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Box 62, Folder 5, Israel, 1970-1971.

c/- External Relations Department  
P.O.Box 92,  
Jerusalem,  
Israel

March 9th, 1970

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum,

The enclosed Minutes of a meeting in Jerusalem on January 4th are self-explanatory.

The need for recruitment and follow-up of important Christian visitors to Israel is clear.

Basically, as is self-evident, local follow-up and recruitment must be done on a local basis by the rabbis on the scene and on a clergy-to-clergy level.

However, how to do this and how to involve the interested national Jewish organizations, is a question we would like to explore with them. Consequently, I am sending this letter and Minutes to Rabbi Henry Seigman and the members of his Presidents' Conference Committee dealing with this matter in the U.S., representing A.D.L., U.A.H.C., A.J. Committee, United Synagogue, A.Z.C. and S.C.A. Copies have gone also to Aytan Stromberg of the President's Conference, all interested parties here in Israel and a number of interested parties in the U.S.

We are hopeful that Rabbi Siegman's Committee can meet on this, following the CCAR Convention in Jerusalem, and send suggestions to me prior to my return to the U.S. in June, so that they can be digested here and final agreement be reached. To repeat, we are interested in knowing how the national Jewish organizations can be involved in the effort, and in suggestions as to what 15 or 20 rabbis spread geographically throughout the U.S. and Canada could be considered "Regional Trustees" for direct contact to and from Israel. It is my own feeling that we must be careful not to select already-overburdened rabbis, but should seek somewhat younger men who are well-placed and have shown some willingness and ability to do this kind of job. We do not envision the "Regional Trustee" making all of the contacts, but, for example, if we have a Regional Trustee in Chicago, he can be the contact for the Rabbi in Champaign who would then do the personal contacting with the Champaign Christian clergyman involved.

cont'd.../2

We would also appreciate receiving programmatic suggestions. What we have in mind are procedures like having the returning pilgrim go on T.V., radio, lectures before other church groups and civic organizations, articles and interviews in local newspapers and the possibility of organizing local Friendship groups. On a personal level, we also consider it important for the local rabbi just to keep the relationship alive and warm, for the purpose of activating the subject clergyman in time of crisis for Israel, among other reasons. As you can see, the emphasis here is LOCAL. I also want to repeat, because even here at the outset, there was confusion about the purpose, that all we are interested in is recruitment of reasonably important Christian visitors and follow-up thereof, on a local level, throughout the U.S. and Canada.

May I ask that the attached Minutes be read and discussed carefully. They are a careful editing of an all-day tape transcription. Nothing is superfluous.

I look forward to hearing from Rabbi Siegman in the near future and to a substantial beginning, this year, of a cooperative and most necessary enterprise.

There is one other problem you will note in the Minutes: that Dr. Malachi, Editor of the Christian News From Israel. Here the National Organization can be of primary help. We'll look forward to sharing your suggestions with Dr. Malachi.

All good wishes,  
Shalom.

*Joseph B. Glaser*  
Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser  
Coordinating Chairman.

CHRISTIAN/ISRAEL CONTACTS CONFERENCE

Eden Hotel, Jerusalem

4th January, 1970

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

External Relations Department,  
World Zionist Organization  
Jerusalem.



MINUTES OF THE JOINT JEWISH AGENCY - INTERMINISTERIAL COMMITTEE MEETING  
JANUARY 4th, 1970 - EDEN HOTEL, JERUSALEM

<u>Attendance</u>	Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser	Chairman
	Mr Benjamin Jaffe	Director, External Relations Dept.,
	Mr M. Pragai	Advisor on Ecclesiastical Affairs - Ministry for Foreign Affairs
	Dr S. Colbi	Director of Dept. of Christian Minorities Ministry of Religion
	Mrs H. Fisher	Secretary, Israel Pilgrimage Committee.
	Dr Y. Malachi	Ministry of Religion
	Mr R. Surkis	Interfaith Committee

Rabbis Max Vorspan, Richard Hirsch, A. Neulander, M. Meremensky  
Emmanuel Marcus, Zachary Heller, Morton Berman, M. Tatnauer,  
R. Winograd

Guests: Messrs Z. Chinitz, Harry Rosen, Gunther Lawrence  
Misses Ruth Buchbinder, Jacqueline Davis

The meeting opened at 10.00 am with a brief description of the project by Rabbi Glaser. He stated that the purpose of the meeting was to explore solutions to the following problem - at least 45,000 Christians come each year to Israel from America. 15,000 of these are in direct contact with ministries and agencies in Israel. Most are impressed favorably, many are V.I.P.'s, Christian Clergy leaders. All return to the United States and most "die on the vine" because of no follow-up. In addition, many important Christian leaders could be recruited to come to Israel. He reported that he, Rabbi Vorspan, Rabbi Hirsch, Rabbi Meremensky and Benjamin Jaffe had been meeting with representatives of the Ministries of Religious Affairs, Tourism and the Foreign Office, the Israel Interfaith Committee and the Israel Pilgrimage Committee and thought that they had arrived at some directions and possible solutions, which would be presented later in the meeting by Rabbi Vorspan, and discussed in depth by the American rabbis assembled in terms of practicality of execution in the United States and Canada, but in other countries as well. What was needed, he stated, was a program of recruitment and follow-up of Christian visitors by American rabbis, working in cooperation, wherever possible with existing Jewish organizations in America, Israel consulates and Israel tourist offices.

At this point, however, he wanted the rabbis and other guests to hear from each of the agencies involved in the field of Christian visits to Israel, so that they would have a fully rounded picture of what is done in Israel. He pointed out that all of these groups are well coordinated and and meet under the aegis of the Israel Pilgrimage Committee.

He introduced as the first speaker, Mr Benjamin Jaffe (Director of the External Relations Department of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem) who had initiated the idea of the program under discussion at this meeting, and who also serves as Chairman of the Israel Pilgrimage Committee.

Mr. Jaffe, stating that 150,000 Christian groups have passed through the Israel Pilgrimage Committee since its inception 9 years ago, spoke of the work of his Jewish Agency Department of External Relations which deals primarily with Friendship Societies throughout the world. He listed the successful organization of these societies with 20,000 members and how helpful they had been in the cause of Israel's very survival. As regards the United States, he appealed for help from the American rabbinate to close this gap so that the many American Christians made friends of Israel while here, can be cultivated and kept.

Dr. Saul Colbi (Director of the Department for Christian Minorities in the Ministry of Religion) spoke of the importance of the Christian element in Israel. He pointed out that Christians are barely 3% of the population and are by no means a monolithic entity. Of prime importance are the many Christian holy sites and institutions, which draw a great deal of interest from throughout the Christian world. He spoke informatively on religious freedom, proselytism, demography and Jewish-Christian relations.

Mrs. Haya Fisher, from the Ministry of Tourism and Secretary of the Israel Pilgrimage Committee, explained that the Israel Pilgrimage Committee is an inter-ministerial committee of the Ministries of Religion, Tourism and Foreign Affairs, the Jewish Agency and the Prime Minister's Office. She pointed out that all Christian, and even mixed groups, not only specific pilgrimages, are the concern of the committee. She described the many ways contact is made with these groups and in specific detail, the varied services that are offered to them. She said that in 1969 alone, without counting the peak month of December, 430 groups totalling 25,000 Christian tourists, received attention from the I.P.C. Programs, lectures, pamphlets, home hospitality and special visits were arranged. It was clear from Mrs. Fisher's description of some of the problems involved in finding time in the tours to work in a program of the I.P.C, or even knowing of the arrival of such groups, that help by American rabbis, in alerting the IPC in advance of a trip from their communities or possibly advising their local Christian friends on including more Israel-oriented activities in their itineraries, would be most valuable.

