



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series E: General Alphabetical Files. 1960-1992

Box 84, Folder 6, Jewish Identity - Report on American Jewish
Committee conference, 1964.

INTRODUCTION

Today there are fewer and lower barriers against Jewish participation in every aspect of American life than at any time since Jews began to immigrate to the United States in large numbers, almost a century ago. Many old problems are distinctly less urgent and less difficult than when the parents of our young men and women were themselves young. Nothing is certain in human affairs except change; and in particular, Jewish history is a record of change, from sorrow to joy but also from joy to sorrow. Still, even a cautious and prudent assessment seems to justify the hope that at least in the near future, the barriers against American Jews will continue to shrink in size and number. To the old problems, primarily external, new problems succeed, primarily internal. It is a good and wholesome change.

From the time when the American Jewish Committee was founded, more than sixty years ago, until recently, its

chief purpose was to combat prejudice and discrimination:

in the United States and abroad; against Jews and, by an extension both moral and practical, against all minorities.

Intellectually, the major achievement of that effort was

the famous five-volume series that has become a landmark in

social-scientific thought, "Studies in Prejudice." The

prejudice in question was, more than anything else, anti-

semitism; and what those five volumes demonstrated, each

in its own way, was that prejudice is a problem of the

prejudiced, not of the people or groups that are its objects.

It was understood that prejudice affects its victims

for the worse subjectively as well as objectively -- for

example, it not only bars them from certain careers but

also stimulates such reactions as self-hate. But first

things were rightly considered to be first, and the Committee

gave most of its effort to fighting prejudice and discrimina-

tion. Rightly -- because as prejudice and discrimination

have diminished, so have their various undesirable subjective

reactions. By common observation, there is less Jewish self-hate (to use the same example) than there used to be. Whether there is any simple, one-way, cause-and-effect relation between these facts may be open to question; that they are facts is less open to question. Similarly, the relation may not be clear between the present mood and outlook of American Jews, on the one hand, and the tragedy of Nazism and the triumph of Israel, on the other; but it is clear that there is a relation.

But the subjective or internal problems of Jews have not, for that reason, disappeared. They have only changed their character. Once mostly negative, they are now mostly positive -- or so we would like to believe. Actually, those problems may be one problem, the problem of identity: Am I a Jew? In what way am I a Jew? What is a Jew? Should I be a Jew?

*

In America today the individual Jew lives within an atmosphere which emphasizes freedom of personal choice and self-determination. The external constraints that have been brought to bear on Jews throughout the Christian era have been loosened. But this freedom creates problems for a people who have lived much of their long history in persecution and bondage. Judaism has traditionally stressed the Jewishness of the man who is born a Jew, on the ground that it is God's design that he be so. In our own century, the cruelest enemies we have ever had in our long history did not ask the Jew whether or not he wanted to be a Jew: Indeed, certain Jews who seemed to have successfully disaffiliated themselves were tragically reminded of the indelible fact of their Jewishness. Traditionally, inner faith was combined with external pressure to secure the basis of Jewish self-affirmation and survival.

For the majority of American Jews of the new generation, both the inner imperatives and the external pressures that once molded Jewish self-consciousness are no longer decisive.

With the loosening of close family and cultural ties and the erosion of the solidarities that prevailed in the immigrant world, it becomes increasingly problematic to define the grounds and contents of one's Jewishness.

These are the reasons why the American Jewish Committee convened a conference on Jewish identity in November 1964. We wanted to avail ourselves of the thinking of some of the best minds in the Jewish community, who were concerned with the vitality of Judaism and in touch with the younger generation. We sought in this way to provide grounds for the further deliberations of the Committee and to stimulate further consideration in the community at large.

The discussion furnished us with a number of searching questions and challenges that the Jewish community must seriously reflect on if the basic issues are to have a genuine resolution. Several in the conference stressed that the intellectual and emotional gap between the historic experience of the Jews and the realities of democratic society must be bridged. If we are to effect a synthesis between these two, we must first understand

which customs, values, and attitudes are essential to each and which ones are merely circumstantial. The question arose, for example, whether the involvement of Jewish youth with the civil-rights movement can serve as an adequate means of creating or expressing a Jewish commitment. At the other extreme, the discussants considered the possible influence on the community at large of those committed and uncompromisingly observant Jews who perpetuate the traditional religious culture in its traditional forms. Can those traditional forms be incorporated into the everyday practice of the great number of Jews who have been less touched by the central historical and religious experience of the Jewish people?

Like many of the issues we have faced in the past, those raised in the present discussion will be a long time in finding their solution. Though we in the American Jewish Committee have faith in a free society's ability to come to grips with the problems it creates, we also know that solutions take time and effort. All we hope to do here is to provide an arena in

which issues can be aired, problems clarified, and perspectives sorted out.

During the course of the discussion several concrete proposals were offered. They are included in the text (VII: "Some Proposals for the Future"), but may here be briefly summarized as follows:

1) That this or some similar body should meet with a certain amount of regularity to examine and think about important questions of contemporary Jewish life; 2) that the necessary resources and facilities should be made available to it, and 3) that it should issue periodic reports of its research and discussions, in some appropriate form.

We in the Committee have already benefited from the learning and thoughtfulness of the conferees -- though I hasten to add that no institutional commitments were asked for or given. The conference has proven already useful to our plans and program for strengthening Jewish identity and we hope to be able to assist in its continued functioning.

On behalf of the American Jewish Committee, I have the pleasant duty of thanking the participants for the gracious spirit with which they entered into these proceedings and for their valued contributions. Mr. Manheim Shapiro gave enthusiasm and tireless effort to organizing the conference. The Littauer Foundation's liberality and generosity made it possible in the first place.

We were especially fortunate in having as our moderator a distinguished scientist, scholar, and educator, Professor Joseph Schwab of the University of Chicago, who effectively guided the emergence of form from what might otherwise have been formless. Professor Schwab has asked us not to include his remarks here on the ground that they were only procedural comments. Those "procedural comments" contained much that was wise and probing, but we have adhered to his wishes.

It is also my sad duty to record that since the conference three gifted intellectuals and scholars who participated in it have been taken from us: Irving Canter, T. Herzl Rome, and Uriel Weinreich. In their deaths America, and American Jewry

particularly, has sustained a loss all the more grievous because untimely. We should have continued to benefit from their work and their presence with us for many more years.

A final word about the editing. The text printed here is a reordered extract from the stenographic record of the conference. Deliberately, all were encouraged to give free rein to their thoughts, responding to each other in agreement or disagreement. The agenda itself was loose rather than tight, and the major themes emerged only as the conference proceeded. The arrangement here is more in keeping with a logical order than with the actual order in which the individual contributions were made. Some interesting matter has necessarily been edited out, as peripheral to the central themes; but we hope that the original meanings and intents have been retained, and that what may have been lost in spontaneity of thought and expression has been balanced by a gain in coherence and sequence. The summary matter in italics at the beginning of each section is added.

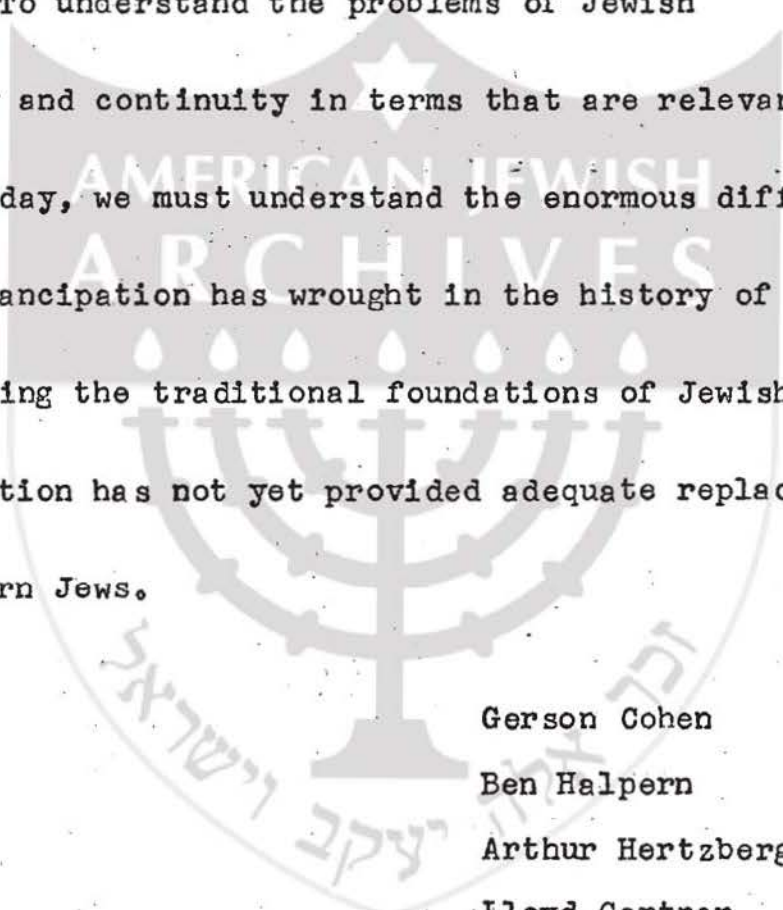
John Slawson
Executive Vice-President
The American Jewish Committee

July 1967

SECTION I

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY: PAST AND PRESENT

To understand the problems of Jewish identity and continuity in terms that are relevant to us today, we must understand the enormous difference which Emancipation has wrought in the history of Jews. Undermining the traditional foundations of Jewish life, Emancipation has not yet provided adequate replacements for modern Jews.



Gerson Cohen
Ben Halpern
Arthur Hertzberg
Lloyd Gartner

8. 11.
Dr. Gerson Cohen

Each and every one of us comes to this discussion with an avowed partisan interest, which we can conveniently summarize by calling an interest in Jewish continuity. At the same time, I think it is important to recognize that we come to this discussion not only with a certain amount of interest but also with a considerable amount of intellectual and emotional baggage that we have not formulated so much as inherited. It is, I believe, vital for us to recognize and identify this legacy, for since much of it is borne unconsciously we may find ourselves in the position of tacitly hankering after situations which rationally we do not really want. Our concern for Jewish

9.

12.
7.

continuity is charged with values derived from a long historic experience of Jewish confrontation with Gentile cultures and societies. In the course of this experience, our ancestors developed and bequeathed values which have become very much a part of the Jewish tradition. While many of these values are a source of enrichment and part of the legacy we may want to cultivate, others are by no means an asset to us in our modern situation. And the first step is to isolate the wheat from what we regard as chaff.

In other words, if we are to treat the problem of Jewish continuity in terms that are relevant and meaningful to our own age and situation, our initial job, it seems to me, is to take account of the wide gulf that divides between our general approaches to social issues, in all their diversity, and traditional Jewish ways and premises in evaluating Jewish fate and destiny. I am fully aware of the considerable diversity that characterized Jewish approaches to such questions in the

13
8.

past no less than in the present. Nevertheless, I think it is fair to speak of a qualitative difference in approach to Jewishness, and all that that entails, between us and our pre-modern ancestors.

before
Much of Jewish communal experience ~~prior~~ to modern emancipation has been the history of a corporate group that unabashedly thought in terms of its own interests and its own values. In its negotiations with other groups, the Jewish community was represented by men or groups, who could claim, at least by standards of measurement that were almost universally recognized as legitimate, to speak for the Jewish group as a whole. This, of course, is no longer the case, whatever the issue may be. Now, it seems to me that many of us often express, or at least tacitly reflect, a profound concern over the great disparity between the historic Jewish way of coping with communal problems and the new ways which democratic society has opened up to us (or, if you prefer, forced upon us). While

14.
14.
-9.

most of us would acknowledge that the democratic way of life has opened up to us, individually as well as collectively, many new avenues of expression and enrichment, many communal leaders appear to be alarmed at the fact that many of the new forms of Jewish expression and many of the tendencies in Jewish life in this country do not fit into any of the moulds that make up part of the emotional-intellectual baggage that our immigrant parents and our ancestral literature have imparted to us.

Now, we are -- and I beg to be forgiven for emphasizing so obvious a point -- a very young community here, indeed far too young to be able to engage in any long-term prognosis of our Jewish situation in this society. Far more important, it seems to me that there have been relatively few Jews who have tried seriously to bridge the intellectual and emotional gap between the historic experience of the Jews, in which I include ^{ing its} inherited traditional values, and the realities of democratic society. I do not mean that Jews have been reluctant

to think as well as to live democratically and pluralistically. They have been willing indeed. But in doing so, they have either thrown overboard their traditional patterns of thought and behavior, or they have compartmentalized the tradition in a way that is best characterized by Judah Loeb Gordon's advice to be a Jew at home and a human being outside. In other words, there has been little effort on the part of responsible Jewish leadership to synthesize the tradition -- in the broadest sense of that term -- with our democratic situation, so that those of the American Jewish community who are interested not ^{only} in genuine continuity but also in living meaningfully as members of American society, will live in an integrated frame of reference. The platitudinous reiteration of the claim that Judaism has basic affinities with American democracy is not only of no use in this connection, it often appears to me to be downright harmful, for the assertion when unqualified is soon belied to anyone who wants to find out the truth for himself.

When I speak of traditional ways of looking at things, I trust that I will not be understood to mean necessarily traditionally religious approaches to Jewish life. We are confronted in this country with many different types of Jewish approach to Jewish as well as to American society, religious, secularist, nationalist or even assimilationist in the popular sense of the words. Nevertheless, I think we are all aware of the fact that there are certain "official" diagnoses of Jewish history and of Jewish corporate existence that float around Jewish communities throughout the world today. The one most loudly heard, and the one least protested, I suppose, is the kind that is coming from official and semi-official Israeli circles, and which is buttressed by Israeli scholarship and by Zionist diagnoses of the Jewish situation in the Diaspora without any kind of relationship to the realities of American society or of other Western democratic societies. I think that is true also of certain religious and even of secularist

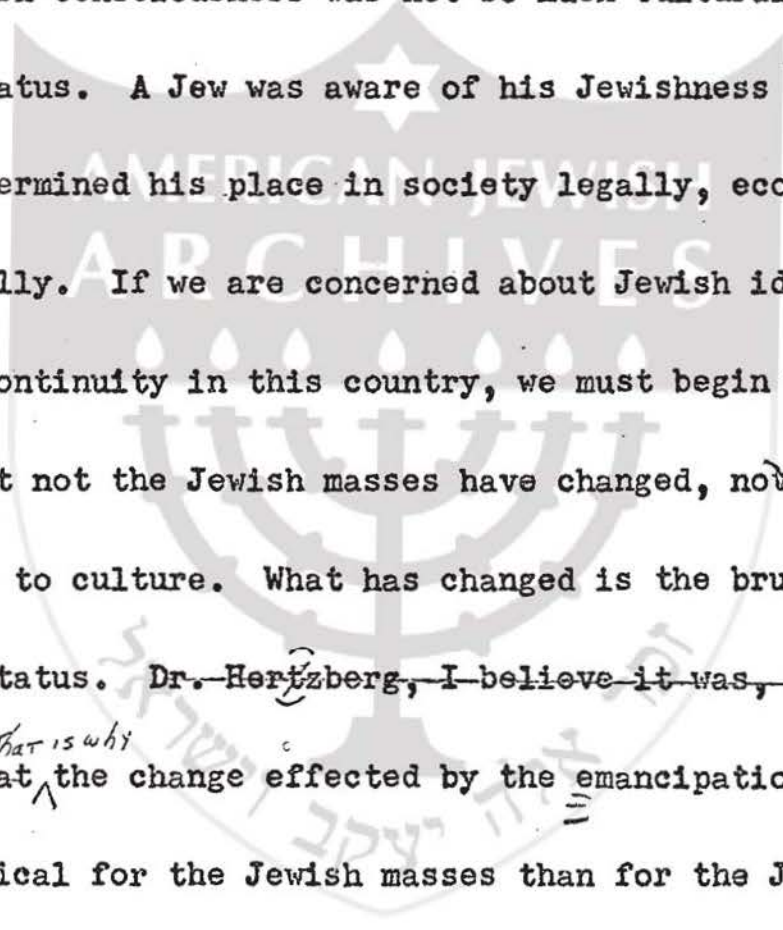
17.
12.

groups in the United States, each of which ^{has} ~~have~~ brought from Eastern Europe, Western Europe or other parts of the world, certain formulated notions, which ~~I~~ do not necessarily fit into the realities of our situation.

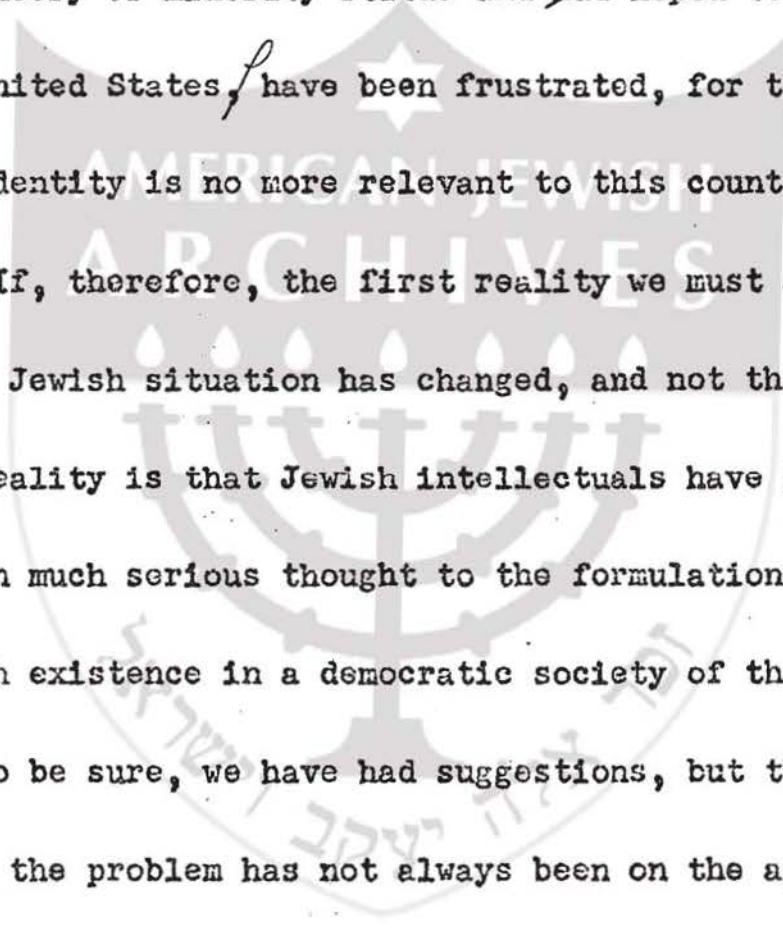
To cite a specific example, many people of different shades of communal affiliation often point to the decline in Jewish identity and consequent threat to continuity in the light of ^{the} ~~a~~ changed ratio between Jewish and Gentile cultures.

In earlier days, we are told, Jews were born into ^a ~~a~~ Jewish culture and subsequently absorbed a certain amount of general culture. However, their principal universe of discourse was a Jewish one. In our day, on the other hand, we are for the most part born into the general culture, over which whatever Jewish culture we wish to have or impart must be superimposed. Now while this comparison is by and large true for the East European Jewish experience, the East European Jewish experience, however long and rich, is by no means all of Jewish history. Indeed, for

a large part of our history this was not true for the masses of Jews. The latter were born into Jewish religion, but not necessarily into Jewish culture. What determined their Jewish identity and Jewish consciousness was not so much cultural awareness as legal status. A Jew was aware of his Jewishness because that fact determined his place in society legally, economically, and politically. If we are concerned about Jewish identity and Jewish continuity in this country, we must begin with the awareness that not the Jewish masses have changed, nor even their attitude to culture. What has changed is the brute fact of Jewish status. Dr. Hertzberg, I believe it was, rightly indicated that ^{that is why} the change effected by the emancipation was much more radical for the Jewish masses than for the Jewish intellectual and the Jewish religious leader. The individual Jew no longer needed his Jewish guarantees to have his day in court. Hence, he could cease worrying about his Jewishness and content himself with being a German of Mosaic persuasion or an American of Hebrew faith.



Now it is ⁱⁿ terms of the new situation that ^{so} few Jewish intellectuals, apart from religious reformers in Western Europe, have coped with the problem of Jewish culture. Those who were nurtured on the theory of minority status and had hoped to see it continued ⁱⁿ to the United States, have been frustrated, for this pattern of social identity is no more relevant to this country than medieval forms. If, therefore, the first reality we must acknowledge is that our Jewish situation has changed, and not the Jews, the second reality is that Jewish intellectuals have in recent years not given much serious thought to the formulation of a theory of Jewish existence in a democratic society of the American type. To be sure, we have had suggestions, but they have been few, and the problem has not always been on the agenda of most of the responsible leadership. The concerns and solutions of responsible men like Horace Kallen and Mordecai M. Kaplan have been relegated to the history of ideas, leaving the field open to people who scoff at the problem or to special pleaders.



Neither orthodox nor secular Jewry has come up with a theory of Jewish existence in the United States. Orthodox and secularists seem to be content to live in a bifurcated world. Conservative and reform thinkers often becloud matters even worse by giving lip-service to synthesis without showing the way or even recognizing the problem. If we are concerned with Jewish identity and continuity, I think we must recognize the ~~crying~~ need for theories of Jewish existence and life in a democratic framework. On the part of religious groups, this will require coping with eschatology no less than with problems of cultural pluralism. Secularists will have to come up with new solutions and rationales. Granted that theories do not breed a society, no healthy society can long afford to be without one. A theory, at least, provides the framework for intelligent education and an intelligible yardstick for evaluation of our progress and failure in relation to goals.

172

21
16.

