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2

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3

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

4

5

6

7

8

WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

BALTIMORE -- JUNE 17, 1992

METROWEST -- JUNE 18, 1992

Session #19 -- **LEADERSHIP**

--- PART I ---

I. WHAT IS LEADERSHIP?

A. One of our students wrote:

"Leadership means having a vision of the future; empowering others to make real contributions of thought and effort; doing the right thing, not just doing things right. Leadership means solving problems, not just implementing programs; opening your mind and thinking creatively; being responsible to your constituency.

For many years I was not much of a risk taker. I did not have a Bat Mitzvah, did not accept a scholarship to Camp Ramah, did not participate in a summer-in-Israel program. Getting involved with my future husband was a big risk. He is much older than I, divorced, has a child, is a strongheaded man. But I swallowed my fear and plunged in. The biggest risk I ever took paid the highest dividend - a wonderful husband and the Jewish life I dreamed of.

My vision of the future includes a generation of Jewish children who grow up embracing their Judaism - loving it for what it can give to them and to the world. My vision includes a whole Judaism that has overcome its fracturing and splintering from within. My vision includes an Israel that is strong and at peace. I truly believe that one person can make a difference in that future. I am one person."

B. Leadership means:

1. TO HAVE A VISION

This means concentrating on what is seminal, what will really change the future. This means having a sense of priorities, distinguishing between major and minor, realizing that all projects and programs are not equal in importance. No leader can or should work on everything, because this spreads him/her too thin. Vision involves the largest dreams, which usually take the longest time to bring into activity. Vision inevitably means taking risks. Vision demands persistence, patience, and exquisite articulation.

2. TO ARTICULATE THE VISION AND COMMUNICATE IT

This means thinking it through first by yourself; writing it down very carefully in short form; testing it on a small group whose brains and experience you value; expanding it into a document and testing it on a larger group; then putting it into the cumbersome "process" which moves it widely through the committees and sub-committees, boards and agencies, etc., saturating the broadest possible number of decision makers in the community.

It also means developing other means of communication in addition to a basic document, such as, a speech version (both long and short); possibly a videotape version; a written version for a one-page advertisement in the local Anglo-Jewish paper; a question-and-answer version for quick, easy consumption; a brochure, with pictures, if possible; and any other forms you can think of. Your articulation must sell the vision.

3. TO TRANSLATE THE VISION INTO SPECIFIC GOALS

This means taking the central theme of the vision and breaking it up into separate pieces or modules, each one of which might be a useful goal, in and of itself, so that the individual parts can be beneficial even if the total mosaic takes a longer time to achieve. For example, suppose the total vision encompasses an educational network from pre-kindergarten to junior college. Each individual piece of such a totality can be useful by itself, even as the total plan proceeds toward completion, over years or decades. The specific goals must be carefully crafted; thoroughly thought out; rationalized in detail as to benefits gained; dovetailed with existing institutions in the community.

4. TO DEVELOP A PLAN OF EXECUTION

This means creating a total blueprint for action, including:

1. Costing the project, in whole and in parts.
2. Planning a fund-raising strategy.
3. Describing the personnel required, both staff and volunteers, for all aspects; as well as a method for recruiting them.
4. Selling the whole package to the community.

5. TO LEARN THE NECESSARY FUND-RAISING SKILLS
 1. How to arrive at a campaign goal. (One-day retreat)
 2. How to segment that goal into workable subdivisions.
 3. How to create a campaign calendar.
 4. How to package the campaign in an advertising program.
 5. How to select division and trade leaders (solicit simultaneously with invitation to serve).
 6. How to monitor achievement - i.e. know where you are succeeding or failing.
 7. How to create special events for stimulation (use scenario below as bad example).
 8. How to use his/her own gift as stimulation (early and maximum is price of leadership).
 9. How to solicit a gift.
 10. How to close a campaign (re-solicit at end, if you are close to goal).

BAD EXAMPLE OF SPECIAL EVENT

A large suburban congregation has for decades had the same Friday night format: Services from 8:00 to 9:15 followed by an Oneg. Occasionally, a guest will give a talk in place of the sermon. The only time that there has been any overt fund-raising was during the Yom Kippur War (when everyone was there anyhow as the events unfolded).