Mr. Reuven Surkis, Secretary of the Israel Interfaith Committee pointed out that the Israel Interfaith Committee is not a part of the Israel Pilgrimage Committee, because the latter is inter-ministerial - Jewish Agency and the Israel Interfaith Committee is a non-governmental public body. Its purposes are to bring about a deeper ecumenical understanding among Christian, Moslem and Jewish groups in Israel and to interpret Israel to the non-Jewish world of religion as single Israeli citizens without official language or stance. He described the make-up of the I.I.F.C. as mostly clergy on the Christian side and mostly non-rabbinical on the Jewish side. Saying that the I.I.F.C. does not deal in mass tourism he described the work of the Committee as attempting to influence key Christian leaders on Israel's position vis-a-vis the Christian world and vice versa. Another function of the I.I.F.C. is to create deeper understanding between Moslems and Jews and Christians and Jews within Israel. One such project was student housing for Arabs. Another was to vitiate the effect of Arab propaganda exploiting the Al Aksa fire. The I.I.F.C. also attends international religious conferences and attempts to have Israel's voice heard. He described plans for a November symposium of 40-50 pending world Christian and Moslem theologians in Jerusalem on "Religion and Peoplehood".

## AMERICAN JEWISH

Mr Michael Pragai of the Foreign Office gave the history of the ecclesiastical advisorship, starting with the confrontation between Herzl and the Pope and covering the initiation of the officer of emissary to the Vatican. He described reciprocal relations between the Vatican and Israel and how they function, and the prevailing attitudes of the Vatican towards Israel. He then discussed the Protestant World Council of Churches, their interest in refugees (Arab) and the discussions between the Israel Government and the Council on the perpetuation of the refugee status as a result of their work.

Dr. Yona Malachi, Editor of the Christian News at the Ministry of Religion began by assuring the rabbis that the officials who had spoken before him were very well coordinated and were the people in Israel dealing with Christian matters. He spoke of his research into the matter at the Hebrew University. He described the content and distribution to 15,000 subscribers with a readership of about 50,000 of the Christian News from Israel sent out 4 times a year in 3 languages. The News is an official Israel publication of news and views on Christians in and about Israel. Christians contribute. There is some Jewish religion coverage. Only 2,000 copies are sent to America and information about the proper recipient is vague and not up to date. He expressed the hope that the rabbis could be helpful in solving both the problems of quantity and accuracy.

Rabbi Glaser then called for questions of the panelists. The following points were raised: Some Christians return to the US and report disappointment at the secularity of Israel. Cannot their religious expectations be met by different emphasis and religious guides? Answers ranged from assertions that Israel has to be shown "like it is" to agreement that there can never be enough care taken in selection of guides. It was also pointed out that the training of guides (one full year) should be reviewed, particularly in terms of instruction on human relations and sensitivity to the particular group.

Are distinctions made with respect to the type of group in preparation for them? As an example, Unitarians vs Fundamentalists? The answer was given that distinctions were made but that, again, Israel was shown "like it is". If there is no student revolt, both Unitarians and Fundamentalists are told so. It was agreed, however, that there were shades of difference which could be considered in original planning, for emphasis sake.

Again it became quite clear that help from America was essential. American rabbis could alert Israel as to the composition of the groups coming, their interests, backgrounds and prejudices. They could write the Ministry of Tourism requesting more religious guides. They could interpret "disturbing" reactions upon return to the U.S.

Rabbi Glaser then called on Rabbi Max Vorspan, Provost of the University of Judaism in Los Angeles for a response: "What I'd like to do is raise in summary fashion and mostly, I imagine, my own suggestions as to what the questions are that we have to deal with, we sitting at the other end of the table, the loyal opposition and making a few proposals for myself, for purposes of discussion and some kind of consensus.

" It seems to me that what we have to do in terms of the responsibilities that are being suggested to us include four different and specific areas : No. 1 - What can we in America do to encourage visitation by the right people of the Christian community to Israel ?

" Secondly, what kind of a program in Israel can be most effective in serving the purposes that we all understand ?

" Thirdly, once these people come back home, what kind of continuing communication and further encouragement of warmth toward Israel can be done by us who are in Israel, towards those who are now returned Pilgrims who have at least been once in Israel ?

" Fourthly, I propose, how can we channel friendship of these people for specific help on specific occasions, for emergency purposes, or regular purposes as time goes on ?

" Now it seems to me these are four separate and distinct kinds of concerns which we in America have to have: How to encourage the right kind of people to come, how to make sure the program in Israel is the right program, what can we do to keep the friendships and warmth towards Israel whether it is in one way or another, and lastly, how when we have to call on these people, can we find a process of calling these people to help us.

" And now in trying to deal with these four goals, a number of questions immediately have to be dealt with. First of all, who in the local community should be responsible? How can we implement a local instrumentality in the major communities of the United States as well as the minor ones towards accepting a responsibility of this nature? Secondly, how should this local instrumentality be related to a comparable specific instrumentality in Israel for purposes of establishing a continual line of communication ?



This brings up the question, should the relationship in America be that of a one to one relationship, meaning do we deal with individuals and do we in the religious community deal with them as individuals or do we possibly try to organize some kind of collective Christian grouping such as have been dealing with Mr Jaffe , all through the rest of the world, but not in America. In other words, then, do we have a disparate group of some thousands of individual Christians ultimately or do we try to organize friendship clubs or their equivalent in order to create some kind of Christian friendship grouping in America ?

" Now we shall finance and establish a budget for such a kind of a program and what shall the relationship of the local grouping be whatever we call it, with the Israel agencies in America which do exist, such as the instrument of tourism, of the Consulate , or of the organised Jewish community in America which now exists in many functions now relating itself to Israel ?

" Now in terms of all these questions which I hope we'll discuss , I'd like to give just a general sketch of proposals of my own. I would propose that in one way or another an attempt be made to set up in the local communities of the United States, a kind of Israel-Christian committee, whatever we want to call it; and that this Israel-Christian committee be sponsored in every instance where possible by the local unit of the Board of Rabbis. In other words, that we use the local rabbinate as the official sponsor of whatever Israel-Christian set-up we organize in the local communities, on the grounds that it is the rabbinate that should be the most effective and the most vitally credited and the group that should effectively be able to carry out this program. However, whatever program is set up and sponsored by the local rabbinate should be a committee consisting of, in addition to the rabbis, some representation from the local organized Jewish community who should be involved in the set-up whether it is the Jewish Community Council or the equivalent of it, someone from the Israel Consulate if there is a Consulate or its equivalent in that area, and someone from the Israel Tourist Office if there is an El Al or Tourist agency in that area. In other words then, a committee in the local community should consist of officially the Board of Rabbis, assisted and supported by those representatives of Israel who are in the community and deal with this question, and some apparatus of the organized Jewish community who should be helping in many ways including financing.

" Now it seems to me also, that we must work out some kind of a working relationship with your program here in Israel, meaning that out of the many organizations that have been presented for us today, someone from here will have to become the specific address and the specific person with whom each individual committee will have to work. And part of the process of the give and the take of working out the relationship between these two communities now will have to include some of the following items : Number one, that such Christian groups as do come from the specific cities to Israel will have to be preceded by the kind of correspondence that was indicated by yourself at the end and brought up by Dr. Winograd. There should be some kind of profile of the community that's going, some kind of indication of who they are, what their interests will be, and to make sure these things are taken into consideration.

By-all means there has to be some method worked out by which Christian groups who do come to Israel, have the name and addresses of these people transmitted back to the local community, because this in essence will become the raw material out of which the local communities will have to work out their programs, especially the continuation programs.

"Thirdly, now in the whole area of continued communication between the local committee and the Christians, this is an area which has to be built up almost from scratch - now the Christian Youth that you are talking about might - if you have that kind of a budget - automatically become a matter of individual subscription to all those people who have been in Israel and returned home, and will now have this as a gift for one year or something. The local committee should say - now we are going to send you this for the coming year, so that you can have news of what is happening in Israel, and we will be happy to give you this. If there is enough inherent value and interest to these Christians, maybe they will pay for it for the second year.