Dr. Ben Halpern

The crisis of our community arises from the contradictory fact that many of us are really Jews involuntarily despite the fact that in America the formal requirement for Jewishness is a voluntary act of adherence. In this country Jews have no corporate status imposed by public law or by a social and institutional history which defines the entire community. Since we are not Jews by some formal, external compulsion, we are implicitly required to choose to be Jews. The result is that to cease being a Jew is more difficult, rather than easier. When you were a Jew because you belonged to a corporation which had a public legal status, as in Vienna, then you had the formal option of declaring yourself konfessionslos. Whether that effectively made you non-Jewish or not, at least formally there was a clear voluntary remedy for one's involuntary status. In our country the voluntary remedy for being a Jew in America is not clear, precisely -- and paradoxically -- because by definition

20.

22
-17.

this is not an involuntary situation. But in spite of the definition, the fact is we have a few million Jews, including many of those in the synagogue who are just not interested; and yet they function in a situation which, by definition, requires them to be Jews voluntarily. Abstractly considered, this seems to me to be fundamentally a crisis situation; but in practice it is a kind of "crisis" situation which is certainly very tolerable: by which I mean that very few people would bother to struggle with this crisis.

Some may struggle with it because of critical elements in their own lives; they may need religion or something which promises another kind of salvation. I assume it would be good for them to seek their identity in one of the Jewish religious establishments. Because their Jewish or religious identity has become a personal need, it might be of some therapeutic value to convince them of the transcendental worth of one or another of the Jewish traditions. But the run-of-the-mill American Jew seems too "well adjusted" to need a religious identity for his personal therapy.

Rebbi Arthur Hertzberg

For the first time in our history we are dealing with a voluntaristic Jewish entity. This is really the issue. We are dealing with the fact that -- since the Emancipation -- the Jew can legally choose to ignore the fact that he is Jewish. This is the case more, by the way, in America, than, let us say, in Vienna, because he does not even belong to the Gemeinde by birth. He does not have to take the positive act of disaffiliation by listing himself as konfessionslos. Therefore, in that sense America is the most democratic of all the societies. Unlike France, where the Consistoire, at least, until 1905, was legally established; or in England, where to this day there is a certain kind of establishment of Jewish identity by acts of Parliament. There is no such establishment here.

Thus it seems that the crisis we are talking about is really the crisis of the organized Jewish community which has attempted to solve the problem of how to survive within a voluntaristic

community. The question is: How do you fashion a Jewish commitment which is compelling in a situation where there is no compulsion except internal compulsion?

It can be demonstrated that no Jewish community in Europe which lived four generations in freedom survived. Rabbi Jacob Sonderling, rabbi of Hamburg's Israelitischer Tempel Verein, the cradle of Reform Judaism, recalled in his memoirs that on the Temple's centenary celebration, not one of the hundred founders' grandsons had remained Jewish. In Jewish Heritage (Winter 1963-64), I challenged the historians of B'nai B'rith, then celebrating its 120th anniversary, to produce a single descendant of the Order's founding fathers still in the Jewish community, but they could not. After four generations there is considerable evaporation. The rate of intermarriage in the quadrant Bordeaux-Rome-Berlin-London of fourth-generation Jews in the ¹⁹20's and 30's was something like one in three. In Budapest, around 1930, it was about 40 per cent. So it is a

demonstrable fact that the Jews have not outlived four generations of untroubled emancipation.

In America we have a different kind of community today, a younger community, not the lineal descendant of the American Jewish community of colonial times.

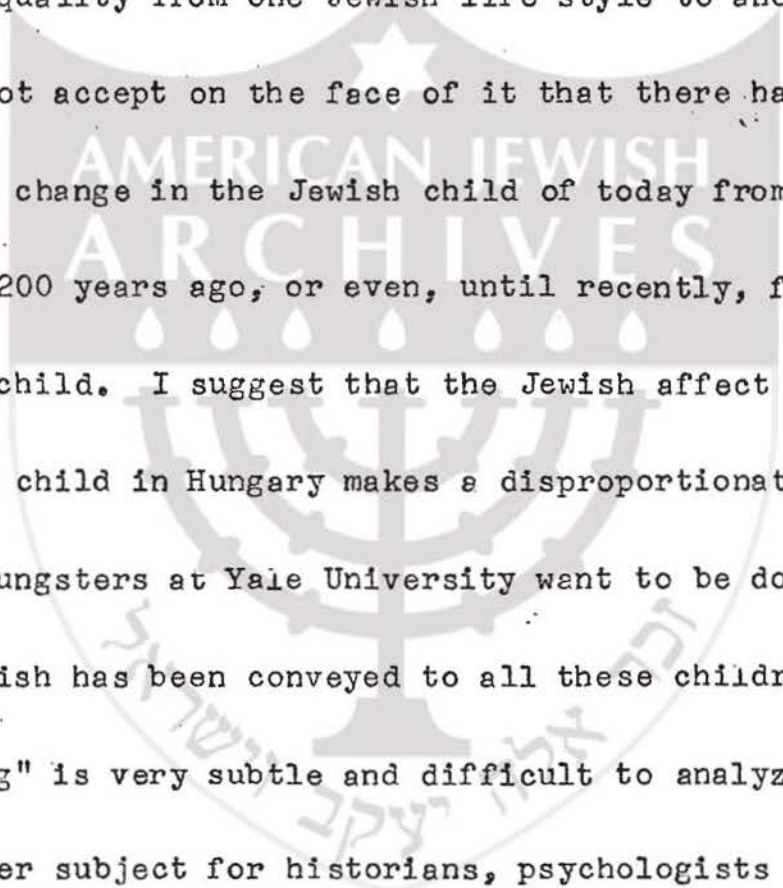
The question, therefore, is whether America is different and whether the American community, as an assimilating community, is different and whether the Jewish community in America, too, is different. I would like to suggest that we begin by asking ourselves whether, from the point of view of Jewish commitment, America is a more powerful assimilating factor or a less powerful ^{one.} ~~assimilating factor.~~

~~Prof.~~ Lloyd Gartner

On the basis of historical observation I seriously question whether Jewish identification in the last two centuries of Emancipation or enfranchisement has been that automatic; or whether it really has been that simple for Jews to disaffiliate themselves. In Vienna, for example, anybody who was konfessionslos was taken to be Jewish. There were very few non-Jewish konfessionslos. I think there has been a misplaced emphasis on legal status which obscures the fact that it never has been very simple for the Jew to disaffiliate. The American Jew, even if he wanted to assimilate, especially in the large cities, found that he moved around in assimilated Jewish circles. Hannah Arendt has emphatically corroborated this in her searing ^{ch} description of life in Vienna and Paris. She also concludes that if one wanted to assimilate, he too found himself keeping company with other Jews who wanted to assimilate.

23

I think that first a Jewish child is born not to a legal status but to a Jewish father and mother. They convey Jewish ideas and affects to this child whether in America, medieval Toledo, Mainz or Mosul. The affects, of course, differ in kind and quality from one Jewish life style to another. But I would not accept on the face of it that there has been such a radical change in the Jewish child of today from a Jewish child of 200 years ago, or even, until recently, from an East European child. I suggest that the Jewish affect which puts peot on a child in Hungary makes a disproportionate number of Jewish youngsters at Yale University want to be doctors. Something Jewish has been conveyed to all these children. This "something" is very subtle and difficult to analyze. It would be a proper subject for historians, psychologists and sociologists, ~~any more. Before our time, and I think before this generation,~~ almost every Jew started out as a Jew. He was born and raised in a home as a Jew and then encouraged to move out from Jewish society into the broader society.



SECTION II

VOLUNTARISM AND ASSIMILATION

In today's America Jews are free -- in principle, at least -- to choose whether they wish to be Jews and also the kind of Jews they wish to be. This voluntarism, which is new in Jewish history, poses a new problem: how to fashion a compelling Jewish commitment in the absence of external compulsion.

Jacob Cohen

Norman Lamm

Seymour Siegel

Steven S. Schwarzschild

Milton Himmelfarb

Elijah Bortniker

Marshall Sklare

24.

29.
27.

Mr. Jacob Cohen

Rabbi Hertzberg suggests that there is a serious question of whether Judaism in America can survive what he terms "voluntarism,"

Certainly, if Jews are now free to choose whether or not to be Jews -- which would be the first time in history the choice has been unequivocally open to more than a few scattered individuals -- then the Jewish community can no longer depend upon external coercion to keep Jews in line.

But I'm not so sure that "voluntarism" is really such a large factor in Jewish existence in America. Certainly Jewish organizations, sacred and secular, are not acting as if it were. There is only one fitting way to address a free man, and

particular^{ly} one who we think is about to make a disastrous choice. To a man poised on a window sill, you say, "Don't jump! Life is holy." Not, "the statistics indicate you have only one chance in 11.7 of surviving a fall of ten stories;" or "Poor man, just see where freedom has brought you." If Jews are freely choosing not to be Jews, then the apt response of a concerned community must be, "Look what a treasure you are abandoning, and for what?" (Then of course the community would have to be certain that it is indeed a treasure that they commend to its potential apostates.) Unfree men need only a reminder to stay in line; free men stand in constant need of conversion, and reconversion. I hear many reminders coming from our leaders in their official statements, but see no missionaries, and know only a few converts, which leads me to conclude that what Rabbi Hertzberg calls "voluntarism" is really a drift engulfing almost all Jews, and Jewish organizations, and/or that the guardians of Jewish survival are woefully ill-equipped to live in freedom.

Rabbi Norman Lamm

I think Jacob Cohen has really hit the nail on the head. The problem is why should these people want to be Jews? Why should they want to have the headache of a crisis, and if they have a headache, why should they want to resolve it in favor of being comfortable in Jewishness, which under the best circumstances can be demanding? In other words, what is the authentic alternative you are going to offer them? I think this is really the problem. It is a very difficult, ^avery delicate problem. Why should we want to remain Jewish? But the problem of why we should want to remain Jewish is a religious problem. I am not saying that the answer is a religious answer, but the problem is a religious one.

26. →

Rabbi Seymour Siegel

The first question to answer is "What are the alternatives open to the Jew of today?" In this connection I think we are different from the Jews in Mendelssohn's time. They had only one choice -- Judaism or Christianity. Now, it seems, there are other alternatives open. A person can choose between Judaism and a "never-never" land.

But we ^{also} do have to ask ourselves the question whether it is possible for a man to be really non-religious. When a person chooses not to commit himself to Judaism, is he really able to choose "nothing?" Can a person be in between? I believe that every individual must establish his religious faith in one way or another. From my limited experience the contention of Will Herberg that in America one must be formally either a Jew, a Protestant, or a Catholic is a right one.

Steven S. Schwarzschild

If I understand Jacob Cohen correctly (and certainly as I see it independently of what he said), the question that we are facing is not one of voluntarism or freedom, or emancipation, or anything like it. I think the basic question that we face



27

34
30

is a problem of the discipline within which the two basic terms of our discussion, "selfhood" and "identity," are to be defined. Let me try to explain what I mean.

I think that we are dealing, both at this Conference and in the American Jewish community, indeed, in America at large, with a typical American phenomenon -- a concern for selfhood. I think it results largely from our American predilection for psychology and sociology. The Jewish concern for selfhood in America is therefore not essentially a Jewish concern; it is really an American one ~~--- even an American concern.~~

Another typical American phenomenon is the concern for survival. I wonder whether it would be too far-fetched to consider the hypothesis that the concern for survival is not only a product of America but, as a matter of fact, is a product of America at a very specific stage in its history? I would even go so far as to suggest that the term "survival" is a typical American term in the age of the Cold War -- I do not

30.

31.

mean only with respect to the Soviet Union but with respect to the entire kind of life that we lead in the contemporary world.

I would be inclined to think that the very concern with selfhood on our part as well as on the part of the American Jewish community is as good a symptom of the real problem that we face as any that I can think of. If I may be permitted a sort of a quasi-philosophical observation, I suppose that, properly defined, selfhood is never something that exists. Selfhood is something that one strives for, that one hopes to acquire, that one never possesses. We are looking for the selfhood of the Jew. Selfhood and survival can never be attained by actively seeking them. They are the kind of thing that Franz Rosenzweig once spoke of when he said that they are like a beautiful woman who, when too ardently wooed, will always reject her suitor. You have to do something in order to interest her, as it were. The point is made also by the rabbinic dictum:

3/1

36.
32.

that he who seeks honor will not find it; honor must seek him.

Mr. Milton Himmelfarb

Prof. J.
Mr. Cohen has said freedom. That is a glamorous word and I was moved by what he said; but I think a more appropriate term for what he was thinking of is individualism. The fallacy is, that while each of us claims to be an individualist, all of us are individualists in the same way. We have recently come from *in the best* a big event in American history, a rather important election.

The statistics say that 40 per cent of you should have voted for Mr. Goldwater, but without having discussed the election with most of the people here, I doubt that more than 0 per cent of you voted for Goldwater. Here we are, all individualists who behave in the same way. ~~Rabbi Israel's Yale students, without consulting each other, without thinking that they are acting in any specifically Jewish way, opt disproportionately for the profession of medicine. Yet they are all individualists -- as, indeed, they are.~~

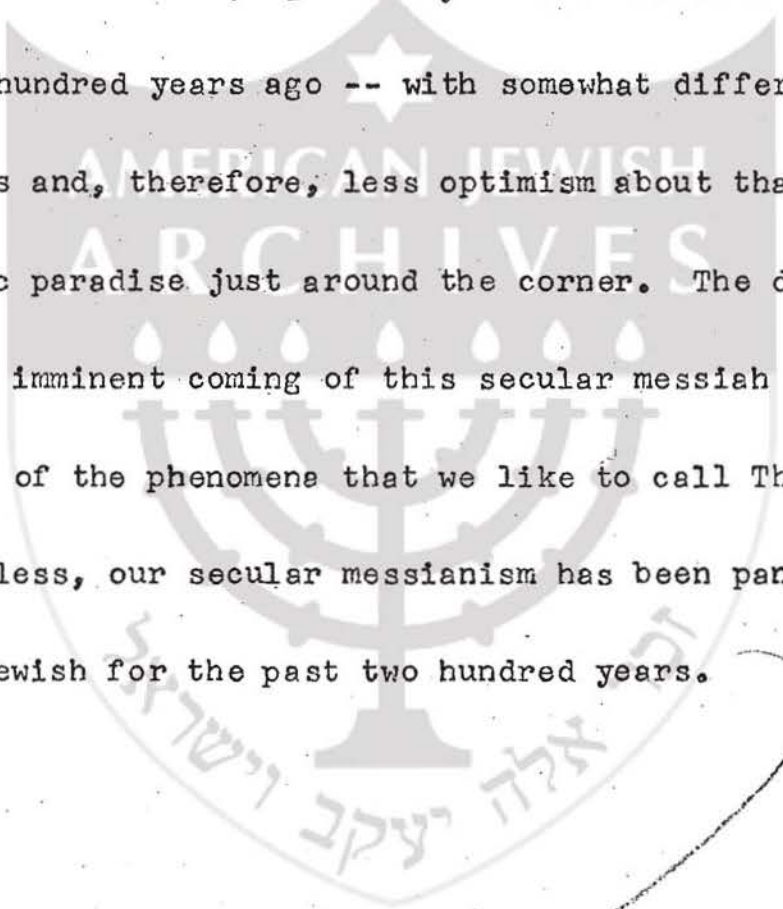
~~Let's look at politics again, because it's important.~~ In the American Jewish Committee we used to deny there was such a thing as a Jewish vote. We were quite right. There is no such thing as a Jewish vote, No orders go out to Jews. Only statistically, there is A Jewish vote. Without consulting each other, we vote in significantly similar fashions and in fashions significantly different from the other people we resemble socio-economically.

I think the real question is this: Is it a sociological Jewishness or is it an authentic Jewishness that impels us to behave in these fashions which we think of as individualistic but which in reality have a group character? Are we acting in accordance with an older Jewish tradition -- rabbinical, based on the received texts -- or are we acting in accordance with a new^{er} Jewish tradition ^{HA}/not yet codified? With Rabbi Hertzberg I believe that the Emancipation marks a decisive break, the beginning of a new tradition which basically supersedes the old one.

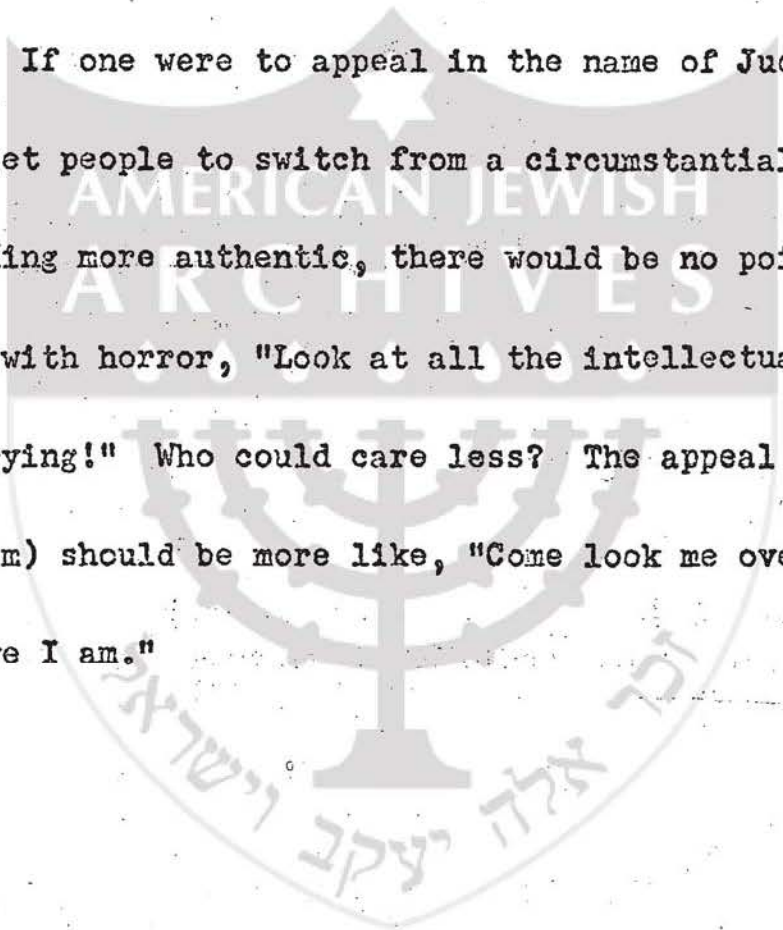
32A

Milton-Himmelfarb

I believe that Jews, not only here and now, but for two hundred years everywhere in the Western world, have essentially been behaving in the same way. (Things change; but only on the surface.) Basically we are the same as Mendelssohn was two hundred years ago -- with somewhat different experiences and, therefore, less optimism about that secular-messianic paradise just around the corner. The disillusion with the imminent coming of this secular messiah accounts for some of the phenomena that we like to call The Return. Nevertheless, our secular messianism has been pan-Western Modern Jewish for the past two hundred years.



If one were to appeal in the name of Judaism, or hope to get people to switch from a circumstantial Jewishness to something more authentic, there would be no point in explaining with horror, "Look at all the intellectuals who are intermarrying!" Who could care less? The appeal (in the name of Judaism) should be more like, "Come look me over. See how attractive I am."



SECTION II

~~What are the objective factors that help or hinder assimilation?~~

EJ
Dr. Elijah Bartnikor

I would like to raise a few questions which might call for further study and investigation.

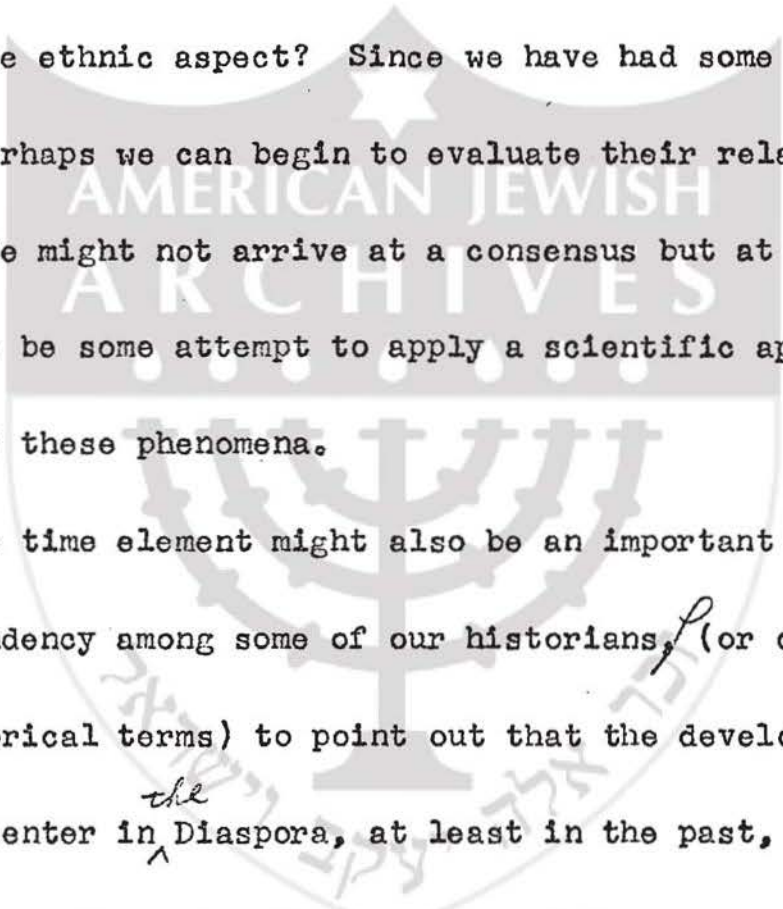
First, to what extent is the will of a group effective in preventing assimilation? How powerful are the objective or external assimilative forces compared with the subjective will or effort of any group? Can we say that such efforts are futile? What are the factors that help or hinder assimilation?

Secondly, to what extent is the size of the community a significant factor? I am referring specifically to the size


of the community relative to the non-Jewish community.

Thirdly, it might be helpful to determine which particular aspects of Judaism have a greater chance of success in Judaism's struggle for survival. Is it the religious aspect of Judaism? Is it the ethnic aspect? Since we have had some experience with both, perhaps we can begin to evaluate their relative effectiveness. We might not arrive at a consensus but at least there ought to be some attempt to apply a scientific approach to the study of these phenomena.

