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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 27, 1981

Dear Mr. Wishner:

The 75th anniversary of the American Jewish Committee provides me with a welcome opportunity to applaud your efforts in the cause of human dignity and human equality.

I believe that the greatness of our nation reflects the greatness of our citizens. They are like a wellspring of generosity and creativity, always so willing to give of themselves and their time in public service projects.

From its beginnings 75 years ago, the American Jewish Committee has exemplified this spirit. We are indebted to you for your impressive record of attacking prejudice and discrimination in all aspects of our lives.

You have served your countrymen and women with distinction, and I am very proud to extend my congratulations and warm personal regard.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Mr. Maynard Wishner
President
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
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THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1981

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7:30 P.M., INTERNATIONAL BALLROOM



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"Be of good courage
and let us prove strong for our people."
Chronicles I, 19:13

E DINNER

Invocation

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

National Anthem

CANTOR ANN ZIBELMAN

Presidential Remarks

MAYNARD I. WISHNER

Tribute To

MARCUS COHN

Musical Selection

Serenade for Strings in C, Op. 48

Peter Ilyitch Tchaikovsky

THE SOVIET EMIGRÉ ORCHESTRA

75TH ANNIVERSARY DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARDS

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Remarks

AMBASSADOR SOL M. LINOWITZ

An Expression of Appreciation

RICHARD MAASS

Response

LIV ULLMANN

Musical Selection

Symphony No. 45 in F-sharp minor ("Farewell")

Joseph Haydn

THE SOVIET EMIGRÉ ORCHESTRA

Benediction

DR. ALFRED GOTTSCHALK

*Dessert and coffee, hosted by the Washington Chapter,
on the terrace at the close of the program.*

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The American Jewish Committee is indebted to many who have helped to make this 75th Anniversary a memorable one, but we are especially grateful to our Patrons, Benefactors and Sponsors. Without their generous support this celebration would not have been possible.

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ABOUT THE SOVIET EMIGRÉ ORCHESTRA

LAZAR GOSMAN, Artistic Director of the Soviet Emigré Orchestra, was the leader of the renowned Leningrad Chamber Orchestra for fourteen years and the Associate Concertmaster with the Leningrad Philharmonic for most of the 27 years he performed with them. Gosman was also a celebrated teacher at the Leningrad Conservatory. Leading his orchestra from the concertmaster's seat, Gosman collaborated with Oistrakh, Rostropovich, Gilels, and other leading figures of the period. Among the many highlights of his long and illustrious career was his introduction of Purcell's opera *Dido and Aeneas* to Russia, at the request of and in collaboration with the arranger, Benjamin Britten. Many of the three dozen recordings he made for Melodiya, both with his orchestra and a string quartet he organized, are available in Japan, Europe, and the United States.

In 1977, Gosman, his wife, Genia, and their son, Misha, left Russia. Gosman quickly won the Associate Concertmaster post in St. Louis and was invited to teach at the St. Louis Conservatory. Gosman is also currently artist in residence at the University of St. Louis, and leads a St. Louis-based orchestra, the Kammergild, in addition to his work with the Soviet Emigré Orchestra.

THE SOVIET EMIGRÉ ORCHESTRA is the result of the inspired musicianship of Lazar Gosman and the work of Arts Ascending, Ltd., the non-profit, tax exempt organization which sponsors its activities. It is an orchestra which was born from a grass roots movement, inspired by the historic and artistic events of our times. Founder David Barg and Director Gosman met in Massachusetts during the summer of 1978. Gosman expressed his desire to form a chamber orchestra similar in spirit and makeup to the one he had led in Leningrad. When Barg returned to New York, he began to meet many outstanding free-lance musicians, who were unanimous in their acclaim for Gosman's artistry and their desire to work with him.

THE SOVIET EMIGRÉ ORCHESTRA made its debut in July of 1979 in a week-long Festival at Carnegie Hall. The critics were unanimous in their acclaim. Its 1981 Season includes concerts in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington, and Carnegie Hall. Plans for 1981-82 include tours to the Midwest and South, in addition to the regular concerts on both coasts. The orchestra will travel to Europe and Israel in 1982-83.

THE ORCHESTRA: *Violins* Lazar Gosman, Leader; Leonid Fleishaker, Israel Abezgauz, Michael Gutstein, Lev Poliakin, Grigori Zaritzky, principal; Lev Belenky, Leonid Keylin, Elmira Belkin. *Violas* Judy Geist, principal; Toby Hoffman, Sasha Mishnaevski, Susan Ash. *Celli* Savelly Shuster, principal; Barney Lehrer, Roger Low. *Bass* Lew Paer, principal; Judy Sugarman.

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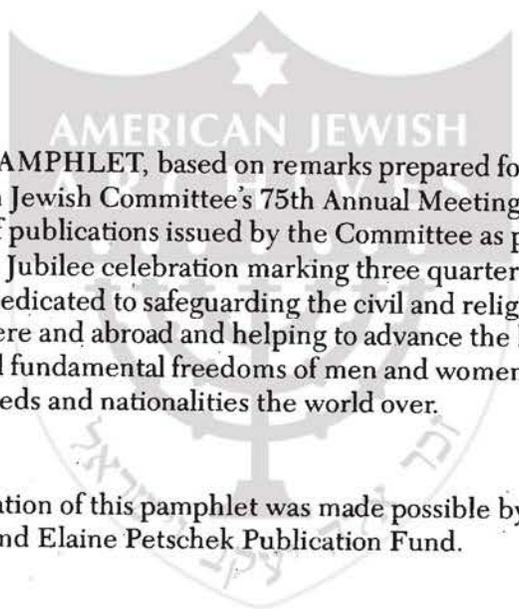
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A JEWISH
SURVIVAL
ENIGMA

THE
STRANGE
CASE OF
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

by HENRY L. FEINGOLD





THIS PAMPHLET, based on remarks prepared for the American Jewish Committee's 75th Annual Meeting, is one of a series of publications issued by the Committee as part of its Diamond Jubilee celebration marking three quarters of a century dedicated to safeguarding the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad and helping to advance the human rights and fundamental freedoms of men and women of all races, creeds and nationalities the world over.

Publication of this pamphlet was made possible by the Charles and Elaine Petschek Publication Fund.

SOME READERS are undoubtedly familiar with a story concerning the Christian-Jewish dialogue, a popular pastime initiated by the AJC in the 1930s. A Rabbi and a Minister are earnestly debating the merits of their respective religions. Both are able to cite a litany of special qualities and strengths. For every point made by the Minister, the Rabbi produces a counter. When the Minister mentions the power of the Church, the Rabbi talks of the profoundness of Judaic ethical insights. Finally, the Minister, exhausted, plays his last card, the promise of salvation. Desperately the Rabbi counters that Judaism offers immortality in this world. The audience is hushed while the Minister inquires, "How so?" "Once a Jewish organization is established," the hard-pressed Rabbi replies, "it never dies."

Anyone who has viewed the ruins of a synagogue in a "changed" neighborhood could attest that the Rabbi's contention is not altogether true. But by linking his argument to the mystery of millennial Jewish survival the Rabbi scored an important point. So intriguing, so surrounded with mystical notions is the Jewish survival phenomenon that rarely does one go beyond the generalization to examine its individual strands, such as the corporate organizational structure of the community. Had the embattled Rabbi cited the survival of the American Jewish Committee, a mystery within a mystery, he would not have been so far wrong.

Of all the organizations established during the first two decades of the century when the organizational structure of American Jewry was put into place, the AJC had the poorest prognosis for survival. It was an expression of the "uptown" Jews, the descendants of the German Jews who settled in the

19th century and rapidly ascended the economic ladder. By 1906, however, these Jews, whose arrival had overwhelmed earlier Sephardic Jewry, were themselves inundated by Jews from Eastern Europe. Nevertheless, it would be their style and the distinctive way they came to terms with the fact of their Jewishness which would predominate.

Their Jewishness informed their entire lives, whether it took religious or secular form. It was at the root of the bitter-sweet conflict between them. Only in decades to come would it become clear that the difference of vision regarding Judaism, whether it was to be denominational or "peoplehood," was in some measure a function of different stages of acculturation.

The founders of the Committee were outspokenly patrician and elitist while the newly proletarianized immigrants, intoxicated with the idea of democracy, spoke endlessly of "masses and classes." Soon enough democracy came to mean democratization of Jewish life or the removal of the oligarchy of *shtadlanim* (court Jews) who controlled it. That was the rallying cry of the "illustrious obscure" who founded the Congress movement. Predictably, while the members of the Committee spoke of their "religious brethren," the "downtowners" spoke of "peoplehood," the idea that Jews formed a distinct national culture.

At that moment it seemed as if the American Jewish Committee was on the "wrong" side of every issue. At times it seemed as if nothing but a tenuous religious tie bound the two groups together. It was an awesome historical disjuncture which did not bode well for the Committee's survival.

Yet, nearly three-quarters of a century later, we find that the Committee has not only outlived those who predicted its early demise, it continues to be a vital force in American Jewish life. How did such an unlikely survival happen and what lessons can the AJC's experience and distinctive approach bring to the major problems faced by contemporary American Jewry, which is today also preoccupied with survival?

THERE ARE those who point out that survival of Jewish agencies is neither a mystery nor a blessing. The agencies are, in fact, the bureaucracies or the civil service of the Jewish community and as with all bureaucracies they develop an autonomous interest in their survival as well as a healthy appetite for funds. The problem with bureaucracies is to get

them to stop growing. To speak merely of survival of the AJC, even if it was against all odds, is then insufficient. We need to note that its contemporary vitality is an extraordinary defiance of the aging process.

What can be submitted as evidence of vitality aside from a choice bit of real estate on 56th Street in Manhattan? For the "man on the street" the problem of evidence presents no insurmountable obstacle. Vitality has something to do with power, and power, in the last analysis, is reducible to money. If the AJC has a lot of it in its coffers, or has friends who have, then it is vital. Since many believe that the AJC is wealthier than other agencies—which is part of its aura—its health and vitality are taken for granted. In fact, if budgets are any indication, the AJC is not a particularly wealthy agency. Many of the fraternal and philanthropic organizations have larger budgets. What impresses many people is not AJC's wealth but its comparative financial autonomy.

Since 1962, it no longer participates in joint fundraising with the Anti-Defamation League. In New York and Chicago, the Committee raises its funds independently. Outside of those cities, it is not dependent on local federations for funds, though it may receive small allocations from them. Many of its impressive undertakings are privately endowed, such as Felix Warburg's prophetic grant in 1926 to survey European anti-Semitism, or the more recent generous grants from the family of Jacob and Hilda Blaustein for a Leadership Development program and an Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights. The history of the AJC has, among other things, given it this independent fundraising capacity, which in turn gives it a measure of autonomy to carry out its own distinctive programming. The Committee is, therefore, perhaps a little less vulnerable to the vagaries of the business cycle than other agencies, but it hardly possesses the wealth that is generally perceived as the ultimate source of power and vitality. To find it we must look elsewhere.

We may do much better if we seek our answer in the organizational persona of the AJC. What ultimately determines the Committee's vitality, what differentiates it from the multitude of organizations which clutter the American Jewish landscape, is what it believes it is and what it does. For the last 75 years, the AJC has been delineating problems, generating and packaging ideas, developing and using increasingly sophisticated instruments to gauge the social health of the community it

serves and the nation whose fate it shares. Its cerebralness—in the vernacular, its “savvy” — permits it to play the role of idea-broker. In a word, more than any other agency, the Committee acts as the community’s think tank.

For those familiar with post-emancipation Jewish history, speaking of ideas in relation to power and influence should come as no surprise. There is in exilic history no other visible accoutrement of power. Jewish survival until the Holocaust is all the more mysterious because it was achieved without the sinews of physical power. The generation and promotion of ideas, particularly ideas associated with modernity which, it was thought, would make the world more civilized and therefore more secure for Jews, was well preceded in post-emancipation history. In a peculiar way a similar affinity for ideas provides the secular AJC with a link to a long-standing Jewish tradition. The most characteristic thrust of the American Jewish experience is not only from rags to riches but from foot to head. The feet were used by the early Jewish peddlers to earn their livelihood and the head today is crucial in the specialized professions where increasingly higher percentages of Jews make their careers. American Jewry itself puts inordinate confidence in the power of ideas and abstract knowledge.

Observing that the Committee gains its influence from its ability to generate ideas is insufficient. Much more than that is really involved. From the outset the Committee went beyond the quaint notion so popular among Progressive reformers that “the truth shall make them free.” It understood that American Jewry was itself part of a society so free and malleable that it could submit and propose ideas which could shape minds and values. At the founding meeting of the AJC held on November 11, 1906, Rabbi Voorsanger spoke of “educating” and “shaping the opinion of the people of this country.” Louis Marshall, the second President of the AJC and the man who shaped its organizational persona, went beyond Voorsanger. He believed that, in the long run, Jewish security was linked to the promotion of certain “civilizing” ideas. He wanted to have an impact not only on the ideational structure of America but dreamed of “instructing the conscience of the world.” His brother-in-law, Judah Magnes, was content merely to influence the Jewish community. The Registrar, a proposed census of Jewish organizations, he told Jacob Schiff, “will be an indispensable factor in helping us to understand and create and guide Jewish public opinion”

Playing the role of think tank for a community that assigned a high value to learning proved to be no easy task. Judah Magnes came to realize how difficult it was to shape opinions among a people who took ideas so seriously. Louis Marshall found the same to be true of the nation at large. But a characteristic of patricians is supreme confidence. So while on the Lower East Side the new labor leaders would complain of the difficulty of getting the new immigrants to act together because of a strange maverick streak in their character, Committee leaders set about not only to change America's idea of itself but to remold the strange new human clay settling in the ghettos of the great cities on the eastern seaboard.

THE COMMITTEE'S opinion-shaping propensity first crystallized in the years 1908-13, in the campaign to abrogate the Commercial Treaty with Russia in effect since 1832. It contained all the techniques for influencing decision makers. It began with a well-conceived position on a basic issue affecting all Americans, not simply Jews. There was carefully orchestrated use of media, including the planting of correspondence in major newspapers and journals of opinion. There was development of autonomous information sources, so that the Committee knew more about what was happening in Russia than the State Department. There was the skillful use of all political contacts in the executive and legislative branch, and within the political parties. There was a well-planned legislative campaign. The procedures developed became paradigmatic of the operational style of the AJC. Yet it would rarely again be employed with such effectiveness. Changes in the structure of American Jewry and increasing diversification of interest produced fragmentation rather than coherence. Soon all Jewish agencies learned how to make their voices heard and what emerged was a cacophony of sound. That was not an innocent fact, for during the Holocaust, when American Jewry needed desperately to speak to Roosevelt coherently and in unison, it was unable to do so.

Instinctively, the Committee's early leaders realized that the generation of ideas, and the making of social policy based on them, required a knowledge of the facts. A capacity for gathering accurate data was early incorporated into the AJC. The development of a research capacity began in earnest during World War I when the National Jewish Welfare Board, an agency which the AJC was instrumental in creating, requested the

Committee's small staff to gather statistics on the role of American Jewry during the war. Reacting to anti-Semitic canards of malingering, the Jewish Welfare Board wanted to publicize the contribution of the community to the war effort. It was hoped that hard evidence of patriotism would make Jews more acceptable to other Americans. At the same time the New York Foundation, part of the Kehillah and also associated with the AJC, commissioned the AJC staff statisticians to do an inventory of Jewish organizations in the metropolitan area. In 1918 it produced a massive 1,600-page register which gave policy makers a complete picture of the organizational structure of the community. There were 3,637 different kinds of organizations, which came to one for every 410 Jews. Such a rich organizational infrastructure was in itself unique, and stranger still was the fact that none of the many other ethnic groups appeared either to have the ability or the interest to do such an inventory. The penchant for internal scrutinization was institutionalized, and one can still see evidence of it in the complete listings and compilations featured in the Committee-sponsored *American Jewish Year Book*.

Following World War II, as the AJC developed policy studies and "piggy back" projects in larger areas, research became the Committee's hallmark. Most recently one can note a growing concern regarding American Jewish survival. It was an important motif in *The Future of the Jewish Community in America*, an anthology of papers produced by a Task Force convened by the Committee in 1973, edited by Professor David Sidorsky. More recent studies focus on the Jewish family and on the premise that the family is a traditional transmitter of Jewish culture and identity. If its strength is declining, the survival potential of American Jewry cannot help but be affected. Studies on the Jewish family followed an important study conducted for the AJC by Professor Egon Mayer on intermarriage (*Intermarriage and the Jewish Future*), a primary concern among survivalists. The sponsorship of the magazine *Present Tense* is another manifestation of the AJC's interest in strengthening the forces of creative survival. The magazine publishes insightful articles describing the conditions and way of life of Jewish communities throughout the world. On the eve of its 75th Anniversary it is fair to observe that the American Jewish Committee has become more and more Jewish and less and less a Committee — both welcome changes!