"We have to figure out whether the local committee should really try in some way to create some kind of apparatus of the local returning pilgrims in the sense of having a continuing group that might meet on specific occasions, might have lectures, have material sent to them - this whole question of organizing written material and having material sent to them is a major problem. I don't know how it should be done. In yesterday's Ma'ariv, there was an article, for example on the refugees. Now perhaps that good article, which discussed the whole nature of the refugees and explained why the Israel community is uninterested in the refugees, might be translated and sent to the people in the local communities.

" Then we come, of course, to the major question, how do we then. "cash in the chips" when an emergency arises, how do we really take advantage of everything that has been built up over the years. This is not a question I'm going to pretend to answer, but we have to discuss this and we have to deal with it.

" And finally, I think we have to figure out a way of fitting in this whole program into the complex of Jewish organizational life. How does this fit into the program of a national organization that some of us here are representatives of? How does this fit into community Relations Programs of the Jewish community, with the defence agencies, with the community relations work? I don't know. I think the simplest way is not to get too involved organizationally but to think in terms of the specifics, of utilizing the rabbinate, forming specific committees, establishing relationships with the committee there, finding some kind of budget and a program, and getting started and using our experiences in time to build up what can become an effective instrumentality for the purpose that brought us here. These are my general suggestions, at least to open for discussion. "

Luncheon was served, after which Rabbi Morton Berman, Director of the Encyclopedia Judaica program urged the American rabbis to consider seriously the important responsibility such a program under discussion would place upon them.

Following lunch, the response to Rabbi Vorspan's and Rabbi Glaser's program were entertained. Objection was voiced to utilizing existing organizations, including Board of Rabbis because of overloading and the "Mail crisis". It was suggested that all sabbatical rabbis be exposed while here and utilized on return.

Discussion ensued in which it was again asserted that there is coordination in Israel but little or none with America and that all that is needed is recruitment and follow-up by American rabbis on a local level.

It was agreed that there needed to be a regional contact rabbi in each section of the U.S. It was agreed that there need to be one office in Israel for American Rabbis to turn to. It was agreed that there ought to be a single contact in the U.S. for Israel to work through. It was agreed that a detailed program be prepared advising U.S. rabbis how to recruit and effectively follow-up and describing the programs in Israel. It was agreed that a meeting be called between key Israelis and key Americans in an effort to coopt American Jewish organizations. It was agreed the approach in different communities could differ. It was agreed that there need to be greater sensitivity to the religious sensibilities and expectations of both Christian and Jewish American tourists, and that American rabbis cooperating in this program can be extremely helpful in bringing this about.

Rabbi Glaser summarized, incorporating the above paragraph but ended by harking back to Rabbi Berman's charge that the responsibility really devolves on the rabbi in the locality to deal on a man to man basis with his Christian colleague. "There are national organizations, yes", he said. "But national organizations are made up of people from all over America. And it is people from all over America, whether it's a minister from Salt Lake City or a Cardinal from Boston, who determined what the concensus of American political thinking is going to be with respect to supporting the state of Israel.

Rabbi Glaser expressed great pleasure at the progress of the meeting, thanked all the participants very much and adjourned the meeting at 3.00 pm.

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*Report from ...*  
**ISRAEL**

Published by THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

December 1970

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

REPORT FROM ISRAEL

December 1970

NOTE: The following report is sent regularly to the American Jewish Committee by an Israeli observer of affairs in that country. His comments do not necessarily reflect the views of the AJC.

How can Israel go back to the talks with Ambassador Gunnar Jarring without giving up any of her basic security interests? That is the major problem with which Israel is wrestling at this time. Put briefly, the vast majority of Israelis (about 80 percent) believe that peace is not near. They believe that all the Arabs want is to force Israel to evacuate all the territory occupied in the Six-Day War in June 1967, but that they will not agree to a genuine peace. Hence, Israel must be constantly ready to face the Arabs in a new outbreak of fighting--a deadly serious clash in which the mighty Russian war machine may play an active, if not decisive, part. How to face the Arabs in the next round, or more important, how to deter the Russians and the Arabs effectively is Israel's second problem. How to meet the economic burden of acquiring the latest sophisticated weapons to counter the Soviet-Arab threat is the third problem.

No doubt, at the moment the political problem--how to get back to the Jarring talks--is the most difficult. The ninety-day cease-fire between Israel, on the one hand, and the United Arab Republic on the other, came into force August 7 at the initiative of the United States government, through proposals designed by Secretary of State William P. Rogers. One of the main points in the Rogers plan was to get the parties to "talk" or negotiate, through the intermediacy of Ambassador Jarring. Another was agreement on a standstill cease-fire along the Suez Canal, which President Nixon assured the Israelis was considered by the U.S. to be an "integral" part of the American proposals.

But no sooner had the cease-fire begun, when Israel discovered that the Russians and Egyptians had changed the military situation in the Suez Canal zone by moving up anti-aircraft missile bases in violation of the standstill agreement. The Israelis took this as a cause for staying away from the talks with Dr. Jarring. Eventually, after the military balance, upset by the Arab-Russian missile shifts, had been substantially redressed by massive supplies from the United States, and after there was an improvement in the political climate of American-Israeli consultations, Israel was "induced" to go back to the Jarring talks. Meanwhile, the United Arab Republic generated "moral" pressure on itself to agree to an extension of the cease-fire, which it was not yet militarily ready to challenge in any case. The inducement came in the form of a U.N. General Assembly resolution, introduced at Egypt's behest by its Muslim, Communist and Afro-Asian friends. The resolution passed on 4 November 1970 by 57 votes to 16, with 39 abstentions. It calls for the following: (1) a renewal of the cease-fire for another ninety days, which expires February 5, 1971; (2) a resumption of the negotiations between the parties under Dr. Jarring; (3) withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories and termination of all belligerency. In their heat and fury, the African, Asian, Arab and Communist states added a rider, recognizing "that respect for the rights of the Palestinians is an indispensable element for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East." They also called for a report on the progress of the Jarring talks by January 4, 1971.

Although Israel did not like the text of the resolution, among other reasons because it made no reference to the Egyptian cease-fire violations and the need to rectify them, it had been sufficiently watered down by French and British amendments to enable Israel to live with it. The Arabs failed in their effort to have the General Assembly adopt a more restrictive, pro-Arab interpretation of the basic Security Council resolution no. 242 of November 1967. Moreover, Ambassador Jarring himself challenged the competence of the General Assembly to give him instructions, saying he would continue to act in accordance with his mandate from the Security Council.

Withdrawal From  
Talks

Nevertheless, Israel now has little choice but to resume talks under Dr. Jarring before the first of the year. Many Israelis do not really want these talks, because they must eventually lead to evacuating some of the occupied

territories, they fear without getting adequate security guarantees from the Arabs in exchange.

It is not only that the anti-Israel majority at the United Nations is pressing for talks with a view to returning territories. It is also the U.S. State Department which, under the Rogers formula, wants to see the territories returned, except for "insubstantial" modifications for security reasons. The combined pressure is too great for Israel to resist. All she can do is play for time. Some Israeli leaders, keen on drafting documents, and coining neat phrases, have devised the motto: "Let us start talking about the talks" (with Jarring). In other words, Israel, in compliance with the U.N. resolution, would resume talks through Ambassador Jarring. But rather than talk about territory, it should talk about how and when to talk about anything.

The Egyptians, under recently-elected President Anwar Sadat, have said repeatedly that they expect "substantial progress" in the Jarring talks by February 4, and not just "talks;" or else they will not renew the Suez cease-fire for a third period. Israelis are not too impressed by this type of "advance war drumming" by the new Egyptian president. They know that Egypt needs the cease-fire at least as much as Israel does, if not more. The shifting of the missile bases up to the Canal Zone has not changed this. What is more, the Russians, who now almost completely run the Egyptian war machine and are a dominant influence on Egyptian foreign policy are set against renewing the fighting with Israel. There are several reasons for this. First, the Egyptians are still poor fighters, and it will take them a long time to absorb and master the latest, sophisticated Soviet equipment. Second, the Egyptian "war of attrition," a device invented by the late President Nasser, backfired on the Egyptians, and will not be tried again. Third, the Russians are now convinced, so it is believed in Israel, that for the next few years it will be easier to overcome Israel by political and diplomatic means, than by direct military attack.