The time element might also be an important factor. There is a tendency among some of our historians, (or others who think in historical terms) to point out that the development of a major Judaic center in ^{the} Diaspora, at least in the past, has taken centuries. They give the examples of Babylonia and Spain and Poland, and so on. ~~Whenever I hear this, I think of the statement that has been made many times in the military world that the French and perhaps other nations too were, prior to World War II, ready for World War I.~~ They are thinking in terms of the past.



Today there is a different tempo in our society, as in the world in general. The temporal leisure our ancestors had in those periods and lands is not available to us here today, and we may reach a point of no return, with current trends becoming irreversible. Time, too, is of the essence.


Dr. Marshall Sklare

In diagnosing the American Jewish situation I should like to make reference to the comment that Elijah Bortniker made, for I too think that there is something rather special in our situation because of our numbers. One of the special aspects of the American Jewish community is its size and concentration. The relation between size and assimilation can be seen by looking at changes in very small American Jewish communities, for we are seeing today the same type of attrition and decay in the small Jewish community of America which occurred in Europe yesterday. I have no doubt that the "ghost" Jewish community -- a community where there was once a functioning synagogue together with a complement of Jewish communal services and voluntary associations --

will be encountered here with greater frequency.

All of this needs to be balanced off against the rise of new Jewish communities -- the Oak Ridges, the Huntsvilles and many newly-established ex-urban communities. There are also certain old communities which have been given a new lease on life. (I exclude of course the rise of suburban Jewish communities.) In any case these communities tend to be populated by Jews who work for large companies which utilize their technological skills, as well as by small businessmen who serve these new-old towns which developed because of the decentralization of industry, the invention of new products and processes, or the decay of older industrial areas. It may well be that these types of communities will end up *as assimilated as* like a Trieste. But we must remember that there are examples of new communities which develop a Jewish life, that there are examples of fairly small Jewish communities which remain vigorous, and overall that here there are so many Jews in contrast to European lands and that they are concentrated

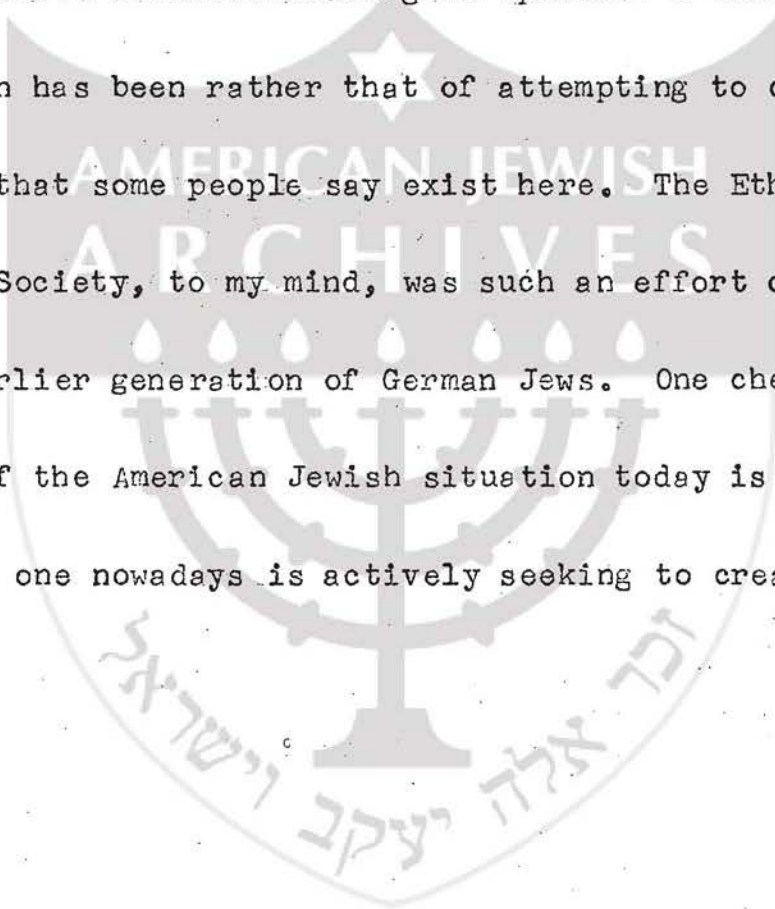
89

44.

in a very few metropolitan areas. Size and concentration ~~is~~ ^{are} a factor, then, which needs emphasis, although I am not unmindful of the fact that such concentration creates difficulties in terms of maximizing Jewish communal involvement. But on balance I think it is a plus factor.

There is another ^{aspect} ~~part~~ of the American Jewish situation I think is rather special, namely, the amount of Jewishness in the general American culture. Many Jews now become acculturated to Jewishness by going to plays on Broadway or reading best-selling novels. It is inconceivable that in Central and Eastern Europe literary reputations in general literature could ^{have} ~~be~~ ^{and} made by writing about Jews. There is something rather special in this, and we have only to contrast the kind of music Felix Mendelssohn composed with the music of Leonard Bernstein to see how special American Jewish culture is. I am not saying there is no problem of Jewish identity but there is something unique about our pluralistic culture that has not appeared elsewhere in modern Jewish history.

In terms of assimilation, I wonder if the option that everybody talks about actually exists. The question also is whether it is possible for a community of this great size to assimilate without creating an option. I think the situation has been rather that of attempting to create the options that some people say exist here. The Ethical Culture Society, to my mind, was such an effort on the part of an earlier generation of German Jews. One cheering aspect of the American Jewish situation today is that it seems to me no one nowadays is actively seeking to create an option.



SECTION III

COMMUNITIES WITHIN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish community contains many subcommunities, with commitments that vary widely -- some, for instance, primarily religious, others primarily ethnic. Many of these face a crisis of group identity. Accordingly, the obligations of Jewish leadership to these groups are varied.

Seymour Siegel

Richard J. Israel

Maurice Friedman

Steven S. Schwarzschild

Arthur Hyman

Robert I. Hiller

Norman Lamm

Maurice Friedman

47.
34a

~~SECRET~~

Dr. Seymour Siegel

When we speak about Jewish identity and its effect upon the Jewish future in America, it is necessary to understand that there are various sub-communities within the larger community. Each one of these sub-communities faces its particular crisis. Therefore, it is difficult to speak about "the Jewish community" which is in crisis. We have to break down the whole into its various parts. As a matter of fact, one sub-community may present a crisis to another sub-community. For example,

the intellectuals are a great problem to the organized Jewish community, and the organizational sub-community presents a problem to other groups. Therefore, it is necessary to find out about which groups within the larger community we are speaking about.

The part which presents a great problem is that sector of the community which adamantly and consciously does not want to have anything to do with the existing Jewish community.

This attitude is expressed through ~~its~~ lack of affiliation with Jewish organizations, intermarriage, and indifference.

This is one group which everyone is worrying about. Sometimes the worrying is productive and sometimes it isn't. But all the worrying of the different Jewish organizations in competition with each other may be symptomatic of a larger malaise.

Another community is made up of those who are no longer Jews in any meaningful sense of the word except that they write about being Jews. Modern American Jewish literature abounds

43.

49.
36.

with all types of these Jews who expend an enormous amount of psychic energy in working out their particular kind of identity crisis. The reason why the problem of the Jewish intellectual is discussed so widely and seems to consume more energy than other, perhaps more important, problems -- such as the future of Jewish education -- is that it has its source in a feeling of chagrin by a talmudic sage, ^{who,} when he saw a very gifted man, said, "Why don't you use your strength for the Torah?". They are saying to the intellectuals, "You have been blessed with talent, why don't you give ^{us} the benefit of some of it."

Furthermore, as you visit various colleges and universities you find that the people we are speaking about have great influence over other Jews. It is a commonplace that the intellectuals on college campuses ~~to use your own jargon~~ ^{in the current language,} are not positive about their Jewishness. And they transmit this to their students.

Then you have others who are on the borderline, who are sort of lukewarm. They say they are proud to be Jews, but they do not show it.

Also there are the groups which are unmistakably identified with the Jewish community. These are the groups which make up the "Establishment." These groups are open to a great deal of criticism, a good part of which comes from the members of these groups themselves.

Then there is the group which I think should be our main concern. They have no problem of Jewish identity but they do have a problem of integration. Their problem is integrating with other Jews. There seems to be a hardening of the feeling that "we are the good Jews and the others are the bad Jews." Coupled with this is the growing feeling that it is a good thing that "we are not integrated into the larger society." This kind of "fortress psychology" tends to shut out other Jews as well as the general milieu.

Richard J. Isrsel

The majority of the Jewish community, at least the community I know best -- the young people -- are ethnically a very palpable community, but not ideologically. This community will continue to be Jews, not because they do not believe in intermarriage,

57.


but circumstantially. The clubs they belong to and the businesses they enter will throw them into contact with other Jews.

But there is another group that seems to me to have a great potential for us -- the group interested in ideas. I am not talking about intellectuals but rather about those who are concerned with serious questions, who want to deal with basic issues. They are the graduate students, the professionals whose occupational and intellectual interests accelerate the rate at which they intermarry. Because of their interest in ideas, they are much freer than other Jews in making choices. For me the problem is: how to create a series of attractive and meaningful models for these young Jews.

I think the problem of the adolescent, too, is a very special one because he has his own particular personal crises.

He wonders who he is; he wonders how his Jewishness will affect

who he is; he wonders what his occupation is going to be. His concern is whether he is going to make it in life, whether his Jewishness will impede him in any particular way, whether it will be a burden. His Jewishness affects him only in that it draws him to particular occupational or scholastic interests. He does not reflect upon it very much until such time as the ugly spectre of antisemitism begins to raise its head when he looks for employment. Then he begins to wonder what he is going to become. His is a question of, where do I go? Who am I? Why do I have to be Jewish? It is not a burning question for him, it is not a thing that keeps him awake at night.


Dr. Maurice Friedman

I would like to comment about the problem of even trying to reach groups like the post-adolescent or the intellectual. It is my impression that even those groups are not going to yield very much uniformity to us any more, that is, the kind of uniformity that might have been expected from post-adolescents or, let us say, college-age students fifteen or twenty years ago.

By and large, I think you could have said at that time that they were turning away from their Jewishness, but I do not think you can say it today. Yet that does not necessarily mean that they had a very real or strong Jewish commitment.

Most of the young college people I know are interested in knowing something about Judaism but in a radically different way ^{from} than previous generations.

The same is true of Jewish intellectuals. My impression of Jewish intellectuals, as I go around the country, is that there no longer is such a thing as a common party line for the Jewish intellectual. On the contrary, they are quite ^{as} capable of belonging to Hillel or the Yiddish ~~Verain~~ ^{Club} as they are capable of belonging to the Communist Party. This does not, however, say they are unsophisticated about being Jewish.

~~Dr. Stephen S. Schwarzschild~~

I operate on the assumption that the Emancipation is over and that we are now living in the post-Emancipation era.

On the basis of this premise one can divide Jewry into three

groups: ^{pre-}pre-Emancipation Jewry, Emancipation Jewry, and post-

Emancipation Jewry. All three, of course, are ^{contemporaneous} ~~coeval~~ with

each other.

I would be inclined to expect that in the foreseeable future we will have to cope with some kind of vital pre-Emancipation Jewry, and certainly there will be a productive, meaningful, and vital post-Emancipation Jewry. Emancipation Jewry is gradually going to shrink and wither away to the point of nullity.

~~Dr.~~ Gerson Cohen seems to believe that he is living in an ongoing Emancipation era. But he seriously qualifies his statement when he says that in this country we hold to some kind of theory of cultural pluralism though in fact we all know perfectly well that it just is not so.

It turns out the three important types of Jewish communities are clearly in an extra-Emancipation stage. What this means for the future is that post-Emancipation Jewish existence in America will cause that ^{Jewish} "pop" culture, which has been so justly criticized, to dissipate itself. It is clearly a degenerative disease which cannot last long. One can see it happening already on the college campuses and universities. The Jewish audience that is susceptible to "pop" culture ^{tends to} ~~sort of~~ dissolves into anonymity, and is replaced by small enclaves of the representatives of a new kind of American Jewish existence. These have much in common with the pre-Emancipation Jewish existence which tends toward the high state of Jewish culture ~~that Mr. Himmelfarb and others~~ will be talking about.

56. *Prof. Arthur Hays* ^{or} *...* 56.

We have spoken as if the Emancipation were the end of Jewish

history. The modern Jew whom we have described is politically liberal, socially conscious, and, religiously, not at ease with Jewish tradition. But there is something which is threatening this Jew.

All of us are aware that we are living at a time which has seen a revival of conservatism. I do not have in mind political conservatism, but philosophic conservatism -- of the Russell Kirk variety. I can easily see that as time goes on -- perhaps in five or ten years -- there will be a philosophically conservative group within the Jewish community or that possibly the Jewish community as a whole will be a good deal more conservative in its philosophical and social outlook than it is today. I see two instances which seem to be indicative of this possible trend.

The first example is the change in the community's reactions to the Supreme Court's decision on prayer. The Jewish community has generally been against prayer in public school and, on the whole, has defended the rigorous separation of church and state;

87.
~~#D~~ 57.

but voices were heard which held that an appropriate prayer might not be out of order. There have also been individuals and groups who argue for a less rigorous interpretation of the church-state separation.

Second, there is the current mood in our theological seminaries. I have observed that there has been a significant movement to the right in all of them. I find that a goodly number of students in these institutions -- zoften students coming from very assimilated homes -- have thrown in their lot with the more fundamentalist groups on campus. It is difficult to assess the meaning of these trends and their long-range implications, but we can not ignore them. It may well be that the post-Emancipation Jew whom we have described is in the process of being modified and, perhaps, being seriously modified.

69. 52.
Mr. Robert I. Hiller

I am beginning to see, as a result of my experience with individuals in the community and on college campuses, that the young people Rabbi Israel has talked about do not have time to worry about the problem of their Jewishness, that is, Jewishness is not their problem. Here I agree ^{that} with ~~Rabbi Hertzberg~~ the problem of the survival of Judaism -- the crisis -- lies with the Establishment. What does the Establishment have to offer these young people who have come home, trained and culturally conditioned by Yale? How can we get them to identify with the Jewish community? The problem will be easier to grapple with if we realize, first of all, that we are dealing with three different types of individuals, not just one. First, there are the young people who come into the community wishing

70. 59
75

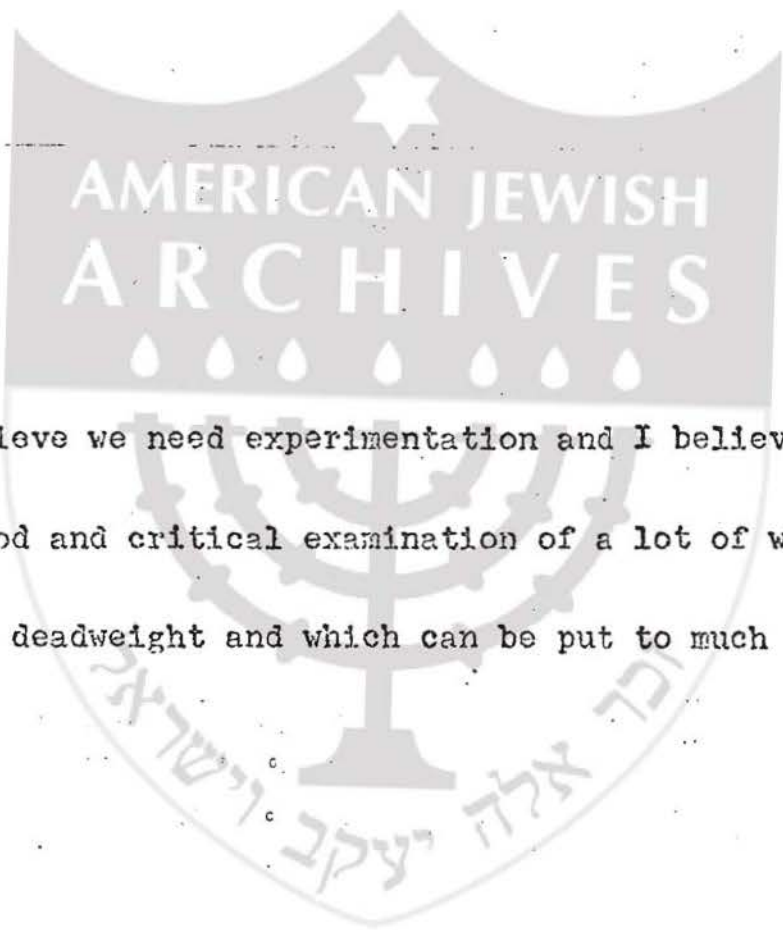
to identify themselves with the community. They quickly affiliate and participate. Second, there is the larger group which I would call the neutral group, i.e., those who are neither here nor there. These people can be influenced, though. The third group, a smaller one, moves out of the community and does not wish to be spoken with.

I think that it is important for the Establishment to take a good look at the needs of the first two groups. There is a new client in the Jewish community and this client no longer is the person who needs social-welfare assistance. For the client is actually the community itself. We must pay attention to this fact. When I talk about this "we", I am talking about all of us who are involved in institutions within the community. We must begin to look at the service or the substance of what we have to offer. I think that there are areas that can be developed through the modification of existing institutions or the creation of new ones that will be attractive to this young

group returning home from college. We must keep in mind that the colleges of today have given them some kind of underpinning, i.e., a set of values to which they would like to respond. If we are to reach them we have to be attuned to this set of values. These values should be examined in terms of authentic Judaism.

I would like to suggest that things are not so bleak as some of us may feel, that the people coming to the community are at least neutral and can be attracted. Our Establishment needs looking at. What ^{is} it trying to do? How good are some of the things it is trying to do?

We are beginning to attract the interest of young people through agencies and organizations that are under Jewish auspices and express Jewish values. These agencies have taken on major projects in the ~~whole~~ antipoverty program which are in line with the values of the agency and of community institutions. I believe that there are many other such types of modification and change that can be developed from within our existing Establishment.



I believe we need experimentation and I believe we need a very good and critical examination of a lot of what I am convinced is deadweight and which can be put to much more positive use.

471
65
~~SECTION VI~~

~~The Saving Remnant~~

~~BY~~ Norman Lamm

I think it is worth considering that group which is most firmly rooted in its Jewishness. ~~There is no doubt that all~~ of us are concerned about all Jews. We want all Jews to be perpetuated and, if at all possible, to continue without any

48.

63
-55.a

diminution in numbers. Nevertheless, I think there is something to be said for the idea that the continuity of Jewry and Judaism is, in the long run, going to be carried on by a minority and not the majority. I am referring, of course, to the idea of the "saving remnant" who have the creativity -- in terms of commitment, of loyalty, of willingness to sacrifice -- to carry on. As you go through the history of our people you will find that there were few generations in which the majority of the people were strongly committed. Usually, you will find that it was a small, often despised group who had sufficient energy, sufficient enthusiasm to carry along the rest of the people. I am not saying that the rest of the people will necessarily disappear; but that the fate or the destiny of the entire people will usually be contingent upon that small minority willing to risk everything for what it believes.

What are the qualifications for this kind of minority, this "saving remnant"? First, the intensity of its commitment.

Second, its willingness to segregate itself from the flock.

I do not necessarily mean ~~that~~ the hasidic type of ghetto that we have in Brooklyn or Manhattan. For there are some very modern, worldly, university-educated people who nevertheless choose voluntary segregation by setting themselves apart in a specific and well-defined subgroup. ~~Perhaps they should be called "pre-Emancipation Jews".~~ Felicitous as this term might be, ~~it is too~~ pejorative. The third qualification is one which, to my chagrin, rabbis are generally ashamed to mention: the question of birth¹rate (the only person I know who has touched upon it is Milton Himmelfarb in Commentary). I wonder if we fully realize the significance of the fact that the only group today in modern Jewry that is really reproducing itself is the very Orthodox one. Generally, the size of their families contrasts sharply with other Jewish groups. They have five, six, seven, or even eight children while the other families have only two or three. Therefore we cannot overlook this "pre-Emancipation" group. It would indeed be a pity to simply dismiss them

50.

65.
57.

as a fringe group having no relevance at all to the contemporary Jewish situation. For we may find that ultimately this group will out-vote the rest of the community by dint of sheer numbers as well as the intensity of their Jewish concern.

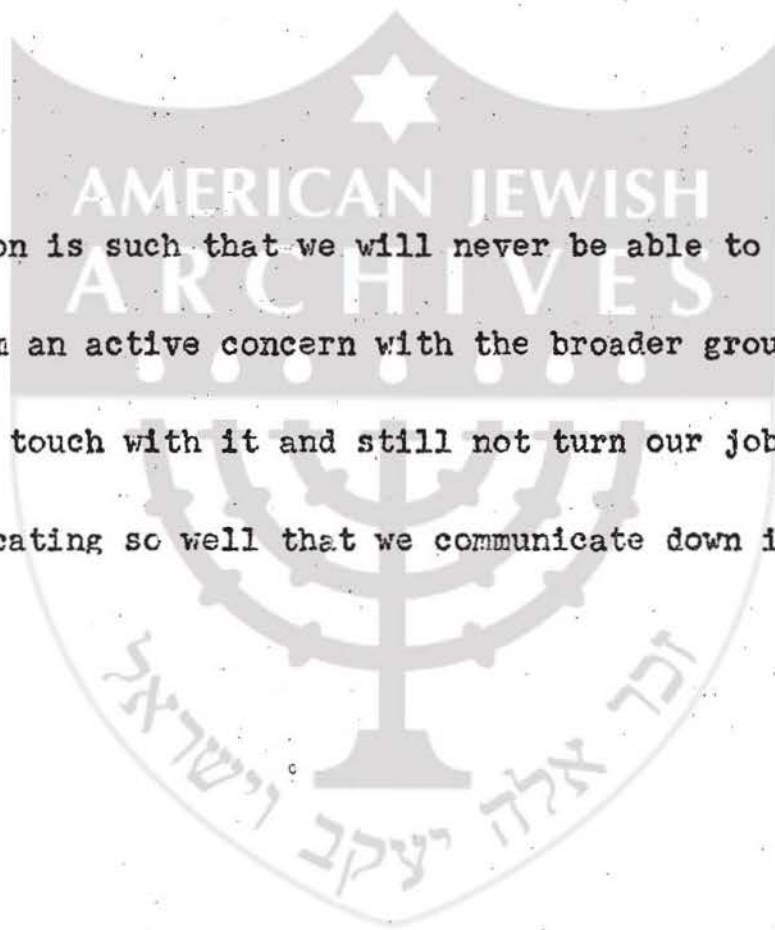
I have not been speaking about this group necessarily because they are Orthodox or because of their particular commitments or philosophical premises. If you can find another group that fits into this category of the strongly committed I will accept them also.