THE IMPACT of some AJC studies has been so profound that they have in themselves become a datum for historians. That was true of the 1944-48 study of anti-Semitism which was initiated with an AJC-sponsored conference. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, two refugee social scientists interested primarily in formulating a psychodynamic typology of the bigoted personality, were retained to supervise the five-volume pathbreaking *Studies in Prejudice*. Those who were undergraduates during the 50s may still be able to recite the characteristics of "the authoritarian personality," the subject of the foundation volume in the series. For many it had the familiar ring of truth. But as is often the case when a complex phenomenon is processed through a mass educational system, it was too often reduced to its simplest form. In the public mind the widely publicized study somehow came to be understood as discovering a link between poor mental health and the authoritarian personality which harbored the virus of anti-Semitism. In its simplest terms Jew-hatred was seen as a kind of paranoia, and since Americans were more intent than most on being "normal," the study appeared to act, for some time at least, as a kind of inhibitor, if not of anti-Semitism itself, then at least of its outward manifestations. Forgotten, in the rush to achieve good health, was the fact that in Germany, Poland and other national cultures where anti-Semitism was endemic, the abnormal was the norm. Perfectly "nice people" watched their Jewish neighbors being deported to gas chambers.

The Committee's research on prejudice had a nationwide impact in other respects. In the critical Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision in 1954, the court accepted a new kind of reasoning, with supporting data to the effect that "separate" was inherently unequal. Much of the reasoning behind that conclusion first appeared in a paper commissioned by the AJC and written by a black psychologist, Kenneth Clark, for an early White House Conference on Children. The AJC's *amicus* brief for the *Brown* case was based on the same resource paper and reinforced many of Clark's arguments. The researcher finds new instances of such a direct and far-reaching impact on public opinion in the early history of the AJC. Leaders then relied on establishing and developing links to power centers and to government decision makers. Marshall and his cohorts were remarkable because they maintained deep involvements in both Jewish communal affairs and secular politics. They were naturally deeply concerned that

there should be no conflict between the two. That accounts for the penchant of couching Jewish objectives in terms of the American national interest. If American citizens of "Jewish persuasion" were being discriminated against in Russia or Roumania it was up to the American Government to intercede. It was in America's interest to protect the principle of civil rights, no matter where its citizens happened to be. That is what Marshall argued in 1911. But the days of such direct use of personal connections and influence seem to be over. The acculturation process has altered the relationship between the Jewish community and the American Government. Except for some issues concerning Israel, Jews are no longer a distinct separate community requiring special attention. That has mitigated the need for, and altered the character of, *shtadlanut*, a specific pleading for a Jewish interest by well-placed influential Jews.

The gap has been partly filled by the development of new and more powerful techniques to shape general public opinion. Their effectiveness is attested to by the noted historian Arthur Mann (*The One and the Many: Reflections on American Identity*, University of Chicago Press, 1979) who singles out the AJC together with the Ford Foundation as the major strategists behind the resurgence of ethnicity during the 60s. Mann sees the AJC's Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity as being primarily responsible for promoting the notion of the "new" pluralism. The hope was that a discovery of a common interest between white ethnics and Blacks would serve as a bridge between the two groups. The objective, in retrospect, may seem a little naive and undoubtedly there are those who feel that in the long run the new ethnicity did not and does not serve the Jewish interest. Nevertheless, the project illustrates that the influence of the Committee as an opinion leader remains formidable.

FROM a historical perspective it appears as if the distinctive opinion-molding propensity of the Committee is today crystallized in *Commentary*, whose impact is based far more on who reads it than on the size of its circulation. According to *The New York Times*, recent appointments to Ambassadorial and Cabinet posts have been awarded to *Commentary* authors on the strength of their articles published in that journal. *Commentary's* impingement on the Jewish interest is not always direct,

or even readily apparent. Its underlying assumption is that what benefits America, by extension, benefits its Jewry. It is more likely to expose the latest machinations of the Kremlin than it is to promote a campaign to bring Soviet Jewish "refuseniks" to America, which might be a contemporary equivalent of the earlier abrogation struggle. As an opinion journal it is necessarily autonomous, and that sometimes creates strange anomalies. One rarely sees articles concerned with the Jewish family or intermarriage or, for that matter, any of the dire threats to Jewish survival with which the Committee might be preoccupied. *Commentary* might in fact be obsessed with the latest affirmative-action imbroglio even while the Committee is supporting vigorous affirmative-action programs. Nevertheless, it is precisely such internal diversity which makes the AJC interesting.

Commentary is not only an extension of the "educational" proclivities of the founders but marks a merging with a residual Jewish political culture of East European origin, which also took ideas very seriously. Even while the founders of the AJC felt a need to "instruct the conscience of the world," much intellectual heat was being generated in all-night discussions, over glasses of hot tea in the cafeterias of the Lower East Side, by recent immigrants from Eastern Europe. There the propensity for discourse, the sheer love of ideas and analysis, was not unlike what was taking place "uptown." The great difference was that the patrician founders of the AJC conceived of harnessing it to a greater purpose — to "enlighten and clarify public opinion." They perceived that, whatever else its failings, America permitted an extraordinarily wide range of opinion and diversity of voices. It based the mission of the AJC around that freedom and that opportunity.

UNDOUBTEDLY the elitism of the Committee's founders was based initially on their newly-won wealth and position. The very notion and nomenclature of a "Committee" composed of selected members smacked of exclusivity. (The opposite presumption, i. e., inclusion of the Jewish "masses," accounts for the use of the term "Congress" by the founders of the American Jewish Congress.) But for the patrician founders importance was denoted by class not by mass. "The suggestion that mere numbers can give rise to statesmanlike advice in matters

affecting the Jewish people is unthinkable," insisted Cyrus Sulzberger, third President of the AJC. One of the reasons for founding the Committee was in fact to smother the unseemly noise coming from "the congested quarter." But most AJC founders quickly moved beyond that raw class snobbery to a notion of aristocracy based on ability. On an individual level they came to be associated with a quality of mind, and on the organizational level it meant a high degree of excellence in performance and a rejection of the notion of mass membership.

This exclusivity in approach was, from the beginning, not without its difficulties. During the Progressive period, many educated Americans, not East European Jews alone, became drunk with the idea of democracy and new democratic forms. This was the period when the initiative, the referendum, the primary and recall were instituted in many states. The "downtown" Jews interpreted democracy as a matter of headcounting. The argument of the founders of the Congress movement was based on that assumption. Who gave the stewards the right to rule? They insisted that community-wide elections should determine that. On June 17, 1917, Americans watched in amazement as 350,000 Jews actually voted in community elections. Although the formula was worked out with the leaders of the Committee, the phenomenon of such separate elections within the Jewish community must have been a shock to the patricians who viewed their Judaism primarily in denominational terms.

Louis Marshall, second President of the AJC, had from the outset advocated a broader membership and suggested that religious congregations would be the most equitable source of representation. In 1909 the Committee coopted the newly formed leadership cadre of the Kehillah and made it its New York Chapter. It was a practical arrangement since the founders of the Committee also funded the Kehillah. For the enthusiasts of democracy in Jewish life it was evidence that in a voluntary community money and wealth had a special priority, since without it organizational activity would come to a halt. Yet mass membership was a temptation. When the AJC finally succumbed, at least partly, to its charms it was triggered by the realization that if it was to continue to advocate effectively it was necessary to broaden its power base. As the number of wealthy, highly committed Jews waned, the leadership of the Committee

was recruited from a broader stratum of established Jews, many of whom had first to be brought to a sense of responsibility for Jewish welfare.

From some 400 core members in 1940 the AJC would grow to over 50,000 members, organized into some eighty chapters and units, with offices in twenty-five cities. At the same time a small group of descendants of the original German Jewish founders continued its association with the Committee. In its local recruitment the Committee prefers to think that it is attracting what Edmund Burke might call the "weightiest" people. When former President Morris Abram was asked by then-Prime Minister David Ben Gurion how many members AJC had, Abram responded, "We don't count AJC members, Mr. Prime Minister, we weigh them." When John Slawson, Executive Vice President Emeritus observed that what the Committee needed was "fewer blue-bloods and more red blood," he meant not any red blood, but people of proven ability in either the professions or business. One could not come so far and then easily abandon the elitist consciousness that accounts for so much of the Committee's specialness. But could this concept of elitism somehow be harnessed to American Jewry's new status? Could it possibly serve as a linkage to the survival problems of the 80s?

If elitism, a sense of specialness, has been a source of vitality to the Committee, its operationalism has helped it to avoid certain pitfalls in Jewish organizational life. The Committee has never been encumbered by the affinity for systemic ideologies so characteristic of Jewish life. In its earlier days it was neither Zionist nor Socialist, and it is that fact that frequently led to calumny being heaped on it in the past. There were those who missed the religious fervor and zeal which ideologies release. Now the Committee's coolness and dispassion made it seem somehow "unJewish." Its "quiet diplomacy" when the Jewish world was burning during the 30s meant to some that it was simply too far removed from the Jewish ken to understand the urgency of the moment. The AJC leadership was slow to grasp the demonic radicalism of Nazism. It waited vainly for Hitler to be tamed by power, and for the real Germany — the Germany which produced Goethe and Schiller — to re-emerge.

Yet, from the perspective of the historian, the heavy ideological freight borne by many Jewish organizations did not generally bode well for their longevity or for the well-being of Jewry.

THERE WERE those in the Jewish world who saw that the AJC's operationalism, its pragmatic problem-solving approach, was a great asset. The charge of "coolness" and lack of passion could be made about the entire Anglo-Saxon world. The Committee was simply more American and the hallmark of that culture was superior engineering rather than ideological system-building. One needed an entity like that on the Jewish scene to counterbalance the ideological "heats" which the Jewish world generated in such abundance. The cool operationalism of the Committee worked well in "normal" crises, but the Nazi threat was so abnormal, so out of the realm of reality, that Committee techniques seem inappropriate in retrospect — which is, of course, true for the response of the democratic world generally. It was the AJC's insistence on effectiveness rather than the "showy emotionalism" which led the leadership to oppose protest rallies, boycotts and mass demonstrations. Such tactics did little to change policy, they pointed out. Its own approach through "education" to create favorable public opinion and through the skillful practice of coalition politics would be far more effective in the long run, they maintained. They could not conceive that there would be no "long run" for the Jews of Europe.

Predictably, it is in the handling of the American Jewish variant of Zionist ideology that one can see most clearly the characteristic flexibility and operationalism of the AJC at work. Under normal circumstances the powerful Zionist consensus, which took on the aspect of a new civil religion after 1948, should have marked the end of the Committee as an effective Jewish organization, for it had become linked in the public mind with an "anti-Zionist" posture. But it did not happen because the kind of philanthropic Zionism favored by American Jewry was within easy striking distance of the cultural Zionism and affirmation of the Diaspora favored by the Committee's founding fathers, and because the AJC proved sufficiently adaptable to modify some of its positions. As it developed, Zionism modified for the American scene was so deideologized that it reinforced, rather than interfered with, the acculturation process and proved eminently suitable to the American Jews, who turned to it in great numbers in the late 30s. It was a Brandeisian Zionism, which cared more for practical projects than talk of in-gathering

of Jews from the Diaspora. After the Holocaust, American Jews understood that survival required a haven controlled by Jews, for those who wished or needed to go there. It was as simple as that. It wanted to affirm the Diaspora and from it, to continue to support Zion. Of the conflicts which made such a position unacceptable to "real" Zionists, they understood little.

The historical cooky crumbled remarkably close to the position of the AJC, which held that American Jewry, whose ancestors had voted with their feet to come to America, would find a movement that required re-emigration to Palestine unacceptable. America would be their home. The AJC also understood, together with Brandeis, that to survive in America, Zionism had to be divested of its "hot" East European ideological cargo. America was such a fast-changing society that it left in its wake not only the debris of obsolete technologies, rusty rail lines which today lead nowhere, or the empty red-brick factories of New England, but obsolete ideologies, discarded because they posed the wrong questions and yielded unacceptable answers. To survive in America, Zionism had to be Americanized.

The AJC approached the same position from another direction. The founding members were perhaps too apprehensive regarding the implications of political Zionism, i.e., a Jewish state. It was again Brandeis who built a bridge which permitted the two groups to meet. For those who understand the full history, the opening of an AJC office in Israel and its publication in Hebrew of *Tefutsot Israel* is not as strange as it may seem. A recent speech by Maynard Wishner, President of the AJC, sounds almost like a prayer for American Jewry's new civil religion: "Let no one misunderstand the rock of commitment and love of Israel that shapes the work we do.... We will demonstrate that devotion day in and day out.... We will do it with mind and heart and resources and energy. We have no higher priority."

If the Committee has acted as American Jewry's think tank, then it has even more often been its foreign ministry. It was an event in far-off Bessarabia, the Kishinev pogrom, which triggered its founding. Its charter charged it "to prevent the infraction of civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world" and the Committee has devoted a major share of its

resources and talent to fulfill that charge. It has been precisely the concern with beleaguered Jewish communities abroad that, willy nilly, placed the Committee at the heart of Jewish identity formation. After purely religious or folk ties no longer bound, it remained an insistent and mysterious tie to *k'lal yisrael*, Jewish communities abroad, which became the most identifiably Jewish aspect of American Jewry. Today it is the welfare of Israel and Soviet Jewry which are high on the American Jewish agenda, but if we go back in American Jewish history we discover that it is foreign interests — the Damascus affair (1840), the Mortara kidnapping (1858), the Dreyfus affair (1894) and the Kishinev pogrom (1903)— which most arouse the passion of the American Jewish community. It is well understood among decision makers that American Jewry's interest in foreign affairs is at once more sustained and intense than that of any other subgroup in America because the welfare of Jews abroad is considered a "sacred" responsibility, an important part of the civil religion which governs the political culture of American Jewry. It is also what ties the AJC to the community and what is most distinctly Jewish about it.

Finally, we need to speak of power and power wielders as viewed by the AJC. The ideas generated by its think-tank character did not remain mere mental exercises, as was often the case with less influential Jews, because they could be transmitted to government by power holders who were affiliated with the Committee. As an institution, the Committee was well situated, for the men who administered it, perhaps because they were themselves wielders of power, understood its flow and its diffuse character in the American polity. They understood the role of those who exercised power well before the sociologists defined it. Most important they understood that, as a minority, the Jewish voice could only be heard in the corridors of power if it were amplified by the skillful practice of coalition politics. They were ready to deal with all power centers whose policies and interests impinged on the well-being of American Jewry, for such power-to-power relationships served as the grease which lubricated the American polity.

The Committee had less confidence in public pressure generated from below. That is why the protest rallies of the American Jewish Congress during the 30s and during the Holocaust were not given much value by Committee leaders. Again history has a way of confirming the AJC approach, for the

decline in the Jewish proportion of the population in fact propels American Jewry back to the inconspicuous minority it was during the Colonial period. In the future, Jewish numbers will play a relatively minor role in making its weight felt, especially if Jewish voting strength is projected against the numerical power of much larger minorities such as Hispanics and Blacks. That fact will make the strategies traditionally part of AJC's arsenal — the generation of ideas, the emphasis on "education," the practice of coalition politics to amplify the voice of a tiny minority — crucial to American Jewish survival.

A DISCERNING reader may have noted by this time the irony involved in describing the vitality of an agency which serves a Jewish community whose vital signs are not nearly as rosy. If the Committee has discovered some secret elixir, perhaps it should pass the formula on to the Jewish community which desperately needs it. There is, of course, no such formula, only some new potentials stemming from the Committee's distinctive approach which might be transmitted to the larger community.

It would be convenient to believe that survival anxiety among Jews is perpetual, and is itself the surest sign of life. But that is no longer sufficient to dispel the feeling that we have reached the end of the chain of generations which is the pride of Jewish history. Not all the savvy of the AJC staff can generate the numbers and commitment to carry the Jewish enterprise forward. Nor can we command the legal brains of the AJC to prepare brilliant briefs, this time arguing against openness and acceptance which has seduced a growing number of American Jews to accept a bland secularity over their rich Jewish tradition. Even if the pattern of benevolent absorbency could be reversed, American Jewry would veto the idea. It welcomes the trade-off. That makes the very existence of "defense" agencies strangely taunting, because the threat to survival appears to emanate more from love than it does from hate. Were it otherwise, we would know what to do.

The modernity so avidly sought by Jews might be expected to gradually dissolve the corporate structure on which Jewish survival is traditionally based. A modern detribalized Jew does not feel he owes allegiance to the Jewish corporation, nor does he take his behavioral cues from its religious institutions. He is

his own lonely tribal chieftain, making decisions for himself that were once made for him. His sense of belonging to a special group with an especially rich culture is diminishing. He does not know the culture, since he no longer learns it with his mother's milk. Except for a few insulated sub-communities, the totalistic environment which produced a Jew who turned to the east wall three times a day for prayer, as if prodded by an internal Pavlovian bell, can no longer be produced. The startling fact is that modern man must be taught his cultural tradition, and for that to happen he must be converted or "reborn" at some point in mid-life. The Jews who are involved with Jewish life are often such "returnees," modern secular Jews who voluntarily and freely associate with Jewish life and its institutions.