#### Dayan's Key Role

The prime card player in the Jarring poker game ("talk-stop talking-talk again") is Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. His partner, Mrs. Golda Meir the prime minister, is better cut out for tasks other than playing this sort of poker. While Golda Meir "holds the fort" by staking out demands, Moshe Dayan calls the cards. Mrs. Meir has been dealing with the American government, asking for new war matériel with which to keep the Arabs and the Russians at bay. She is the steady rock. Moshe Dayan has at the same time been assuming varying and changing roles. In September he convinced his

colleagues in the Israel Government to stay away from the Jarring talks by using both threats and persuasion. He threatened to resign, which could have forced elections on the country and might have returned him to power as prime minister. He persuaded his colleagues by putting forward a list of weapons which Israel had to get from the United States before there would be any restored balance under which the Jarring talks could be resumed. His colleagues gave in by staying away from the Jarring talks, and eventually received the necessary weapons from the United States. A tremendous stream of American war matériel is now flowing to Israel, which will be ready for use here just in case the Arabs refuse to prolong the present cease-fire. Thus, it would appear that Moshe Dayan won his first round in the poker game.

Then Dayan made a volte face: After the November 4 resolution at the U.N., he saw that "talks," i.e., some form of Israeli withdrawal is inevitable. Therefore, he proposed a limited evacuation to be started immediately by both Egypt and Israel. Thus, under Dayan's new plan, Egypt and Israel would move their massive fighting forces 20 miles back from the Suez Canal itself, leaving only patrol forces. Then the canal could be re-opened by the Egyptians, whenever that is technically possible. In this way, Egypt would be able to say she has achieved restoration of the worst war damage of 1967, the closing of the Suez Canal. The Russians would use the canal to sail down south and east, and the Europeans could use it to bring oil up west. Presumably, the Russians would then put pressure on Egypt rather than on Israel to make concessions to get the canal open. Israel would not suffer anything in terms of her security lines and if the Egyptians would agree to allow Israeli ships to use the canal, then one of Israel's basic aims would be achieved.

Most Israelis are skeptical of this plan. Dayan's chief competitor and contender for the premiership after the eventual departure of Mrs. Meir, Yigal Allon, put the criticism succinctly, when he said that "the canal is a first class anti-tank ditch for Israel," meaning that the canal is the best obstacle to a massive joint Egyptian-Russian land attack against Israel. Dayan, however, thinks ahead of the public. Unlike the Israelis at large, Dayan also tries to see the opposite viewpoint in order to see where he can meet or counter it. He knows that Egypt must eventually get some satisfaction if any arrangement of sorts is ever to be achieved. So, he argues, give them the canal back. Israel really does not need a canal which is closed. In Dayan's mind, the gesture would seem large while being small in substance. Many people doubt, however, whether Egypt would agree to the plan on terms acceptable to Israel.



Moshe Dayan is going to Washington and is meeting American leaders at first hand to discuss the military and security issues which are the crucial basis for any lasting political settlement. Since Israel's position, vis-à-vis the Arabs and particularly vis-à-vis the Russians, is better understood on the plane of global strategy than on the plane of world diplomacy, General Dayan feels that as a military man, the military in Washington will better understand him than the diplomats of America and Israel understand each other. However, Dayan has not been authorized to go into the details of political negotiations. Mrs. Meir succeeded in winning cabinet approval for her view that this is the responsibility of the Prime Minister and her Foreign Minister.

#### U.S. Support

True, there exists now what is sometimes being foolishly described here as a "honeymoon between America and Israel." If a honeymoon it is, then its background is a marriage de convenance. There are common interests, but there are still areas of disagreement on tactics, if not on strategy. Israelis feel that as long as the Rogers plan stands for returning most of the occupied territories, Israel will be at a disadvantage. And as long as American diplomats believe that they can come to terms with the Russians in the Middle East, the West and Israel will be the losers. In Israeli eyes, nothing but a determined American stand, including a firm military posture, backed up by an enlarged U.S. Sixth Fleet, and by NATO forces, will stop the Russians from encroaching more and more on the Middle East. Verbal diplomacy will not stop the Russians, but determined acts and the display of predominant military capability will deter the Russians.

#### Isolate Israel

This becomes all the more important now that the Russians have chosen diplomacy as the most effective means of consolidating their military bases and of extending their political influence in the Arab world. From the recent performance at the U.N., it would seem that the Russians are bent on isolating Israel diplomatically. The Russians have made statements and backed resolutions supporting the "Palestine peoples'" legitimate rights and equaling Israel with oppressors such as South Africa. The objective is clearly to maneuver Israel into a corner of isolation. Diplomatic isolation by Russia is felt by some as an overture to legitimation of new military pressure on Israel in a year or two. Now that Russia has so vastly extended her "defensive border" to include the eastern Mediterranean and the Arab states, Moscow may seek an opportunity to neutralize if not eliminate Israel, the "imperialist outpost of the Americans," which in fact acts as an obstacle to Russia's own imperialist ambitions in the region. Consequently, Israel feels that Russia will be deterred from encouraging its Arab clients from embarking on an anti-Israel military

campaign only if U.S. backing for Israel remains firm, including the necessary sophisticated American war matériel. But much of what Israel needs, she produces herself. There is even talk that she may soon produce her own heavy tank, something similar to the British Chieftan, a weapon which the British refuse to sell Israel.

#### Arms and Money

The arms budget alone is half of Israel's total budget of \$1.7 billion for the next fiscal year. One billion dollars alone will have to be spent abroad for weapons purchases in the current and the coming year. The financial burden involved in this is colossal, but Israel alone is meeting it. Meanwhile, Jews abroad are called on to meet the other financial burdens for education, social welfare and immigrant absorption programs, which Israel would otherwise have to cut drastically.

For Israelis this means heavy taxation. Income tax now stands at 82.3 percent (including compulsory loans on income) for those in the higher brackets above IL 35,000 (\$10,000) a year. Indirect taxes are climbing and so are city taxes. No doubt, the Israelis are now the highest taxed people in the world. On the other hand, prices are also creeping up. The overall price level in fact, though not in official statistics, has gone up by twenty-five percent in one year, due directly to higher taxation. Wages, however, have been held near the old level. In real terms they have even decreased under the pressure of heavier taxation and payroll deductions, including social security.

All this is putting a severe strain on the general economy and for many families the burden is becoming intolerable. As a result, a wave of strikes is sweeping the country. The cynics say that strikes are the harbinger of peace, but that is not so. They are the result of war. Just as the price for Israel's security has been 738 dead and 2,728 wounded in the fighting with the Arabs since the June 1967 war (compared with 750 fatalities in the Six-Day War) so Israel has had to bear an ever increasing financial load to maintain her security. The Israelis are groaning under the financial burden, but they understand its necessity. Of course, they also believe that others might share in this load. After all, the present situation in which Israel is so deeply involved, means not only defending Israeli interests. Larger interests of the West, and of the United States in particular, are being defended here. Therefore, it is argued that the financial burden should be shared by all those interested.

Economics for Peace

In addition to paying for new defensive materiel, the Israeli public has also been advised to prepare for the new "economics of peace." Apparently, Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, always a "dove," believes that the war is coming to an end. What the new peacetime economy will have in store, is difficult to foretell. Bearing in mind that the wartime economy of the last three years has put a great deal of money into circulation, the peacetime economy may see a light recession in economic activity. The latest budget is shaped so as to ward off any recession of this kind. That is why the economic analysts believe that there will be a growth of the GNP by eight percent in the next year, whereas private consumption will rise by only one or two percent.