Dr. Maurice Friedman

I am not against the idea of a "saving remnant"; I think that we are trying to serve such a function here. But our new

~~57.~~

570
58.



situation is such that we will never be able to cut ourselves off from an active concern with the broader group. Can we remain in touch with it and still not turn our job into one of communicating so well that we communicate down instead of up?

SECTION IV

CULTURE, COMMUNITY, AND CONTINUITY

What kind of authentic Jewish culture can be transmitted to ensure Jewish continuity? Communal organizations and widespread association provide a basic cohesiveness for Jewish life. But Jewish commitment requires content as well as form.

T. Herzl Rome

David Sidorsky

Arthur Hyman

Irving Center

Marshall Sklare

Seymour Siegel

Manheim Shapiro

Robert I. Hiller

Judah J. Shapiro

Uriel Weinreich

Joseph C. Landis

53.

Mr. T. Herzl Rome

I do not think we are going to arrive at a definition of authentic Judaism here. I would like to, but I am getting skeptical of that. I think, however, ^{that} we have to behave as if we had found it and hope that in so doing we will eventually, by applying our minds or the minds of our younger people, come up with something. I do not think you can devise an authentic culture. It is something which grows out of the past and out of the present circumstances.

We are witnessing the beginning of a gradual falling off of commitment to Zionism and to the Jewish philanthropies. This is a critical situation because that which has, at least financially, supported the establishment and has supported all of its organizations, and, for all of its vacuities, has kept the Jewish community going, is passing. We have to find something to take its place quickly.

What we can do is to somehow make sure that there is an adequate machinery, (in the broadest sense of the term) for the perpetuation of Jewish culture.

58.
Prof. David Sidorsky

69.

Whatever crisis exists in the Jewish organizations is due to their inability to transmit an adequate sense of continuity from their generation to subsequent generations. This situation is made even more difficult because of the present cultural situation. I think that the reason why a great number of indifferent young people ~~might be~~ indifferent is ^{that} because there has not been an effective transmission of the transcendental value of Judaism. They do not feel (or have not been taught to feel) that Judaism involves a transcendent sense of work which justifies the putting forth of an effort to convert others, for example. This is a different reading of the crisis. I am not sure that it is a crisis for me in the way the term "crisis" has been used. But certainly there is a challenge here that we are faced with. That is the challenge of providing the indifferent, the neutral, ^{not} hostile young people with cultural values that do have the transcendental aura of authentic Judaism.

One direction is to search for the fundamental things which this ethnic group-in-religious-shelter shares. Essentially this leads, I suppose, to two sorts of program. One, which I gather Dr. Siegel wants, is a real attempt to restore religion, as central,

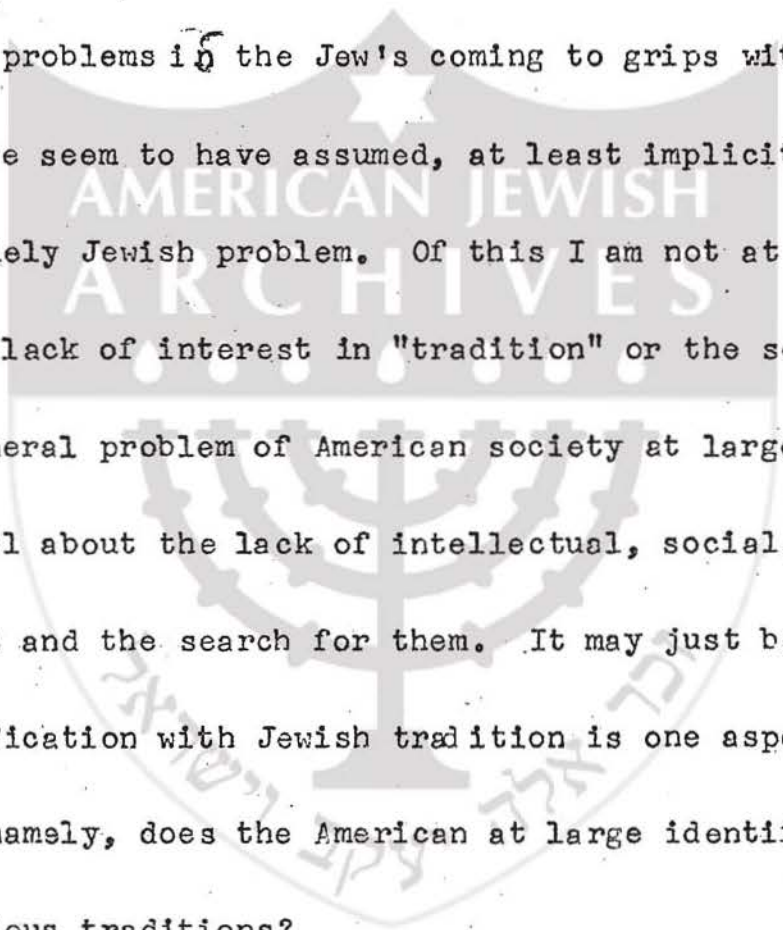
59A

Critical

and vital. The other grows out of the fundamental commitment to defend the status of Jews as a group within American culture.

Prof. Arthur Hyman

We have asserted in our discussion that one of our contemporary problems is the Jew's coming to grips with his tradition and we seem to have assumed, at least implicitly, that this is a uniquely Jewish problem. Of this I am not at all sure. Isn't the lack of interest in "tradition" or the search for it a more general problem of American society at large? We hear a good deal about the lack of intellectual, social, and other traditions and the search for them. It may just be that the problem of identification with Jewish tradition is one aspect of a larger problem, namely, does the American at large identify himself with previous traditions?



[Handwritten signature]

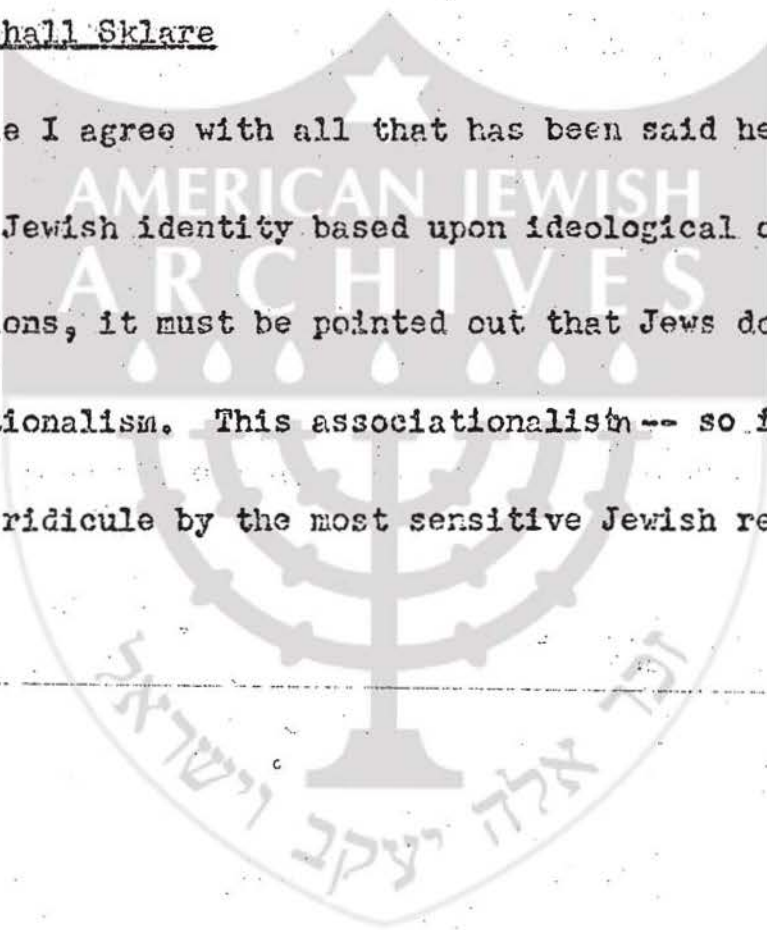
Dr. Irving Canter

When we talk about the transmission belt from family to youth to child to adolescent, I think that we need to take cognizance of the fact that that transmission belt has been destroyed in other kinds of families too. And when we talk about identity, it seems to me that we need to be aware that the search for identity (and I would differ here about whether one does or does not search for identity) is another problem that everybody seems to be engaged in today.

These problems of social control are not unique to the Jewish groups. It is one that every church group faces, every institution of our country faces, and indeed is a universal problem. Therefore, if we are going to be diagnostic, we must begin to relate some of these discussions to some of the diagnoses that have already been made for culture in general ^{as well as} for specific societies. Perhaps the sociologists of the last generation are not as up to date as we would like them to be but, none the less, there are some relevant diagnostic frameworks which would be helpful for seeing what is happening to the Jewish group.

Dr. Marshall Sklare

While I agree with all that has been said here about the lack of Jewish identity based upon ideological or ideational conceptions, it must be pointed out that Jews do have Jewish associationalism. This associationalism-- so frequently the butt of ridicule by the most sensitive Jewish religious spirits



as well as by the most radically alienated and secularized segment of our community -- is a factor in the making of the Jewish present and the Jewish future which is of great significance. At the present time it forms the ~~least~~^P common denominator among Jews: whatever else Jews do as Jews, they socialize with one another. In fact if one were to analyze the genesis as well as the vitality of many so-called "positive" Jewish activities and institutions, I suggest that one would find that Jewish associationalism is involved. We need only review Herbert Gans' description of how the Jews of Park Forest established their community to see the importance of the fact that the clique structure of Jews has remained so strongly Jewish, and has remained so in spite of extensive integration and acculturation.

In terms of the future Jewish associationalism can be interpreted pessimistically: as making it difficult or impossible to develop ideological or ideational patterns of identity

since Jews are so happy and smug in their associationalism. But I regard the relationship between Jewish associationism and the Jewish future in quite a different light. I think that such associationalism is capable of making a great contribution, for it provides survivalists with the important commodity of time -- it preserves a Jewish community which is in transition from the shock of modernization and the encounter with secularism. It gives the survivalist the time which he needs and the public which he requires in his attempt to change associational Jews into ideological Jews.

Aside from size and concentration I think that there is another aspect of the American Jewish situation which -- if we utilize the Western^P European model -- has to be taken seriously. We know that the Jews of Western Europe had their voluntary associations -- both traditional ones like the chevra kadisha ^{dx} as well as ^{quid} organizations like the B'nai B'rith which appeared in the 19th century. But granting the existence of both types,

60
75.
71.

I think that America is unique in the activism, number, and variety of its Jewish voluntary associations as well as in the involvement which they elicit. (I include the synagogue as a voluntary association.) I think that what exists in America is not to be compared ^{with} to what one would have found among the Jews of Rome, ~~the Jews of~~ Budapest, or ~~the Jews of~~ Munich. In some measure all of this is surely a reflection of the general culture. But whether this is the true source of what has been called here "organizational Judaism", let us think of it as a kind of Jewish activism resulting in a network of activities which -- whatever their value -- ^{intrinsic} ^{reveal} betray a desire for Jewish survival. And if ^{the} [^] this motivation for such activities should be questioned, at least it will be conceded that ^{the} such activism serves to maintain group boundaries.

On the subject of activism I think it only fair to state that not all "organizational Judaism" consists of fashion shows and bowling leagues, or of testimonial dinners to businessmen

of dubious character. A portion of it is focused on activities which are explicitly designed to strengthen Jewish knowledge, Jewish faith, the Jewish will to survive. Finally, I suspect that in our activism we are attempting to do more than the Jews of Western Europe ever did in attempting to stop, or to turn back, the "clock" of Jewish acculturation. For example, until recently it was only the very exceptional American Jewish child who spent his summer in a "Jewish-content" camp. The vast majority went to general-content camps (many run under the auspices of Jewish institutions) or what was more common, to camps run by Jewish individuals who had entered the camping business. While Zionist and Hebrew-speaking camps such as Cejwin, Modin, Massad, and Boiberik were in existence several decades ago, until recently the general-content ^{summer} camp was the norm. Even Orthodox Jews tended to be satisfied with the general-content camp, merely requiring that ^{the} kashrut be observed.

In the past two decades we have seen the establishment of a network of "Jewish-content" camps -- a network established

Handwritten initials in the top left corner.

by the most diverse Jewish agencies. As a consequence the child who spends his summer in a ~~Jewish-content~~ camp is far less exceptional^l than before. I am under no illusion that ~~Jewish-content~~ camping is the solution to our problem (in fact, if one wanted to, one could say that since it is designed to remedy some of the defects of the Jewish home, the Jewish school, and the socialization process in the Jewish neighborhood, the Jewish-content camp is doomed to failure) ~~and should be interpreted in a pessimistic rather than an optimistic framework~~ But I cite it as one development among many ^A developments which show a response in the Jewish community to the threat to survival and which shows how American activism goes about trying to solve the problem of the threat to that survival.

~~Dr. Seymour Siegel~~
Dr. Seymour Siegel

Not everybody is free. Sam Levenson said, "Jewish children never go to camp. They are sent." The same is true of the



AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

hundreds of thousands of Jewish children in Jewish schools.

The problem facing us is to teach them in such a way that when they reached the alleged age of freedom they will opt for Judaism.



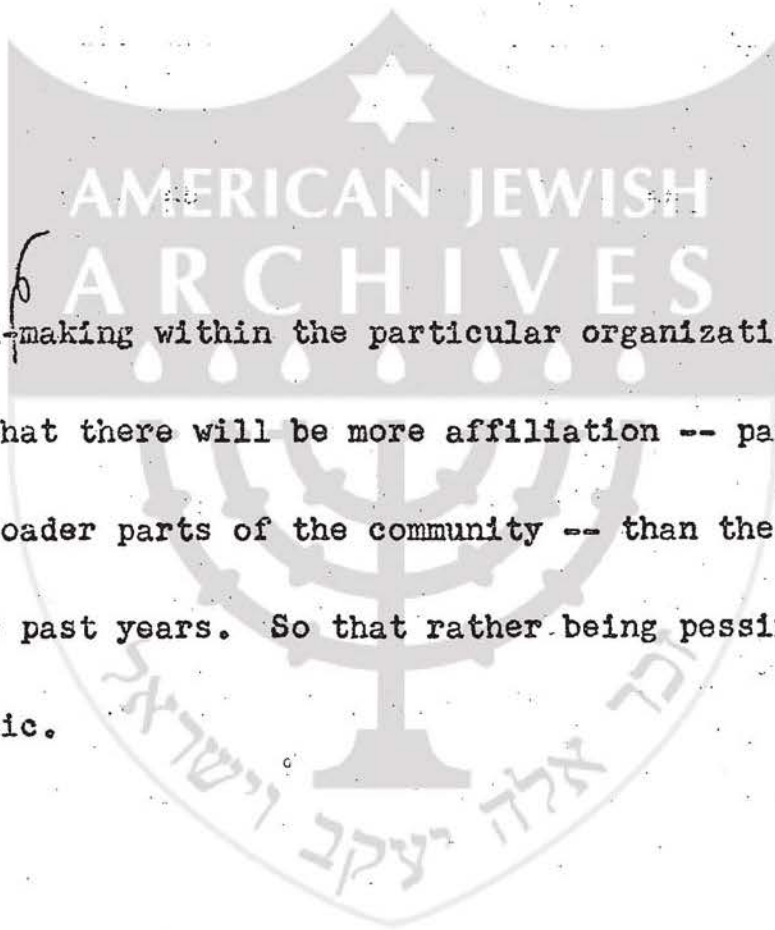
Mr. Manheim Shapiro

There is one thing that surprised me. It is that nobody has said here that maybe the things we are doing are not bad things in themselves, but that we are just not doing them well and that we need to reexamine how we are doing them. I hope I will offend none of our guests here by saying that if the federations cannot increase their take when incomes are rising, maybe the federations are not doing a good job. Maybe it is time to question whether the best technique revolves around the question of who asks whom to give money. Maybe there are new methods that need to be tried. I think we ought to consider whether this is not really some of our problem; whether, for example, Jewish-center work as center work has deteriorated in quality.

Standards are not merely standards of culture; they are also standards of skill and performance. Maybe the so-called civic-protective agencies are not doing as good a civic-protective job as they once did, for any number of possible reasons. I am simply throwing in my suggestion here that there is need for a great reexamination of whether the methodology^{is} of all these institutional operations are really not obsolete. There is perhaps need for some revolutionary and imaginative approaches to the very things we have been doing.

Mr. Robert I. Hiller

I do not believe there is a diminution of federation response. Whether or not federations raise a few dollars more or less I do not think is the issue here. I do feel, however, that the movement is a growing movement and at least in the communities that I am familiar with (three or four) there is a much broader base of support. The counter effect of this might be that the larger single contributor may be exerting less influence upon the



decision-making within the particular organization. I would expect that there will be more affiliation -- particularly with those broader parts of the community -- than there has been over the past years. So that rather being pessimistic, I am optimistic.

73
FBI

SECTION VII

The Problem of the Organization and the Individual,
What can the organizations do?

38

Dr. Judah J. Shapiro

For most of those who are confronted with Jewishness as something which they would add to themselves, the real question becomes: How do we go about manipulating this or dealing with it? And if it is acculturation, then we have to realize that the terms of acculturation remain absolutely the same. What makes acculturation function when a Jew leaves his Jewish background into the general society? It is greater attractiveness, for a variety of reasons. By the same token, if the acculturation is reversed, have we established the attractiveness of the Jewish milieu? For the American or the Canadian is there something to opt for within the Jewish community?

If you examine the organizational patterns, I think that we will find here a proper area for criticism; that they do not

adjust themselves to this need of bringing within the framework of organized Jewish life those who would only come by virtue of a certain attractiveness as formulated in their own terms, not in the organization's terms. And if we were to consider this in terms of the intellectual, I think it is a fair statement to say that he will get the best, of art, or music, or a variety of things, outside the Jewish community and not within it.

I will take it just a little bit further and say the organization is usually said to be for the individual, for his Jewish affirmation. But the organization is not the act of affirmation on the part of committed Jews. He becomes connected with an affirmation by joining a so-called Jewish organization. So the Jewish organization takes on a responsibility for its membership whereby it must acquaint them with Jewishness. They do not any longer represent the consensus of what Jewishness is and why this organization ought to do what it does, because it is powered or motivated by classic, traditional Jewish concepts.

One acquires one's Jewish concepts within the framework of the organization with which one identifies.

I think the whole question of organization has one other dimension, which is that in our time by and large I think it would be fair to say that a Jew is seldom Jewish when he is alone. His Jewishness is always represented as something that takes place within some kind of institutionalized form. That is not good enough. ^{Formerly} ~~Formerly~~ an old Jew who was away off by himself would notch a stick to keep track of the Sabbath. He was keeping track of his Jewish commitment. Now there is no personal act of commitment on the part of people who call themselves Jewish, and whose acts only occur in some kind of structured, organizational pattern.

The fact is that as a group here I think that we must direct ourselves more to the particular areas of our competence. I know that there is someone here, let us say, who has worked with federations. These problems and diagnoses we have been making, how do they relate to that aspect of our population? There is

someone here who is expert in the field of Jewish education for children. How do all of these diagnoses pertain to that field?

I think that we should state the area of Jewish life which most concerns us. For me, I suppose, it is the intellectual who is Jewish and who does not have hostility to Jewish life. He is indifferent, he does not become involved in terms of his expertise.

It troubles me that there is a commission financed by the Ford Foundation sitting at Harvard University with a broad mandate to consider and to discuss the impact of the computers on every branch of group behavior, human behavior. Yet we have no one sitting there participating in Jewish terms to say how will this perhaps relate or affect the Jewish community in its present state?

81.
M

Professor Uriel Weinreich

We have been discussing as the main crisis the problem of those who have not yet made a commitment to remain Jews, but there is a second problem with which we have not dealt sufficiently so far. That is the intellectual content of the Jewishness of those who have made the commitment.

Everyone would agree that access to our most recent past constitutes a major element of that body of knowledge which itself is part of being committed Jewish. I think that access to our most recent past is needed on a great many levels -- as part of elementary education, in forms suitable for the educated layman and for the professional, and as the object of specialized Jewish scholarship. I submit that this access to Jewish history, which has done more than any other to shape the face of American Jewish life, is missing, and that it is inadequate at any of these levels.

The reasons why the immigrant generation itself failed to know itself intellectually and to communicate this knowledge in a way which would be understandable and usable by the second and third generation is a separate problem. But the burden, of course, now is on American Jews to know the past of their grandfathers and in this they are failing.

There are two ways in which the performance of the Yiddish cultural movement may be judged. Despite success in individual families and in various miniature environments, it will be admitted that the movement did not succeed in transmitting to American-born generations a way of life in which spoken and written Yiddish are primary channels of contact with other members of the group or with the world around them. On this score we find an inability to reach a stated goal. But there is still another measure to be applied -- in terms of a secondary goal which not only failed to be achieved, but was not even properly set. There is today a strong, and growing, "grassroots" interest in the Yiddish tradition which is crying for factual information and artistic representation, not for functional restoration. This interest is probably unrelated to the original goals of the Yiddish cultural movement and cannot be directly attributed to the decades of "Yiddishist" activity in this country. The thousands of people who are buying the textbook, College Yiddish, in order to obtain a smattering of the language are not, by and large, students or children of students

of supplementary Yiddish schools. Be that as it may, the Yiddish community, or any other sector of the Jewish community, is unable to satisfy this new interest in an intellectually respectable way. We lack the most elementary reference works concerning a thousand years of Yiddish cultural tradition, and so arid is the intellectual ground around us that there is little reason to hope that the necessary works will be forthcoming. The few qualified people are overcommitted to just a few projects of the greatest urgency. After forty years a new, updated Yiddish-English dictionary is about to come out. As for the English-Yiddish dictionary which is in press, it is the first one in seventy years! Who will provide us with more detailed dictionaries, with reference grammars, with non-amateurish compendia of Yiddish folklore and Jewish customs? Who will squeeze the ignorance out of Yiddish-English translations? We face a catastrophic shortage of manpower, and it must be said, in sadness, that the Yiddishist movement has been able to do little over the years to fill this gap in the American humanities.