WHERE DOES that leave the AJC, which requires a Jewry from which it can draw succor and which it can serve? Its smartness is hardly comforting. It has sponsored some of the best studies on Jewish identity, but it has yet to develop a specific Jewish identity for itself. There is no small irony in the fact that while the Committee has been instrumental in creating the societal space for a unique group to thrive (that is what the pluralism that it advocates comes to), it discovers that it does not possess anything distinctive to plant in that space.

Yet there is something that the AJC has always possessed which requires only a linkage to the Jewish ethos in order for it to be used to broaden the stream of voluntary Jews who return to some form of identification in mid-life. The Committee's studies on the Jewish family, its study on intermarriage, its Academy for Jewish Studies, its Oral History Library, its *Present Tense* magazine all indicate that the Committee is beginning to see itself as a Judaizing agency. But it does not tell the leaders of the AJC what specifically it can transmit to American Jews that would go beyond yet another study of Jewish identity. What can be found in the instinct for excellence which lies at the heart of its own remarkable vitality? We have not yet the words to capture the specialness, an unerring instinct for quality, a kind of cool professionalism, which it represents. We see its consequences in the uncanny ability of the Committee to foresee where the American Jewish experience will lead to. It stems from what the AJC's Executive Vice President, Bertram Gold, citing Tocqueville, called a "love of the future." It was once

simply called "vision" and those who mustered it had a certain confidence and élan. It is what American Jewry requires most of all in order to survive.

The effects of that prescience are much in evidence in the Committee today. What was despised by the proletarianized Jewish masses at the turn of the century is sought by their descendants, many of whom today participate in and contribute to the Committee. This is not entirely surprising. One had to watch what these turn-of-the-century immigrants did, not what they said. While they were talking of justice, or less often of revolutionary class struggle, they were skimping to send their sons to City College so that they might rise, not with their class, but above it. The Jewish sojourn in the working class lasted but one generation; despite all the sound and fury. There was, for these people, often obsessed with an egalitarian philosophy, a need to be "first among equals," to render extra service and record greater achievements. We possess dozens of accounts of their enthusiasm for work and for consuming culture in the libraries and free lecture halls of the ghetto. Every study of the occupational and income profile of American Jewry reflects an achievement so remarkable that it has not yet been matched by any sub-group in America. Such an achievement would not have been possible without an elitist ethos. The small group of radical intellectuals who assumed the leadership of the Jewish labor movement were as remarkable in their own way as were the patrician stewards who founded the AJC. There is then considerable evidence that this was no ordinary working-class population.

That the elitism which was anathema to the grandfathers is sought by the grandsons should therefore not strike us as strange. In some sense the descendants of the East European Jews are at a point in their development which approximates that of the German Jews at the turn of the century. They are fully Americanized — some even are "exaggerated Americans" — and many, if not the majority, have a firm anchor in the upper reaches of the middle class. A few have gone beyond that. They have probably not produced as many great fortunes but can boast many more moderate-sized ones. (That leveling process among the wealthy is reflected in the AJC's membership.) Moreover, in their professional skills, especially medicine, the sciences and law, they far surpassed the German Jews in America. It is in their professionalization, rather than their

fortunes, that the élan of contemporary American Jewry can be found.

Like their German Jewish predecessors, the descendants of East European Jews require something to differentiate themselves from the leveled masses from which they have but recently risen. They seek signs that they are not only worthy but better. Their motivations, their embracing of elitist principles today, are no more noble than were the motivations of the founders of the AJC in 1906. But we need not seek to begin with grace and nobleness merely to end with it. For many, the differentiation offered by the country club or the ownership of things is sufficient. But there is also a surprisingly large group ready to support financially — and render service to — the Jewish community. Some are drawn by some residual memory of Jewish identity, others are aware that their achievement is in some way linked to a Jewish ethos. Whatever the reason, the embourgeoisement experienced by Jews since World War II makes them peculiarly receptive to precisely the kind of elitist sensibility which has been the provenance of the AJC.

The signs that American Jews form a distinct group whose motor force is an elitist ethos is not limited to its occupational profile, its income or even its unique political culture. Jews overwhelmingly continue to prefer their fellow Jews for primary association. They do so, not because they are shunned by the larger society, but because they somehow retain a sense of their historical separateness and “specialness.” Jews often continue to be a lump in the melting pot, even when the acculturation process has been completed. It may take the form of a secret pride in the knowledge the local school will be better if Jewish students and parents are involved, or some sense of well-being upon hearing that yet another Jewish scientist has become a Nobel laureate. Few Jews today know that their rich cultural tradition and, for many, their sense of belonging has been reduced to the pride they take in the achievement of fellow Jews. It is their only sense of communal fellowship.

HAVING suggested that the elitism so often attributed to the AJC may contain a strategy for releasing Jewish energy and talent, and for survival itself, we should expect the full wrath of that fragmented tribe which no longer wants to be a tribe, to

descend on us. Religious Jews will take due note of a new idolatry which does not speak of Torah. Universalist Jews will see ethnocentrism and chauvinism. Reconstructionists will see a concealed covenantal "chosenness" in secular form. Cosmopolitan Jews will condemn it as parochial. And ordinary Jews may take a second look at their Jewish brethren and ask "what elitism?" But, in truth, what we have in mind comes to none of these things. All groups lay claim to uniqueness which is the *raison d'être* for forming a group in the first place. The bond-dissolving solvents are particularly strong in the benevolent American culture, so that groups desiring to retain their identity must somehow generate a special sense of worthwhile-ness. If there is no benefit in being a Jew except to occasionally suffer "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," then why choose to be one? Choices made by balancing the ledger are not strange to modern man who is free to choose. *Homo Judaicus*, who frequently is more avidly modern than his gentile neighbor, also has that option. A sense that the Jewish achievement in all areas of human endeavor is linked to the Judaic ethos gives him reason for wanting to belong. Elitism by itself is not sufficient reason for survival, but merely the petals that attract to the rich sustaining Jewish culture beneath. Is it unrealistic to believe that Jewish survival potential would be enhanced if Jews finally embrace and celebrate what has for millenia made them a distinctive and enormously productive group?

How the AJC, which for years bore the indictment of being elitist, fits into the picture, should by now be clear. Time has converted what was once a liability for the AJC's survival to an asset. There is a perception that the sense it has of its valence, the specialness inherent in its self-image, is also necessary for continued American Jewish vitality. Yet merely to total up Jewish achievements and lay claim to superiority is too ignoble a ground on which to base the survival of the Jewish community. It could, too easily, be mistaken for boastfulness and achievement based on inordinate ambition. If elitism fails to be linked to something outside of itself it becomes merely another form of group arrogance. That transcendence occurs only when its link to the Judaic ethos is established. The remarkable Jewish achievement in America is not merely a sociological phenomenon; it stems ultimately from values inherent in Jewish culture. Leaders like Louis Marshall and Cyrus Adler were well aware of

that, but many of the rest of us, in our headlong flight to achieve, have forgotten.

How strange that what is required is that, deracinated, achieving Jews be reminded that the source of their achievement lies deeply embedded in Jewish cultural values they know not. It has happened before that a people has simply neglected its patrimony only to discover too late that precious riches were lost. The spirit of self-interest, probably the only one which modern man adheres to, can be enlisted to restake that claim, and the American Jewish Committee can transfer that spirit of specialness and quality which it has harbored these 75 years to a community finally made ready by history to receive it.





About the Author

HENRY L. FEINGOLD is Professor of History at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and at Baruch College, where he offers courses in American Jewish and American diplomatic history and on the Holocaust.

Professor Feingold is the author of *Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust 1938-1945*, and *Zion in America: The Jewish Experience from Colonial Times to the Present*.

AMERICAN JEWISH
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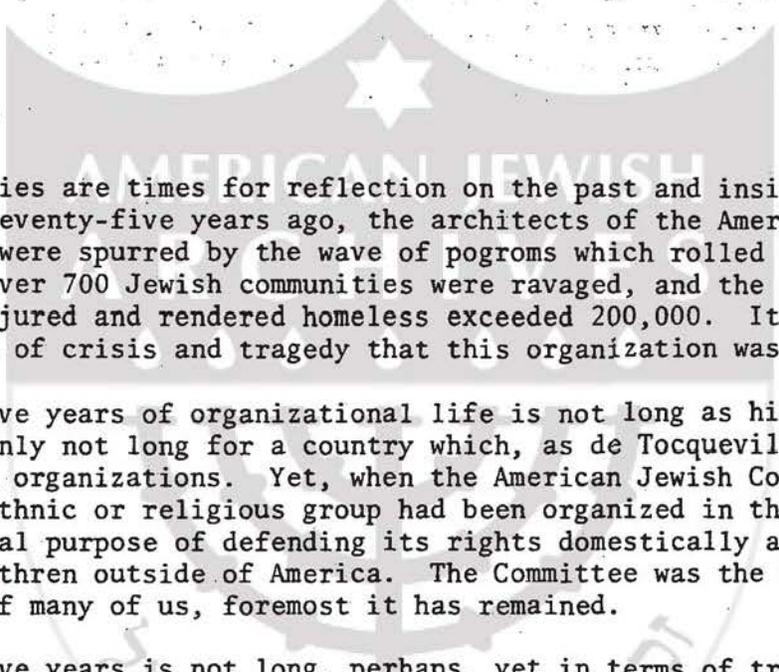
The Challenges That Confront Us

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENTS
BY MEMBERS OF THE
HONORARY COMMITTEE FOR
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S
SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OBSERVANCE



INTRODUCTION

Jerome J. Shestack
Chairman, 75th Anniversary Program Committee



Anniversaries are times for reflection on the past and insights into the future. Seventy-five years ago, the architects of the American Jewish Committee were spurred by the wave of pogroms which rolled across Western Russia. Over 700 Jewish communities were ravaged, and the number of persons killed, injured and rendered homeless exceeded 200,000. It was against that background of crisis and tragedy that this organization was formed.

Seventy-five years of organizational life is not long as history is counted, and certainly not long for a country which, as de Tocqueville observed, abounds in organizations. Yet, when the American Jewish Committee began, no other ethnic or religious group had been organized in the United States for the dual purpose of defending its rights domestically and the rights of its brethren outside of America. The Committee was the first, and in the view of many of us, foremost it has remained.

Seventy-five years is not long, perhaps, yet in terms of tragedy, we have passed through eternities of darkness and blood. We have witnessed two World Wars, the Holocaust, Nazi and Communist savagery, the struggle to create and preserve Israel, a great Depression, battles for civil rights and civil liberties, and the continuing fight for Soviet Jewry and human rights. Throughout these tumultuous years, as Jacob Blaustein said at the AJC's 50th Anniversary, the Committee has been animated by a "passion to help our brothers abroad," by the clear-headed realization that "their destinies are inextricably ranked with our own," and by the conviction that "equality and security cannot be assured for Jews unless assured for all."

The record of the Committee in pursuing these purposes has been a remarkable one. We have been reformers, catalysts, critics, movers, actors, always reminding our nation of our responsibility to further freedom here and to extend freedom's boundaries abroad. We have drawn strength from Jewish and American ideals and helped to nourish and sustain those ideals. The past has its unforgettable and monumental tragedies but also its triumphs for dignity and freedom.

Anniversaries are also a time to look ahead. Thus we asked the members of our 75th Anniversary Honorary Committee for their insights regarding the

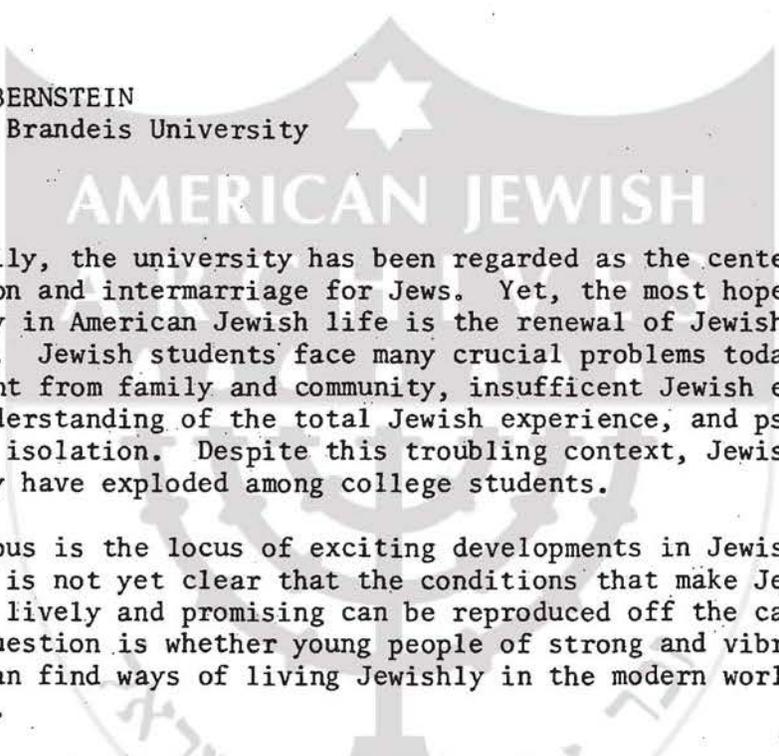
challenges that face the Jewish community in the decades ahead. Excellence and eminence mark the men and women who constitute our Honorary Committee. The fabric of our society has been enriched by their contributions. We are proud that they have joined us in this celebration, and we are pleased to present in the pages that follow some of their reflections.

Their messages are sobering. There is little optimism. They are worried about the survival of Jewish values; they are concerned about Jewish vibrancy; they fear for survival. There is also confidence in Jewish abilities, faith in Jewish values, and Jewish hope which has helped sustain us so long. But on the whole, the mood is exceedingly sombre.

We shall want to read these messages carefully. We may agree or disagree, but we cannot ignore the challenges they pose, or avoid their call upon our energies and our commitment. When wise men and women offer warnings and counsel, attention must be paid.



MARVER H. BERNSTEIN
President, Brandeis University



AMERICAN JEWISH

Traditionally, the university has been regarded as the center of assimilation and intermarriage for Jews. Yet, the most hopeful sign of vitality in American Jewish life is the renewal of Jewish identity on the campus. Jewish students face many crucial problems today, including estrangement from family and community, insufficient Jewish education, limited understanding of the total Jewish experience, and psychological and social isolation. Despite this troubling context, Jewish commitment and loyalty have exploded among college students.

If the campus is the locus of exciting developments in Jewish expression today, it is not yet clear that the conditions that make Jewish life on the campus lively and promising can be reproduced off the campus. The critical question is whether young people of strong and vibrant Jewish identity can find ways of living Jewishly in the modern world, not just at college.

Today's great challenge is to create community structures that will make it possible for college-age Jews to maintain contact with adult Jews after they leave the university. As yet, the explosion of Jewish interest on the campus has not been transferred to the generation of the 25 to 35-year-olds, the couples and singles whose donor capacity is too slight to attract solicitation of UJA and community federation leaders. In a period when Jewish organizational life is based on philanthropy, there appears to be little place for young married couples without much money, who have a knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish history but no gnawing doubts about their Jewish identity.

In the developing confrontation of the post-college generation and the community, more creative and fulfilling adjustments can be reached if we learn how to deal with adolescence and post-adolescence. A Hillel rabbi stated recently: "Time was when you were either a child or you were an adult. Now we have a period of life and we don't have Jewish structures to sustain it. Our present structures were invented at a time when girls of 12 and boys of 13 were women and men. There were no adolescents."

Moreover, this in-between period of higher education has extended to the mid-20s and beyond. The challenge today is whether we can capture, sustain, and exploit the renewal of Jewish life on the campus in order to enrich Jewish life in the post-college generation.

SOL C. CHAIKIN

President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

The challenge to world Jewry in the 1980s is to find a measure of security in a world shaken by economic and political insecurity. During such periods of uncertainty and consequent fear, a primitive paranoia is directed against the alien, the outsider. For centuries, the Jews in the West have been, to a greater or lesser extent, a scapegoat for social ills.

In such times, it is inevitable that Jews -- like any other group in a troubled society -- will tend to withdraw into tribal shelters, to huddle together against cold blasts from the outside. Such an instinctive response is natural and logical. By coming to one another's support and, in recent years, by supporting the State of Israel, Jews have been able to survive incredible hardships.

At best, however, that can only be one side of Jewish efforts, for in a world torn by xenophobic hysteria, the Jews will sooner or later be the object of enormous hostility. So there is little alternative for Jews but to work throughout the world for the resolution of the central economic and political plagues of our times.

To do so is not only a matter of self-interest, it is also the eternal Jewish mandate; for if monotheism means anything, it means that we are all children of one God. In that sense, the word "family" is more than rhetoric; it is a fact. And central to this belief is a commitment to compassion, to feeling for another as if we were the other.

In the United States, this belief means a deep and real concern for the poorest and weakest in our land. On the international scene, it means not only lending a helping hand to the starving nations of the world, but offering them our knowledge so that they may help themselves to true economic and political independence.

To do this, we must end the contrived and inherited scarcities on this planet, scarcities that need not exist if we apply modern technology to enlarging the supplies of fuel and food in the years to come.

In such a world of expanding resources, the human spirit can expand, can share more gladly with the stranger, can bring the security which has historically been the ambience Jewry needs in order to survive.

