establishment of the State of Israel. It was not weakened by the partitioning of Western Eretz Yisrael; and it will not disappear even if it is not realized on the ground—beyond the existing range of settlement, which itself has been limited by political considerations. Prospects for further Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria might be better under conditions of a confederative peace. Access to all parts of the two regions should, of course, be preserved in any kind of settlement.

As for Jordan, its most vital interest in the West Bank lies in the restoration of its sovereignty over the area, while that of the West Bank Palestinians may be viewed as reunification with their brethren in the East Bank within the framework of an independent Palestinian Jordan. The joint Jordanian-Palestinian interest, therefore, lies above all in the restoration to Jordan of political and administrative authority over the West Bank. As between Hussein and the moderate Palestinians, their interest dictates an agreement among themselves, based on some form of federal structure.

A compromise between Israel's vital security interest and the political interest of the Jordanians and the Palestinians should preferably begin with a functional rather than a territorial division of the West Bank. Under such an arrangement, Israel would retain all security prerogatives in the area, while the political and administrative powers would be restored to Jordan. Eventually the parties would have to decide whether to integrate their functional compromise into a federative structure, or whether to settle for a clear-cut territorial division. But this decision could be put off until such time as a final peace agreement was concluded.

The great advantage of this sort of compromise is that each one of its constituent elements not only helps satisfy a vital interest of one of the parties, but also agrees with a vital interest of the other party. Thus, not only Israel but Jordan, the moderate Palestinians and the U.S., too, have a stake in denying the

use of the West Bank to the terrorists as a base of operations under Soviet aegis; and for this purpose there is obviously no substitute for Zahal . . .

A proposal aiming partly in this direction was offered to King Hussein by the then Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, only to be turned down by the Hashemite monarch. But the newly changed conditions should have greatly increased the Jordanian interest in reaching an agreement along these lines.

It may be objected that no political solution, whether partial or total, would put a quick end to all terrorist activity. This is doubtless true. But progress towards a settlement could nevertheless make a significant contribution to the dissolution of the terrorist apparatus.

More important, progress towards a settlement would set Israel and the U.S. free from the debate over the question whether border revisions with Jordan should be substantial or insubstantial. While insubstantial frontier modifications have little military value, substantial changes have no chance of being accepted either by the Arabs, or by the U.S.

Some problems will remain, but they are not insoluble. The safety of existing Jewish settlements in the West Bank may be guaranteed on a basis of mutuality, by granting special status to the area—and port—of Gaza, under Israel rule in the Strip. A special status should also be accorded to the holy places of all religions, both in Jerusalem under the sovereignty of Israel and in the West Bank under Jordan's sovereignty.

In fine, if Israel wishes to beat the PLO down rather than be forced into negotiating with the terrorists, it must opt for the possibility of creating a Palestinian Jordan.

If Israel desires to be secure without needing to have increasingly frequent recourse to wars with its Arab neighbors, it should prefer effective security arrangements (including demilitarized zones) to the transfer of sovereignty (except for Jerusalem, which requires separate treatment).

If Israel wants to reinforce the prospect of Egypt's opting for a political settlement rather than being dragged by Syria into another war, it should enable Jordan to join the process of political settlement rather than allow itself to be dragged into war.

If Israel prefers American to Soviet dominance in the Middle East, and dislikes the idea of having to face again the danger of direct confrontation with the Soviets, it should initiate joint moves with the U.S. (which is not the same as following the U.S. lead).

A policy which seeks accommodation through compromise, whether functional or territorial, is a vital necessity for Israel. It is undoubtedly a prerequisite to a political settlement, but under the existing regional and global realities it is even a more vital necessity in face of the expectation that the country may have to go through another war.

*Mordechai Nessiyahu and Yoav Lavie are, respectively, director of research and research assistant at the Labour Party's Beit Berl ideological centre.*

☆☆☆☆☆☆

Bill Novak, former editor of *Response*, has brought to our attention the work of the Israel Coalition group in Boston. He enclosed minutes of its December 2nd meeting, which read in part:

. . . A set of principles was read, commented upon, and sent back for revision. The group's principles were deliberately



vague, and it was suggested that they be used when necessary, rather than offered as a great platform. For we seem to agree that we don't want an organization so much as a mechanism for helping Israel in various ways. We listed the various projects that have been considered:

1. The American government and Israel
2. The UNESCO Affair
3. General all-purpose education group
4. Publications
5. Speakers Bureau
6. Getting money for our projects
7. An action-type of newsletter
8. A big rally, for the uncommitted
9. A group that would make the news

10. A co-ordinating group, that would check up on other groups and look for allies
11. Self-education (perhaps a weekly program for interested members of *our* group)
12. Telegram/letter bank
13. Volunteer projects for Israel
14. General policy and review

[At the next meeting] . . . 8:15 to around 9:30 the individual groups will begin to form, talk over plans, and really get moving. Then, at around 9:30, the entire group will meet for around 45 minutes, and the meeting can end by 10:30. At the general meeting we can review projects, and there will probably be a very brief report on one aspect of news or policy . . .

### NEWS ABOUT COUNTERPARTS

[We introduce a new feature which tries to further our objective of helping counterparts get to know each other. We welcome further information.]

MORRIS AMITAY, former aide to Senator Abraham Ribicoff, has succeeded I.L. Kenen as director of the America Israel Public Affairs Committee.

UZI BARAM is now secretary of the Jerusalem region of the Labor Party and has been succeeded as chairman of the Young Leadership Division of the World Zionist Organization by URI GORDON.

MARK BRUZONSKY has left the staff of American Jewish Congress and plans to work in Washington, D.C.

DR. JERRY HOCHBAUM has been appointed acting executive director of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

AVI LYON has left his post as executive director of the North American Jewish Students Appeal to succeed DR. STEVEN WINDMUELLER as executive director of New York's Jewish Association for College Youth. STEVE is now executive director of the Albany Jewish Community Council.

DAVID TWERSKY, former assistant editor of *Jewish Frontiers*, is now picking artichokes as a member of Kibbutz Gezer.

YONA YAHAV has left his position as spokesman for the municipality of Jerusalem to direct a municipal corporation for the city of Haifa.

The Board of the North American Jewish Students Appeal is seeking a new director, familiar with both Jewish students and fund-raising.

### HONORS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

DR. STEVEN M. COHEN, professor of sociology at Queens College, has been elected chairman of the editorial board of *Response* magazine.

PERRY DAVIS, Special Assistant to the Board of Education of the City of New York, has successfully defended his doctoral thesis in political science.

DONALD GOULD of Albany, New York, is the new chairman of the National UJA Young Leadership Cabinet.

GARY ROSENBLATT, Associate Editor of the *Baltimore Jewish Times*, has won a Council of Jewish Federations journalism award.

### PUBLICATIONS

JONATHAN BRAUN: an interview with the wife of the Shah of Iran in *Parade*.

ALLEN HOFFMAN: "Beggar Moon", a short story in *Commentary*, November, 1974.

CYNTHIA OZICK: "All the World Wants the Jews Dead", an article in *Esquire*, November, 1974; also participated in a symposium on contemporary culture in the December issue of *Commentary*.

*PERSONAL*

## Married

ROBERT ABRAMS, Bronx Borough President, and DIANE SCHULDER, attorney.

DR. MILTON ADESNIK, research virologist at New York University Medical School and JUDITH HAUPTMAN, faculty member of Jewish Theological Seminary and Joseph Shapiro Institute.