Joseph C. Lendis

I was struck particularly by the comments that have been made with regard to Yiddish culture. It has been treated as though it is a very nice thing to have and by all means we should have a higher standard of research. We all would agree with Uriel Weinreich, and it is very nice. But I wonder if we ought not to remind ourselves that Yiddish culture was not the creation of Yiddishists; that Yiddishists are the product of Yiddish culture and that Yiddish culture was created out of the authentic experience of the Jewish people. The question of authentic Judaism should be discussed in terms of a broader concept of culture.

It took the Jews in Eastern Europe many generations and centuries to synthesize a statement of peoplehood. The Jewish community in America is just at the beginning of its cultural odyssey.

87.
2/1

90.
52.

We should not simply pay lip service to the fact that the identity of the Jews at one time embraced a whole people. But we still think in terms of Judaism as a faith and exclusively as a faith; that it is ^a nice little luxury to have a Yiddish culture. It is wonderful, but what does that really have to do with the problem?

I do not have to tell you that Yiddish culture, any literature, any culture that we create, is an index of our vitality as a people. So what I am suggesting is that we extend the range of our sense of Jewish identity to the awareness that cultural creativeness is not a luxury nor is Yiddish culture something that exists in the past and is reminiscent. After all, we do not speak of American culture as something that is merely reminiscent. We don't ask what Walt Whitman really has to do with us. No, we certainly do not speak of American culture in that sense. So why should we speak of Yiddish culture in that sense?

80.

9.

I think we ought to extend the range of our Jewish aware-
ness to include the secular world. We should consider secularism
as an approach to Jewish life. You are philosophers, theologians,
sociologists. I am a ^mmelamed of literature, and among the things
I teach ~~teach~~ ^A a course in Yiddish literature in English trans-
lation (which is my occupational interest in all of this). I have
the opportunity to get some insight as to why some students take
this particular course which does not apply to any major. It is a
side alley, a wasted three points even though it is in the English
Department. Why do they take it? They are ^{the} faithful in search of a
faith. They are Jews looking for the kind of connection with
Jewishness that they have not been able to find in the Establishment --
the Establishment that the ordinary Jewish young man and woman see
every day ~~consisting~~ ^{that} in the rabbi and congregation which does not
appeal to them very much. How can we reach them? Extend the range
to make room for their secular commitment. If we don't just give
it lip service but really say, "We are a four-dimensional people" --
three religious dimensions, one secular dimension -- then this people,
with its own voice, will march into that multicultural America that
Horace Kallen and others have spoken about.

SECTION V

JEWS IN A PLURALIST SOCIETY

The values and goals of one group sometimes differ from the values and goals of another group, but in a pluralist society these groups should be able to address each other openly and honestly. Antisemitism may be a factor in group relations, but not all criticism should be treated as antisemitic. In a pluralist society Jews have the opportunity to be addressed as Jews and to reply as Jews.

T. Herzl Rome

Theodore Solotaroff

Seymour Siegel

Jacob Cohen

Elijah Bortniker

Maurice Friedman

Mr. T. Herzl - Rome

I think that Jewish culture operates on two quite disparate levels: the "borscht" level of the followers, the ^{am-ha-aretz} ~~anheretz~~ and the high cultural level of the rabbis and scholars, etc.

In pre-Emancipation society the ^{am-ha-aretz} ~~anheretz~~ could be reached by the higher levels because it was an authoritarian society. The question now becomes: How, in a free, democratic society, can the high culture be effectively propagated -- without the explicit sanction of the rabbinic or another communal authority? I, ~~for one~~, do not know the answer to this question but I feel it is one to which we must soon find an answer.

I am afraid of "borscht" culture not only because we Jews ^{because} abhor it but that the govim also abhor it. One of these days there is going to be a very strong Gentile reaction against

94.
-45.

this "borscht" culture extending all the way through our best-known writers. There is going to be a new wave of antisemitism in a new guise -- cultural antisemitism. What can we do about it?

Mr. Theodore Solotaroff

It seems to me, if I might provide a footnote to Mr. Rome's remarks, that there is a good deal of feeling now in the culture at large that the Jews, particularly of New York, occupy some sort of cultural hegemony. This is the kind of mentality that I see reflected in the Hudson Review and elsewhere. It is precisely the kind of criticism that was made in Germany in the 'twenties of Jewish intellectuals: that they are uprooted, they are marginal, that they had no feeling for the native culture; also that they have no feeling for esthetics, no real taste; they are entirely intellectual, in a vulgar and arrogant way, and so on and so forth. It seems to me that the very success of American Jewish culture at the higher level as well as at the low in the last decade is producing a backlash. I do not know what you do about it, but the phenomenon exists there.

95
66.
Rebbi Seymour Siegel

I am amazed at ourselves for having left out until now two things which seem to me so important. First, the place and role of Israel in the whole of American Jewish life. I know dozens of people who would be brought back to Jewish identity by a visit to Israel or some identification with it. The other is the whole complex known as antisemitism, covert or overt, here or elsewhere. We have just alluded to it.

If the backlash Ted Solotaroff spoke about develops, it will not be against "borscht" culture. It will be against the very things many of us stand for, namely, ^{the} liberal, post-Christian, post-Jewish, anti-traditional political and social points of view. This is what is behind a good deal of the thinking in the Goldwater "revolution" which ~~Dr. Hyman~~ rightly fears. This kind of backlash is more dangerous to us than any reaction against "borscht" culture. Norman Podhoretz does not represent "borscht" culture.

82

Jacob

Prof. J. Cohen

American Jews talk a lot about pluralism, but then they betray their unwillingness to play by the really tough ground-rules a truly pluralistic existence lays down.

Let me explain. I agree with Mr. Solotaroff and Mr. Rome that there is a great deal of cultural antisemitism. It is most acute among certain Negro intellectuals. At the risk of suggesting that the antisemitism is a good thing, I want to suggest how it might be at least turned to our benefit. We must distinguish between gratuitous antisemitic insults, and serious antisemitic charges. The kind of Wagnerian antisemitism one finds in Hudson Review (Jews are critics not poets; ^{not} destroyers and builders;) must be faced, and I do not mean disposed of. It is not enough to cry antisemitism -- as if we could somehow grow roots by insulting the native sons who say we lack them. In a truly pluralistic society our compatriots will put such relevant challenges -- which we should not avoid.

Let me offer another illustration of this point that I am groping to make. A short time ago, America, a Jesuit magazine,

88. 97.

said to Jews, in effect: "Look here. You say you are the People of the Book. Why do you oppose Bible reading in the schools, and every other public manifestation of our common heritage?" Now this is a probing question, and remains so, even if we were to discover unworthy motives in the askers. From a wholly other center of feeling and remembering, a real question has been addressed to us, out loud, in public, and we have three options in dealing with it: (1) Counterattack; charging antisemitism, and demanding to know why we have been singled out for abuse when other groups also oppose Bible reading; (2) Dissembling; turning the problem over to our public-relations experts, who concoct a suitable though dishonest answer; (3) Answering the question forthrightly. I am not suggesting how we should answer this particular question; only that we do answer ^{it} ~~it~~ dishonestly, honorably, and publicly.

I am saying that in a pluralistic society men address fundamental questions to each other. That is good for the Jews because either they have the courage, the vitality, and the integrity to answer or else they are not worthy of the questions.

at
In pluralistic society, when men put questions to you, men who are wholly other than yourself, the healthy way of survival is to answer. In order to answer you have to be somebody.

I am in the civil-rights movement a little bit and all the time black people come up to me and say, "Listen here, White Man, what are you doing in my movement?" I answer, "Well, I'm not a white man. Don't call me a white man, Man." They say, "If you are not a white man, what are you?" I want to express my gratitude that I have an answer. My answer is, "I'm a Jew."

You would be surprised at the silence that invokes and, more important, the possibility of a beginning that creates for me and other people. I'm a Jew. That is the beauty of American pluralism.

Elizah
Prof. Bortniker

It seems to me that if we are to rely to any extent at all on the pluralistic future of American society that may be engendered by the colored power that is coming into being in the present day, we are hitching our wagon to something that is quite unreal.

90

99

It is an action or, shall we say, an act of despair or a *Council* council of despair. We have failed apparently in our own society of the whites, among the whites, and we now grasp at a colored straw.

It seems to me that there is a different element here. It may be possible to have a pluralistic society on a racial basis and not necessarily a pluralistic society on a cultural basis. There is at least that possibility that we must consider, and from here there must be some lessons to be learned in the area of education.

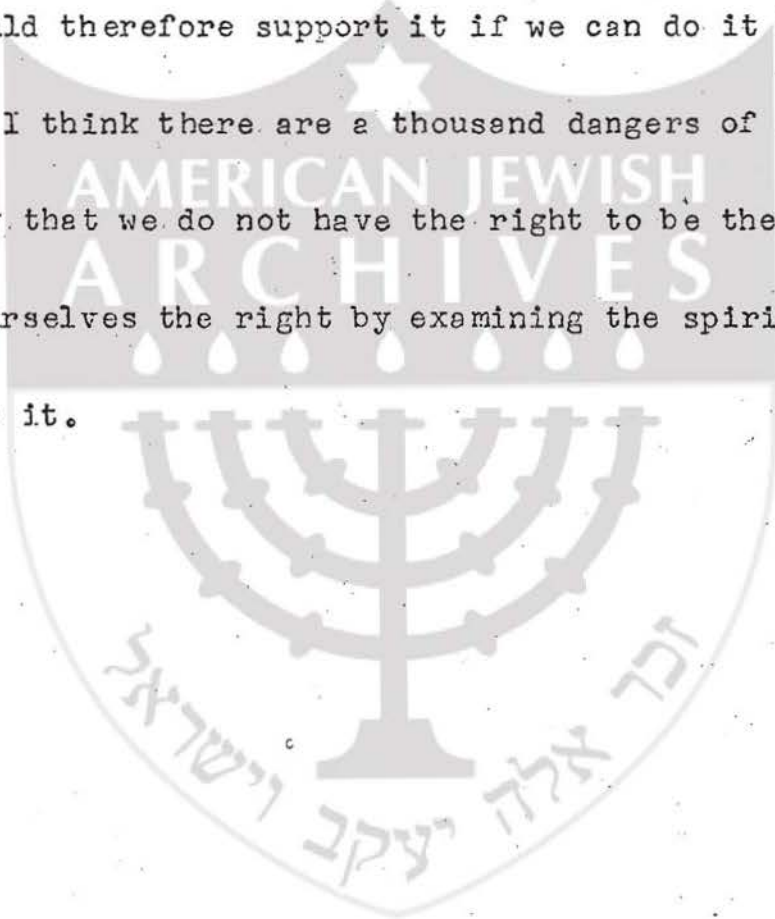
Maurice
Frank Friedman

I would say that if Mr. Jacob Cohen should respond, "Man, I'm a Jew and I'm in this movement because I want to help us Jews," he would not communicate; nothing would happen, nothing would be meaningful.

I believe very strongly that the Jew's involvement in civil rights is an exciting one. But it is only exciting if the concern with the Negro is not condescension and is also not a

substitute for something of ourselves but grows in some very real way out of a Jewish covenantal witness. If it does not, I do not see in what way it is in a very significant sense Jewish.

I would therefore support it if we can do it in the right way. But I think there are a thousand dangers of doing it in such a way that we do not have the right to be there. We have to show ourselves the right by examining the spirit in which we enter into it.



SECTION VI

SOURCES OF JEWISH IDENTITY

How does one provide options for Jews to remain Jews, though they may have no conscious religious needs? One answer may be in the Jewish social mission, which can be a way for non-believing Jews to express their Jewish identity and at the same time participate in the general society. While the committed, self-sustaining Jew will become part of "the saving remnant," the detached Jew may find the Jewish commitment to social justice a reasonably practical substitute.

Ben Halpern

Theodore Solotaroff

Jacob Cohen

Milton Himmelfarb

Arthur Hertzberg

Lloyd Gartner

Steven S. Schwarzschild

Theodore Solotaroff

Ben Halpern

David Sidorsky

Ben Halpern

Dr. Ben Halpern

102.

How does one provide the person who has no strong religious needs with a reason for choosing Judaism? One way is for the Jewish community to involve itself in those areas to which these young people are so deeply committed, i.e., civil rights, the poverty program. An example might make my suggestion a little clearer.

I know a Jewish girl who converted to Episcopalianism. There are probably many reasons why she did so (including religious ones) but one very important one is the fact that as an Episcopalian she can work in a mission which is involved with Negroes in terms of close brotherhood. An ordinary Jew who wants to work for Civil Rights cannot do it directly through the synagogue. There are, of course, rabbis who go to the South to work with Negroes, but that is on an individual basis. There are other Jews who join CORE or SNCC but they cannot participate as Jews in a corporate body. But they certainly could if there were corporate Jewish actions taken in Civil Rights. Perhaps my Episcopalian Jewess and other Jews might find their fulfillment through such means.

Theodore Solotaroff

I would like to raise one point which Ben Halpern has touched on.

clear
It is ~~close~~ to me and, I suppose, to most people here that one of the main impulses that has been given to Christian religion in the last decade has been in its social mission. This is very true of Protestantism, which has taken on virtually a new lease on life through the civil-rights movement. It is also becoming more and more true of American Catholicism, indeed of international Catholicism.

Of the three major religious groups the Jews ~~have~~ have always been in the vanguard of social reform, social progress, social mission in America. Now they find themselves, I think, involved in a genuine dilemma. Jewish progress and the Jewish ideology of minority-group progress rested upon faith in and support of the idea of equality

of opportunity; as long as conditions of opportunity were created and defended, Jews would be able to take their place in the culture. Indeed, their social mission in America has been largely that of creating and defending conditions of equality. However, we now find ourselves faced with a situation in which the last minority to be taken into the society is ^{as} making essentially for conditions of inequality. They are asking, most specifically in New York, for rearrangement of schools, they are asking for support in jobs, housing, and so on, as a specific group.

I would suggest that this condition raises a very serious problem for the Jewish social mission. It is very much part of the world we live in and very much part of the nature of Jewish contributions to this world. Moreover, it is very much a part of Jewish identity itself.

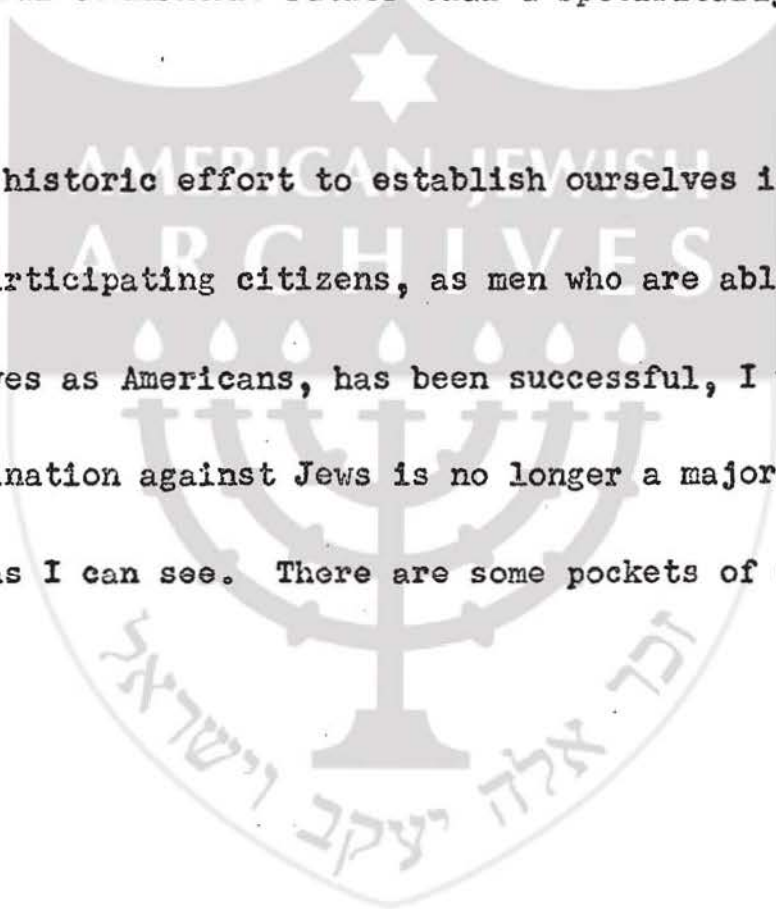
9/1/52
2/24

105.

Mr. Solotaroff - 3

I think if we were looking for a basic common denominator of what we would all share in common here, it would much more likely lie in the realm of a political and moral commitment rather than a specifically religious one.

The historic effort to establish ourselves in America as fully participating citizens, as men who are able to fulfill themselves as Americans, has been successful, I would think. Discrimination against Jews is no longer a major social issue so far as I can see. There are some pockets of discrimination



that remain. Where do they remain? They remain in the Executive Suite, which in itself is an example of how very far we have come. When we start worrying about whether we can get Jews into GM, the problem of discrimination seems to have become rather small.

We now have a very large institutional setup which has been developed to help the Jew in the effort to make his way in American society. If the main aims of this network of services and defense organizations, and so on, have largely been achieved then the question is: What are you going to do with this apparatus, just dismantle it or rather rededicate it?

In Commentary, a magazine which publishes other things besides symposia (which itself, I think, could be defended as a diagnostic instrument), Nathan Glazer once proposed that Jews begin to consider the possibility of redirecting their immense resources and sophistication in the field of social welfare and advancement to the problems of other minorities, specifically the Negro, and in a much more concentrated and massive way than

94

107
-86-

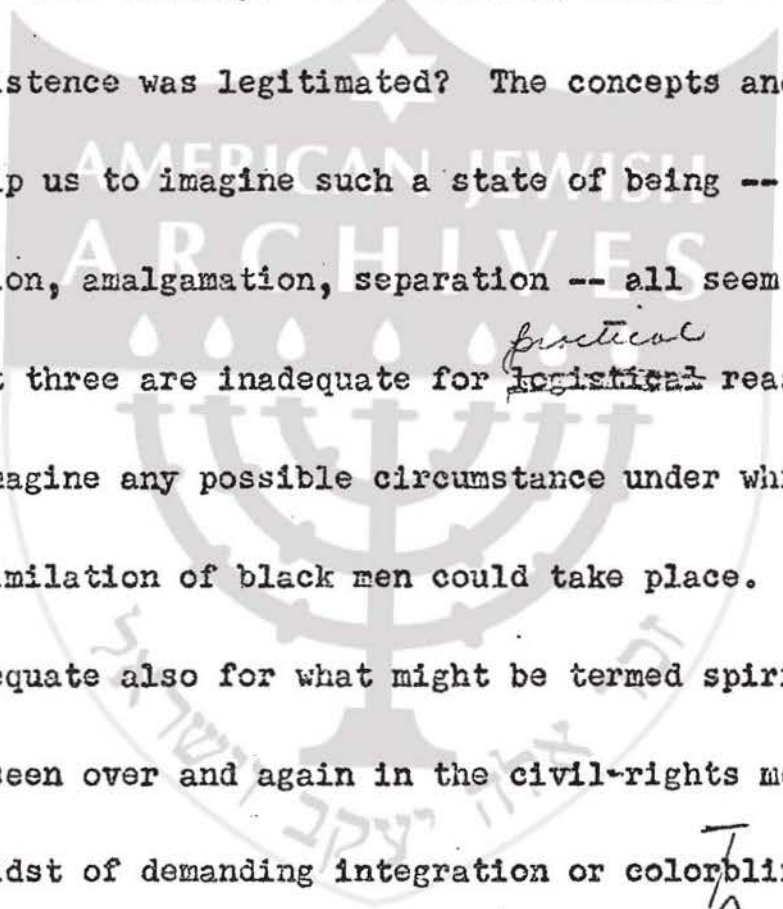
they have done. It is true that it has been the Jewish organizations which have been up until now the most interested in promoting Negro equality, but this leadership position is now challenged by the Protestants and increasingly will be challenged by the Catholics.

It seems to me that Mr. Glazer's proposal is a very interesting and suggestive one. I raise it with considerable embarrassment because I am not in this field, I am not in sociology or in social services; but it does seem to me to offer one alternative that people who are experts in this field might be considering in this meeting.

Mr. Jacob Cohen

I believe the Negro Revolt is altering the contours of American civilization and that Jewish survival will be better

promoted within these altered boundaries. What the Negroes demand is legitimacy -- the lifting of the stigmata which ^{are} ~~is~~ attached to nearly every Negro life form, individual and communal, in this country. What would an America be like in which Negro existence was legitimated? The concepts and myths which might help us to imagine such a state of being -- assimilation, integration, amalgamation, separation -- all seem inadequate. The first three are inadequate for ^{practical} ~~logistical~~ reasons. We cannot imagine any possible circumstance under which the necessary assimilation of black men could take place. These concepts are inadequate also for what might be termed spiritual reasons: we have seen over and over again in the civil-rights movement how in the midst of demanding integration or color^Tblindness, Negroes discovered ~~1/1~~ a sense of pride in their race. One can see that with each organized effort to dissolve an illegitimate group, a more legitimate group comes into being. "Black power" comes from efforts toward integrationism, not against it. This is *not*



to say that the color-blind, individualistic, utopia of the liberal's dreams wouldn't be wonderful, but many Negroes have discovered, as so many Zionists have, that there is really no honorable way of getting there. As for separation, it is the least likely path to the desired legitimacy. For in America, separation would be indistinguishable from segregation, and no black ideologue can talk Negroes, America's most realistic citizens, into believing that the manifest meaning of their apartness had suddenly changed. But if it is hard to imagine what an America will be like when and if the Negro community is a member in full standing, it is at least clear that that America will be more understanding of groups which engage in all the forms of self-segregation which we Jews silently practice; it will be a franker America in which a Jew can be called a Jew in public.