The crowd, too, is fairly consistent from week to week, swelling only for holidays and bar-mitzvahs. For a month preceding this particular Shabbat, it was announced from the pulpit that this would be a special Shabbat to focus on Soviet Jewry and Operation Exodus, and that the format of the service would be different: first, the service would be slightly shorter, and secondly, after the service, a well-known speaker would talk about her personal story of redemption from Russia, before the Oneg. Several notices were sent to the congregation highlighting the evening's specialness, but, aside from the mention of the speaker and Operation Exodus, they did not indicate that anything unusual would occur.

After the service, the speaker told her dramatic and moving story for 45 minutes. Then the campaign director of the Federation, a member of the congregation, announced from the pulpit that now was the time for the congregation to reply to the speaker by stating what they would do. The procedure to fill out pledge

cards, which had been handed out on the way in, was discussed. The director then announced her own gift, and asked others to do the same.

At this point, a handful of people, some of whom were elderly, some of whom were not members of the congregation, and some of whom were not regular attendees, quietly left. The campaign director, caught in the emotion of the moment, lashed out at them, saying to their backs that she hoped they had made a gift, but probably hadn't, and that those sort of people were the cause of inaction during the Holocaust. The people, unable to respond, walked faster, and the rest of the congregation shifted uncomfortably.

Slowly, people stood up to speak. These were primarily big givers who were part of the Federation elite, announcing large increases. The rabbi emotionally raised his gift. After half an hour, the campaign director announced that she had been to many of these caucuses, and they never lasted less than two hours, and this one might go longer, so "fasten your seat belts." A mass exodus ensued, and the comment from the campaign director was that she hoped everyone who was leaving had made a gift. After another half-hour, the rabbi cut off the session, and the remnant, about one-tenth of the original group, adjourned for the Oneg. There were audible sighs as the congregation, many of whom were elderly, rose to leave. Many whispered that they had wanted

to leave much earlier, but were afraid of being humiliated. The President of the congregation told the rabbi privately that he thought the process had been handled badly, and was told that the need was so great that it was necessary.

The Federation campaign in this community has been declining for several years.

6. TO KEEP A THIRD EYE ON THE IN-PLACE PROGRAMS

This means devoting some time and energy on the maintenance and fine-tuning of all the good programs and projects going on. While the leader is pre-occupied with vision (i.e. future), the present must not be totally ignored. Most of the on-going supervision can be delegated to others, still the leader must be supplied with a constantly updated overview.

II.

TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR LEADERS

A LEADER MUST BE ABLE TO:

1. Provide direction (vision and goals)
2. Articulate views clearly, (both orally and written)
3. Involve others
4. Raise money
5. Exemplify many traits: moralist, jurist, teacher, steward, philosopher
6. Also play role of manager: creating strategy, structure and systems
7. Rely on: skills, style, staff, shared values
8. Handle basic dilemmas
 - a. Is the leader the bearer of his own vision, or is he/she the peoples' representative? Leader must be former, and will then serve the future needs, not only the present wishes.
 - b. Does the leader take decisive action, even in the absence of consensus, or should he preserve unity, even at the cost of indecision?
 - c. Does the leader fulfill the task of daily husbandry, or concentrate on major initiatives?
9. Handle fund-allocation decisions with a sense of history, and without anger
10. Handle capital fund decisions with a sense of his priorities, not surrendering to temporary hysteria or pressure.

I. SOME DEFINITIONS OF LEADERSHIP

1. Leadership is essentially a philosophical activity that must deal with values, because they "impinge upon every phase of the administrative process."
2. The leader's job is to provide direction as well as to be considerate of his subordinate's needs. The most effective leader is one who uses participatory management.
3. An effective leader must be able to act as a moral agent to persuade others to follow the leader's moral point of view. The leader must be able to articulate his view and only during "moral dispute" can conflict over ethical dimensions be resolved.
4. It is impossible for an individual to be both a manager and a leader. If an individual tries to be too much of one, the other will suffer. The individual who understands the distinction between manager and leader will have greater success in achieving the goals for the organization.
5. An effective leader should possess five traits. He should be a moralist, a jurist, a teacher, a steward and a philosopher.

6. Managers and leaders are basically different types. The manager is seen as (over relying on the "hard" S's (strategy, structure and systems), while the leader's mastery of the "soft" elements (style, skills, staff and shared values) helps to galvanize his organizations into superior performance.

II. Prime Minister Shimon Peres wrote on "GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF LEADERSHIP" (1986)

1. Creative genius is not necessarily leadership.

Do not be fooled by the number of Jewish Nobel Laureates

2. Leadership contains dilemmas and challenges:

- a. The leader as bearer of his own vision,
or the leader as his people's representative.

You must choose the former - and then you will serve tomorrow's constituency as well as today's.