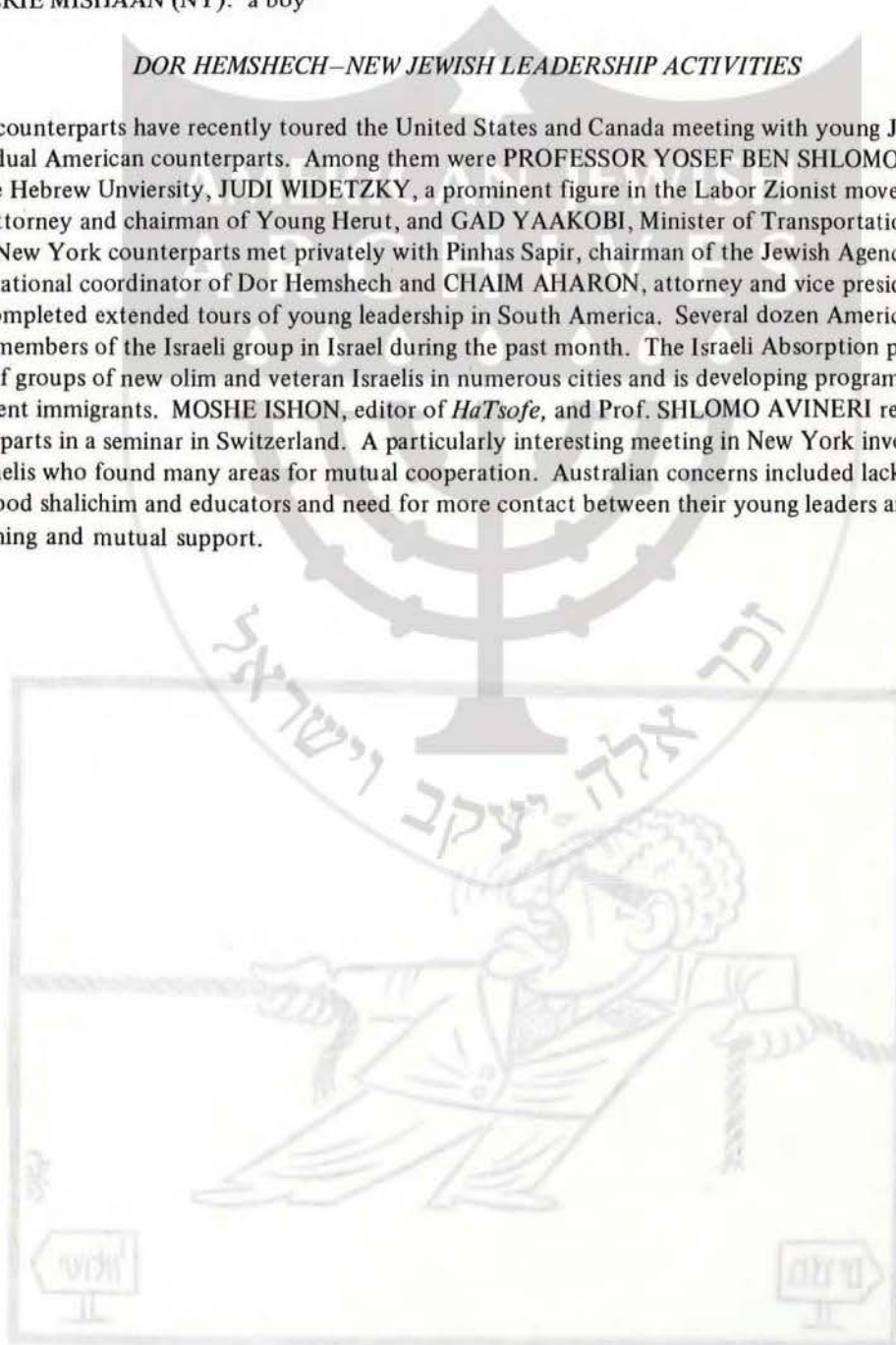
PROFESSOR RICHARD STONE, of the Columbia University Law faculty, and SUZANNE LAST, graduate student in Jewish studies at Yale University.

## New Parents

MARC and VALERIE MISHAAN (NY): a boy

*DOR HEMSHECH—NEW JEWISH LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES*

Several Israeli counterparts have recently toured the United States and Canada meeting with young Jewish leadership groups and individual American counterparts. Among them were PROFESSOR YOSEF BEN SHLOMO of the philosophy department of the Hebrew University, JUDI WIDETZKY, a prominent figure in the Labor Zionist movement, RONNI MILIKOVSKY, attorney and chairman of Young Herut, and GAD YAAKOBI, Minister of Transportation in the Israeli Cabinet. Several New York counterparts met privately with Pinhas Sapir, chairman of the Jewish Agency. ELIEZER SHEFFER, international coordinator of Dor Hemshech and CHAIM AHARON, attorney and vice president of Young Herut, recently completed extended tours of young leadership in South America. Several dozen American counterparts have visited with members of the Israeli group in Israel during the past month. The Israeli Absorption program has had several meetings of groups of new olim and veteran Israelis in numerous cities and is developing programs to help the social adjustment of recent immigrants. MOSHE ISHON, editor of *HaTsofe*, and Prof. SHLOMO AVINERI recently met with European counterparts in a seminar in Switzerland. A particularly interesting meeting in New York involved Australians, American and Israelis who found many areas for mutual cooperation. Australian concerns included lack of community-oriented rabbis, good shalichim and educators and need for more contact between their young leaders and ours for inspiration, models, training and mutual support.



**DIALOGUE**

**New Jewish Leadership**  
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