Therefore, in supporting the Negro cause, I believe the Jewish community is supporting its own cause, and I mean this

in a very practical way. If the Negroes' life can be legitimated, then ours can. And it is not only for abstract moral reasons, then, that Jews should avoid becoming "white men." In resisting the Negro Revolt (I mean resisting, not criticizing) we hasten our assimilation, we inescapably join the "white community," which is, I would judge, a community antagonistic to Jewish interests.

I would hope we could join these poignant and passionate Americans in reshaping the countenance of America, which already has a face only a mother could love, This is a moment of protean possibilities, a time to reassess both what we want from America, and what we can realistically expect to obtain.

Mr. Milton Himmelfarb

The matter of the Negroes, ~~touching on by Mr. Cohen and Mr. Solotareff,~~ ^{ed} unexpectedly illuminates our situation. The inauthenticity of the Jewish concern with the Negro is not that the SNCC kids were not sent down by Jewish organizations; that ^{50% cent of} the SNCC

1111
-91-

47
M

kids ^{were Jewish} ~~and 50 per cent~~ is the 1960s' equivalent of the fact that
in the '30s⁷⁷ the radical parties were 50 per cent Jewish.

Understand, please, that I think SNCC superior to some of the
radicalism of the '30s.

The basic inauthenticity of the Jewish concern with Negroes --
and the flaw in Mr. Solotaroff's recommendation that we devote
all of our resources to this great central moral problem -- is
simply that there are very few Jewish Negroes. This fact leads
us to ask why there are so few Jewish Negroes. Among other
reasons, because we have never asked Negroes to be Jews. But
why have we not asked Negroes to be Jews? Here again there is
perfect unanimity between the intellectuals and the bourgeois
community. We have not asked Negroes to be Jews because
(basically) we ourselves are Jews only provisionally. We are
waiting for all those goyim to get smart and accept the great
vision of the Enlightenment and to inaugurate a society which
has discarded all that old nonsense once and for all.

Mr. Solotaroff mentioned the Commentary symposium. The most interesting thing about that symposium was what Norman Podhoretz said about it in his introduction. He had expected it to be different from the 1944 symposium, but it wasn't. The 1944 symposium was of second-generation Jews in America and the 1961 one was of third-generation Jews, yet they both said the same thing. The man who established Reform Judaism in this country a hundred years ago was saying the same thing about the Jews of his time as Judah Magnes, just before the First World War, was saying about the Jews then. (If you go to other countries, the same thing had been said about the Jews of those other countries.) I am exaggerating, but there is something almost timeless about our situation. I do not see that we are about to emerge from it except as reality -- the continued failure of our utopian vision to be materialized, the continued defeat and disillusionment of our hopes from the bourgeois revolution of the Ethical Society to the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 -- slowly impinges upon us. Until the number of the

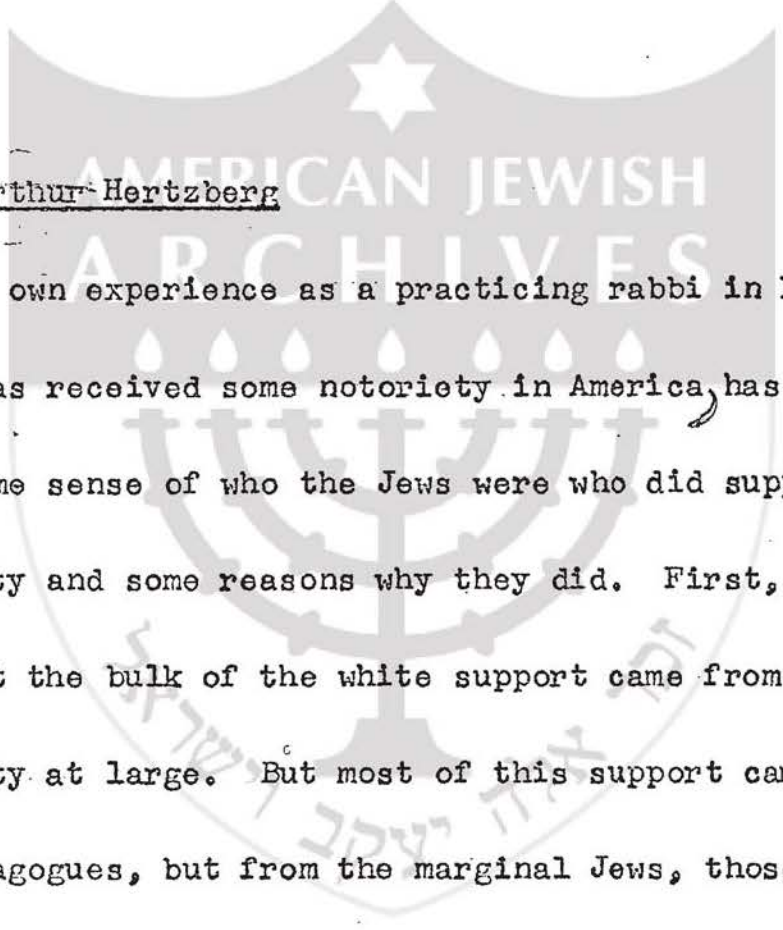
1131
93

post-emancipated Jews grows ~~to use Dr. Sahar's~~ ^{Post} ~~Schick's~~

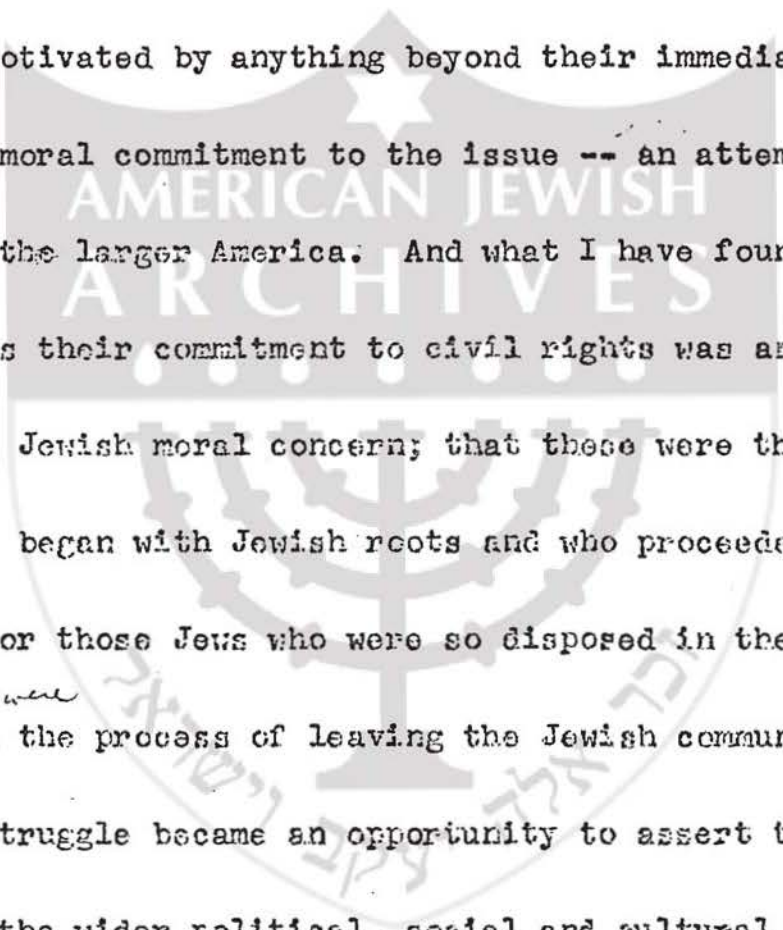
~~terminology~~ we will inevitably continue to be in the same self-contradictory, inauthentic situation, and conferences of this sort are going to point to the same thing over and over again.

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg

My own experience as a practicing rabbi in Englewood, N.J., which has received some notoriety in America, has provided me with some sense of who the Jews were who did support the Negro community and some reasons why they did. First, let me point out that the bulk of the white support came from the Jewish community at large. But most of this support came, not from the synagogues, but from the marginal Jews, those Jews with whom I am working for the first time. They are part of a kind of general culture world ten years out of Yale or Sarah Lawrence by way of the board of governors of the art center, the League of Women Voters, the ADA and the civil-rights movement, and



academic life in New York. They are the people who had not to say formally that they were konfessionslos although they were, and whose participation in the political and social left, in political and social advance, was for them -- in so far as it was motivated by anything beyond their immediate and very evident moral commitment to the issue -- an attempt to become part of the larger America. And what I have found is that for some Jews their commitment to civil rights was an expression of their Jewish moral concern; that these were the kinds of Jews who began with Jewish roots and who proceeded to extend them. For those Jews who were so disposed in the first place, ^{those who were} ~~to be~~ in the process of leaving the Jewish community) the civil-rights struggle became an opportunity to assert their belongingness to the wider political, social and cultural world. It became for ~~them~~ many of them a kind of accusing finger against the Jewish community, and additional proof that the Jewish community was too parochial. They were not in search of their Jewish



roots. In civil rights they really were in search of civil

rights and therefore finding another reason for saying,

"Well, look, the Jews are too narrow."

One of the things that grieved me was not the sort of

thing that grieved you, Mr. Cohen, which is the Negro saying

to you, "White man, what are you doing here?" On the contrary,

at least as a rabbi, I was being greeted with, "At least we've

got several of the local clergy, two rabbis and two local

ministers in this deal." By Jews I was being greeted with,

"What the devil is a rabbi doing in this thing, because we

are in this business to get away from rabbis and you have

caught up with us?"

I replied, "It's more my business than yours." That is

exactly what I said to them. I said, "It's been my business

for a long time. Why don't you come and find out why it is

really your business, too?" And I tried to explain to the Jews

wherein they were reflecting certain phenomena of Jewish

M

116.
93

consciousness and Jewish history which they were trying to deny, but that belongs to another discussion.

It seems to me that the civil-rights movement is in itself part of a larger phenomenon wherein generation after generation, those Jews who want "out" opt to join that movement which is post-Jewish and post-Christian to remake society on a new model, preferably a syncretistic one. My experience with many of these young people gives me the feeling that they too are trying to create a new synthesis, a new American consensus which would displace the present Jewish in-group.

Do we ^{have} ~~owe~~ a responsibility to the civil-rights movement?

Of course we ^{have} ~~do~~. Again, I'm going to speak out of my personal experience. Much of the real estate within the fourth ward in Englewood is owned by members of my congregation. Several of the slum lords in Harlem are also members of my congregation, and this has not been overlooked. Some of the tutoring that is going on in town now has come from within my immediate congregation. We are trying. But I am not kidding myself that

117
91.

this is the salvation of Judaism, because those who want out for other reasons are going to go out and stand on that vantage point and look at the Jewish community and say, "You are much too parochial."

Dr. Lloyd Gartner

Let me state some of my feelings and convictions about the remarks ^{just made} on the Negro question ^U by Messrs. ~~Solotaroff, Cohen,~~ and Rabbi Hertzberg. This may seem chauvinistic, but I do not think that the Jewish community should take a position on any question unless we can clearly identify what our self-interest is in participating. ~~This applies, for instance, to the significance of which I am in complete agreement with Jacob Cohen, Theodore Solotaroff and Rabbi Hertzberg.~~ ^{they say, and I agree,} The reason for participating actively and earnestly in this movement is that, after all, we have done this before in other movements -- liberal, socialist, trade-union, and cultural-pluralistic movements.

06.
N

115-
-98.

I would like to point out that each of those movements
 (whether it was early-19th-Century liberalism^{ism} or late-19th-
 Century socialism or earlier 20th-Century cultural pluralism)
 represented a kind of universalizing of a Jewish deprivation.
 In each of those movements there was the plaint by young de-
 tached Jews, intellectuals, writers, artists -- later on so
 many Russian Jews -- that the Jews were deprived and that
 liberalism or something else was the answer to the whole problem
 of Western culture. They meant their own problem -- of course,
 they did not admit there was anything Jewish about this because
 that would have cracked the myth of their universal movement.

As far as the Negro movement is concerned I fail to see
 in all honesty what there is in it for us, i.e., what our self-
 interest as a community is what are we asking for ourselves?

I think that the Negroes are Christians, even if Christians
 have forgotten about them. Whether it is or is not a moral
 imperative and regardless of ^{the} ^{to which} ~~to what~~ extent young Jews take
 part in it, we are participating in the Negro movement. But

this movement is bringing a lot of tsores on us and is going to continue to bring a great many more tsores upon many American Jews. I think it is just self-deception to disregard the impact of the Negro movement upon the fairly trivial interests of Jewish merchants on 125th Street. I am not going to defend these merchants' practices or their morality. But the tensions and dangers are deep and a Jewish community can't disregard them, regardless of altruism.

So our participation in the Negro movement is different from our earlier participation in kindred political movements. It may have serious, material effects upon us, and we must take very serious ^{up} what it is going to do for our legitimate self-interest.

Steven S. Schwarzschild

What is in it for us? Professor Gartner has asked. The fact is that the Negro has discovered the American is anti-Negro, just as we have learned that the occidental non-Jew is anti-Jewish.

1
120.1
-100.

If the Negro is going to save himself, he is going to have to become something beyond what "American", in contemporary usage, can ever be, just as the Jew, in order to save himself, will have to be more than just "Jew" in the common denotation of the term -- here or any other place in the world.

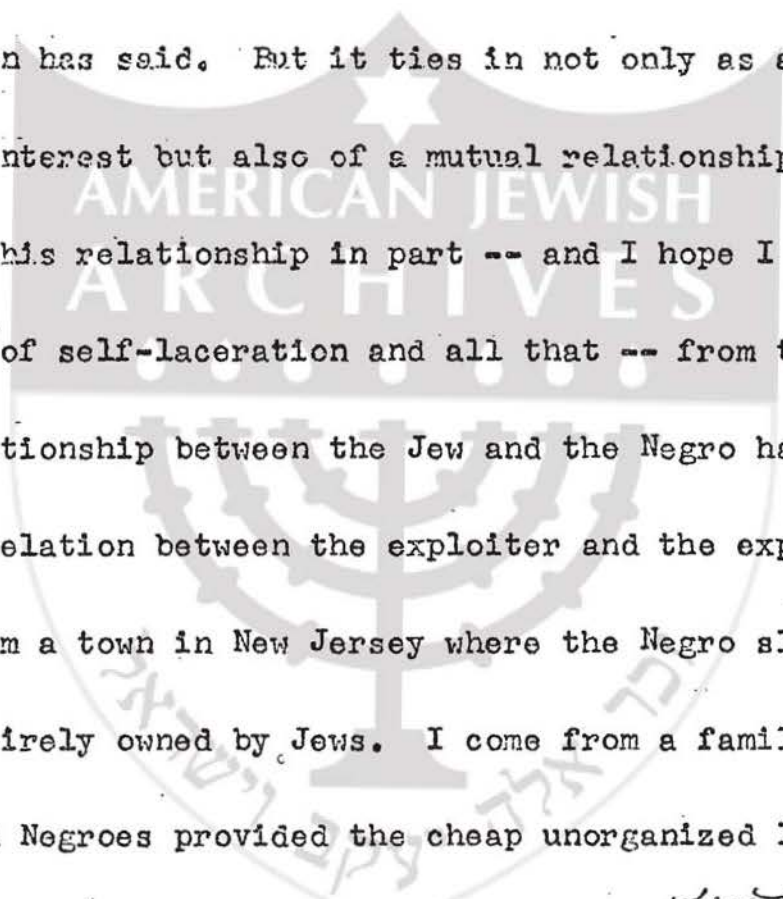
What happens if you reverse the formulation? If the Negro is the Jew, then the Jew is also the Negro, and is going to have to find his place in a world which is now falling under the shadow of Asia and Africa as well as many other unprecedented cultural and historical factors. That is why our interest is so profoundly involved in ^{the interests} ~~those~~ of the Negro in this country -- not because it is the America we have known but because it is about something other than that, since America and Europe and the structure of the entire known world are fast coming to an end.

Mr. Theodore Solotaroff

Why should the Jews make a more concerted, a more personal, a more religious commitment to the Negro movement? The first reason is because of something one might call reparations. The Jewish effort, the organizational effort in providing friendship, support, money, leadership to the Negro community is on the record. It need not be stated or defended, because there it is, part of our history, also ^a part of our pride. ~~On the other hand, I would suggest to you, Mr. Himmelfarb, that the attitude of Negroes in Harlem toward the Jew has not been~~

~~determined by Mount Sinai Hospital; it goes back to conditions which are much more negative, much more oppressive than that.~~

Some years ago James Baldwin said, "For the Negro in Harlem the white man is the Jew." This in a way ties in with what Mr. Cohen has said. But it ties in not only as a matter of mutual interest but also of a mutual relationship, and I would define this relationship in part -- and I hope I will not be accused of self-laceration and all that -- from the fact that the relationship between the Jew and the Negro has partially been a relation between the exploiter and the exploited. I come from a town in New Jersey where the Negro slums were almost entirely owned by Jews. I come from a family business in which Negroes provided the cheap unorganized labor. I come from a background in Hyde Park, Chicago, ^{where} ~~in which~~ the situation ~~on 125th Street~~ was just as visible as in Harlem; that for the Negro the Jew is not the social worker, by and large, nor is he the community leader; he is the pawnbroker, he is the slum lord, he is the loan shark.



It would seem to me that this is also part of the record and that just as an individual can do himself a great deal of psychological good by making reparation, so can a community.

How is this related to Judaism itself? I ^{think} ~~tried to suggest~~ before that one of the reasons for the Protestant interest in civil rights is that it ^{is} ~~was~~ helping to revitalize their faith by giving it an immediate relevance, by restoring what they have always called the social gospel ^{by means of} and an immediate, concrete, and pressing social issue.

How does this relate to the Jew? I would like to draw upon an essay that appeared in Commentary by Emil Fackenheim. In it Fackenheim does what Jacob Cohen has suggested all Jews do, which is to take the searching questions of the Gentiles seriously. The question he took seriously was formulated by Kant. This question was, "If to be moral a law must be self-imposed ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ other words, it must be the law of free men ^{how} ~~how~~ can Jewish moral law have the status of moral law or a law for free men if it is divinely given?" Fackenheim took this question

of Kant very seriously, and after a great deal of close analysis, he said the reason that Jewish moral law can be at one and the same time divinely given and also inwardly and freely acknowledged and implemented is that between God and man there exists a third party, ~~which is other man or the third force, (the thirdness that Dr. Schwab referred to).~~

He takes as his text the famous one from Micah: "To do justice, to honor ^{your} mercy, to walk humbly with ~~my~~ God." According to Fackenheim the way in which Jewish moral law is at once both autonomous -- that is, self-imposed -- and also divinely revealed is that one walks humbly with God by doing justice and honor ^{loving} and mercy and, conversely, that ~~only~~ one can truly do justice ~~and honor~~ ^{love} and mercy only by walking humbly with God.

I do not want to debate the theology here or the interpretation. It seems to me that Fackenheim's position is an extremely powerful one, and ~~it seems to me that~~ if Judaism could begin to recognize this three³fold relationship far more deeply and

113-114
125
105.

concretely than it does today, then the relevance of the civil-
rights movement, let us say, as addressed to these people who
are most desperately in need of justice and of mercy, ~~then the~~
^{to} ~~connection of~~ Judaism will be quite visible and I think inarguable .



Dr. Ben Halpern

I happen to be in the favorable position that my particular solution is clearly not acceptable to Jews in America. As far as I am concerned, the solution to the problem would require us pick up and go to Israel. I know people are not going to do that. So it enables me to look at this thing, I think, from a more realistic point of view and offer my suggestions on the basis of what is possible, and not merely desirable.

For the committed, established Jew, if he really follows the logic of his situation to the ultimate extreme, he will end where Mr. Himmelfarb and Rabbi Lam^m would like to see him end, in a clear commitment to the "saving remnant." A self-sustaining nucleus of Jews who would preserve themselves by intensive cultivation of a tradition. This implies, as they well know, that they are going to live outside of history, as Rosenzweig said. Of course, ^{M/A.} Milton Himmelfarb would like to get them into history, too, and have them bring Negroes into the synagogue. But it is not only Jews with a very loose attachment to Jewishness who

do not want to convert Negroes. The orthodox Jews do not want Negroes in the synagogue either. They are not interested in missions because they are concentrating on themselves. It is not that they wish to keep Negroes out of their community; they just do not want to convert any goyim. The logic of this position leads to a defensive, self-centered stance above and beyond history.

For those who are relatively detached Jews, a solution for them has to be stated as a desideratum, since the prognosis is not so clear as in the other case. The difficulty is that such Jews are hard to integrate in an organization or an establishment. Without such a collective entity able to act on vital issues for all Jews, one could hardly express a Jewish collective interest in what is going on in America: for example, bringing Negroes into the orbit of ^{the} Jewish community's effective sphere of action.

I do not say that the prognosis favors this at all. In fact there is hardly any basis for it, with certain exceptions. The exceptions refer to the organized part of the Jewish community

beyond the synagogue, that Mr. Solotaroff mentioned. We have many such organizations which we set up for our own needs: in order to fight for civil rights, for example. They ^{still} exist today but they do not have this function any more. Would it not be possible to convert them to an ^a altruistic function?

Not only would this be a desideratum from their point of view but, as a matter of fact, it is an organizational imperative which they are actively exploring, as I ^{have} found out myself in the last couple of years. All of the federations, the community centers, the social-work agencies, are thinking in terms of a kind of non-^hsectarian service, a la Quaker society, because of their functional necessities.