GERSON D. COHEN
Chancellor, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America

As the American Jewish Committee celebrates its 75th anniversary, the Jewish community in which it is rooted is marking a centennial. It is just 100 years since the anti-Semitic policies of the Czar's government spurred the first mass migration of East European Jews. The majority of the emigrants came to America -- the golden land -- in search of freedom and opportunity.

They found both, and for more than four decades, they continued to come, in their millions. Those immigrants are responsible for the structure and character of the American Jewish community as we know it today.

First, the extremely perilous situation of Jews in Eastern Europe stimulated new reactions from American Jews -- themselves the descendants of earlier immigrants. Funds were raised, representations were made to governments here and abroad, and the first civil defense organizations -- the Committee among the earliest -- were established. Those Jews who were already integrated into American society worked in every way they could devise to help the immigrants. The majority of the immigrants clung to their traditions -- whether religious or secular -- to the extent that they could. They founded their own congregations, their own religious schools, their own "folk-schools," their own pressure groups. Many of these institutions flourished, and quite a few -- synagogues, seminaries, schools, homes for the aged, hospitals, child-care and community centers -- survive to our own day. They constitute mute testimony to an authentic Jewish response to the American environment.

What the American Jewish community has attained, for the most part, in the century since 1881, is a sense of its ethnic and religious identity, grounded in a remarkable degree of integration of its many diverse elements. This is an extraordinary achievement for a group that increased its membership more than ten-fold during that same period. Two forces, I believe, are primarily responsible: the theological institutions which provided the scholarship and the commitment that underlies religious identification; and Jewish defense organizations, among which the American Jewish Committee is outstanding, which taught Jews to stand up for their convictions, and their rights.

The challenge that faces American Jewry today is to utilize effectively the complex institutional network which we have developed in the past century. For the most part, our years of new institution-building are over. The institutions we have created have largely demonstrated their ability to satisfy our present needs, and it is incumbent upon us to keep them flexible enough to respond to new needs as they arise. This is essential because the wise husbanding of limited communal resources requires that we use what we have, adapting existing institutions and utilizing existing buildings for new purposes rather than duplicating old efforts with totally new facilities.

The welfare and educational organizations must respond to the needs of Russian and Israeli émigrés, while continuing to serve the native American community, now consisting of the second, third, and fourth generations of the Eastern European emigration plus, of course, the Sephardic and German families with longer histories in this country. The human rights and civil defense or-

ganizations, similarly, must continue to watch for indications of anti-Semitism or of subtler forms of discrimination, and be prepared to combat them in the courts and through education.

All of this requires not only a community willing to work cooperatively, but able to unite on its aims, its needs and its identity. These are difficult goals, but not so difficult as the demands that the immigrants of a century ago made on a Jewish community which they outnumbered ten to one. They are ends which we can attain if we put our existing institutions to good use, and if we draw upon our tradition to help us understand and respond to our present existential situation. We have had more than three centuries of experience living as Jews in the open American society. And we are the fortunate possessors of a rich heritage. In the words of Judah ha-Levi's *Kuzari*, "An uninterrupted tradition is equal to experience."

MAX M. FISHER

Chairman, Board of Governors, The Jewish Agency
Honorary Chairman, National Executive Council, The American Jewish Committee

In many ways the challenges facing us in the decades ahead are the challenges we have always faced: national survival, the preservation of our culture, the relief of our oppressed brethren, the continuance of viable individual communities. Since 1948 we have been blessed with the re-creation of the State of Israel, and unlike the distant past, our list of challenges includes the effort to ensure Israel's independence and prosperity.

The key to our national and cultural survival is Jewish education, but we have not done enough to bring education to every Jewish child. The genius we have for organization and development, which we have applied to social welfare and overseas aid, must now be applied to education. Day schools, afternoon and synagogue schools deserve our highest priority.

Schools and education programs, however, can exist only in strong communities, and for that we must bolster our local federations, making them truly representative of and responsive to the total Jewish community. Diverse elements must be brought together; conflict must be overcome, accommodation must be pursued. That will mean gaining broader support for local campaigns and wider participation in the decision-making processes.

Not only we but all of American society is faced with the challenge of overcoming racial and religious bigotry and discrimination. In a world where hatred, violence and terrorism have become the order of the day -- and will probably continue for the foreseeable future -- we must not let down our guard; our defense organizations must be strongly supported.

We have made tremendous contributions to the building of America, and there is more that we are able to do. For not only is it in our own self-interest, but it is in our tradition of social justice to work for the betterment of

the greater society in which we live. We must join in the efforts to bring America to the point where all can live in security, where all are employable and need not depend on welfare, where everyone has available to him economic and political opportunity. Moreover, in an era where responsibility for social welfare is being increasingly shifted to the private sector, the demonstrated success and innovation of Jewish communal volunteerism can be a model for all America.

Our American Jewish community is the most affluent and influential Diaspora community in history. We must use our freedoms and strengths for the good of less fortunate Jewish communities in other lands. That means speaking out and acting whenever any Jewish community anywhere is oppressed or in need, especially in the Soviet Union. We must see to it that all Jews in all lands are able to live in peace and dignity.

The world's central Jewish community -- the State of Israel -- is our special concern and forms our special challenge. We must do all we can to help build it into a strong and viable country which will be a model for the world. We must see to it that the special partnership between Israel and the Diaspora built up over the last decade is solidified and strengthened. We will make progress, but we can do so only with patience and diligence.

In our 4,000 years we have faced countless formidable obstacles, yet we have overcome them all. We have always looked to the future with faith, hope and optimism. Our own history is testimony to our remarkable resiliency and vitality. Our past accomplishments and our present endeavors will serve as unflinching guides to future success.

ELI GINZBERG

Hepburn Professor Emeritus of Economics and Director, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University

Jewish tradition, surely since the destruction of the Temple, has looked critically at those who foretell the future. The annals of our people are crowded with false prophets. Hence it is not only presumptuous but foolish, for a modest person, as I consider myself to be, to outline the major issues that will confront American Jewry in the closing decades of this century.

I may, however, be able to respond to the request in a fashion that protects me from doing what I have defined as foolish by setting out briefly two possible scenarios, one a linear projection of recent trends, the other non-linear.

A more or less straight-line projection would have to recognize that the *quality* of affiliation of American Jews with their tradition will be further eroded by a decline in religious and cultural identification, higher

rates of intermarriage ... a receding knowledge of the Holocaust and emotional involvement in the State of Israel ... a recrudescence of anti-Semitism at home and abroad, the further weakening of Soviet Jewry by time and oppression, and the growing vulnerability of Israel on the economic, political and military fronts.

But there is a non-linear assessment that also warrants consideration. While U.S. Jewry may lose many adherents through indifference and intermarriage, the informed and committed minority may continue to grow rapidly as more people, including Jews, seek their roots. There is a chance that the Israeli-Egyptian peace will hold and spread, which could in time alter the relationship of Israel to its immediate neighbors -- especially Jordan and Lebanon. And with peaceful borders, Israel would enter a new era of development.

The USSR may decide for reasons of its own to let even more Jews emigrate over the next decade or two. If that were to happen, a million Jews, perhaps more, might leave and thus add significantly to our small numbers.

The first 75 years of the AJC were years of agonizing challenge at home and abroad. There is every reason to believe the same will be true from now until the end of this century and beyond. As long as the AJC remembers that Israel and the Diaspora are one, and that every Jew is his brother's keeper, it will have the opportunity to contribute in the future as it has in the past to the glory of God and the betterment of man.

ALFRED GOTTSCHALK,
President, Hebrew Union College--Jewish Institute of Religion

We have seen incidences of violence emerging recently of which we must take important note... the bombing of the synagogue in Alhambra, California, immediately after Rosh Hashana, [its plunder and desecration] with swastikas... [the attack on] the Reform synagogues in Paris in the Rue Copernic... described as worse than that of the air raids in Europe during the second World War....

I am by nature not an alarmist, but I believe that what we see happening throughout the world, whether it is in Bologna, in Paris, in Munich, in Alhambra, or in Miami, is a phenomenon to which we cannot close our eyes if we are sane. For there is a warning in this world of a new fascism arising, utilizing the scapegoat of Jews and Judaism to dramatize its ideology....

I remember as a child in Nazi Germany how insidious the progression was. First one grew up with neighbors and friends. My family had lived in Germany for 300 years; who could be more German? But at the same time, who could be more Jewish, because for three centuries my family was fully

intertwined with the Jewish life in its region....

The resources of the American Jewish Committee and the entire American Jewish community will be needed during these next years in order for us to preserve the basic freedoms that have been granted to us in America.

There is a need to be aware of the new winds that are polluting our atmosphere and beginning to corrupt minds and hearts. The violence we see is insidious and progressive. And unless we face it and, in our integrity, walk with God and fight it to the best of our ability, we shall forfeit our future as a vibrant Jewish community and leaders of the family of humankind.

CHAIM GROSS
Artist and Educator

My creations in myriad media -- sculpture, water colors, graphics and many tapestries -- are my statement.

A large part of the work is inspired by the great prophets of the Bible. All of it strongly expresses the influences and the background of my Hasidic parents. They instilled and inspired in me a deep desire and the strength to create works of art which attest to my love for the Jewish tradition....

My fervent hope is that future generations will enjoy, be influenced and inspired by, and be willing to learn about Jewish art and culture, for that is our greatest heritage! For then, too, the next generation will pass on ably and proudly to others the flame, the fervor and the beauty of Jewish survival.

ARTHUR HERTZBERG
Rabbi, Temple Emanuel, Englewood, New Jersey
Vice-President, World Jewish Congress

The era of emancipation, the last two centuries, is the first time in Jewish history that Jewish existence, both in politics and faith, has become voluntary... the first time in which secular conversion, rather than a traumatic change of religion, is a possibility that is open to Jews -- and widely used. This is the first age in which, effectively, the majority of the Jewish people is post-religious, at least with respect to obedience to norms

enforced by some authority. An unprecedented Jewish community is now before us, with little memory of an earlier, more orderly, Jewish existence. And the problem before the Jewish world is not the minority which cares very much, but the majority which cares impressionistically, or not at all. It is for that majority that modern Jewish thought was invented, and modern Jewish politics and, yes, Zionism.

The fundamental problem of world Jewry is not anti-Semitism. On the contrary, a certain level of anti-Semitism, provided it is not murderous, has acted in the modern era as an artificial preservative of the Jewish community, even as it has been losing its inner content. The problem is loss of faith, of commitment, of *raison d'être*. The Diaspora has offered the individual Jew many possibilities. He can find his reason for being at the Western *smörgasbord* -- in art, music, politics or, most often, simply in the service of the bitch goddess, Success. In the open Diaspora society, the Jewish people has no role of its own -- unless one wants to define battling anti-Semitism, raising money and political lobbying for the State of Israel as the content of Jewish existence for centuries to come....

Jews have arrived at a tragic and fateful paradox they can no longer escape: The small minority who rejected the emancipation from the very beginning seem safe as Jews in the new age; but those who accepted it are, in all their variety, in far more substantial danger. Precisely because they care less about the Jewish component in their existence than do the self-ghettoized, the majority of Jews today are in greater need of radical solutions to their Jewish problems.

Is Jewish continuity safe in this open society? The answer is: No. Therefore, the great task of this day is not to be defined in such a narrow context as upbuilding the State of Israel, although Israel obviously needs a radical change in the priorities of its government and society, of its educational norms and its order of value. The task Jews have not mastered, or even begun to master, in the past 200 years is how to save the Jewish people for itself.

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
Former United States Secretary of Commerce
President Emeritus, World Jewish Congress

It is more comforting and less controversial to express views on what will face the American Jewish community in the years ahead than to try to rationalize what has happened in recent years. Yet, the past casts its lights and shadows on the future. That future starts with certain hopeful assets. For those of us who have lived nearly as long as, or longer than, the American Jewish Committee's 75 years, there is a measure of consolation and hope that the American Jewish community can face the future with such institutions, which have been matured by time and by testing. They provide the continuity that individuals, being mortal, cannot provide.

It is predictable that substantially the same constellation of Jewish institutions and organizations will at least influence the activities of the community in the next few decades. They will provide the backbone and stimulus for such changes in programs and activity as may occur. In truth, they will change with the times as, fortunately, they have changed in my lifetime. But, unlike at the turn of the century, they are entering the next years strengthened and emboldened by the dramatic events of this period -- the Holocaust, still not thoroughly understood, and the rebirth of the Jewish state, still not yet secure.

Certainly the depths of one and the glory of the other will be basic to the work of the Jewish community in the years ahead, as they have been in the generation before. But there will be changes. The glow of years will descend on the Holocaust remembrance and, it is hoped, the happiness and pains of peace will be Israel's lot.

I choose this phrasing deliberately and carefully. Time will make of the Holocaust remembrance something more glorious, though less real, than in our day. And peace will compel decisions in Israel and in the Diaspora that have been too long delayed. These will be difficult to a degree, but productive in the end.

The American Jewish community may well be somewhat smaller, and its resources may not necessarily be larger. Yet, most likely, it will be less self-centered than the necessities have forced it to be in the immediate past. Perhaps some freedom from internal pressures will enable us to practice what our faith teaches us -- a concern for humanity as a whole and, through it, a concern for ourselves as Jews. Not only are we of many nationalities, but we have a universal and international mission. Perhaps the next decades will enable us to express the desperate and indispensable yearning for world peace. In this sense, the concerns for problems that affect all humans -- world energy, nuclear policy, economic and social welfare -- will have a more prominent place on the agenda than they held in the past.

EDWARD I. KOCH
Mayor, The City of New York

The 75th Anniversary of the American Jewish Committee is a time to look back on what has been accomplished and a time to look ahead to the challenges which will be confronting the Jewish community in the coming decade. I perceive two main areas of concern:

First, we must constantly keep our eye on the worldwide menace of anti-Semitism which, once again, is on the rise. Events in the Middle East, in Iran and in Europe leave no doubt that anti-Semitism is still a threat, not only to the Jewish community but also to the concept of a world governed by reason and law. We must be firm in our resolve that anti-Semitism in all its disguises and pseudonyms will never again crawl up from the gutter of

human affairs to challenge the progress of civilization.

Also of great concern to me is the changing nature of the Jewish community. A shrinking population and what might be called a loss of vitality in the community are only two of the problems which call for a fresh evaluation of Jewish priorities in America. We must press forward in our efforts to combat prejudice and bigotry, but we must also stress the positive aspects of Jewish life and culture and do everything we can to ensure that our heritage is preserved for future generations.

Financial and organizational problems are among the many challenges we face. However, there are no problems that cannot be solved. We need have no fear for the future if we provide our young people with the educational support which strengthens their awareness and commitment to the values of the Jewish community.

IRVING KRISTOL
Co-Editor, The Public Interest
Board of Contributors, The Wall Street Journal

One suspects that the next two decades will be a very uneasy period for American Jewry, as a great many familiar guidelines become blurred or disappear entirely. Some new thinking and new adjustments will be required, and the very fact that, ever since World War II at least, American Jews have felt so securely and comfortably "at home" in the United States may make that new thinking and those new adjustments all the more difficult.

If I had to sum up in one sentence the changes I foresee ahead of us, it is that the nation will be less liberal and less secular, more conservative and more religious, than it has been in the past half-century. I cannot prove that this will be the case, and I know of no way of disproving a contrary assertion. (Social science is just not that scientific.) But I sense that such a trend is underway, that it is a powerful trend, and that it will not be a transient phenomenon.

If this is indeed the case, then it will create some very interesting dilemmas for American Jewry. In truth, we are already encountering such dilemmas, if only in a preliminary way. Thus, the past decade has been marked by a quickened interest within the Jewish community in strengthening a sense of "Jewish identity" and by various institutional efforts to satisfy that aspiration. This, on the whole, most of us take to be a very good thing. But too many Jews, in my opinion, have failed to see that this tendency is not peculiar to the Jewish community. All Americans, in one degree or another, are experiencing something similar. Christians, too, are beginning to seek a more emphatic "Christian identity." To many Jews, this comes as an unwelcome shock -- they have been inclined to think that, while it is nice for Jews to become "more Jewish," it is less desirable for Christians to become less secular, "more Christian."

Obviously, Jews are concerned that, along with any Christian revival, there would also be a revival of anti-Semitism. The concern is certainly legitimate enough. But if one believes the trend toward religious self-identification is real and powerful, then it would make little sense for Jews to be simply alarmed at it, or simply hostile to it. Instead, we shall need to emphasize the desirability of a friendly religious dialogue in the context of religious pluralism -- as distinct from mutual religious indifference in the context of a secular climate of opinion. And the Jewish community will then, I think, have to take another look at their attitude toward public policies in which a Christian majority will have a very keen interest. The question of school prayers is, I would suggest, one that American Jews are going to have to seek a fresh perspective on. Tuition tax credits for private schools would seem to be another.

In addition to becoming a more religious population -- or at least a more religiously-identified population -- I sense that we shall become a lot more nationalist in our foreign policy, and in our thinking about foreign policy. The natural Jewish concern for the security of the State of Israel will then have to be defined in an entirely new context. The liberal-internationalism that so many Jews have invested their hopes in, as a means toward creating a better world, looks more and more anachronistic every day. Large numbers of American Jews are very displeased with the actuality of the United Nations. Most, however, have yet to begin re-thinking the idea of the United Nations.