- b. The leader's desire to take decisive action, even in the absence of consensus, or the leader's desire to preserve unity, even at the price of decision. You must choose the latter.

- c. The leader's need to fulfill the tasks of daily husbandry, or the leader's need to undertake major initiatives. You must choose the former, except in the case of war.

3. The leader must beware of thinking of himself as a historic figure. Beware of history - you are not a page or a paragraph or a footnote.

III. Hugh Sidey - Time Magazine

(Specialist on Presidents - has closely observed Reagan, Carter, Ford, Nixon, Johnson)

"Physical stamina, emotional intensity, and mental acuity are the three qualities inseparable in leadership."

IV. Professor Michael Signer, HUC-JIR, Los Angeles
Speaking to the General Assembly of CJFWF

"The leader today participates in the decision-making process of establishing the priorities and therefore the values of the community. To do this, the leader must know something of Jewish tradition. This knowledge is not a luxury, rather a necessity. A community of leaders must be a community of learners."

V. Norman Lamm, President, Yeshiva University

" A Story of Two Loves"

Ahavat Torah - Love of Torah

Ahavat Yisrael - Love of Israel (people and land)

Once these two loves were integrated.

Today they are often in conflict.

Today's leaders do very well in the latter sphere - not very well in the former. The reason for this is that they themselves are not very well educated. You must become more knowledgeable.

"Just as you cannot ask for money until you yourself have given - a cardinal rule of communal leadership - so you cannot effectively plead and work for more Jewish education in your community until you yourself have opened yourself up to Jewish learning. You cannot be a general unless you are a soldier, you cannot be a leader unless you are a participant."

VI.

CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING LEADERSHIP

The Group is Elitist, as all leaders are, and the members of the group must "bond" in order that a cadre come into being which earns the respect of the community and which the community will follow. Thus, the members of the group must possess a common profile.

1. Vision - ability to look ahead toward goals of future
2. Motivation - i.e. passion for success, deep belief in cause - tenacity, dedication.
3. Positive attitudes toward Judaism, Jews and Israel
4. Ability to communicate
5. Personal Characteristics - integrity, courage, conviction, charisma, etc.
6. Human Qualities - personable, friendly, non-abrasive, able to learn from others.
7. Optimism - i.e. a belief that progress can be made.
8. Capacity to lead, i.e. health, business status, family, all permit one to give the time necessary.

WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

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PHILADELPHIA I - May 26, 1992

PHILADELPHIA II - May 27, 1992

Session #17: Zionism and Palestine - 1862 to 1948

READING ASSIGNMENTS:

I. Arthur Hertzberg, editor, The Zionist Idea

1. Moses Hess - "Rome and Jerusalem" 1862
pages 117-118; 128-130; 132-134;
138-139
2. Leo Pinsker - "Auto-Emancipation" 1882
pages 179-181; 193-198
3. Theodore Herzl - "The Jewish State" 1896
pages 204-207; 220-226

II. Rufus Lears, Fulfillment: The Epic Story of Zionism

- Ch. 16 - First Fruits 1901-14
pages 160-164; 168-169
- Ch. 17 - In a World at War
pages 178-181; 184-185
- Ch. 18 - The Balfour Declaration 1917
pages 187-188; 190-195
- Ch. 19 - The Legion 1917
pages 199-203 (end of
top paragraph)
- Ch. 20 - Postwar Battles 1918-20
pages 212-218 (Weizmann
met Emir Faisal, p. 214- 15)
(Faisal letter to Frankfurter, p. 217)
pages 219-222
- Ch. 21 - Losses and Gains 1920-22
pages 223-227; 234-35
- Ch. 22 - In Search of Allies 1923-29
pages 236 (second para.)
- 241; 246-249

- Ch. 23 - Battlers and Builders 1929-1936
pages 252-253; 256-259;
260-261 (during this period, population of Yishuv
doubled from 200,000 to 400,000)
- Ch. 24 - Revolt and Surrender 1936-39
pages 266 (first para.)
- 271; 272-277
- Ch. 25 - The National Home 1939
pages 278-285
- Ch. 26 - The World Movement 1939
pages 304 (section 9)
- 305; 307-309
- Ch. 27 - Martyrs and Heroes
pages 314-320
- Ch. 28 - War and Terror 1939-1945
"We will fight the war as if there were no White
Paper, and we shall fight the White Paper as if there
were no war." Ben Gurion
pages 328-335; 340-345
- Ch. 29 - Up from the Ruins 1945-46
pages 350 (second para.)
- 356
- Ch. 30 - November 29, 1947
pages 361-365
- Ch. 31 - First Assault 1947-48
pages 368-373
- Ch. 32 - The Proclamation May 14, 1948
pages 374-383
(including the text)