This is a meager basis of identification for the non-established group. The most probable prognosis is that it might lead to something short of the complete desideratum for justifying Jewishness to involuntary Jews -- but it does lead somewhere in that direction.

I think one can also predict that there will be dissatisfaction with it and a feeling on the part of all the people involved that it will not last, as has been suggested here; that this is not enough to attract free men to continuous dedication to something which is a formally voluntary association.

I also would assume that it would be preferable to Jews if there were some kind of ultimate commitment. It would be more attuned to the heritage which has preserved us. I am sure everyone has a feeling that there has been a relapse from the martyrdom and heroism of ancestry to the easy convenience of being an uncommitted Jew today. So I think there is undoubtedly a general nostalgia for something that seems more committed and, therefore, more Jewish.

I would venture to predict that there would be also a certain strain towards a more, let us say, religious or ethical, or, if you like, prophetic character for Jewishness. I would not venture to predict how far that can go. There are obvious difficulties,

for example, in trying to carry out a program such as Mr. Cohen's, because, as he says, if the question is, who are you? then you have to be somebody. In order to be somebody in terms of action on the Negro issue, the community has to be an integrated, well-organized community, and there are obvious difficulties in bringing this about. I am not even sure that it would be altogether a good thing. So I do not anticipate that there will be a complete reversal of the present inadequacy.

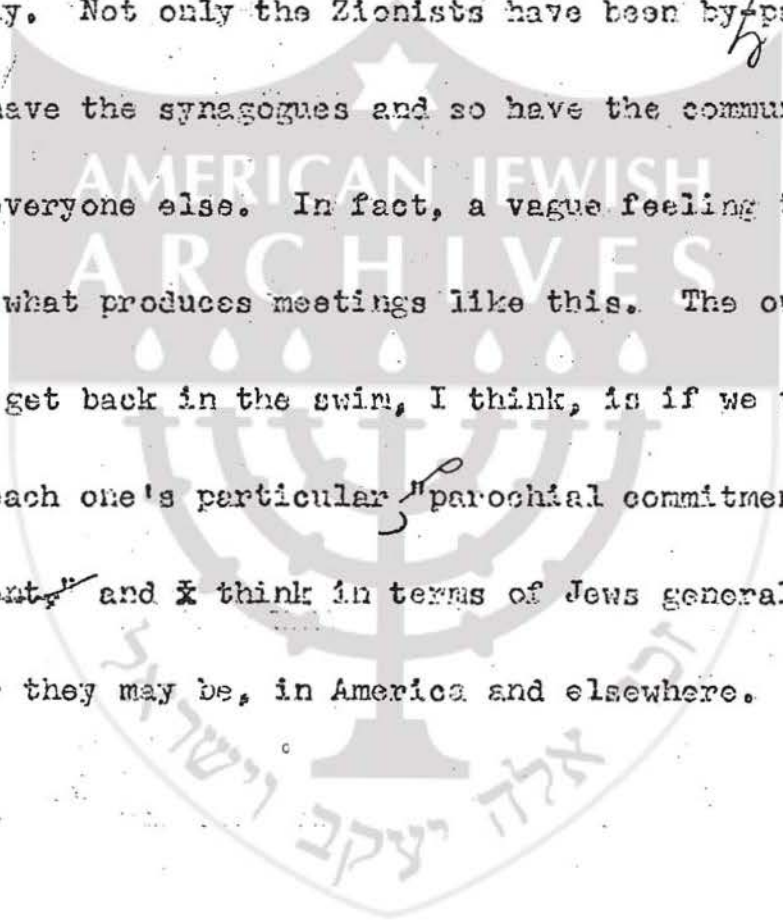
~~Dr. David Sidorsky~~

Why can't they answer: I am here for the Union of ^{American} Hebrew Congregations' Commission on Social Justice? Why is that not an answer? Why must it be: I am here for the Jewish communities?

~~Dr. Carl Halboern~~

That is all right for the rabbi who goes down to Mississippi and gets thrown in jail. But the question is directed at people sitting up in New York who do not go to Mississippi. It is they who are asked: "What are you doing as a Jew about this issue, as a citizen?"


In sum, I think it would be much more fruitful if every-
 body concerned would recognize that we are all in the same boat.
 We have to live together anyway and nobody is going to get his
 way fully. Not only the Zionists have been ^{by} bypassed by history
 but so have the synagogues and so have the community centers and
 so has everyone else. In fact, a vague feeling that this is ^{so is} ~~the~~
~~cause~~ what produces meetings like this. The only way in which
^{we} you can get back in the swim, I think, is if we take ourselves
 out of each one's particular "parochial commitment ~~or parish~~
~~commitment~~" and ~~I~~ think in terms of Jews generally, all kinds,
 whatever they may be, in America and elsewhere.



SECTION VII

SOME PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE

This conference represents a beginning. There are various ways to continue in the effort of seeking solutions to the problems of Jewish identity and continuity in the modern world.



Arthur Hyman

Arthur Hertzberg

Norman Lamm

Irving Canter

Richard Isreal

Seymour Siegel

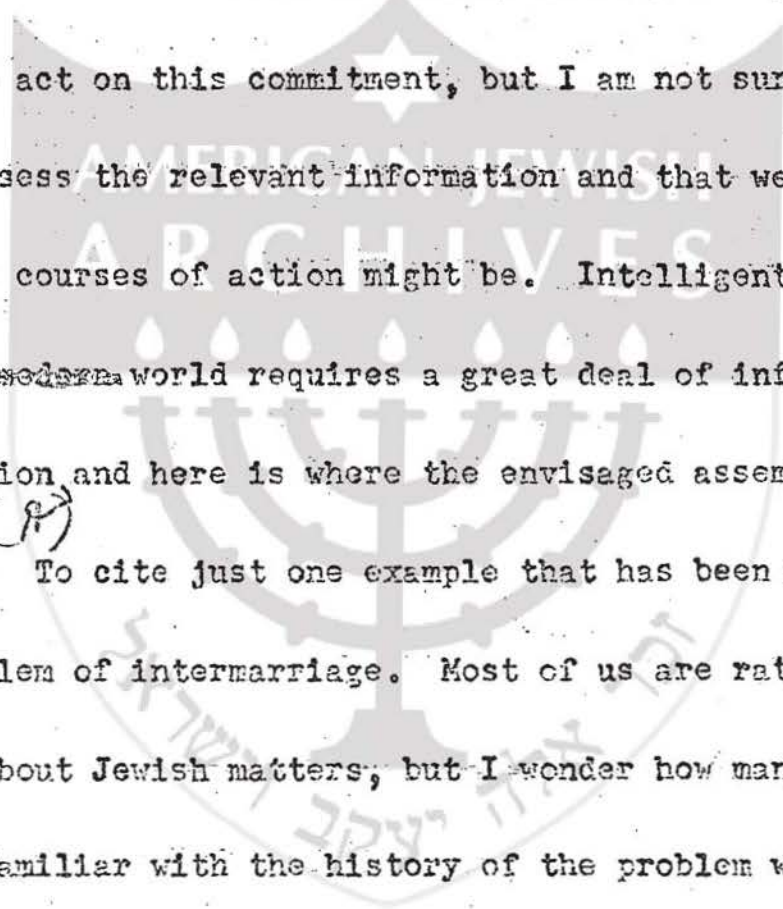
Arthur Hyman

133
Dr. Arthur Hyman

I want to submit to you a concrete proposal. This proposal is in two parts. I should like to suggest firstly that this group, or a similar one, be continued as a deliberative assembly which will examine -- as we are doing today -- certain important issues of contemporary Jewish life. I should like to suggest, secondly, that this assembly issue from time-to-time -- forgive the term -- a "white paper." ~~What I have in mind is this:~~

What I have in mind is this. I have recently reread Augustine with some of my students. Augustine, as you will recall, is greatly concerned about faith and he investigates how faith can become clarified through understanding. However, in one passage he states very perceptively that even the act of faith requires

a certain measure of preliminary understanding. To paraphrase him, a mature act of commitment must rest on prior investigation, thought, and understanding. All of us are asked from time to time to commit ourselves to matters of Jewish importance and often to act on this commitment, but I am not sure that we always possess the relevant information and that we know what the possible courses of action might be. Intelligent action in our ^{this} complex ~~modern~~ world requires a great deal of information and imagination and here is where the envisaged assembly could be of help. To cite just one example that has been mentioned -- the problem of intermarriage. Most of us are rather well informed about Jewish matters; but I wonder how many of us are really familiar with the history of the problem within our community and how many of us could delineate clear alternatives for courses of action and what these alternatives imply. Now, if, let us say, the assembly, as the result of a year's work, were to issue a paper setting down the historical backgrounds



124
135
79

of intermarriage together with suggestions for possible courses of action and what they imply, it would have performed an important service for our community. I am well aware that our various organizations are busy with analyzing a variety of problems -- that of intermarriage among them -- but, the very nature of their work, seems to imply that their framework reflects the organization's ideological point of reference. It would be to the advantage of the assembly that -- consisting of members having a large variety of commitments and coming from many different disciplines -- it may bring a certain openness, critical judgment, and freshness of approach which might be difficult to achieve for the existing organizations.

I want to emphasize again, that I am advocating a deliberative, not an executive, body. The assembly would obviously need an "organizational" framework to secure funds, to recruit a research staff, and to take care of administrative matters, but this framework should be kept to the necessary minimum to enable the assembly

to function smoothly. I am convinced that if papers of the type described were to be issued by the assembly, our actions, both on the national and local level, would become more informed and, possibly, even more effective.

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg

A suggestion has been made that there ought to be a way of continuing this discussion. I think it is fair to say that there are several of us who have been running a circuit of other groups that are hoping to continue this kind of discussion. But I would like to suggest that not very much will develop out of discussions like this if it simply gets printed in a booklet and winds up on a shelf. I think that we need to find a way to bring home whatever it is that we develop here. I suspect that this is what Dr. Hyman is saying, too.

(Handwritten scribbles and a circled mark)

~~Norman Lamm~~

Norman Lamm

Prof. [scribbles]

If there is to be any practical proposal it must not be to conduct more studies or to construct more theories: it must be to determine which groups are authentically committed and to find out what kind of assistance will allow those authentically committed groups to appeal with greater cogency to the large uncommitted public and at least offer them these alternatives.

Dr. Irving Canter

It seems to me that besides discussion we need some kind of partnership with the rest of the establishment. This partnership should be with the lay leaders in our communities.

I suspect that this is part of ^{Robert} ~~Dr.~~ Hiller's idea



that the patient is the community or the community is the patient.

Our lay leaders have to be involved so that they know what we are talking about.

Also, the organizational leaders; people who have a transmission-belt role, to bring back whatever it is to their organizations, should join us in this discussion at whatever level they can.

The other piece of the partnership, the one I identify with, is the civil servant, so to speak, for want of a better name, those of us who are engaged in Jewish communal service: the group worker, the Jewish-center worker, the federation worker, the community-relations worker. This group might possibly serve as the motive force in bringing together the various elements

for ^{cooperative} ~~coordinated~~ action.

dy

~~Rabbi~~ Richard J. Israel

I would like to suggest that we investigate various conceivable possibilities for models of authenticity^{it} -- academic, artistic, Zionist, religious, and devotional. Can we get a model of what is honest worship, what is social action out of Jewish commitment? Perhaps it may be a matter of developing workshops, of putting money into little groups that would experiment in specific areas, just to see what emerges in terms of developing further Jewish commitment along areas of authenticity -- no single area of authenticity but a series of programs of the sort that have emerged today.

Dr. Seymour Siegel

I want to say that there is a fallacy involved in thinking that an umbrella organization, one in which many commitments,

many different types of commitments are united is in some way more effective than organizations which are built around one commitment. I think that that has been the fallacy of Jewish educational activity, where a Jewish education commission, which includes everybody, is ^{held to be} in some way superior to a specific type of educational program because ^{this does} they do not share the prejudices of everybody else. ^{That} This fallacy is exhibited in our discussion here. That is because of the fact -- maybe I am just reflecting my own point of view -- that some people are just a little afraid to say certain things, namely that, for example, Judaism is a total commitment in all areas of life and that religion or faith is the core of it and that we have to try to bring that to as many people as possible.

Dr. Arthur Hyman

Human beings seem to learn in at least two ways. The primary way seems to be through habituation. Most of us do what we do not as the result of explicit deliberation, but through habits

instilled in us by parents, school, and society. But we also learn through the careful examination of ideas, and this, to my mind, is the better way. Thoughtful, well-reasoned actions are more appropriate for mature human beings than simply doing what one is accustomed to do.

A similar distinction applies to our organizational life. Most of our organizations represent a definite ideology and they are busy trying to instil in us their values by means of -- to use a nasty word -- manipulation. We all know that our various organizations use the whole range of modern communication techniques to persuade us that their position is correct and the one to be followed. Now, I am not an anti-organization man. I belong to as many organizations as others and I am fully aware of how necessary all types of organizations are for the life of a community. I know fully well that if, for example, a Jewish educator wants to implement a certain theory of education he requires the resources of a definite educational organization.

But at the same time I see great merit in an "organization"

129.

147.
84.

which, transcending our organizational groupings and not concerned with immediate practical implementation, is devoted to an examination of ideas. I am a great believer in the power of ideas and I am convinced of their ultimate practicality.

This type of activity simply has not been tried enough within our midst.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

My expectation of our work is, then, the clarification of areas of common concern in a setting of mutual respect and intellectual integrity, and not the setting up of yet another organization for the formulation of yet another ideology.

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

APPENDIX 1 *
List of Participants

Dr. Elijah Bortniker, Jewish Education Association of Essex County,
 New Jersey

Professor Irving Canter, Jane Addams Graduate School of Social
 Work, University of Illinois

Professor Gerson Cohen, Department of History, Columbia University

Mr. Jacob Cohen, Department of History, Brandeis University

Mr. David Danzig, ^{The} American Jewish Committee

Mrs. Lucy ^{S.} Dawidowicz, ^{The} American Jewish Committee

Professor Maurice Friedman, Department of Philosophy, Sarah
 Lawrence College

Professor Lloyd Gartner, Teachers Institute, Seminary College of
 Jewish Studies

Professor Ben Halpern, Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies,
 Brandeis University

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, Temple Emanu-El, Englewood, New Jersey

Mr. Robert I. Hiller, United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh

Mr. Milton Himmelfarb, ^{The} American Jewish Committee

Mrs. Selma Hirsh, ^{The} American Jewish Committee

Professor Arthur Hyman, Department of Philosophy, Yeshiva University

Rabbi Richard J. Israel, Hillel Foundation, Yale University

*

Identification as of November 1964.

Rabbi Norman Lamm, The Jewish Center, New York City

Professor Joseph C. Landis, Department of English, Queens College

Mr. A. Harold Murray, ^{the} American Jewish Committee

Mr. T. Herzl Rome, Schocken Books

Professor Joseph J. Schwab, ~~moderator~~, Department of Education,
University of Chicago

Professor [✓] Stephen S. Schwartzschild, Department of Religion,
Brown University

Dr. Judah J. Shapiro, National Foundation for Jewish Culture

Mr. Manheim Shapiro, ^{the} American Jewish Committee

Professor David Sidorsky, Department of Philosophy, Columbia
University

Rabbi Seymour Siegel, Jewish Theological Seminary of America

Professor Marshall Sklare, ^{the} American Jewish Committee

Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice-President, ^{the} American Jewish Committee

Mr. Theodore Solotaroff, Associate Editor, Commentary

Mr. Harry Starr, President, Littauer Foundation

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, ^{the} American Jewish Committee

Professor Uriel Weinreich, Department of Linguistics, Columbia
University

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

INTRODUCTION

The material which follows is an attempt to summarize a certain amount of data to serve as background for the Conference on Jewish Identity and Integration to be held in the American Jewish Committee's Institute of Human Relations in New York on November 7-8, 1964. It seeks to list data about Jews in America which are, on the whole, known to participants in the conference and which they would generally take for granted as background.

It is neither detailed nor documented. It is therefore followed by a brief selected bibliography in which much of the documentation may be found. Many other analyses, some of them by participants in the conference, could have been added. In this case, however, brevity was considered a greater virtue than exhaustiveness.

Since it is our hope that the conference will devote itself to diagnosis, analysis, prognosis and prescriptions, we have endeavored to provide the symptomatology here, to obviate the need for it in our discussions. Within the limits of personality and language, our goal has been to be descriptive and objective rather than interpretive or evaluative. There are undoubtedly omissions or distortions. We hope there are a minimum of these. Should there be any, we hope the participants will make them known either in advance or at the conference itself.

BACKGROUND DATAA. DemographicA. 1. Population and Residence

There are approximately 5,600,000 Jews in the United States. They reside all over the country but about half are in the New York metropolitan area. Regionally, they are divided as follows: 69% in the Northwest; 11.9% in the North Central states (the states around the Great Lakes); 7.1% in the South; and 11% on the West Coast. They are overwhelmingly urban with 85% of all Jews residing in the fifteen most populous metropolitan areas. However, over

the recent decades there has been a tendency for a large proportion (which varies from city to city) of the Jews to become suburban rather than purely urban in residence.

A. 2. Birth, Death and Age

The fertility and birth rates for Jews have been lower than those of the general population. The gap between the reproduction rate of Jews as against that of the general population has been widening. At current rates, the expectancy is for Jews to bear 2.5 children per family, which is insufficient for maintenance of the current population. Biologically, the current tendency, if it continues will mean that the group will not maintain its current size. Thus, Jews are tending to become a smaller group and a relatively smaller proportion of the total population. (There are data suggesting that family size among higher socio-economic level, college-graduate couples who plan their families -- characteristics applicable to an increasing proportion of American Jews -- is becoming larger.) Life expectancy has increased. The net result of some of these tendencies is for the Jewish group to become, on the average, older than the general population, with a higher proportion of the middle-aged and elderly and a lower proportion of children and young people.

A. 3. Marriage and Inter-marriage

The rate of divorce among Jews is rising but still below that of the general population. The rate of inter-marriage has been rising with each succeeding generation following the immigrant generation. The rate of inter-marriage nationally is currently about 17%. However, there are variations of this rate in different localities (with some as high as 40%) which incorporates the element of the ratio of Jews to others; i.e., the rate is probably in inverse relationship to the proportion of Jews to the total population in a given community. Indications are that about 30% of the children of mixed marriages are raised as Jews.

A. 4. General Education

American Jews, as a group are one of the most highly educated groups in the country. Close to all adult Jews

have attended at least high school (as first generation Jews die off, the proportion is tending toward 100%). Between a quarter and two-fifths of all adult American Jews have attended college. The tendency is for the vast majority of Jewish youth between the ages of 18 and 24 to attend college. (Among American religious groups, only the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians tend to have equivalent proportions of education.)

A. 5. Occupations

Occupationally, Jews are tending in the direction of becoming almost exclusively proprietors, executives and managers, sales personnel, professionals and white collar workers. (A recent study of the Jewish population in an industrial city in New Jersey revealed that 60% of the men between the ages of 25 and 34 are in occupations classified as professional or semi-professional; this is a proportion one-third higher than in the 35-44 age group, and twice as high as in the 45-54 age group.) The group professionally engaged in intellectual occupations (college teachers, scientists, researchers, writers, etc.) continues to grow.

A. 6. Income

American Jews tend to have, as a group, a higher per capita income than Americans generally, or than Catholics or Protestants, as groups. However, when segments of these broad groups are selected (for example, Episcopalians rather than Protestants) or when other variables (education, urban residence, occupational groupings) are equalized, these differences in income tend to disappear. However, as an ethnic group Jews have reached an economic level on a par with the highest "old American" groups, and have reached this level much more rapidly than other immigrant ethnic groups, whether "old" or "new."

B. Social

B. 1. Exclusion

Jews have become increasingly accepted in the general society, and larger proportions of Jews now have regular

contacts with non-Jews. Overt, agitational anti-Semitism is at a relatively low point. Jews have more access to the privileges and facilities of the total society, although there are remaining pockets of exclusion occupationally in executive and managerial positions in the large industrial corporations, the heavy industries, utilities, banking, etc., and in certain social facilities -- the private club, some residential facilities and to an extent vacation resorts. Jews nevertheless have access to separate, often superior, facilities. They can by and large achieve financial success, find housing of the type they want and can afford, maintain their own city and country clubs and find the types of recreational activity they seek.

B. 2. Social Cliques

While American Jews tend to have increasing social associations with non-Jews, social cliques tend to be wholly Jewish or non-Jewish, though cliques of each type may include a stray couple or two from the other group. Jews also tend to cluster residentially, although as of now even the "Jewish neighborhood" tends to have an admixture of non-Jewish neighbors (in varying proportions).

B. 3. Organizations

Jews belong to all the vast array of Jewish membership organizations, national and local; religious, Zionist, philanthropic, civic and social service. As of now, however, the largest membership is probably in the synagogue-related organizations like temple sisterhoods and brotherhoods, religious school PTA, youth groups, etc. Most of the national membership organizations tend to have reached a plateau in their numbers of members, and are now either dropping in total membership, tending to remain at the same level (with new recruits barely replacing drop-outs and deaths), or at best increasing very slowly.

B. 4. Life Style

There does seem to be a characteristic life style for American Jews. It is, of course, sometimes difficult to distinguish whether this life style is associated with the Jewishness of the group or with its socio-economic position. Nevertheless, on a variety of aspects of living,

Jews as a group do tend to differ from Protestants, Catholics, Negroes or national origin groups. These differences in life style are manifest in such patterns as relationships within the family, choices of recreation, cultural interests, utilization of financial resources, etc

B. 5. Political Attitudes

Jews continue to tend to vote "liberal" -- internationalist rather than isolationist, "welfare State" rather than laissez-faire, federalist rather than states rights, civil rights and civil liberties rather than repressionist or segregationist. In some of these instances they seem to vote contrary to the expected pattern for their non-Jewish socio-economic peers. They are rarely today found in the "radical" political movements in which they were such a significant part a generation ago. With their changing economic situation, they are tending to become an almost disappearing element in the labor movement; as of today they are more likely to be in the managerial cadre of the unions than among its rank and file members or its officers.