I have raised only a couple of points, but probably enough to indicate just how radically novel the American Jewish situation is likely to be for the rest of this century. Novel, and troublesome -- but not necessarily depressing in my view. Change is always painful and anxiety-inducing, but Jews have a history of coping with change -- if not always as well as they might have done. It seems to me that forethought, exercised now, should enable us to cope more successfully.

NORMAN LAMM
President, Yeshiva University

By far the most significant challenge confronting American Jewry as we approach the 21st century is its very survival as a viable and creative entity.

While every epoch produces its own *Weltschmerz* and issues its own solemn jeremiads, it is undeniable that depression, gloom, and foreboding are the hallmarks of our time. As a nation, we are the generation of Vietnam and Watergate. Economic concerns cast a pall over our country, and indeed the world. The State of Israel, which is for Jews the major institutionalized consolation to emerge out of the unspeakable horrors of the Holocaust, and for the Western world the symbol of atonement for its record during the war

years, remains the only country in the world whose claim to national self-determination is questioned by most of the other nations. Israel, both people and state, remains insecure and perhaps even marginal. And American Jews feel helpless as increasing intermarriage, a negative growth rate and ominous rumbles of anti-Semitism disguised as anti-Zionism constitute an increasing threat to their safety, let alone their prosperity.

Since ancient times, the three foundations of Torah, Jewish peoplehood (*Am Yisrael*), and the Jewish family have been the core of Jewish survival. Today this core triad is being eroded and Jewish survival jeopardized by the accelerated diminution of the traditional values which buttress them.

The extended family, with three generations living amicably under one roof, a tradition among Jews for centuries, has been replaced by the nuclear family on the move, the loss of roots, the denigration of the sanctity of marriage through marital vagabondage and hedonistic nihilism, the rising incidence of divorce, and the unashamed abandonment of the elderly in their final years. Having lost its moorings in shared spiritual commitments, the Jewish family is easily buffeted by the ill winds blowing from an envying society in moral disintegration. In a situation in which, increasingly, it is everyone for him/herself, family life begins to vanish, and Jewishness suffers. The pervasive narcissism of our times has had a deleterious and erosive effect on the quality of our family life. The great question is whether this attack on cohesive family life has already spent itself. If it has not, we are in terrible trouble.

The paucity of learning is becoming ever more painful. Jewish education, for the most part, has rightfully been termed "a stream one mile wide and one inch deep." Despite the efforts of a proliferating number of yeshivot and day schools, Jewish education barely touches the lives of large numbers of our people; half the Jewish children in America today are not receiving any form of Jewish education. Idealistic and searching youths are being "turned off" by Judaism poorly presented, and turn to evangelical cults and esoteric Eastern religions for exotic experiences. Substantial numbers of such disaffected searchers are Jews.

Education in our contemporary society too often strives for an arrogantly unresponsive quest for information, or facts, or knowledge alone, rather than for the quality and dignity of human life. The love of learning for its own sake -- what in Jewish tradition is known as *Torah Lishma* -- must be wedded, in the coming decades, to a more thorough and profound humanitarianism. In the Jewish world, this means a return to classical Jewish studies and values before they were refracted through the secular prism.

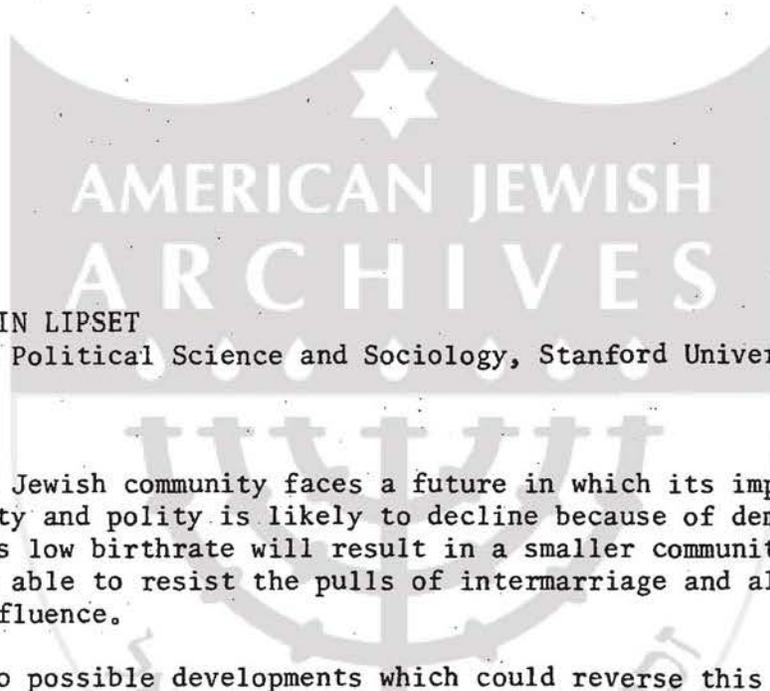
The sense of identification with the Jewish people is enhanced by the State of Israel, but it will not survive the collapse of Jewish values and conduct in the Diaspora. Fear of anti-Semitism (either overt or disguised as anti-Zionism) is too weak a foundation on which to build Jewish identity. Shared faith, culture, values, and learning are far more formidable and enduring than a common insecurity for building the bridges of Jewish fraternity.

Only by strengthening learning and Jewish commitment, enhancing respect for the integrity of the family, and deepening our ties with Israel and our

brethren throughout the world will the American Jewish community thrive and flourish as a dynamic and creative force.

The American Jewish Committee was formed 75 years ago to combat physical pogroms afflicting our ancestors. Today, in addition to countering political and social threats to Jewish survival wherever they still exist throughout the world, the American Jewish Committee must concentrate its resources on overcoming the enormous intellectual and spiritual perils to the demographic and moral integrity of the American Jewish community.

Challenged though we are by unpleasant realities, we must confront the future courageously. As the first-century sage Rabbi Tarphon taught, "You are not required to finish the task, but neither are you free to desist from it."



SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET

Professor of Political Science and Sociology, Stanford University

The American Jewish community faces a future in which its impact on the larger society and polity is likely to decline because of demographic factors. Its low birthrate will result in a smaller community, one which will be less able to resist the pulls of intermarriage and also have less political influence.

There are two possible developments which could reverse this trend: immigration and conversion. About half a million Jews have entered the United States in the last decade and a half. The great majority have come from Israel, but the Soviet Union, Latin America, Iran, Canada and South Africa have also contributed substantial numbers. The community has been considerably ambivalent about these additions to its ranks, particularly the Israelis, since they imply a rejection of the Jewish state as a place to live or settle. Still, the sheer numbers involved necessitate efforts by the American community to find ways of incorporating the newcomers, including the Israelis.

The issue of conversion is particularly related to the high rate of intermarriage. Over a third of the marriages involving young Jews are with non-Jews. Studies of such families indicate that, although only a minority of the Gentile spouses convert, the majority identify their families as Jewish. But, as might be expected, they do not form ties with the Jewish community, and their children are not exposed to Jewish education. Both the non-Jewish spouses and their children constitute a fertile field for conversion activities. In any case, it is obvious that the numbers of Jews in America will decline sharply in the next few decades if the community remains solely a birthright religious group.

HOWARD M. METZENBAUM
U.S. Senator from Ohio

The best way to assess our major tasks for the remaining two decades of the century is to review what the past eight decades have taught us. It is also, I believe, in accordance with Jewish tradition to confront the future with a firm anchorage in the past.

The most dramatic lesson of our 20th century experience, both as Jews and Americans, is that we must accept responsibility for our own history and our own future.

As Jews, we began the century, not only as immigrants, but in flight from an environment that made us totally dependent on the good will (or, more often, the hostility) of others. Subject to forces far beyond our control, we tended to withdraw from the mainstream of society.

Our position is now dramatically changed. Although America certainly has to solve major problems before it can consider the civil-rights struggle completed, it is nevertheless true that Jews have largely achieved and are now firmly committed to full integration into America's political, economic and civic life.

But with this well-being comes responsibility. We shall be required to carry out wisely our still-quite-new partnership in the American enterprise, always learning how and when to work vigorously for what we conceive to be our group interests, while at the same time cooperating effectively with the many other competing and valid pressures in our democratic society.

Much the same need to accept the responsibilities of history faces American society as a whole. Despite the many frustrations of our recent national experience, we are still mankind's best hope for an improving and decent future. That requires that we accept, without fear, the responsibility to build a society that can serve as a model to all mankind of justice and respect for differences... that encourages individual initiative while exerting proper social disciplines. And we must do all that while playing our crucial and responsible role on the world stage, insisting on our national interests while working steadily for a more equitable relationship among nations.

Our Jewish tasks and our American tasks are intertwined, inseparable, and formidable. The tragedies of the past eight decades and the growing complexity of the problems we face are sobering facts that force constant realistic appraisal as we pick our way through the land mines of the future. But the stunning accomplishments in both Jewish life and American life throughout these crowded years should give us the courage to face our tasks with zest and confidence, so as to be worthy of our double heritage:

NEWTON N. MINOW
Partner, Sidley and Austin, Chicago

I have a love affair with the Constitution of the United States of America. Those of us lucky enough to be both Americans and Jews find ourselves doubly blessed. We live in a country which values and welcomes the ideals of our mothers and fathers.

Never before in the history of the world has a nation offered its Jewish community as much freedom to learn, to communicate and to develop its moral and cultural values to their fullest potential as has the United States under the Constitution. Never before has Judaism had such a full opportunity to be of service to humanity. Generations of our forefathers who lived in other lands were prevented by repressive governments from fully realizing their Jewish ideals. Therefore, our blessed freedom imposes a special responsibility upon us to live to our fullest potential, as both Jews and Americans; as individuals, as families, and as a participating community within a great country. It is this responsibility -- and this opportunity -- that I believe to be the most significant challenge for American Jews in the next two decades.

Technically, I am a first-generation American. Neither my parents nor my grandparents were born here. But I believe that my grandparents, who came to America about the same time that the American Jewish Committee was founded, are the real Americans. They had courage. They came carrying the small children who became my parents and put their trust in their dreams of America. They enabled my parents, and then our generation, and now our children, to grow up in freedom in a land where opportunity flourishes.

I am optimistic about the next twenty years because I am optimistic about what free men and women can achieve. The unique combination of America's political freedom with the Jewish cultural and religious tradition provides the best possible environment for further growth of our values, which were preserved in the face of adversity for thousands of years. The unparalleled freedom of Jews in America imposes upon our generation a special debt to our ancestors and to our children.

While my grandparents never had much chance for formal education, they did earn Ph.D.'s in love and charity and goodwill to others. They passed that heritage on to their children, who in turn passed it on to my wife's and my generation. We have passed it on to our children as they went to study at America's great universities. Our children know and remember the lessons of their great-grandparents. That is why I am sure we will remain a free nation, in which we nourish our faith in both Moses and Jefferson.

DIANE RAVITCH

Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

Like other minorities in the United States, Jews are not monolithic. There are rich Jews and poor Jews, Jewish professionals and Jewish blue-collar workers, Jewish scholars and Jewish athletes. Despite stereotypes to the contrary, Jews are to be found on opposite sides of every issue. Even on those issues that can accurately be considered "Jewish issues," there is a division of opinion among Jews as to what is right.

The few truly Jewish issues, I believe, are bound up with the ability to survive and live in freedom as Jews; and these, I believe, will be critical in the years ahead.

The first is the preservation of our American Government and the values for which it stands, for it is in this country, and under this political and economic system, that we have known an extraordinary period of freedom and prosperity.

Second, our fate as Jews is intimately connected to the fate of Israel, which is today surrounded by hostile forces. Usually, the attacks on Israel are barely-disguised outbreaks of classic anti-Semitism. Because the jeopardy to Israelis flows from the fact of their Jewishness, so long as they live in danger, we too are in danger.

Third, Jews have succeeded in the United States to the extent that they have been able to surmount anti-Semitic bias and join in coalitions with non-Jews to oppose all discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, ethnicity, language and gender. We know from our history how rare is a society in which advancement is open to merit, without regard to ancestry. In recent years, a succession of court decisions and executive orders have eroded the merit principle in favor of the proposition that opportunity should be granted on the basis of race, ethnicity, and gender. I know many Jews disagree about this question, but I believe it is a Jewish issue because it threatens to stifle the open opportunity in jobs and education that has meant so much to us. If a time comes when Jews are turned away from professional schools or denied tenure because the "Jewish goal" of 3 percent has been fulfilled, then something very important in our society and vital to our ability to live freely will have been sacrificed.

Finally, I think we must work continually to perpetuate our Jewish heritage through education. The American environment contains strong assimilating pulls, some reflected in the high rate of intermarriage, others in the erosion of a sense of Jewish identity. We are an adaptable people; we have outlived many other nations and peoples because of our ability to blend into

the environment without losing our essential Jewishness. Let us look to our future by remembering our past.

SIMON H. RIFKIND

Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison, New York

One of our tasks is to define, articulate and purvey an acceptable and viable relationship between the Jewish community and the American society of which it is a part. That relationship is never static.

1. At this moment, one must accept the hard fact that it is no longer as fashionable to be pro-Israel as it was, say, 20 years ago. The romantic affection in which Israel was held when it was perceived as David confronting its Goliath-like enemies has been dissipated. In part, that dissipation has been the product of Israel's success. In some quarters, it has become politically attractive to be anti-Israel; from that condition the slope toward anti-Semitism is always very slippery. To deal with that threat, we shall need all the intellectual and moral power we can muster. The AJC is a natural site for the intellectual and scholarly effort which must underlie the resistance to that dangerous tendency.

2. The Jewish commitment to equality of opportunity, to the right to participate in a contest in which merit is the final judge, is being challenged on many fronts by well-intentioned people espousing noble purposes and legitimate ambitions. The Jewish community today is not at all of one mind on that subject. How to accommodate the conflicting ideals into a viable consensus will again tax our intellectual and moral resources.

3. The Jewish conception of the family, enshrined in ritual, custom and law, and long accepted as part of the universal civilized tradition is today rejected by vast numbers in all parts of the Western world. It is an enormously difficult problem. How will the Jewish ethic evolve in relation to this tidal movement?

4. On the American scene, we have observed an elevation of consciousness with respect to ethnicity, not as a cultural divertissement but as a political power tool. That has a potential for good; but it also possesses the capacity to fragmentize America, to disperse its political power along irrational lines, to destroy the effective centers of responsibility for the governance of this continent.

5. And what of the spread of irrationalism among the youth of this most rational and pragmatic of peoples? Cults multiply, one more saturated with mystic nonsense than the next. I suggest that this, too, is a Jewish problem. How do we arm those born into our tradition to resist the lure of these new and largely fraudulent revelations?

ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

The years ahead will be challenging to the American Jewish community, indeed to the world Jewish community. While the various Jewish organizations have diverse views on many subjects, there are mutual areas of concern in which we are united. I pray we will continue to stand as one community to respond to some of the most critical issues which face us, as Americans and as Jews, during the next decades.

Of particular concern is the emergence of the new and dangerous phenomenon on the American political scene, the Christian right. This is a loose confederation of many radical right-wing organizations, some strictly sectarian, such as the Moral Majority, composed of evangelical fundamentalists -- others of a more traditional political mold, such as the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

The confederation has become a potent political force.... They use the most advanced technology to do their work... [and] the sums which they have been able to raise for their political activities is staggering. Their ideological banner is wide. They seek to Christianize America, to make this a republic ruled by Christ. Yet they give their religion a narrow definition. They are pro-life and pro-family. But they ignore and even oppose such religious principles as the stewardship of our resources, care for the poor, and justice and peace; as a case in point, they are violently opposed to the U.S. ratification of the Genocide convention.... Priorities also are some issues which are more political than moral....

Their means, even more than their goals, are troubling. They are scarcely democratic and threaten to destroy the fabric of our freedoms. They have tests of politico-religious purity; those who do not conform to their standards are labeled sinners, disciples of Satan. They have their hit lists of candidates targeted for political oblivion, and slander is their favorite weapon for such assassinations....

This is not a conflict which pits Jews against Christians. Indeed most Christians, most main-line Protestants and Roman Catholics are as alarmed as we are about the growth of this so-called Christian Right. They see it as a perversion of their faith....