TIME LINE FOR THE STUDY OF THIS PERIOD

Early Aliyot

First Aliyah	1901-5	BILU idealists] RUSSIANS
Second	1905-14	Ben Gurion and Ben Zvi	
Third	1918-23	Chalutzim, high quality founded Kibbutz & Moshav movements	
Fourth	1924-32	Mostly Polish - small businessmen, developed urban economy	
Fifth	1933-39	German - capitalists, developed industrial base	



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BOSTON I -- JUNE 2, 1992
 CONNECTICUT -- JUNE 3, 1992
 BOSTON II -- JUNE 4, 1992

Session #18: The State of Israel, 1948-1992

READING ASSIGNMENTS

I. Howard M. Sachar, The History of Israel, Vol I.: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Date</u>
13	WAR OF INDEPENDENCE Israel's Survival in the Balance Pages 319-324 <i>Golda's visit to Amman May 11 - p. 323</i>	1948-49
14	GROWTH OF ISRAELI REPUBLIC Government by Coalition Pages 366-369	1950
15	INGATHERING AND THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC SURVIVAL Immigration Resumes, The Roots of Social Crisis Pages 415-419 North African Malaise <i>Iraqi absorption problematic Riot in Wadi Salib 1957</i> Pages 419-424	1951-52
16	SEARCH FOR PEACE AND SECURITY To Negotiate with Germany Pages <u>464</u> -470 <i>Adenauer & Ben Gurion forced the agreement</i>	1952
17	SINAI AND SUEZ Israel is Brought into the Picture Pages 489-493; 514	1956
18	YEARS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GROWTH The Arab Minority Pages 532-538 <i>Eisenhower pressured withdrawal no policies bad handling</i>	France initiated Israel made atomic arrangements with France (Dimona)
19	DECADE OF DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENT Israeli-African Honeymoon Pages 575-579	
20	CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CURRENTS Who is a Jew: <u>p. 607</u> Pages 602-608	

three issues
 1. citizenship
 2. nationality - ethnic identity
 3. religious affiliation

Dec 88 - crisis came to head
 Flood of delegations to Israel from Dinsona in protest vs. changing Law of Nationality of 1980

- 21 SIX DAY WAR 1967
 Blockade Re-Imposed
 Pages 625-628
 Diplomatic Agony
 Pages 628-632
 Decision to Attack
 Pages 638-639
 Aerial Thunderbolt
 Pages 639-640 *IAF destroyed 416 planes (393 on ground)
 IAF lost 26 - to anti-aircraft fire.*
- 22 ISRAEL AS EMPIRE 1967-70
 Conflicting Visions
 Pages 708-713 *ranging from "Promised Land" to
 "give it all back except Jerusalem + Golan" - B.G.*
- 23 ISRAEL AND WORLD JEWRY 1972
 Diaspora Pays its Dues
 Pages 724-728 *726 - reference to N.A.F.
 728 - Importance of USA*
- 24 WAR OF YOM KIPPUR 1973
 Failure of Israeli Intelligence
 Pages 752-755
- 25 AFTERMATH OF AN EARTHQUAKE 1974-75
 Political Changing of the Guard
 Pages 801-805 (middle) *Golda + Dayan out - April
 Rabin in 1974*

II. Howard M. Sachar, The History of Israel, Vol II, : From the
 Aftermath of the Yom Kippur War

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Date</u>
1 THE RAMIFICATIONS OF OCTOBER The Fall of Golda Meir Pages 3-5 <i>Inflexibility</i> Rabin's Years of Grace <i>1974-77</i> Pages 7-12 (Entebbe) <i>July 4, 1976</i> The Albatross of the Territories Pages 12-15 <i>immobilism of Golda + Rabin led to Sabot's defeat.</i>	1973-77
2 ISRAEL TURNS TO THE RIGHT Begin: The Man and the Ideology Pages 25-28 <i>Zabotinsky bravura Rejection of Sabotim as illegal June 20, 48 - <u>ALTALENA</u></i>	1977