B. 6. Expressed Views and Behavior

The foregoing does not necessarily mean that personal or group behavior actually conforms to the expressed social or political views. Individual Jews may be authoritarian, may favor equality for Negroes in principle but be averse to contacts in real situations, may as employers engage in anti-union practices, and so on. As a group, however, they tend overwhelmingly to express and to vote those positions which favor an "open" egalitarian society rather than a closed hierarchical one.

C. Religious

C. 1. Affiliation

It is extremely difficult to come by reliable statistics as to the numbers or proportions of Jews currently affiliated with temples or synagogues. It seems likely that although American Jews define themselves as a "religious" group, a substantial proportion (perhaps as much as half) are not affiliated with a synagogue.

C. 2. Branches of Judaism

Among those who are affiliated with synagogues, the choice of the particular branch of Judaism does not always represent a theological or an ideological decision. Components in the choice often include such factors as socio-economic position or mobility, neighborhood, type of religious school, social and family relationships, personal feelings about the rabbi, language, etc. Affiliates of all three major branches tend to reveal overlapping concepts in their expressed views about the nature of Judaism, with the differences resting largely on emphasis rather than substance. Differences in liturgy are strung out along a continuum rather than revealing sharp cleavages into three distinct groups.

C. 3. Synagogue Attendance

Attendance at synagogue services occurs for a majority of Jews only on the High Holy Days. A relatively small proportion even of the members of synagogues attends weekly services regularly. (This proportion among Jews is also smaller than the proportions of weekly church attendance among Catholics and Protestants.)

C. 4. Synagogue Roles

Over the years, both the role of rabbi and congregation have been changing. This process is continuing. In most instances, the rabbi leads prayer and often "represents" the congregation in prayer. Prayer is perceived primarily as "attending services" rather than as an expression of a personal relationship to a deity.

C. 5. Home Practices

Daily ritual practices are continuing to decline, even among the Orthodox-affiliated, but less so among them than among others. The Sabbath is marked in some way in a significant proportion of Jewish homes (candle-lighting and kiddush). It is however an occasion for "recreation" rather than for sacredness, study or prayer in a majority of Jewish homes.

C. 6. Holidays

For most American Jews, the holidays which are likely to be observed are the High Holy Days, Passover and Chanukkah. These occasions are annual, familial, festive.

C. 7. Faith

Most American Jews tend to be rationalist in their outlook, and few have faith in a supernatural or personal deity with a direct bearing on their lives. Yet, most also recognize that the concept of God is inherent in Judaism.

C. 8. Knowledge

Knowledge of the law, or of the sacred literature, is relatively limited among American Jews. A large proportion of American-born and American-educated Jews tend to have absorbed concepts of religion from the surrounding society and therefore to think of Judaism in Christian terms.

C. 9. Trends Toward Revival

There are some signs of a desire among American Jews to know more about Judaism, to be more "authentically" Jewish, and to resume practices previously discarded. How substantial or significant these developments are and what they may augur for the future is difficult to assess.

C. 10. Anti-Religion

There is in addition a proportion of American Jews who affirm their Jewishness but who are outspokenly atheistic, agnostic or "secular."

D. Jewishness

D. 1. Jewishness

A large proportion of religiously unaffiliated or indifferent Jews nevertheless regard themselves as affirmatively Jewish. They see themselves as Jews in a variety of ways: by "feeling themselves to be Jews," by affiliation and association, by a responsibility for the welfare of other

Jews, by the difference between Jews and non-Jews, by the threat of anti-Semitism, by culture, by habit, by loyalty:

D. 2. Group

One of these categories is perhaps best characterized by the "sense of group belongingness." Seen in other ways, it may be classified as "consciousness of kind," as common life style, as "feeling more comfortable with other Jews."

D. 3. Culture

Jewish "culture" is seen by some as being the prime characteristic of the Jew. The term is used both narrowly and broadly. Narrowly, it is seen as the creative products of Jewish thought and art -- including literature, music, scholarship, crafts, visual arts. Broadly, it is seen as embodying all the products of Jewish experience including religion, values, mores, customs, habits, usages, interests and inclinations.

D. 4. Anti-anti-Semitism

For some, being Jewish is being other than "them," and resisting pressures from outside. It assumes that the hallmark of being Jewish is readiness to face (and the need to oppose) hostility from non-Jews. While it is essentially a negative conception, it is often expressed as a positive raison d'être and often pre-supposes an inevitable, continuing or re-emerging anti-Semitism.

D. 5. Strangeness

A frequently expressed view -- more often than not in literary terms -- is that the essential characteristic of the Jew is to be "the stranger" and therefore the critic, the goad, the gadfly of the society. In some instances, this quality is associated with a "typical" intellectuality, skepticism, pragmatism or freedom of inquiry.

D. 6. Membership

For many Jews their ties to the group or its meaning are expressed through formal membership in a voluntary Jewish

organization -- with a wide range of stated purposes. These organizations range in type from the Jewish Community Center to Zionist groups to community relations organizations to boards of social or educational agencies. Most of these organizations have in large measure ceased to be "ideological." As put by one commentator, they have tended to become "functions rather than causes." In addition, the differences among them are frequently differences in general orientation, in the socio-economic composition of their constituencies, or in their "style." There appears to be some lag between the changing interests and needs of American Jews and the programs of their organizations.

D. 7. Philanthropy

In the main, Jewish philanthropy, charity and social welfare fund drives have tended to become standardized and stabilized. For about fifteen years, the total national income of these operations through local federated fundraising campaigns has remained at around \$125,000,000. Additionally, it has been pointed out that the number of contributors to these campaigns has not been rising and, while this varies from community to community, the proportion of those Jews who contribute to these campaigns is certainly below 50% in the largest Jewish population centers. However, an approximately equal amount of money is raised outside the federated campaigns by the congregational groups, seminaries, colleges, certain special funds for Israeli institutions, and capital funds campaigns. There are indications that certain Jewish givers seek outlets for their funds in institutions other than the traditional hierarchy of American Jewish charities, whether Jewish sponsored or non-sectarian. (For example, today, institutions of higher learning seem to have more appeal than aid to the needy.) A proportion of Jewish donors seem to be interested in supporting Jewish-sponsored institutions which serve or contribute to general American education or welfare (e.g., Brandeis University or the Albert Einstein College of Medicine). Others seem to prefer making their contributions to totally non-sectarian, educational, cultural and welfare agencies.

D. 8. Social-Welfare Agencies

The Jewish-sponsored social agencies confront dilemmas of purpose and process. Established decades ago primarily as instrumentalities of "aid to the deserving poor" and of "Americanization and adjustment" their purposes seem to have been diluted or destroyed by changes in the American society, in the Jewish group and in social welfare and social work. Some (like hospitals) find themselves receiving only a small proportion of their operating costs from Jewish sources and often serve a clientele which is largely non-Jewish. Still others are perceived as Jewish-financed services to the general American society. In contrast, there is often a sense (among boards, staffs and contributors) that a Jewish agency should be in some way characteristically Jewish, though they are uncertain of how this can be achieved. There is both a demand for and a resistance to the idea that a Jewish social agency should be "an instrument of Jewish survival."

D. 9. Community Organization

For many, there is a feeling that Jewishness requires a "sense of community." To some, this implies an organized, unified body, "democratically" structured, and which can act or speak for "the whole Jewish community" on matters at issue. To others, "the sense of community" is articulated in the aggregate, by a wide variety of voluntary Jewish organizations, each freely expressing the special interests and approaches of its constituency. An increasingly articulated tension is that between the "religious" and the "secular" Jewish agencies. As American Jews define their distinctiveness in terms of religious difference, the religious institutions see themselves as being logically the leading (if not the only) appropriate instruments of Jewish expression. Yet they also often see themselves as excluded from the support of Jewish funds or a determining role in Jewish communal decisions. Other agencies, however, see themselves as serving inherently Jewish purposes in a variety of social and civic ways, and as bridging the boundaries among the "branches" of Jewish religion to provide a "pan-Jewish" forum and expression. There remain also conflicts as between overseas and domestic emphases and between national and local emphases.

D. 10. Israel

The establishment and existence of Israel have aroused warm feelings in most American Jews. The 'anti-Israel' ideology has appealed to only a tiny proportion of American Jews. Most American Jews have not felt, and have not accepted, any sense that their warmth toward Israel and its needs creates problems of dual loyalty. To date, however, Israel has not seemed to influence to any major degree any intensification in Jewish learning, commitment, religious or cultural development. There is a continuing exchange of visits and discussions between American and Israeli Jews. The import and impact of this exchange are obscure. It has not however led to any articulated common view of the two Jewries as to the nature of being Jewish, or a mutually complementary future course of development of Jewish identity or activity.

D. 11. Other Jews Abroad

American Jews feel a strong surge of sympathy for other Jews abroad, particularly when their Jewishness or their actual survival seem threatened by hostile circumstances. Notable examples are the plight of Jewry in the Soviet Union and outbreaks of anti-Semitic character in North Africa, Latin America or South Africa. These impulses however tend to take the form of financial, and sometimes political, support but rarely any continuing exchange and influence. There are notable exceptions of cases in which American Jewish organizations or agencies, cooperating with Jewish organizations abroad, have been lending assistance in religious, cultural and community developments abroad. These represent, however, functional service to the foreign Jewish groups rather than as means of communication and exchange between Jews in America and Jews in those countries, at large.

E. Jewish Education

E. 1. Statistics

The number of Jewish children receiving formal Jewish schooling tended to increase consistently after World War II, in both absolute numbers and proportions. This

tendency has leveled off in the last two years. Currently, about 80% of school age children receive some Jewish schooling. A total of 600,000 are attending Jewish schools -- congregational afternoon and weekend schools, day schools and the few remaining community-wide schools, or talmud torahs. The most marked increases have been in the numbers and proportions of girls receiving such education and of those attending day schools. For 1964-1965, the anticipated attendance of pupils is 50,000 in all day schools (primarily Orthodox); 250,000 in afternoon and weekend schools (primarily Conservative); and 300,000 in weekend only schools (primarily Reform).

E. 2. Duration

For most of these children, both the number of hours per week and the number of years in such education have been increasing. While most of these children terminate their formal Jewish education at bar mitzvah or confirmation age, there is some tendency for older teen-agers to continue in some form of Jewish education up to their departure for college.

E. 3. Types

Most Jewish child education is now conducted by congregations. There is a tendency toward the establishment of all-branch, city-wide high school level education conducted by bureaus of Jewish education, which also often conduct teacher-training programs. Some of the larger communities have colleges of Jewish studies which are often not affiliated with a particular branch of Judaism. There are in addition teacher and rabbinical training institutions, generally conducted by each of the branches, at the college level. There is a remaining body of Yiddish shulen, which currently are more likely to incorporate Hebrew and religious elements than they once did. The national bodies of all groups make some effort to influence local schools through guidance, curriculum development, preparation of texts and teachers' plan books, but generally individual schools are autonomous and the educational program of each is determined primarily by the rabbi and/or school director or principal. Most temples and synagogues have lay school committees, but these tend to make decisions or recommendations which are primarily administrative.

E. 4. Organization

As indicated above most Jewish schools are conducted and directed by their individual congregations. In the larger communities, bureaus of education attempt to provide guidance, teacher-training, standard setting and community interpretation. In some instances, they serve as the channel for distribution of federation subventions to Jewish schools or as the evaluators upon whose judgements such subventions are based. The influence of the bureaus in each of their communities and upon each school tends to vary from none to substantial.

E. 5. Curriculum

There tends to be a general acceptance of what ought to be taught in principle, among all educational groups, with variations in emphasis. Almost all Jewish schools tend to include in their curricula Hebrew, Bible, Jewish history, customs and ceremonies, holidays and festivals, worship, Jewish current events, ethics. There are, however, wide variations in the amount and depth of the teaching in each of these subjects.

E. 6. Teachers

The shortage of teachers, or trained teachers, is endemic. Many schools rely upon college students, housewives or other non-professionals. In many schools, local public school teachers and supervisors become the staff of Jewish schools on week-ends. Frequently, the school director is the only full-time member of the school staff. Often, the textbook is the sole resource of the teachers.

E. 7. Effects

How effective these types of education are is a question of what standards one is applying. Many children do attain a degree of familiarity with certain cognitive material. Whether the educational process elicits "Jewish commitment" is unmeasured. Whether it produces "Jewish literacy" in any degree comparable to the general education of American Jews is also unmeasured but apparently doubtful.

E. 8. Informal Education

Organizationally-sponsored Jewish summer camps and youth groups are making efforts to provide a Jewish milieu which will fortify both the knowledge and commitment of Jewish youngsters. Jewish community centers have also been making groping efforts in this direction but rely primarily upon a Jewish "atmosphere" (that is, Jewish sponsorship and activity with other Jews) and upon "events" (a book fair, an Israeli night, a Jewish concert) to achieve this effect. Here, too, there is a shortage of personnel with Jewish knowledge combined with group work skills.

E. 9. Parents

Most Jewish parents want their children to be Jewish but expect the religious school to be the principal agent for achieving this. Their interest in curriculum tends to be limited and they tend to rely on the educators to provide an appropriate curriculum. They want the education to make their children "feel" Jewish (though not so intensely that it will make them "different"), to have whatever knowledge is necessary for such feeling, and to be armed with sufficient knowledge and security to enable them to cope with or feel equal to Christian children. There tends to be a marked gap between what the religious schools teach about being Jewish and what the children experience in their homes or perceive in their parents.

F. Jewish Adult Education

F. 1. Extent

There has been a notable increase in the efforts of congregations and other organizations to expand the Jewish knowledge of adults. These range all the way from intensive courses in Bible, philosophy, sacred literature and Hebrew to "one-shot" lectures, to study and discussion groups to institutes and seminars. While there is apparently an increase in the number of those who expose themselves to these efforts, it is as yet only a minority of the potential audience which does so.

F. 2. College Youth

Hillel Foundations generally attract only a small proportion of the number of Jewish students on campus to their programs. The types of program vary with the campus, but include courses, lectures, discussions, and congregational activities. Increasing numbers of colleges and universities are establishing chairs of Jewish studies, but no data are available on the relative proportion of Jewish and non-Jewish students who take the courses offered. There is a number of Jewish students at graduate and undergraduate levels who have undertaken to concentrate upon Jewish scholarship in their graduate work.

G. Role in America

G. 1. Group Status

Accepted as one of the "three major religions" in America, the Jewish group in America, as such, has achieved a relatively high status. Overt, agitational anti-Semitism appears to have declined, as has the saliency of the Jews in the minds of the general population.

G. 2. Discrimination

Overt discrimination has declined in housing, employment and education. Social discrimination remains, though not to the extent of a generation ago.

G. 3. Economic Spread

Nevertheless, Jews may now be found in almost every area of the national economy; and in each of them, individual Jews have achieved prominence. In particular fields, Jews as a group have played a significant role in shaping them. Notable among these are such examples as the needle trades; the entertainment industry (theatre, film, concert, popular music, etc.); the electronics industry; the trade union movement (particularly the garment trade unions); and others.

160

G. 4. Professions

Among ethnic and religious groups in the United States, Jews rank high in the proportion engaged in the professions. In recent years, Jews have entered (and have often achieved success) in professions from which they were formerly almost totally absent; e.g., engineering, architecture, or veterinary medicine. There are professions, like social work, in which the contributions of Jewish institutions and personnel have in a large measure influenced the character of the field as a whole. In others, the proportion of individual Jews engaged in the profession has been so great that they can be said to have influenced the nature of the profession (like psychiatry) although what if any role the Jewish element played in this development is a matter of speculation.

G. 5. Cultural Impact

Jews have played an important part in the intellectual life of contemporary America. Individual Jews have been outstanding in many fields of scientific research (the number of Jewish Nobel Prize winners forms a vastly larger percentage of all such winners than the proportion of Jews to the total population) in the physical, natural, medical, mathematical and behavioral sciences. They are noteworthy in the fields of creative, critical and scholarly literature -- drama, fiction, poetry, belles lettres, history, social analysis and journalism. While the subject matter of the literature often revolves around Jewish protagonists, there is some question about whether it represents a "Jewish literature." Popular American culture has been substantially influenced by Jews and has adopted many elements from Jewish sources.

G. 6. Government and Politics

Individual Jews have served and are serving with distinction (or without it) in elective and appointive offices in local, state or federal government up to the level of Senate, Cabinet, and Supreme Court. It is doubtful that they have been doing so in larger proportions than they

did in mid-nineteenth century. Politics is not a favored profession among Jews and they are more likely to be active in the non-partisan political policy groups (Council on Foreign Relations, League of Women Voters, etc.) than in precinct politics and elective candidacies. They are not however absent from political party councils and campaigns.



AJC/JCAD
MSS:1s
September, 1954

162

Brief Bibliography

Dushkin, A. and Engleman, U. Z. Jewish Education in the United States: Report of the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States. New York, American Association for Jewish Education, 1959.

Glazer, Nathan. "Social Characteristics of American Jews 1654-1954" in American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 56, 1955. New York and Philadelphia, American Jewish Committee and Jewish Publication Society.

Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins. New York, Oxford University Press, 1964.

Herberg, Will. Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology. New York, Doubleday Anchor, 1960.

Lenski, Gerhard. The Religious Factor. New York, Doubleday, 1961.

Lurie, Harry L. A Heritage Affirmed: The Jewish Federation Movement in America. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1961.

Rosenthal, Erich. "Jewish Fertility in the United States" in American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 62, 1961. New York and Philadelphia, American Jewish Committee and Jewish Publication Society.

Rosenthal, Erich. "Studies of Inter-marriage in the United States" in American Jewish Yearbook, Vol. 64, 1963. New York and Philadelphia, American Jewish Committee and Jewish Publication Society.

Schwab, Joseph. "The Religiously Oriented School in the United States: A Memorandum on Policy" in Conservative Judaism, Spring, 1964, Vol. XVIII, No. 3.

Sherman, Charles B. The Jew Within American Society: A Study in Ethnic Individuality. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1961.

Sklare, Marshall, ed. The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1958.
Note particularly the following papers:

Carlin and Mendlovitz, "The American Rabbi -- A Religious Specialist Responds to Loss of Authority."

Dean, John, "Jewish Participation in the Life of Middle-Sized American Communities."

Gans, Herbert, "The Origin and Growth of a Jewish Community in the Suburbs: A Study of the Jews of Park Forest."

Glazer, Nathan, "The American Jew and the Attainment of Middle-Class Rank: Some Trends and Explanations."

Halpern, Ben, "America is Different."

Seligman, Ben B., "Some Aspects of Jewish Demography."

Sklare, Marshall. Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1955.

Sklare, Marshall and Vosk, Marc. The Riverton Study: How Jews Look at Themselves and Their Neighbors. New York, American Jewish Committee, 1957.

Slawson, John. Integration and Identity: The Jew on the American Scene Today. New York, American Jewish Committee, 1960.

Slawson, John. "The Quest for Jewish Identity in America" in Journal of Jewish Communal Services, Fall, 1963, Volume XL, No. 1.

Yinger, J. Milton. "Social Forces Involved in Group Identification or Withdrawal," in Daedalus, Spring, 1961, pp. 247-62.

APPENDIX 3

~~The American Jewish Committee~~

~~CONFERENCE ON JEWISH IDENTITY AND INTEGRATION~~

Suggested Areas of Discussion

1. Do we face a "crisis" for the Jewish future in America? If we do, what is the nature of the crisis?
2. Are the current problems a continuation of a historical process begun in Europe with the Emancipation? Are there similar problems among Jews elsewhere in the world? Is the American society unique and has it had unique effects upon the American Jew? If so, what are these effects?
3. What are the realities of what is happening among American Jews? For example:
 - a. What is the meaning of increased synagogue affiliation and the self-definition as a "religious" group, accompanied by a limited "religious devotion?"
 - b. Is the trend toward an increased rate of intermarriage likely to continue upward, constantly? Is there a foreseeable limit? Is the trend an inevitable by-product of life in an "open society" with a decreasing overt anti-Semitism?
 - c. What are the reasons for the tendency toward abstention from Jewish commitment among Jewish intellectuals and young people?
 - d. How do we explain the static quality in the number of Jews involved and the amount of funds raised by federated Jewish campaigns? Or the apparent limits in the membership of the major membership organizations?
4. How do American Jews perceive the questions we are discussing? What are the varying reactions, impulses, actions and inactions of American Jews toward these matters.
5. What do Jews in America want? To what do they aspire? What is their vision of the ideal society and their ideal for Jews in such a society?

AA

- 6. What are the relationships between all these matters and organized religion, organized communal institutions, Jewish social agencies and Jewish organizations? What gaps exist between the Jewish group and its institutions?
- 7. How do Israel and international developments vis-a-vis Jewry affect American Jews and their future?
- 8. What is there to be done about all these things? What ought to be tried? What old activities need to be revised or abandoned? What new efforts should be begun?



AJC/JCAD
 MSS:oc
 10/29/64

~~Draft 3~~ (wed) (166)
Conference on Jewish Identity ~~2~~

Index of Participants

	<u>Pages</u>
Bortniker, Elijah	40, 98
Canter, Irving	71, 137
Cohen, Gerson	11
Cohen, Jacob	29, 96, 107
Friedman, Maurice	52, 65, 99
Gartner, Lloyd	26, 117
Helpern, Ben	21, 102, 126, 130
Hertzberg, Arthur	23 23, 113, 136
Hiller, Robert I.	58, 80
Himmelfarb, Milton	36, 110
Hyman, Arthur	56, 70, 133, 140
Israel, Richard	50, 139
Lamm, Norman	31, 62, 137
Lendis, Joseph C.	89
Rome, T. Herzl	68, 93
Schwartzchild, Steven S.	33, 54, 119
Shapiro, Judah J.	82
Shapiro, Manheim	79
Sidorsky, David	69, 130
Siegel, Seymour	32, 47, 77, 95, 139
Sklare, Marshall	42, 72
Solotaroff, Theodore	94, 103, 121
Weinreich, Uriel	86