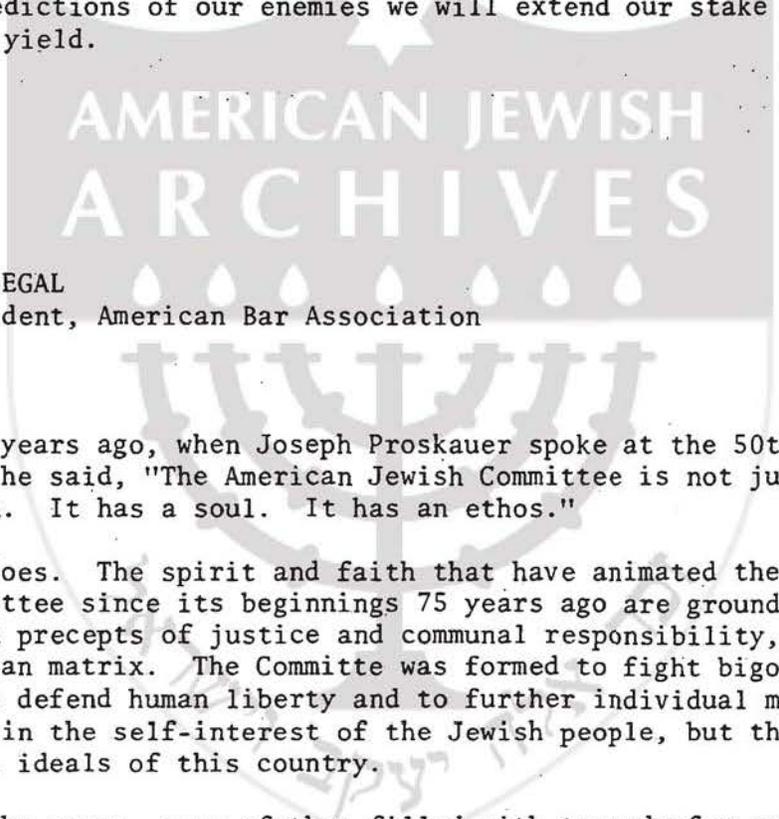
In our search for allies, the Jewish community cannot seek 100-percent ideological purity. We will disagree on the Middle East with the National Council of Churches, which just issued an unconscionable statement supporting the P.L.O., but we must work with them on free choice on abortion, gun control, strategic arms limitation and a host of significant issues. We will disagree with the Roman Catholic Bishops on abortion and birth control, but we will give voice to a common concern on aid to refugees, world hunger and racial justice. We will disagree with Blacks on racial quotas, but we continue to share a vision of a compassionate society and can work together in support of national health insurance, youth employment, decent housing and similar programs.... What has begun, in effect, is a struggle for the character and the soul of America. It will endure for many years, transcending the immediacies of politics and elections. It is a struggle,

therefore, we ought not, we need not fight alone. It must be waged by the entire American community, by interfaith and intergroup coalitions of decency, speaking out together against bigotry and hate of every kind.

I am confident that we can hold America's political center -- which must be the central goal of our communal striving -- by reaching out to all these forces of which I speak, marshalling their impulses for good.

But we must hold on to one another, too, we Jews, for we are one and indivisible in death and life alike. *Atta echad v'shimcha echad, umi k'amcha. Yisroel goy echad ba'aretz.* God is one and His name is one, and we His people of Israel are one, throughout the world.

And this above all: We must not despair. We overcame our bitter yesterdays; we'll overcome our threatening tomorrows. And so, against the schemings and the maledictions of our enemies we will extend our stake in this land. We will not yield.



AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

BERNARD G. SEGAL
Former President, American Bar Association

Twenty-five years ago, when Joseph Proskauer spoke at the 50th Anniversary celebration, he said, "The American Jewish Committee is not just another organization. It has a soul. It has an ethos."

Indeed, it does. The spirit and faith that have animated the American Jewish Committee since its beginnings 75 years ago are grounded in the ancient Jewish precepts of justice and communal responsibility, and nurtured in an American matrix. The Committee was formed to fight bigotry and discrimination, to defend human liberty and to further individual merit. Those were causes in the self-interest of the Jewish people, but they were also the national ideals of this country.

Throughout the years, many of them filled with tragedy for our people, the American Jewish Committee has performed nobly, at times even heroically, in the pursuit of these ideals. And much has been achieved.

Our society now, as always, needs men and women who will act justly, who will advance human dignity, who will foster brotherhood and equality, who will fight bias and discrimination. But the challenge ahead for us as Jews is perhaps greater today than it has been at any time, at least in recent history. As we survey the current scene we see that the Jewish values that nurture us are threatened. They are threatened by the cacophony of sounds and diversions of modern life. They are threatened by too little education about our heritage. They are threatened by a world in which power and expediency too often win out over decency and humanity. They are threatened because our communal roots are not as strong as they once were.

How does one overcome these threats and stresses? The answers are the same now as they have always been: teaching tradition; sensitivity to Jewish values; education of our children; devotion to freedom and justice; belief in community; willingness to involve ourselves in the overriding issues of our times; commitment to social justice.

Will our young people accept these answers in the critical decades ahead? I do not know. But when I look at the talent and character available in our community, when I look at the level of our young leadership today, when I look at the contributions that our people continue to make on the American and world scene, I do not share the pessimism about our future that seems to abound throughout the Jewish community. I firmly believe that we have within us the strength for survival, the determination to maintain our community, the will for renewed effort, the spiritual mortar to preserve our values.

Let this anniversary, therefore, serve as a reminder and a call. We shall survive and indeed we shall flourish, sustained by and sustaining both our Jewish and American ideals.





the american jewish committee

ANNUAL MEETING BACKGROUNDER

ANTI-SEMITISM TODAY: A FRANK ANALYSIS

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1981 -- 9:30 A.M.

Over the past 12 months, incidents of vandalism and other malicious acts against synagogues and other Jewish institutions in the United States have increased sharply, almost tripling the figures for a year ago. These manifestations, widely covered by the press and the electronic media, have stirred understandable fears in the American Jewish community which, even before the recent outbreaks, has felt itself beleaguered on a number of political and ideological fronts.

Certainly all of these disturbing events must be carefully studied. AJC investigations and analysis to date indicate that it would be a mistake to interpret the recent outbreaks as signaling a new and dangerous wave of anti-Semitism in the United States. On balance, AJC studies indicate the Jewish position in the U.S. remains secure.

According to AJC files, the majority of the anti-Semitic incidents in the U.S. took place after a widely publicized bombing of the Rue Copernic Synagogue in Paris, on October 3, 1980, that left four dead and a dozen wounded. That outrage is believed to have been the work of Arab-inspired terrorists, a part of their campaign against Israel. But no discernible political motivation has surfaced in the American incidents. Indeed, in those instances where arrests were made, the overwhelming majority of the culprits proved to be young white teenagers, unaffiliated with any known hate groups and entirely uninvolved politically.

The current outbreak of anti-Semitic vandalism must be viewed against the alarming increase in all kinds of crimes in the U.S. over the past several years. In 1979, crime took its biggest jump since the recession years of 1974-75. Religious institutions have become prime targets for thieves hoping to turn valuable religious objects into cash. Synagogues have been hit by such break-ins, but so have a great many churches. Arson, vandalism, and senseless violence are also sharply on the rise, and in this climate it is inevitable that some of the victims should be Jewish.

In November 1980, the American Jewish Committee convened an all-day consultation on anti-Semitism, bringing together a group of respected social scientists, to discuss the history, politics and psychology of group hatred. Several of the experts stressed that historically anti-Semitism has constituted a powerful threat to Jews only in those countries where it has enjoyed government sanction and been institutionalized in the laws and tradition of the land. Institutionalized anti-Semitism has never existed in the United States, and the American egalitarian tradition makes it most unlikely that it can achieve such respectability. The conferees did express concern, however, about the "internationalization" of anti-Semitism in the United Nations and its contribution to intergroup conflict in the U.S.

(over)

It is also important to remember that reports of anti-Semitic incidents cannot be used as the sole indicator of anti-Jewish feeling in the U.S. today. Organized anti-Semitism in the U.S. achieved its greatest public acceptance before the Second World War, and today no organized hate groups have any appreciable political or social influence in this country. The various Ku Klux Klans and neo-Nazi groups, whose activities receive media attention far beyond what their numbers and strength warrant, have failed to attract a single influential American to their ranks. The underlying danger of these individuals and groups remains their potential for inciting others to violence. There is no individual of stature on the political scene today who is an overt anti-Semite. The three members of hate groups who did run for office in 1980 -- California Klansman Tom Metzger, North Carolina neo-Nazi Harold Covington and Michigan Klansman Gerald Carlson -- were all unsuccessful.

The 1980 election campaign was virtually free of anti-Semitism. Indeed, more Jews than ever before -- 6 Senators and 27 members of the House of Representatives -- were elected to the U.S. Congress in 1980, and the number of Jews serving in state legislatures and other political offices is too large to count. At the same time, many Americans have watched with misgivings the growing political influence of certain evangelical groups. The national leadership of Moral Majority and other evangelical political organizations go to great pains to disclaim any anti-Semitic bent, but state and local chapters of these organizations are frequently less sophisticated in their thinking about Jews.

AJC studies of public opinion polls since 1946 reflect a decline in anti-Semitic attitudes. In 1946, 58 percent of the non-Jews said that Jews had "too much power in the U.S." By 1974, notwithstanding the Arab oil embargo, the respondents who agreed with this statement had dropped to 37 percent and the decline has continued to 26 percent in 1975, 19 percent in 1977, 12 percent in 1978. In October 1980, just before the Presidential election, it was down to 8 percent. There has been some fluctuation in the support for Israel, however, particularly among the college-educated and among Blacks.

There are, in every poll, some respondents who are more sympathetic to Arabs than to Israel in the Middle East conflict, and some who believe that Jews have too much political influence. Nevertheless, repeated polling over the years underscores the fact that the vast majority of Americans are favorably disposed toward their Jewish fellow citizens. In the arts, sciences, business, and the professions the same acceptance is evident.

It would be wrong, however, to discount the long-term effect of certain disturbing events, particularly the transformation of the United Nations into a sounding board for anti-Israel and anti-Semitic rhetoric and the attempts by some bigots in Europe and the U.S. to deny the Holocaust ever really happened.

These developments, like every reported case of overt anti-Semitism, merit our concern. Though every objective assessment indicates that American Jews continue to enjoy a secure and respectable status in this country, history underscores the risk of complacency. Effective counteraction requires that reason dictate strategy. It calls for meticulous fact-finding, in-depth assessment of all available information, and careful planning to deal with both immediate events and potential dangers.

- 1) In your community has anti-Semitism appeared to be on the increase? If so, how was this manifested?
- 2) In light of the widely publicized anti-Semitic incidents in certain parts of the country, should AJC take a leading position as a moderate voice in the Jewish community?



the american jewish committee

ANNUAL MEETING BACKGROUNDER

THE REAGAN REVOLUTION: AJC'S NEW DOMESTIC PRIORITIES

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1981 -- 9:30 A.M.

Although there is disagreement about the extent of the "mandate" given the new Administration and Congress, it is clear that the 1980 elections usher in a new era in the United States.

Revitalization of the economy and control of inflation are clearly major issues on the minds of most Americans. In addition there is prevalent the sense--rightly or wrongly--that many social programs of the last decade have been wasteful and inefficient and there has been too much Federal government involvement in, and control over, the lives of citizens. Major cuts in budget and taxes are now being sought and it is expected that most of these will be passed by Congress.

There is also a growing sense that American society has changed too radically and too swiftly and that there is a need to return to the "good old days" when morality and civility prevailed. Consequently, there are growing efforts to impose religious values in diverse aspects of American life, e.g., to change the U.S. Constitution to require prayer in the public schools, to mandate the teaching of "scientific creationism," to outlaw abortions, etc.

Frequently, the proponents of dramatic economic changes and those seeking to legislate moral changes have coincided. And, almost always they come in bitter conflict with those in the forefront of social reforms the last few decades. The ensuing debate has evoked much heat and confusion, making it difficult for thoughtful Americans to view the issues objectively.

The AJC believes the time has come to discard traditional labels and stereotypes, to stop blaming or praising "liberals" or "conservatives" for past failures or successes and to move forward with concrete efforts to achieve greater security and stability for all Americans.

AJC's domestic priorities have been based on several long-standing and deeply-held convictions of the Jewish community. These have included: a concern for the poor and needy in our midst, a determination to root out injustice and discrimination wherever they exist and a commitment to the protection of the rights of all minority groups, and religious minorities in particular. Accordingly, we have been deeply involved in issues of health care, housing, public education, employment, etc.

In the past, we have looked to the Federal government to provide primary leadership and funding for programs in these areas. Now the economic and social climate demands a reevaluation of what may be expected of the Federal government and what new responsibilities organizations such as AJC may inherit. Where the budget cuts may fall, how deep they will be and what effect they may have on our ongoing commitments and the programs of the Jewish community as a whole, is, naturally, of deep concern to us.

The AJC has consistently objected to complex, overlapping and unduly restrictive government regulations for both mandated and voluntary programs. Therefore, we see merit in giving states greater control and flexibility to use Federal dollars in ways

most appropriate to their particular populations and problems. However, without categorical requirements, states will have to mediate the myriad competing claims for funds from all segments of the population and special interest groups, including Jewish institutions. Predictably there will be exacerbation of intergroup tensions and a probable diminution of needed services to those groups which may lack influence or political leverage.

Over the years AJC has worked to support separation of church and state as a cardinal principle to insure freedom of conscience and religious practice for all. In the present period of religious revival, this principle, which has enabled America to escape the sectarian strife and persecution which has marked the history of other lands, is of utmost importance to us as Jews. But there are those who believe that in the interest of intergroup harmony some of our traditional positions on such issues as aid to parochial schools and prayer in the public schools should be re-examined.

Questions for discussion:

1. What are the best private incentives to minimize the negative effects of budget cuts?
2. What broad general guidelines can be developed to insure that remaining Federal funds are used effectively?
3. How can AJC work to lessen intergroup tensions on the local level as groups compete with each other for scarce resources?
4. Which of its church-state positions, if any, should AJC reconsider?



the american jewish committee

ANNUAL MEETING BACKGROUNDER

ISRAEL AND AMERICAN JEWRY: CONFRONTING OUR DIFFERENCES

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1981 -- 9:30 A.M.

The subject of Israel-Diaspora relations is probably as old as Jewish peoplehood and the establishment of the first Jewish state. Yet, the State of Israel is so young, and her problems and those of the Jewish people so intense, varied and complicated, that this relationship remains in flux and has yet to be defined.

No other issue in American Jewish life arouses more commitment and passion than the security and welfare of Israel. This is so partly because of reaction to the Holocaust and also because for many acculturated American Jews Israel became the major symbol and reality of their Jewish identity and involvement.

Since the creation of Israel the American Jewish Committee has been deeply involved in her support and in helping to define the nature of the relationship between the two communities. In the late 1970s, the AJC organized a two-year international task force on Israel and American Jewish Interaction that began to address such major issues as: the question of dissent in the American Jewish community from Israel's policies; economic, cultural and educational concerns; the question of aliyah, religious pluralism in Israel, and other aspects of the relationship between Israel and American Jewry.

One troublesome issue that is in the forefront of Israel's concerns today is Yerida (emigration from Israel to the U.S. and elsewhere). This presents serious problems for Israel, especially since many of the emigrants are Israeli-born and professionally skilled. Such emigration is seen by Israel as a challenge to Zionist ideology and the idealism which built Israel, as well as a threat to the very security of the State, which badly needs skilled manpower. Newcomers to the U.S. from Israel and the Soviet Union comprise a major portion of the new Jewish communities in America today. Israel is unhappy with the assistance made available to facilitate their adjustment to this country for Israel believes this aids and abets their population drain and encourages Soviet emigres to come to the U.S. rather than Israel. What should be AJC's response to Israel's stance on these matters?

The increase in emigration from Israel caused stepped up efforts by the Israeli authorities to encourage aliyah or emigration from the U.S. to Israel, which has been at a low level. In the past, AJC has opposed such efforts when articulated on grounds of classical Zionist ideology such as the threat of latent anti-Semitism here, the impossibility of maintaining Jewish continuity under conditions of freedom, etc. However, AJC has not opposed Israeli efforts to encourage selective emigration under appropriate circumstances. We favor various programs that arrange for extended stays in Israel, such as youth volunteer and study programs, etc. We have also helped to ensure that such programs might have the greatest value to the participants in enriching their sense of Jewish identity, strengthening their Jewish commitment, and increasing their knowledge of Israeli life. At this time it is important to clarify our attitude toward Israeli encouragement of aliyah, and consider how best to implement our views.

(over)

A question that has been raised in the past which is even more relevant today is: To what degree should American Jewry, which contributes so heavily financially and in public advocacy, and which has so deep an emotional commitment to Israel, play a role in the effort to achieve social change in Israel? For example, one of the concerns of American Jews and many Israelis has been the control of religious life in Israel and of personal status by Orthodox Jewry. This state of affairs conflicts with American Jewry's tradition of religious practice. Religious control affects not only the free functioning of conservative and reform synagogues and rabbis but often the marriage status of individual American Jews. Should AJC take a more active role in seeking to advance Jewish religious pluralism in Israel?

The American Jewish community is concerned about its decreasing size, increase in secularism, intermarriage and assimilation. Zionism is aimed at creating a society in Israel expressing Judaic social and spiritual values. But Israelis today are also concerned about increased secularism and the diminution of Jewish identity -- as distinct from Israeli identity -- under conditions of modernity. How can AJC best help both Israel and American Jewry to confront and deal with these issues of mutual concern?

One of the questions that has agitated American Jewry in the past was the extent to which disagreements among Jews here over Israel's political policies should be publicly aired. In recent months a consensus has emerged in favor of self-imposed restraint, although there has been considerable private criticism over such policies as the building of Jewish settlements on the West Bank, especially when justified on the grounds of history and ideology. However, questions continue to be asked as to whether such restraint is in the long run in Israel's best interest and is consonant with the degree of American Jewish commitments to Israel's security. It is likely that such questions will again emerge in sharp focus, and clarification by AJC's constituency for AJC's governance would be desirable.