New Confederation

Before leaving the subject of war and peace, one cannot avoid glancing across Israel's borders at her Arab neighbors. The governments are changing in every Arab country. They seem to indicate peace rather than war. In Syria, another coup has brought in yet another ruler. General Hafiz Assad aims at joining in the proposed union of Egypt, Libya and the Sudan. Jordan may also want to join and some of the Palestinians, too, have expressed a desire to enter. Such a union must be a loose confederation if it is to have any chance of success. Any attempt at tightly structured union will cause it to disintegrate quickly. Israelis ask if the proposed confederation means a renewal of the much talked of but ineffective Eastern Command against Israel. Probably not, since Iraq is breaking away, withdrawing into its own domestic affairs. Likewise Algeria is looking West, no longer to Egypt and Suez. In Saudi Arabia King Faisal is reported gravely ill, and who knows whether the monarchy will continue after his death. In Jordan, King Hussein is again in command and the Palestinian terrorists are on the defensive. They are trying to re-open the attacks on Israel in one or two places, but only from Lebanon, not from Jordan. And Egypt, under President Sadat is also turning increasingly inward to meet its own domestic problems.

Palestine State in Jordan

What then of the Palestinian Arabs? The fact that the United Nations recognizes their "rights" and the third world treats their terrorist fighters as freedom fighters makes little difference to a real solution of that problem. Israelis, now more than ever, favor a "Palestine state" in Jordanian territory, perhaps under the leadership of King Hussein. In the end, that is what probably will happen; but it is still too early to take a definite stand. Two or three years will have to pass before the Palestinian Arabs can find a

settlement to their territorial and leadership problems.

With this in mind, Israel continues on a limited scale to settle some Jews in the occupied areas. In the Gaza Strip, for instance, a former kibbutz has been re-established. In Hebron, houses for 250 Jewish families are nearing completion. Along the Jordan Valley, Jewish defense kibbutzim are being set up, while Mr. Allon assures the critics that this is "only for defensive and for political reasons." But many wonder whether these "temporary" strategic settlements will not become permanent and make it hard for the government to agree to "withdraw" except along the Suez Canal. Prime Minister Golda Meir has turned down a proposal to set up local self-government in the occupied areas.

Leaders On the domestic scene, both men and problems dominated. Ben-Gurion, the founding father of Israel, celebrated his eighty-fourth birthday. This was an occasion for mending old friendships, which had gone wrong these last years. One cannot yet talk of Ben-Gurion's declining years, since he is as fit as ever, and is soon bringing his memoirs to a close. In the Herut party, now again in opposition, though not whole-heartedly, Menahem Begin is still sole leader. But, General Ezer Weizmann is to be chairman of the party, thus sharing the leadership with Begin. The National Religious Party is without a leader, since the death of Moshe Shapira, and is divided into various factions.

Drug Traffic One of the new problems facing Israel is the drug problem--but in another form. There is little drug taking here, and what there is amounts to a one-time taste for curiosity's sake. Virtually all drug takers here have come in from abroad. On the other hand, the "open bridges" policy of increased contact with Jordan and the broader Arab world inaugurated by Israel since the Six-Day War has had the side effect of bringing Israelis into contact with the traditional Arab drug smugglers. Young people from abroad and drug traffickers, try to get their supplies, especially hashish, from Israel. Connections between Israel and the West are easy and frequent, and consequently, there are many travellers who draw no attention from the authorities. In Israel the drugs are brought in through the Old City of Jerusalem, where the lines are open into the Arab world east of Israel. It is then taken abroad by travellers or sent in disguised packages.

Army Duty

A more serious domestic problem stems from reserve duty in the army. After three years, reserve duty is becoming a problem for all too many men. Most men are called up from 30 to 40 days each year, but some are called for longer periods. Their absence causes serious trouble in industry, commerce, public services, and especially for professionals and other self-employed persons. So far the army has listened to rising public criticism, but has maintained its full call-up of reserves. Now a move is on foot to review the call-up system, so as to relieve at least some basic industries.

Student Explosion

There is a student explosion. About fifty thousand students are attending universities this year. This means that universities are filled beyond capacity everywhere except in the Negev. An example of the grave situation is that over a thousand students competed for eighty places in medical school this year. Similar situations are beginning to develop in engineering and other departments.

FAD  
December 1970



POLICY BACKGROUND



Embassy of Israel

Washington, D.C.

January 5, 1971

## THE JARRING TALKS: ISRAEL'S THIRD TRY

1. Israel, for the third time since 1967, is about to attempt to negotiate peace with its neighbors, Egypt and Jordan, through talks with Gunnar Jarring, the UN Special Representative. This was conveyed in the Government announcement of December 28, 1970. The decision reflects Israel's determination to exhaust every prospect, however slight, to make the Jarring mission work despite the two abortive efforts of the past.

### Lessons and Perspectives

2. The diplomatic history of the Jarring mission is important for its lessons and for the perspective it offers in assessing the prospects of the impending talks. Its main elements can be simply told.

In December 1967 Israel began its contacts with Ambassador Jarring. His mandate, as laid down by the Security Council resolution of November '67, required him "to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement." What followed was, in sum, an attempt by Jarring to bring Israel, Egypt and Jordan together in some form of a negotiation with a view to carrying out his mandate in keeping with the principles of the Security Council resolution. Between December 1967 and June 1968, Gunnar Jarring commuted repeatedly between Jerusalem, Cairo and Amman. He delivered numerous letters from the Government of Israel to the Governments of Egypt and Jordan. This correspondence (containing proposals for a possible negotiation agenda, expressing Israel's desire to hear the other side's views, proposing ideas on the major issues requiring solution, and suggesting means whereby the parties might be brought together for discussion) either went unanswered or failed to elicit substantive response. In March 1968, Ambassador Jarring mooted the idea of convening a meeting between the parties under his auspices. This was rejected by the Arabs. Egypt and Jordan declared their refusal to enter into a peace negotiation with Israel, a posture that was summed up by President Nasser in a speech in Cairo on June 23, 1968. He said:

"The following principles of Egyptian policy are immutable:  
One - no negotiation with Israel. Two - no peace with Israel.  
Three - no recognition of Israel. Four - no transactions will be made at the expense of Palestinian territories or the Palestinian people."

These were the elements of policy (originally pronounced at the Khartoum Arab summit in September 1967) that condemned the first Jarring effort to paralysis. The Special Representative persisted through April 1969 in his attempts to establish a meaningful basis for negotiations and in that same month he suspended his mission.

3. The lesson Israel drew from this first Jarring experience was that there could be no progress towards peace so long as the Arab view of no negotiation, no peace, no recognition persisted. President Nasser and the Soviet leaders gave it a name: "political solution", as distinct from the Israel-U.S. formula of a "peace settlement". Just as the term, "peace settlement" had substantive meaning, namely a contractually binding peace freely negotiated between the parties without prior conditions, so did the term "political solution" have a defined meaning in Arab-Soviet parlance. Simply put, it meant a political arrangement much in line with the one imposed on Israel in 1957. The paragraphs of the Security Council resolution were made to read not as principles for a negotiation but as articles requiring automatic "implementation". Hence, Jarring's task was not to bring about a negotiation between the parties for peace, but to draw up what the Arabs and Soviets called a "timetable". That was defined to mean an Israeli commitment to total withdrawal as a precondition for any Arab undertaking. Such an undertaking was not to include peace with Israel but, as in 1957, a series of political arrangements devised through third-party intervention. With this, the Arab conditions of a "political solution" (no negotiation, no peace and no recognition of Israel) were to be fulfilled.

4. The essence of this doctrine was carried forward into the Four Power talks by the U.S.S.R. which sought, unsuccessfully, to win an interpretation of the Security Council resolution in keeping with its terms. Such an interpretation was to serve Jarring as "guidelines" in reviving his mission. The effort was contested by the United States which insisted that the purpose of the Security Council resolution, and hence of the Jarring mission, was a negotiated agreement between the parties with a view to establishing a genuine peace, not a third-party palliative political arrangement.