Begin: Leave

3	EGYPT'S QUEST FOR PEACE	1977
	An Establishment of Contacts	<i>Dayan - Tohami in Rabat Sept. 16, 77</i>
	Pages 45 (second para.) - 48	
	An Epochal Journey	<i>Sadat to Jerusalem</i>
	Pages 48-52	<i>Unparalleled excitement.</i>
4	THE PRECARIOUS EMBRACE	<i>In Knesset, Sadat spoke forthrightly & withdrew, a Palestine entity. Then offered peace - [P. 51]</i>
	A Summit at Camp David	<i>and</i>
	Pages 60 - 66 (end of first para.);	<i>1978-79</i>
	Pages 80-81	<i>1978</i>
5	FADING HOPES ON PALESTINE	<i>Sept 17, 78 write home concerning</i>
	The Settlements Obsession	<i>Both Begin to Cairo</i>
	Pages 92-95	<i>Both men to El Arish + Beer Sheva</i> <i>forash + go - Weizmann role (warn with Egyptians, plus called in Sharon at critical moment)</i> <i>Dayan</i> <i>Mair Rosenne</i> <i>- pushed by the Orthodox</i>
	A Waning of American Patience	1980-82
	Pages 105-107	<i>Both govt + Jewish (p. 107)</i>
6	THE POLITICS OF MILITANCY	1981
	Pre-empting the Nuclear Balance	
	Pages 123-128 (<u>Iraqi Plant</u>)	<i>up. 127)</i>
7	"BEGIN II": THE DJINN OUT OF THE BOTTLE	1981
	A Payoff to the Religionists	
	Pages 137-141	
8	THE LEBANON WAR	<i>True objectives not revealed</i>
	A Schizophrenic Offensive	1982
	Pages 175 (first para.) - 178	<i>1. to establish Christian rule</i> <i>2. to evict the Syrian army.</i>
9	THE LEBANON WAR	
	Israel's Balance Sheet in Lebanon	1982-85
	Pages 205-210	<i>Gains: expulsion of PLO</i> <i>Losses: 600 dead - 1600 wounded</i> <i>Syria stronger; I. image weakened.</i>
10	THE TRANSITION FROM THE BEGIN ERA	1983
	New Elections on the Economic Precipice	
	Pages 212-215	<i>Bank crash Oct 9, 83 - inflation 400%; devaluation 25%</i> <i>New elections set for July 84; "National Unity" govt - Sept. 17, 84</i>
	Peres: The Man and the Ideology	
	Pages 217 (second para.) - 220	<i>Peres first as premier - Men Shamir</i> <i>good picture of Peres</i>
11	LIGHTS AND SHADOWS IN ISRAEL'S FUTURE	
	The Search for Realism	<i>Someone is responsible for the shortcomings:</i> <i>the religious, the poor Sephardim, the establishment</i>
	Pages 256-261	<i>But: Israel exists and</i> <i>perhaps that is enough</i>
	The Volume Ends Here	<i>p. 261</i>

SUBSEQUENT MAJOR EVENTS

- 1982 - 83 Massacres in Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in Beirut. Commission of Inquiry - Sharon removed as Minister of Defense. Very large peace rally in Tel Aviv Municipal Square.
- 1984 Likud election victory - a coalition Likud-Labor government is formed, with rotating Prime Minister. Peres went first and concentrated successfully on controlling inflation.
- 1985 Withdrawal from Lebanon
- 1986 Shamir takes over as Prime Minister, and concentrates on expanding settlements in West Bank.
- 1987 Gorbechev era in Soviet Union - Cold war begins to end - Arab states (esp. Syria) begin to lose their patron and arms supplier. Shamir supports Rabin's plan for elections in the West Bank, but stalls and does nothing about it, finally abandoning it altogether. Intifada starts in December.
- 1988 Likud election victory - makes coalition with religious parties after making extravagant promises to them, including amendment to Law of Return. "Who is a Jew?" controversy explodes. Diaspora protests strongly - Shamir backs down. Bush elected in U.S. Russian immigrant wave starts
- 1989 Russian immigration increases rapidly
- 1990 Huge immigration - 200,000 in one year. Government falters on absorption - many speeches - no clear policy. Modai said creating jobs most important; Sharon said houses. Sharon won, and ultimately immigration lost.
- 1991 Gulf War - 39 Scuds on Israel. Israel asked for 10 billion loan guarantees from U.S. Baker started peace process - incredible shuttle diplomacy. Madrid, then Washington meetings. Immigration started to dwindle - Bush stalled on guarantees, demanded cessation of settlements. Israel stalled.
- 1992 Immigration down sharply, because no jobs
Bush turns down loan guarantees
Israel - U.S. relations fractured - very serious