All of these questions and issues may be subsumed under the larger question: How can American Jewry most effectively help Israel and how can Israel contribute to the enrichment of American Jewish life?

And what can be done to clear up mutual misperceptions that exist between Israel and American Jewry, including the lack of knowledge each community has about the other?



the american jewish committee

ANNUAL MEETING BACKGROUNDER

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE JEWISH CONDITION

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1981 -- 9:30 A.M.

American foreign policy and the Jewish condition are so intimately linked in today's world that the foreign policies of the Reagan Administration, although still being shaped, cannot help but have profound impact.

Israel of course provides the most important illustration. At a time when the U.S. is substantially altering its global policy to concentrate on countering the Soviet Union and feels the need to build up a wide-ranging system of alliances throughout Southwest Asia and the Middle East, it is inevitable that U.S.-Israeli relations and especially Israel's role will be reviewed. There is the matter of arms: whether the U.S. will furnish Israel weapons adequate to maintain the present balance of power in the Middle East; or upset this same balance in ways perilous to American interests too, by selling the Saudis highly sensitive AWACS radar aircraft and add-on equipment for Saudi F-15 planes. There is the quest for peace: how does the U.S. now propose to advance the Camp David process the new Administration says it supports. There is the very tone of U.S. policy--as expressed in international forums, in describing terrorism or qualifying Israeli settlements on the West Bank--which speaks volumes to friends and foes of the Jewish state about U.S.-Israeli relations.

This means that the Jewish community, constant in its goals and concerns, must continuously re-examine its own strategies and tactics. Just recently, AJC felt impelled to take a public stance opposing one Administration proposal, the selling of offense weaponry to Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, it is certain that other Administration actions will merit approval. This session will provide a first opportunity for wide-ranging AJC membership discussion on the evolving shape of U.S. policy toward Israel.

Jews in the Soviet Union will also doubtless be affected by the altered state of U.S. policy toward the Soviets. Whether there be a causal relationship involved or not is difficult to say, but the fact remains that the greatest Jewish emigration from the USSR came during the decade of Soviet-American detente. With the changed atmosphere, with Jewish emigration from the USSR falling steadily, questions are asked about whether one should continue to maintain Jackson-Vanik legislation or seek to modify it; whether the Jewish community ought to take a stand on continuation of the grain embargo on the Soviet Union; and how, more generally, the U.S. government can use its influence in the future as it has in the past to modify Soviet action in relation to Jewish emigration and anti-Semitism. What should be the AJC's position on such issues?

(over)

Human Rights. Few issues have stirred as much controversy since the Reagan Administration came to power as that of its human rights policy. U.S. action on behalf of human rights has been helpful on more than one occasion not only to individual Jews but to entire Jewish communities. The AJC has pioneered in support of human rights efforts, on the theory that the rights of Jews are best protected when the rights of all are protected. Thus, the Helsinki Final Act has received vigorous AJC support because of its potential for improving the rights of Jews in the USSR and elsewhere. Administration critics argue that its approach undercuts human rights achievements of past years, including the Helsinki process. The Administration contends it is putting the focus on the most massive human rights violators and that its methods are more effective in aiding those whose rights are violated. What ought be the AJC's approach and position?

Israel, Soviet Jews, human rights--these are but a few of the areas in which American foreign policy interacts with the Jewish condition and which will be examined at this session.





the american jewish committee

ANNUAL MEETING BACKGROUNDER

THE ARAB OIL WEAPON: REAL OR RUSE?

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1981 -- 9:30 A.M.

The Dangers

The United States is currently dependent on imported oil for almost half of its energy supply. Moreover, Saudi Arabia, the world's leading exporter, supplies some twenty per cent of U.S. oil imports. The serious risk arising from this situation is that American perceptions of our dependence may cause us to cede to the Arab-oil states unprecedented leverage over our policies. If American officials believe that this country's political actions influence Saudi oil price and production policies, then we are at the Saudis' mercy. If our economists think that the Kuwaitis can, with impunity, seriously disrupt our economy, then we must do the Kuwaitis' bidding. If our businessmen perceive that their best opportunities lie in trade with the Persian Gulf sheikhdoms, then we must kowtow to the sheikhs. In short, as one senator said while approving the sale of F-15s to Saudi Arabia two years ago, "they have us over a barrel."

This situation has already led to many serious problems for America and for Israel:

- The sale of F-15 fighter planes to Saudi Arabia. The Carter Administration, over the strenuous objection of Israel, agreed in 1978 to sell these most advanced aircraft to the Saudis. Many senators questioned the wisdom of thus adding to the Middle East powder keg. But the apparent need to placate the Saudis prevailed. Now the Reagan Administration is proposing the sale of AWACS surveillance planes and equipment to enhance the range of the F-15s.
- Support of the Arab boycott of Israel. Despite the anti-boycott provisions of the Export Administration Amendments of 1977, many major U.S. corporations still aim to cooperate with the Arab boycott, using any of several legal loopholes. They do this not necessarily to hurt Israel, but rather to ensure the growth of business with their Arab trading partners.
- The "buying" of American universities. Several American universities have accepted Arab grants to underwrite Middle East studies programs which either ignore or denigrate Israel, and do not explicitly prohibit discrimination based on race, religion, sex, etc. Moreover, some institutions have been all too ready to cede direction of such programs to Arab or corporate-controlled groups, to ensure additional financial support.

Counteraction Strategies

Two broad strategies could help to counteract these dangerous developments:

1. Implement a broad-gauged educational program to debunk the myths of OPEC omnipotence. It is unlikely, for example, that another Arab-led oil embargo could work; leakage would surely exceed that which seriously eroded the effectiveness of the

1973 action. Politically motivated rapid withdrawal of Arab dollar deposits is possible, but is also unlikely because of the self-inflicted danger of such a move, and the capacity of our government to impose countermeasures such as the freezing of assets. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, there is little real likelihood of effective Saudi Arabian manipulation of oil price and production levels as a political tool. Contrary to recent pronouncements by Saudi leaders, including Oil Minister Yamani, that they are prepared to use their "oil weapon" in this manner, it is clear that Saudi decisions on price and production are made on the basis of Saudi economic interests, rather than as reward or punishment to the West. *"During the last 20 years,"* writes economist Eliyahu Kanovsky, *"official declarations notwithstanding, the Saudis have fairly consistently based their oil decisions primarily on what they have perceived to be their economic interests. They have kept production as close to sustainable capacity as market conditions permitted and have set prices at levels best for themselves. This does not mean that the Saudis and other oil producers will not raise prices when short-term demand permits it; nor does the primacy of economic factors mean that political considerations are unimportant to the oil producers. But why make political concessions to persuade the Saudis to do what their economic interests dictate?"*

2. Lessen the petropowers' hold over the U.S. This can be achieved only by reducing U.S. energy dependence through such means as:

- increased conservation, and energy efficiency;
- acceleration of conversion to coal, our most plentiful, domestically available fossil-fuel resource;
- greater investment in longer-term alternative sources, including synthetic fuels, solar and fusion energy;
- encouragement of international oil proliferation, to reduce OPEC's monopoly control by bringing into the market untapped reserves in non-OPEC states, particularly in the Western hemisphere;
- prompt filling of our Strategic Petroleum Reserve as a protection against supply cutoffs.

AJC Action

The American Jewish Committee, through its National Committees on Energy and Arab Influence in the United States, has been striving to address these problems--by informing public opinion, supporting legislative action, working with the leaders of the business and academic communities, and in coalition with other groups interested in furthering energy independence for our country.

At this session we will hear from noted experts on oil and the Persian Gulf, and on the need for a more effective U.S. response to the risks created by our oil thirst. We will also consider such questions as:

- What steps can be taken to debunk the myths of Western impotence in the face of Persian Gulf petropower?
- What further initiatives can AJC chapters take, in coalition with other community groups, to encourage energy conservation and other energy policies which we support?
- How can we deal more effectively with increasing petro-influence on our American campuses and in U.S. business?



the american jewish committee

ANNUAL MEETING BACKGROUNDER

THE NEW RIGHT

FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1981 -- 9:30 A.M.

In the past year, the New Right has emerged as a force on the American political scene. It has little relationship, if any, with the Old, or Radical, Right of the late 1950s and early 1960s which was obsessed with the existence of a vast Communist conspiracy seeking to take over America. The New Right, pragmatic and realistic, and astute in working within the system, sees the "secular humanists" of the "Eastern Establishment" as "the enemy."

As a movement, it has managed to achieve an unusual blend of zealotry and pragmatism. Its basic strategies evolve from the premise that the existing two-party system is not effective, that the Federal government is too remote from the people and unresponsive to public opinion, and a new conservative coalition joining Democrats, Republicans, and Independents is needed to restore fiscal responsibility, military preparedness and a more family-church-neighborhood oriented culture. To achieve its political objectives it has made common cause with the plethora of "single issue" groups -- tax reform, anti-abortion, anti-gun control and the like.

Some New Rightists are not above engaging in what some describe as character assassination. While their zeal and sense of mission have led New Right groups to adopt extremist tactics in political campaigns, they are ardent advocates of what some maintain is "direct democracy" -- voter initiative and referendum.

Closely allied with the secular New Right is the so-called "Christian New Right." A dozen or more Protestant ministers who, through the medium of television, have become national religious figures, have recently turned to political activism. The bond tying the political New Rightists to the politically conservative Evangelicals is the deep involvement of both with the so-called "family issues," (abortion, pornography, ERA, etc.) and mandatory prayer in the public schools. Both also advocate a strong national defense policy.

A major aim of the Religious Right is to influence Congressional elections. Toward this end they analyze the voting record of all members of Congress and publish a "Morality Index" rating the officeholders' performances against "Bible standards." They seek out "born-again" Christians or "Christ-centered" politicians to support for public office and, given their way, would have Americans governed according to their interpretation of Christian morality. More importantly, perhaps, they would do violence to the American tradition of religious pluralism by their advocacy of an American "Christian Republic."

No known anti-Semites are identified with the New Right, and the principal groups have made no public overtures to Klan and Nazi groups who endorse New Right positions on various issues. The secular New Right generally has ignored Middle East issues, although some leaders recently have urged military and economic assistance to Israel. Currently, domestic concerns rather than foreign affairs dominate the secular New Right agenda.

In contrast, the religious New Right is strongly pro-Israel. Many leaders have visited Israel and met with Israeli officials. As a group with increasing political influence, the religious New Right is potentially a strong American ally of the Jewish state.

The New Right is well financed, highly organized, and skilled in organizational tactics. Its leaders are politically sophisticated, aggressive and hardworking and use the most advanced technology in their work. It courts those blue collar and ethnic groups the Old Right shunned. While it is virtually impossible to gauge its impact on recent elections, there were some campaigns in which New Right tactics and ideology played a key role. On a grassroots level it was effective in registering new voters, distributing campaign literature and utilizing the media. It is determined to be politically active in the future.

One New Right group, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, credited by some analysts with insuring the defeat of several liberal Senators, has announced a tentative target list for 1982 which includes the names of 20 Senators. The most publicized religious New Right group, Moral Majority, in an attempt to broaden its organizational base and foster an interfaith understanding of its goals, is attempting outreach efforts with some apparent success, to Black, Catholic and Jewish leaders across the country.

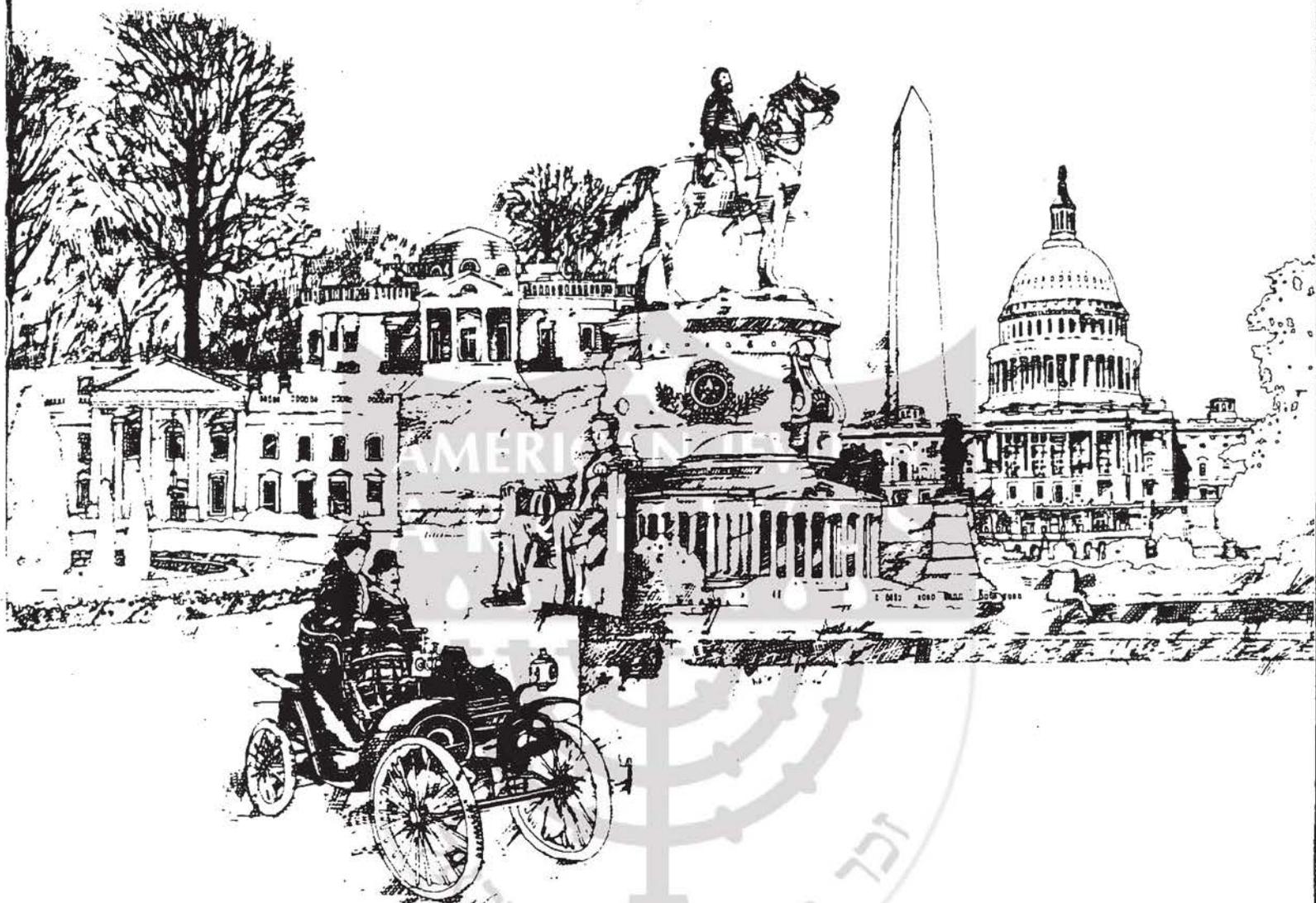
The New Right has mobilized strong national support for the passage of a Human Life Amendment, and is forming coalitions to support the Laxalt Family Protection Act, which would deny Federal funds to states that prohibit prayer in the schools, legalize employment discrimination against homosexuals, and require institutions receiving Federal aid to inform parents if their children seek contraceptives or abortions. On a state level, New Rightists are lobbying for a variety of issues, including tuition tax credits for private schools, voluntary prayer in public schools and the teaching of "scientific creationism" in public schools.

The Coalition for Better TV, claiming to represent an estimated 150 religious and regional organizations, plans to organize "millions of volunteers" to monitor television programs to record "offensive sex, violence and profanity." Local groups inspect textbooks and libraries in public schools, and attempt to remove books they consider unfit for young readers.

Since the Presidential election, several national groups have been organized to counter the New Right including Norman Lear's People for the American Way and George McGovern's Americans for Common Sense. Scores of local groups have also been formed to combat the New Right. It is not yet clear what group will do what, but in a broad sense these groups will be engaged in lobbying, education, litigation and political action.

Given the potential influence of the New Right, including the Moral Majority, members of the AJC are asked to consider:

- 1) Should AJC prepare and distribute materials and/or engage in public relations campaigns to counteract or minimize the influence of the New Right?
- 2) Should we take the initiative in seeking to dialogue with secular and/or religious New Right leaders? If not, what should be our posture if they seek to dialogue with us?
- 3) Should we join coalitions with any of these groups on those issues on which we can agree?
- 4) It has been suggested that it is time for the Jewish community to take a fresh look at its attitude toward public policies in which a Christian majority will have a keen interest such as, for example, the questions of school prayer and tuition tax credits for private schools. Should AJC reconsider its positions on these issues?



*Proceedings of
The American Jewish Committee's
75th Anniversary Observance – 1906-1981*



or urging others to do so.