#### Direct Soviet Intervention

5. The suspension of the Jarring mission coincided with Nasser's renunciation of the ceasefire and his launching of the war of attrition



in the spring of 1969. The attrition policy was a joint Egyptian-Soviet strategy. Its purpose was to subject Israel to mounting military pressure and compel it and the U.S. to surrender to the Arab-Soviet political terms being pressed in the Four Power forum. When, by January 1970, it became clear that the strategy had failed, Nasser made his secret trip to Moscow. There he obtained a Soviet agreement to involve itself militarily on a combat level so as to make possible the renewal of attrition. Soviet SA-III missiles, manned by Red Army personnel, made their appearance in the Egyptian heartland in March 1970, followed in April by Soviet combat pilots. The presence of Russian combat troops in Egypt manning weapon installations had been denied by both Moscow and Cairo until a few days ago. The admission of their presence was made on January 4 by the new Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat. In a speech in Tanta he acknowledged that Egyptian missile sites were manned by Russian soldiers and disclosed that they had suffered casualties. "The President", (the late Abdul Nasser) Sadat said, "asked for Soviet soldiers until our soldiers completed their training. These soldiers came."

6. The goal of the Soviet military intervention was to eventually extend the ground-to-air missile system forward into the Suez Canal battle zone in an effort to relieve the Egyptian artillery from the harassment of Israeli aircraft and thus permit the reescalation of heavy bombardment. For almost four months this effort was pressed but failed under the impact of Israel's air response.

#### The U.S. Initiative

7. It was at this juncture, in June 1970, that the U.S. proposed its political initiative and, specifically, the revival of the Jarring mission to be accompanied by a cease-fire standstill agreement to freeze the military situation along the Suez Canal and the Jordan River. What the initiative asked of Israel was two things: to test the intentions of the other side in talks, albeit indirect ones; and to risk a limited ceasefire despite the prospect of it being abused to Egyptian-Russian advantage. Israel's initial hesitation was prompted, principally, by the risk it was required to take with respect to the ceasefire (the Security Council resolution of June 1967 had called for an unlimited and unconditional ceasefire); the notion of an indirect talking procedure through Jarring which had failed before; the consistent refusal of the Arabs to meet face-to-face with Israel,

reflective of a continuing non-recognition policy; and the basically unchanged posture of Egypt and the Soviet Union which continued to speak of a "political solution", not of a genuine peace settlement.

#### Unilateral Concessions

8. Israel, despite these fears, agreed in August 1970 to accept the U.S. initiative. It did so in the belief that the risks entailed would have proved justified if, indeed, the revived Jarring talks would at least serve as an avenue to a more genuine direct negotiation out of which a peace settlement might emerge. This was the sentiment that motivated Israel to agree to a series of unilateral concessions in an effort to get the talks started: it accepted the procedure of indirect negotiation in the hope that it would ultimately develop into a meaningful face-to-face dialogue; it agreed to a limited ceasefire and concluded an agreement with Egypt on this and on a military standstill; it agreed to New York as the site of the talks, dropping its original request that the talks be held at a venue closer to the Middle East; and it agreed not to make an issue out of the Arab refusal to delegate their Foreign Ministers to the talks as Jarring had requested. Indeed, it may be said in retrospect that no other party did as much and risked as much in order to assure the start of the Jarring talks as did Israel in August 1970.

#### The Violations

9. What happened, subsequently, is a matter of public record. On September 3, 1970, the United States confirmed Israel's charges that Egypt and the Soviet Union were massively violating the ceasefire-standstill agreement. By their duplicity, they succeeded in achieving in a matter of weeks what they had failed to accomplish in the months prior to the ceasefire. Here was a clear attempt to confront Israel with new military facts in gross violation of a specific agreement which Egypt had entered into. The dense missile system which Egypt, with Soviet connivance, had deployed in the standstill zone under the ceasefire screen created a change in the strategic balance and produced a threat to Israel that had not existed before August 7 when the agreement came into effect. It was a preconceived stroke with a military and political objective. The missiles represented a virtual ultimatum to Israel: either Israel accepts in the Jarring talks the Egyptian-Soviet dictat of a "political solution" or face the consequences of what President Nasser termed a "military solution". Egypt and the Soviet Union were, in fact, seeking to use the U.S. initiative to bring about an Israeli surrender.

10. Israel suspended its participation in the Jarring talks at the beginning of September 1970. The Egyptian-Soviet duplicity and their policies gave Israel no alternative. Israel called for the removal of what observers said was the most sophisticated missile system in the world. It demanded the restoration of the military situation as it had existed on August 7 when the ceasefire-standstill agreement came into effect. This never happened. The missiles are still there, deployed in the standstill zone, and complemented now by ground-to-ground Luna missiles, the first such weapons to be introduced in the Middle East. Their deployment has been admitted by the Egyptian President in his lengthy interview with the New York Times, December 28, 1970.

10. That Israel has agreed now to make a third attempt to talk peace with its neighbors through Jarring, despite all that has occurred, is a reflection of its continuing resolve to leave no stone unturned in its quest to test to the end the prospects of peace. The question is, do the talks have a chance of success now? Certainly, if Egypt and the Soviet Union will change their basic policy of a "political solution". Past experience has shown that peace cannot be made by correspondence or by questionnaires. It can only be achieved through dialogue. As stated by Prime Minister Meir in the Knesset (Parliament) on December 29, 1970:

"In accordance with the guidelines of Government policy we are going into negotiations without prior conditions, willing and prepared not only to put forth our position but also to listen to the proposals of the other parties to these talks. At the same time we reject all threats of the renewal of firing or the putting forward of any prior conditions whatsoever."

She went on:

"The talks will be of value only if they are held in an atmosphere of tolerance and a mutual desire to reach agreement."

These conditions are elementary to any kind of a meaningful negotiation. If these intentions are now going to be shared by Egypt and Jordan, the new round of Jarring talks holds out the prospect for peace. Peace certainly will not flow from ultimatums, nor from threats of the kind uttered by Egyptian President Sadat in recent days, to wit, his remarks in Cairo on January 2:

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"We will not allow the ceasefire to become permanent unless there is a seriousness, meaning that there is a timetable for withdrawal and for implementation of the Security Council resolution. If not, we will not abide by the ceasefire."

Again, there is the element of ultimatum and the refrain of the very same basic elements of policy that guaranteed the failure of the first Jarring effort during '68 and '69: the notion that the Security Council resolution has to be automatically "implemented" with Gunnar Jarring laying down a "timetable" for withdrawal, without an agreement on peace and without reciprocal commitments directly contracted between the parties. Such rhetoric is not the stuff of peaceful intent. It originates in a philosophy that declares "Never, never, never" which is what President Sadat answered when asked by the New York Times on December 23, 1970, whether he would ever enter into diplomatic relations with Israel (published in the Times on December 28). The basic condition for the success of the Jarring talks lies in the change of this outlook.

11. The Israel-Arab conflict can be ended only by contractual, binding peace agreements. Until this is achieved and defensible borders agreed upon Israel will maintain the ceasefire lines on all fronts without withdrawal. The Security Council resolution was conceived as a framework for negotiations in order to reach agreement, signature and the implementation of the reciprocal obligations contained in the contractual agreements reached. This is the essence of an Israel-Arab settlement and it is in its pursuit that Israel seeks now to communicate with its neighbors through the Jarring talks.

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TO: Foreign Affairs Department                      DATE: 1 January 1971  
FROM: M. Bernard Resnikoff                      DISTRIBUTION: Mort Yarmon  
SUBJ: The New Aliya from America:                      Hy Bookbinder  
Causes of Disenchantment                      Zachariah Shuster  
PART I.

In its issue dated November 30, 1970, Time Magazine reports that "last year" 30% of the American families and about 60% of the single Americans who emigrated to Israel "returned without settling". No confirmation of these percentages - or of any other figures for that matter - were available from any authoritative source. Neither the Ministry of Immigration, nor the Jewish Agency, nor the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel seems to be in possession of reasonably accurate statistics concerning these movements, though the general impression is the Time's figures are grossly exaggerated.

Somewhat less difficult to obtain are figures concerning the dimensions of the new Aliya from the United States. By all accounts, 1970 seems to be a peak year - over 6,000; this means that during this year more American Jews immigrated into Israel in one month than they did in an average year before the Six-Day War. In the period June 1967 to December 1969, the total was not far from 8,000. Though rather small when judged by standards of mass immigration, these figures represent a tremendous improvement on those of the pre-1967 years.

To get an idea of this increase we only have to glance at immigration figures for the years preceding the Six-Day War. The total number of immigrants who came from America from 1948 to the mid-Sixties - and stayed - was given as a net figure of 7,595. This represented somewhat less than a fifth of the total of Jews who came to Israel from the United States during that period. In his book, American Jews in Israel (New York, 1967) Harold Isaacs quotes an estimate to the effect that "for every American Jew who came and stayed there were five or more who came and, after a time, left." He further quotes a former President of the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel as saying that, out of a total of 35,000 Americans who had come to Israel between 1948 and 1959 only an estimated 6,000 remained. Figures published in December 1964, moreover, showed the number of American immigrants since 1948 as 10,400 - out of a grand total of 1,500,000 immigrants who came to Israel during the same period. (The number of American Jews who came to Palestine from 1860 to 1948 was about 7,000 out of a grand total of about 500,000).

Immigration Motives: Pushes and Pulls: Motives for immigration, especially when the decision is made voluntarily, are as variegated as human life itself. Of the dozen or so American Jews who came to Israel to settle after the Six-Day War and who were approached not one could name a single reason - or even a single most important reason - for his decision to come to Israel. To be sure, the great upsurge in the American Jew's Jewish identity and his increased feeling of identification with the State of Israel played a certain role. The desire to lead a full Jewish life - or at least a fuller Jewish life, even (as one American newcomer put it) a fuller secular Jewish life, was also there and often had an important influence in the decision. Again, the eagerness to respond to Israel's call for more educated, skilled manpower, to increase the security of a State with which one has such a sense of identity, and to meet the challenges and the new idealism of a country with so many interesting problems and promises - all these were factors contributing to the decision to immigrate. However, none of these factors - and even not all of them together - would have tipped the balance finally were there not another, different set of causes acting in the same direction. For in addition to these "pulls" there were some equally important "pushes":

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1. Speaking generally, the U.S. was becoming a less secure place to live in. The rate of crime was increasing; race riots were taking on increasingly violent dimensions; the Vietnam war was widening the "credibility gap" between the citizen and the government, which in turn served to increase dissent, turmoil and the virtual disruption of higher education. The Jews, so sensitive to the subject of education, were the first to feel the effects of the new situation.

2. The rise of the Negro movement for change and advancement - and the growing sensitivity of both government and private employers to the subject of the proportion of Negroes among their employees - in many cases resulted in actual ousters of Jewish employees. In this and other ways the United States was becoming a far less promising country to live in, far less than the land of unlimited possibilities it used to be.

3. Though not quite vocal, a latent mood of anti-Semitism was becoming increasingly more felt - and it was by no means confined to Negroes or the New Left.

In addition to these general factors there were, as always in these cases, many different personal ones which usually complemented these pulls and pushes. In the end, it was a nicely-sustained balance of all these factors that was to lead the prospective immigrant to make his or her final decision.

Adjusting to the New Setup: Some causes of Disappointment. "In the States, my husband made \$16,000 and I, \$14,000 - and out of the total of \$30,000 we paid about \$5,000 in taxes," said a young housewife who now lives with her husband and two kids in a 4-room flat in Ramat Eshkol, the new housing project on the way to Mt. Scopus. "The basement of my house in Washington was larger than this flat." Now she supplements her Hebrew Ulpan lessons with private lessons, in the hope that she will soon be able to take up a job as a social worker, a job for which she is fully qualified. In the meantime, her husband (an economist of about 40) works in a large banking institution and the salary he draws is barely sufficient for making ends meet. "Everything is so expensive here, you know. Even some of the shelihim back in the States used to advise prospective immigrants to take with them some \$20,000 to supplement their incomes in Israel and generally to help them settle down."

And "the bureaucracy:" From their Absorption Center in Upper Nazareth, the couple had to come ten times to Jerusalem and back to finalize the purchase of their new flat. "In the States, when an official tells you come next Monday you know that by next Monday your business would be finished or at least have made some progress. Here the official would hardly remember he had asked you to come again - and everything has to be started right anew!" At first, when they asked to have a flat in a certain apartment building, they were told there was no vacancy; "but upon investigation it turned out there were no less than five vacant flats in the building!"

Generally speaking, there is a feeling that the bureaucracy "cannot be circumvented". The Jewish Agency clerk tells you something; at the Immigration Ministry they tell you he does not know what he is talking about. In one case, a temporary resident who wanted to become an immigrant asked whether he could enjoy the customs facilities after his 3-year term as resident had expired. He was told he could. Trying to make sure, however, he enquired at the Jerusalem office of the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel. The clerk was almost sure the regulations did not allow it - and promptly phoned the official in question. After some minutes of investigation it turned out that the prospective immigrant could not enjoy his immigrant rights and facilities after the 3-year period was up. An oversight, the official apologized. "How could one ever be sure where he stands?" complained the prospective immigrant.

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Another general complaint in the same category was voiced by a young religious couple from New York, with two small children. "Why," they asked, "why do you always have to fight to get what after all is your due?" An immigrant, it seems, who does not know his rights and is willing to fight for them does this at his own peril. Besides, it is highly difficult to know what actually are these rights. "In a booklet purporting to list these rights," one immigrant with a Master's Degree in Linguistics relates, "It is written that an immigrant and his kids have the right to free education in the first three years of residence." Eager to finish his studies, our immigrant applied to the Hebrew University to work for his Ph.D. degree - only to be told that he will have to pay the full fees. Upon making further enquiries it transpired that free education refers only to secondary schooling and the first three years at the university - provided there was no more than one year's discontinuity in one's schooling. "Yet none of this was to be found anywhere in the booklet I was given," said the would-be Ph.D. candidate.

These and other considerations (some of the newcomers interviewed spoke about "the strange ways of a Socialist country", "the intolerable economics", "the incredible incompetence") have led some of the more articulate immigrants to speak already of a "credibility gap" between them and the powers-that-be - and not only in the various departments dealing with immigrants and immigrant absorption.

Even more acute in a sense is the situation with regard to the "human relations" aspect of the immigration. "In the States," one young mother of two related, "we were made to believe that we are wanted, needed. We thought that we will be welcomed, that in fact we will be coming into the family. However, the apathy which we have found upon immigration has been shocking. I understand quite well that people have their own affairs and their own worries to attend to - but the general apathy toward a newcomer seems still disappointing. And believe me it is so important, so nice - and makes such a great deal of difference - when you feel welcomed, wanted, needed, and especially when you are given a practical opportunity to have that feeling!"

More pointed - and far sharper - were the comments made on this aspect of the situation by another mother of two - a university graduate with a Master's Degree in Sociology and Psychology. "We expect to function," she said, "to make a contribution, to be something. We know that we have to face hardships, to be more or less in the margin. Instead, we are given the feeling that we are nothings, nobodies! We are constantly pushed and shoved around. It's like living in quicksand!" As an example of this inability to function properly in Israel, the same interviewee told the story of an eye-doctor, a fellow American immigrant with two children. In the hospital where he was posted, he just could not bear to see the chaos: hundreds of patients waiting their turn and fellow-doctors failing to keep organized records of their patients' ailments. "He just couldn't function properly - and in the end, left."