I have outlined all too briefly some of the assets and deficits of the new era of Christian-Jewish relations. How do they add up? Evaluation of the inventory should, to my mind, be positive but guarded. Great gains have been made; there is a long road ahead: two truths that must temper one another. Taking the long view, I see our historical relationship falling into three stages, one past, one present, and one ahead. The first stage, now behind us, was the longest and the worst: almost 2000 years of silence and separation, alienation and bitterness. The second is unfolding now, one of dialogue and cooperation. It is one fraught with difficulties, but productive and promising. Is it the ultimate stage? Is reconciliation and understanding the final goal of our mutual efforts? I cannot suppress the vision of a third and final stage, surpassing the one we are in. How shall I describe it? Is it not rather a stage of mutual attraction and affection which should characterize the relations of two faith-traditions that worship the same God? Yes, only such a special bond should mark members of the same spiritual family. Will it finally crown our efforts? How far or close is it in our future? The answer depends on us, on our determination, our perseverance, and on our prayers to our Common Father, Blessed be He, in whose house we have come together tonight to worship or renew our bond to one another.

Shabbat Shalom!

CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS: A JEWISH VIEW *

By RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

It is deeply symbolic and profoundly important that the American Jewish Committee members come together this evening at the gracious invitation of this Congregation to mark in a spirit of awe, reverence and gratitude the observance of the 75th anniversary of the founding of this great American and great Jewish organization.

The symbolism derives from what we have heard from Father Edward Flannery who is, indeed, one of the great pioneers in advancing understanding between the Catholic Church, the Catholic community, and the Jewish people. Thank God, the views that Father Flannery has set forth with such clarity and feeling this evening are increasingly shared by larger and larger numbers of Catholic priests and nuns, as well as Protestant ministers and even Evangelical Christians.

We cannot begin to comprehend the significance of this moment -- indeed, we dare risk the sin of taking it for granted -- unless we consider what is happening here this evening and what has been happening increasingly in every city in the United States, especially since the end of Vatican Council II in 1965, against the background of the founding of the American Jewish Committee.

As many of you know, the American Jewish Committee came into being in 1906, in response to the pogrom in Kishinev, Bessarabia, which was a part of the Russian Empire of the Czars. That pogrom could not have taken place without decades and centuries of Russian Orthodox Christian teaching about Jews and Judaism. What preceded the Kishinev pogrom was a Count Pobedonostsev; what preceded the Kishinev pogrom was a

* This text is edited from a transcript of remarks delivered extemporaneously.

severely, criticize it unfairly, tend to apply an artificial evenhandedness to the Arab-Israel conflict and even to favor Israel's enemies. What is the derivation of this anti-Israel tendency? Is it rooted in an anti-Zionist feeling or ideology, Arab propaganda, oil politics, or even an unacknowledged anti-Semitism? Here are further explorations for the dialogue.

I recall when the dialogue first stumbled over Israel. The first real test came in 1967 with the approach of the Six-Day War. In their distress the Jewish dialogists sought to pluck a first fruit of the friendly encounters they had enjoyed with their Christian fellow-dialogists during the previous two or three years. They sought from the churches a word of support for Israel. It was not forthcoming. Their disappointment and disillusionment was great, and some spoke of the end of the dialogue. The mistake the Jewish ecumenists made, I believe, was to have expected too much too soon. How could 2000 years of alienation be undone in two or three years? In any case, the dialogue did not die; actually it was saved by bringing the question of Israel into the dialogue. But even this was not easy. Some on the Christian side objected that a "religious" dialogue should not "talk politics." They were overruled however, and Israel went on the dialogue agenda. Their objection actually had unwittingly revealed the root of the problem. Trying to keep the subject of Israel out of the dialogue betrayed either of two things, if not both; a fundamental misconception of Judaism and Jewishness or an anti-Zionist tendency.

The misconception is a serious one. Judaism is seen as nothing more than a denomination, as it exists in the Christian ecclesial paradigm. In this view anything outside or beyond the scope of this denominationalism, such as peoplehood, land, language, ethnic make-up and the like, are considered religiously irrelevant. It is a gravely erroneous view since it seriously violates the Jewish people's conception of themselves. The error is compounded by misunderstanding or ignoring the central position Israel occupies not only for Jews but in Judaism itself. Let me not belabor this obvious point for you, but simply say that knowledgeable Christians are aware -- and many learned it in the dialogue -- that Judaism and Jewry are essentially Zionist and always were. Political Zionism founded by Theodore Herzl in modern times was, to my mind, no more than a latter-day political manifestation of the deep messianic and spiritual core of Judaism itself. To see Jewish allegiance to the State of Israel as mere ethnicity or politics is to place oneself outside talking distance with almost all Jews and by the same token outside the reach of the Jewish-Christian dialogue.

The question of Jerusalem is another that mars the Jewish-Christian exchange. I am afraid it is rapidly becoming a pawn in the conflict in the Middle East. Jerusalem should remain an undivided and Jewish city. It needs nothing more than peace. I can understand some of the problems that Arabs or Muslims may have about it, but I cannot understand my own Church's persistent worries about the rights of Christians there and calls for international guarantees, when in point of fact Jerusalem was never more scrupulously cared for or more at peace than under Israeli sovereignty and administration. Nor can I understand the artificial "evenhandedness" of all statements of the National Council of Churches which by their very evenhandedness throw their weight, will it nor not, to the side of the claims of Israel's enemies. Are we dealing here with an old and unrecognized Christian anti-Zionism?

And in the matter of negotiating with the PLO I must in this case stand with my country than with my Church or with NCC. For some countries to favor such dealings I could possibly understand. I cannot understand why religious bodies should risk giving encouragement to self-proclaimed destroyers of Israel by sitting down with them

Russian Orthodox monk named Rasputin; what preceded the Kishinev pogrom was the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Throughout the centuries, in Czarist Russia, all of the classic themes of contempt for the Jewish people were widely prevalent and repeated over and over again. The Jews -- the charges went -- are a deicide people, they murdered God, they are the enemies of God and humanity, they are a wandering people because God has repudiated them for not accepting Jesus as the Messiah, they are a religion which has become moribund, which has been superseded by the emergence of Christianity. All the centuries of teaching that denied the legitimacy and validity of Judaism began the process of dehumanization that made it possible for Cossacks to tear through a village and rip Jews up as if they were not human beings but tree saplings, some kind of inorganic matter without purpose, without dignity and honor.

I will never forget coming into Vatican Council II in 1965 with my beloved colleague and friend, Zachariah Shuster, and watching Cardinal Bea rising in St. Peter's Basilica, reading one of the early texts of the Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions:

As this Sacred Synod searches into the mystery of the Church it recalls the spiritual bond linking the people of the new Covenant with Abraham's stock....Since the spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews is thus so great, this sacred Synod wishes to foster and recommend that mutual understanding and respect which is the fruit above all of biblical and theological studies and of brotherly dialogue.

That event brought together 2500 Cardinals, Bishops and theologians from all the continents of the earth who, in addition to all of the other major issues they dealt with, concentrated on facing for the first time in 2000 years the sources of anti-Semitism in Christian teaching. This assembled group made a decision once and for all to pull such sources up by the roots. That was the greatest seminar in Christian-Jewish relations in 2000 years.

And now its fruits are all about us. Father Flannery has referred to the fact that there have been any number of activities since that time to follow up the Vatican Declaration, including not only from the American Catholic Bishops -- an array of books, new catechisms and new teachings about the Holocaust and Israel, to be used all over the Catholic world. As an evidence of the power of what has been happening, this past Easter a Roman Catholic priest in Cincinnati, on his own initiative, wrote as follows to all of the priests in his diocese: "Often in the past, Lent, and especially Holy Week, have been times of fear for Jews living in Christian societies. In Eastern Europe, this was the season for pogroms -- anti-Jewish riots and massacres -- and almost anywhere Jews and Jewish children might be subjected to insults and the spiteful cruelty of Christians...What can we as Christians, and especially as preachers of the Gospel, do to insure that never again does the proclamation of the Lord's passion become a message of hate rather than of redeeming love? At the very least, we can purge our preaching and prayer of every way of speaking and every idea which might nurture the false notion that the Jews are in some particular way responsible for the death of Jesus."

That is an omen for the future. There are now, thank God, thousands and thousands of omens like that all over the United States, in Germany, Italy, France, Belgium and even beginning in Latin America. It is not only the Roman Catholic community. This past December we held our Second National Conference with Evangelical Christians, who

include those people involved in the discussion of a so-called Moral Majority today. On the one hand, there are Fundamentalists like the Rev. Bailey Smith, who in their incredible cultural and spiritual illiteracy about Jews and Judaism, people who know nothing about Judaism, have the arrogance to declare that God does not hear the prayers of Jews. If you showed Bailey Smith the Bible written in Hebrew, he could not read a word on which Jesus was raised, and yet he has the incredible chutzpah to tell us what God's mind is all about. On the other, there are the Evangelicals involved in the mainstream Evangelical movement of Southern Baptists and Presbyterians and Methodists and others. After our conference in Deerfield, Illinois, last December in which we discussed such subjects as anti-Semitism, conversion, proselytization, Jews for Jesus, Messianism and Covenant theories of Israel, the editor of Christianity Today, a leading Evangelical journal in America, got up and read what he called the Evangelical Manifesto on Jews and Judaism. When he came away from that meeting he decided to devote the major part of an issue to Jewish-Evangelical relations, to be distributed on Yom Hashoah...Holocaust Remembrance Day, as an act of identification with the Jewish people. In a four-page editorial, read by almost every Evangelical pastor in America, he writes the following: "As Evangelicals demonstrate in tangible ways their abhorrence of anti-Semitic action they will declare a crucial truth to the Gentile world at large: to attack Jews is to attack Evangelicals, and such attacks will be resisted against themselves."

Can you imagine words such as these? Can you imagine what might have happened in Germany had there been Father Flannerys and Vatican Council declarations and statements saying that it is impermissible to teach the deicide charge, and to engage in the dehumanization that has been part of the teaching of contempt? Can you imagine what might have been the course of history in Germany had this gone on, 300, 400, 500 years ago? It is not inconceivable that many, if not most, of the six million Jewish men and women and children might be living tonight. One of the extraordinary developments that we have hardly begun to comprehend, because it is such a reversal in our imagery, is this: The greatest allies of the Jewish people in the world today in combating anti-Semitism are the Roman Catholic Church and other Christians of good will in every city and state of the United States, most of Western Europe, and in key centers in Latin America.

In the minds of a great many Jews, especially those of us who have been the sons and daughters of Eastern European immigrant parents (my parents came from the Ukraine, after a pogrom in which my uncle was murdered before the eyes of an entire Jewish village) the Christians and the Catholic Church have been "the enemy." The pogroms, the Crusades and the Inquisitions have made that our dominant perception of the Christian world.

It will take us time for that new image to set. It is unfolding before our eyes. Today my colleagues in the American Jewish Committee, in every city of the United States, for the first time in 1900 years, are engaged in dialogue -- not only in formal relationships but indeed day-to-day acts of collaboration and mutual respect, with Catholics and Protestants, with Evangelicals and Greek Orthodox. It is a whole new reality in our experience.

Part of the difficulty in sorting out the imagery is that a great many Jews, especially those who have lived through the period of the 30s and 40s, were caught up in the fever of the Marxist messianic, utopian apocalypse. The Marxist view of the future was the redemption of the Jews, who were to be saved in a utopian classless society, a society in which prejudice and anti-Semitism would disappear.

The complete opposite has been true, as we are witnessing today. The greatest sources of anti-Semitism today, not only in the formulation of anti-Semitic ideological doctrines but also in the world-wide distribution of anti-Jewish hate propaganda, are the Marxist utopia of the Soviet Union, its allies in Eastern European countries, the PLO and the nations of the Arab league.

See how dramatic has been the shift in our lifetime. Sheik Yamani of Saudi Arabia made a speech two weeks ago in New York City before 800 oil executives and bankers and captains of industry in which he literally replayed the scenario of the Christian Passion Play and secularized it.

In his version of the Passion Play, he describes how there could be a millenium of peace between Saudi Arabia and the United States. All that stands in the way of that redemption is the State of Israel. If Israel can somehow be isolated from the mainstream of human society, peace will prevail. And all that stands in the way of optimum U.S.-Saudi Arabian relations is "the Zionist lobby" and Jewish power in America. That is to say, Jews are collectively responsible for the absence of peace in the Middle East and the rest of the world. They crucified peace and stand in the way of universal redemption.

We have come far; we have still further to go. What I perceive in the future unfolding of the relationship between Jews and Christians was symbolized for us in many ways last night at the Anniversary Banquet of the American Jewish Committee. In that extraordinary dais containing ambassadors, government officials, officials from the White House and the State Department, there were several people of extraordinary symbolic importance. One black man, Godfrey Binaisa, was driven out of Uganda by Idi Amin, "President-for-Life" of Uganda -- Amin, whose hero was Adolf Hitler and who built a park in honor of Adolf Hitler in Kampala. Dr. Binaisa came to the office of the American Jewish Committee, filled with anguish over the fate of his countrymen who were being butchered by Amin. Amin massacred 400,000 to 500,000 Black Christians, Dr. Binaisa informed us. What was happening to his people, he stated, was not unlike what happened to the Jews in Nazi Germany in 1938. Nobody wants to listen -- he cried -- nobody wants to pay attention.

He asked us for a certain kind of assistance which we were able to render. He has become a very great friend of ours. He was in fact an honorary Consul of Israel in Uganda and brought into Uganda Israeli technical development programs.

But what is of significance is that Idi Amin, the butcher of 400,000 to 500,000 Christians, was able to bring that off without a single word of reprimand at the United Nations. Indeed, he was invited to come to the United Nations, to sit in a chair of honor, and to get a standing ovation from the representatives of 157 nations of the earth, which is to say that this man who was engaged in violence, terrorism and destruction of life, became legitimized as a hero. Do you think it is an accident that an international forum honors the Idi Amins and Yassir Arafats -- embodiments of terrorism and murder -- and then this past week the Pope, the sacred symbol of the conscience of Christendom, is felled by a terrorist bullet?

There is a major challenge facing Jews and Christians. Beyond the issues that we have talked about tonight the central moral and spiritual challenge that faces Jews and Christians today is the growing epidemic of dehumanization in the world, the growing sense that human life has become increasingly worthless, that human beings are expendable, that violence and terrorism can be normalized, can be legitimized, can be turned away from, as if it were part of the convention of our times, routine.

At their deepest level, as we attack the problems relating to the attitudes toward one another -- the sources of anti-Semitism and some of the prejudices toward Christians which have emerged in response to our tragic history -- as we begin to understand those essential differences which in fact make us distinctively Jews and Christians, we will need at the same time to acknowledge that there are ideas and values which bind us together. Jews and Christians, by virtue of their adherence to the Bible, affirm the dignity of every human life, the central teachings of our traditions, that every human life is sacred and is of infinite preciousness, that no human being can be used for anyone else's program, or ideology; that Jews and Christians, based on the Biblical tradition, affirm a sense of profound responsibility for the quality of life in our society, and to bring about justice and equality and liberty.

Liv Ullmann and I walked together last February in a refugee camp in Thailand, filled with 30,000 Cambodian refugees. We walked into the camp, and there we understood the meaning of Jewish and Christian solidarity and cooperation in the kind of world in which we live today. In one corner of the camp there was a Catholic intensive feeding center, in which Catholic nuns were bringing infant children back from the brink of death. Next to that camp were a group of Israeli doctors and nurses, the fourth medical team of Israelis who had come to Southeast Asia from the Sinai where they had engaged in providing emergency aid to Bedouins. These Israeli doctors and nurses within a matter of three to four weeks put an end to an epidemic of cholera and typhus. They became heroes all over the country, and Liv Ullmann and I looked at each other and we said: That is what Jewish-Christian relations in its ultimate meaning is all about.

In the words of Emerson, what you are speaks out so loud, I cannot hear what you say. Jews faithful to the Torah, Christians faithful to the Gospel, both of them affirming that at the heart of the Covenant is a conviction about the sanctity of every human life, together have a task in the world of standing against the dehumanization and helping to bring about a rehumanization of the human family.

Jews and Christians at their best are the frontiers of a community of conscience which can yet help make the world sane and civil and humane for all members of God's human family.

CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS: A PROTESTANT VIEW By KRISTER STENDAHL

Tonight we give thanks to God for the 75 years of Service rendered by the American Jewish Committee. Its aim has been the same and the need for its work has remained tragically constant ever since the plight of Jews in Russia brought the AJC into being in 1906. That constancy is perhaps symbolized by the very fact that the shift from Czarist Russia to the USSR -- drastic as it is in so many respects -- constitutes a minor variation in the persistence of anti-Semitism. Also in many other parts of the world these seventy-five years demonstrate how the threat to the Jewish people cover the full spectrum from the right to the left -- intensifying at the extreme ends of that spectrum.

I also have the honor and opportunity to bring the official greeting from the World Council of Churches. In it we also recognize the work of the AJC, as it has been a catalytic force toward Jewish-Christian relations in dialogue and in cooperation. My own first serious involvement in dialogue was actually when the AJC and Harvard Divinity School co-sponsored an epoch-making dialogue conference at Harvard in 1967. From that time dates also my cooperation and friendship with the person I