On top of it all, she added, "Israelis often ask you whether and when you are going to surrender your American nationality. What an absurd question! I am an American citizen and I think of myself only as an American citizen. Why should I ever give up my American citizenship!"

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Address by Her Excellency, Golda Meir, Prime Minister of the State of Israel,  
on the Occasion of the Dedication of the Residence Hall of the Jerusalem  
School and Her receiving of an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Humane Letters,  
October 13, 1970

Translation of the Hebrew

Dr. Glueck, Mrs. Feinstein: One needs a great deal of strength to stand up to the challenge of serving as a two-way emissary: to be the emissary of the people of the State of Israel, on the one hand, and at the same time to serve as the emissary of the Jewry of the diaspora to the people of Israel. Yet this is how I view my role today, and I do so with a sense of the heavy responsibility which this role entails.

Each one of us, as he studies the history of our people, ponders from time to time what the Jewish people might have been, had Jews acted differently than they did at a particular time or place. Often, we are simply unable to explain in a rational way how the great miracle occurred which made us what we are today.

We are an ancient people and we speak of thousands of years as if they were but days or weeks. Just a few weeks ago we celebrated the nineteen hundredth anniversary of the destruction of the Second Temple. Nineteen hundred years, and still Jewry survives, scattered in all corners of the earth! I am not now referring to Jews who were unable to fulfill their destiny or to survive physically in the face of pogroms or persecutions. I refer to Jews whose heroism enabled them to remain Jewish in a spiritual, national sense. Often we lament the divisiveness which exists within the Jewish people and we speak (too often, in my opinion) in an exaggerated way about our failings and shortcomings. Yet we possess this remarkable capacity of remaining a united people despite the many differences and varieties which persist among us. We are indeed, if I may be permitted to say so, the most non-conformist of peoples -- at least we are non-conformist in our relationship to each other. Each of us is impelled to express himself or herself with great individual emphasis and firmness, - yet despite it all, our unity as a people remains strong after the lapse of so many centuries and in the face of almost impossible circumstances.



As I watch this important institution of higher learning, the Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School of Jerusalem, as it evolves in our midst, and above all see this group of young men from the first and third classes of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in America who came here in order to live with us for at least a year, I cannot help but wonder what would happen if I were to take each and every one of them aside and ask him who he is and whence he came. How many generations has his family lived in America? Has the Jewish bond which ties him to the generations never been severed? Has Jewish education always been so successful? I have no doubt that here and there we would discover that this bond was severed at one time or another, and yet they are with us.

In this connection I cannot help but mention another Jewish community. Last night, more correctly early this morning, I sat at my desk and read tens of letters signed by tens of Jews. Some were written by groups and some by individuals. All of them said one thing with such force that as I read them, my Zionism and my sense of belonging to this land and nation seemed hardly as strong as theirs. And who are they? Middle aged men in their fifties, or elderly men in their sixties and seventies! I read a letter signed by ten Jews, young people born in 1936, in 1937, 1940, 1950, expressing their passionate desire to live their lives as Jews in Israel, - a letter made public in Russia, regardless of its personal, economic and political consequences.

In the face of this phenomenon, each of us must ask the question: Whence this miracle? The Russian Jews are living in a spiritual desert, and what a desert it is! Yet they express their will and their determination to be with us, to live in Israel. They live among a gigantic and mighty nation and yet do not belong to it. They declare that their dwelling place is foreign to them, that they belong to their own land, to the land of Israel. They do not make this pronouncement secretly or in the underground but address it to the Soviet government and to the world. There is no assurance that they will ever arrive here. What they have done, they did without any illusions that if they write in this form everything will be

safe and that they will not be molested. They are well educated in the ways of Soviet society and are well aware of possible consequences of their writing as they did. Yet, letter after letter ends on the same note: I am prepared for anything, but I have one desire, and that is to live and die in Israel. When I see them in my mind's eye and then look at the group of students I just addressed in the other room, how wide is the difference between them! One group is so utterly different from the other, except for this one factor, which cannot be rationally explained.

I remember that in my teens I would often have theological arguments with my mother. I wanted very much to explain to her that everything ultimately comes from nature; that there is science and that science has laws. During one of these discussions she won the argument by repeating, "Nu, Goldala, let's see you make the rain come." Whenever I see people among us who are educated and clever and able to explain everything, I ask them whether one does not at the end finally reach the unexplainable, the ultimately unknowable. It really is not important what you call it. Let us assume that for the sake of common agreement we call that something 'spirit,' - the spirit of this people - which has no limitations and is indestructible. Their spiritual strength is eternal. It is transmitted from generation to generation, almost unwittingly. This is the most important factor in our lives. Whatever we have, whatever we do, whatever we believe should be done, are all rooted in this spirit.

I want to thank Dr. Glueck, his colleagues, and the Hebrew Union College, not only because they came here with their students so that they might learn something about our country and our youth. I venture to suggest that this encounter will be good also for our own young people. I am always a little afraid that precisely here, where it is so good and so easy to be a Jew, where one can view oneself and our own generation as a natural link to the Jewish past without any need to argue or to prove the point, there lurks a potential danger for the continued strength of our uniqueness. I am sometimes frightened that this Jewish awareness in Israel might become too natural, too unreflective, and that they might lose the

sense of wonderment at the miracle of Jewish survival. And if this were to happen, something very basic would be missing in the souls of our young people.

It is thus good that members of this generation of Israelis here meet young Jews like your students, who at first sight might seem to be foreign and strangers, but then they discover that a unity binds them together beyond the strangeness of language and circumstances, that the strangers are really close relatives, members of one people. Then the young Israelis will learn this great secret about our being one people, wherever we may be, united despite all the differences that superficially separate us. The differences in style and modes of religious expression, I firmly believe, will become less and less important in the future, for beyond them, the one factor of the unity of Israel everywhere remains.

I want to make one further point. What is the wonderful thing which Nelson Glueck has done for us? There exists the spirit, but he was not satisfied with the spirit alone. He wanted to prove that the spirit of the Jewish people is rooted in the soil, in the simplest and most physical sense of the word. There is soil and within this soil are embedded the roots of the spirit. The Jewish spirit is not something which floats about in a vacuum. The bond with this land is not just a spiritual bond. Go out and see: Israel is a stone here, a tree there, a road, a hill; study the books he has written about the Jordan Valley and the Negev. I notice that here in the hall sits his colleague, Professor Yadin, who shares this sense of concreteness with him, of our relationship to the soil and atmosphere of the very land of Israel. They and their colleagues dwell on the natural and the blessed link between the spirit and the concrete facts of our history and our rooting in the soil of this Holy Land. We are not the people of the spirit in the sense that we hover between heaven and earth. There is earth, there is soil! We possess the earth and we possess the heavens! Where there is soil there is also spirit. One cannot shake this spirit because it is deeply rooted in the soil!

I would therefore like to congratulate you. I offer my deep and heartfelt congratulations. I will take the risk and do so, I congratulate the Hebrew Union College, in the name of all. I am sure this will not lead to a cabinet crisis! I am sure that in the end everyone of us is delighted that you are here.

May I add a prayer that you grow and bring more of your young people here. Let those who go back to America for the time being return here later again, in order to increase the camp of those who will come to live here permanently. Let them help build this nation and this land as all of us wish it to be. We are talking at the moment in a comparatively tranquil time. You should arrive here, as many other Jews from many different places, not only in hours of tranquility but also during the great storms and the great dangers.

It is possible that our fate still has in store for us many difficulties and many dangers. However, just as I have believed firmly, from the very beginning of my childhood, in Jewish independence, so I believe with perfect faith that we will live in a Jewish State which shall be good and just and creative and beautiful and dedicated to the Jewish spirit. It will be rich in the enduring qualities of our age-old and ever new tradition and be a Jewish State which will live in peace with our neighbors. Many Jews will come here, as many already have come, not because they have no other choice, but precisely because they are free to choose the Jewish State as the best and most beautiful of all States and the only one for them. Thank you.