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World Union for Progressive Judaism - Rights in Israel,  
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# THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's new Government, the 15th since the first elections were held in January 1949, is Israel's largest and probably youngest Cabinet. Its 24 Ministers, two more than in the outgoing national unity Government, include seven entirely new faces at the Cabinet table.

It is the first coalition with an agreed platform of basic principles to enjoy such an overwhelming majority, 102 Knesset Members in the 120-member House. When the two-member Poalei Agudat Yisrael faction joins as well, as expected, it will have 104 M.K.s. In the outgoing national unity Government Gahal was not a member of the coalition and accepted parliamentary responsibility only on defence, foreign policy and budget affairs.

The Labour-Mapam Alignment has 14 Ministers, 12 Labour and two Mapam, including the four key Ministries — Prime Minister, Defence, Foreign Affairs, and Finance. Gahal has six Ministers, but holds four portfolios, with Aluf Ezer Weizman as Minister of Transport (on Gahal's Herut quota) in a last-minute surprise move. Herut leader Menahem Begin preferred to remain Minister without Portfolio, after the Labour Party did not accept his claim that the second largest party was entitled to the Foreign Ministry.

The National Religious Party has the same three Ministers it had in the outgoing Cabinet, while the Independent Liberals remain with Mr. Moshe Kol. He only has the Tourism Ministry, however, having given up Development.

The new Cabinet also has the largest ever number of Ministers without Portfolio — six. Messrs. Israel Galili and Shimon Peres of the Labour Party, Messrs. Israel Barzilai and Victor Shemtov of Mapam (until Mapam decides to become a full coalition partner and head the Ministries of Health and Absorption) and Messrs. Begin and Aryeh Dulczin of Gahal. Mr. Galili, who is slated to become Minister of Information, was discharged from hospital this week (following a road accident a month ago).

The average age of the new Cabinet is 53. Nine Ministers are in their 60s, 11 in their 50s and three in their mid-40s. Only four Ministers were born in this country, Messrs. Yigal Allon, Moshe Dayan, Yosef Sapir and Ezer Weizman. Three others, Messrs. Israel Galili, Shimon Peres and Shlomo Hillel, came here in their early youth.

Sixteen Cabinet members were born in East Europe, one in South Africa — Mr. Abba Eban; one in Germany — Dr. Yosef Burg, one in Iraq — Shlomo Hillel, and one in Bulgaria — Victor Shemtov.

Five Ministers are not Members of the Knesset — Messrs. Barzilai, Shemtov, Weizman, Dulczin, and Hillel.

(See comment, page 7)

Prime Minister — GOLDA MEIR (Labour Party)  
Deputy Premier — YIGAL ALLON (Lab.)  
and Education — MOSHE DAYAN (Lab.)  
Defence — ABBA EBAN (Lab.)  
Foreign — PINHAS SAPIR (Lab.)  
Finance — YA'ACOV SHIMSHON SHAPIRA (Lab.)  
Justice — ZE'EV SHAREF (Lab.)  
Housing — HAIM GVATI (Lab.)  
Agriculture — YOSEF ALMOGI (Lab.)  
Labour — SHLOMO HILLEL (Lab.)  
Police — ISRAEL GALILI (Lab.)  
Without portfolio — SHIMON PERES (Lab.)  
Without portfolio

Without portfolio — ISRAEL BARZILAI (Mapam)  
Without portfolio — VICTOR SHEMTOV (Mapam)  
Without portfolio — MENAHEM BEGIN (Herut)  
Development — HAIM LANDAU (Herut)  
Transport — EZER WEIZMAN (Herut)  
Commerce — YOSEF SAPHIR (Liberals)  
and Industry — ELIMELECH RIMALT (Liberals)  
Posts — ARYEH DULCZIN (Liberals)  
Without portfolio — HAIM MOSHE SHAPIRO (N.R.P.)  
Interior — ZERAH WARHAFTIG (N.R.P.)  
Religions — YOSEF BURG (N.R.P.)  
Social Welfare — MOSHE KOL (I.L.P.)  
Tourism



Golda Meir



Allon



Dayan



Eban



Sapir



Shapira



Sharef



Gvati



Almogi



Hillel



Galili



Peres



Barzilai



Shemtov



Begin



Landau



Weizman



Sapir



Shapiro



Warhaftig



Burg



Kol



Rimalt



Dulczin

## Kremerman engineered Weizman's Cabinet post

By MARK SEGAL

Jerusalem Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Mr. Yosef Kremerman M.K. played the key role in getting Aluf Ezer Weizman into the Government, Herut circles confirmed.

The sources said that Mr. Kremerman had made the initial approach to Aluf Weizman some weeks ago, during the coalition negotiations. But the talks were temporarily stalemated, and Aluf Weizman and his wife left for Los Angeles on an Israel Bonds speaking engagement.

Last Thursday week when Gahal voted to join the coalition, Mr. Kremerman phoned Aluf Weizman in the U.S., and urged him to return as soon as possible. On the following Saturday night, before the Herut Central Committee voted on its ministerial choices, Mr. Kremerman approached Mr. Begin about Aluf Weizman's candidacy. Mr. Begin replied that there was nothing to discuss as long as Aluf Weizman was in the army.

Mr. Kremerman and his father-in-law, Mr. Ya'acov Meridor, for many years Mr. Begin's deputy, began canvassing Central Committee members in support of Mr. Kremerman's candidacy as one of the three Herut ministers. In the ensuing vote, Messrs. Begin, Haim Landau and Kremerman were selected, with the Transport portfolio allocated to Mr. Landau and Mr. Kremerman getting Development.

Immediately after the meeting broke

up, Mr. Kremerman informed a surprised Mr. Begin that he personally was not interested in being a Minister, but wished to convene another meeting, on Sunday night, to elect Aluf Weizman as Minister of Transport. Mr. Begin told him that he would agree on four conditions: that Aluf Weizman resign from the army; that he submit his candidacy to the Central Committee, in clear knowledge that it was a risk and the members might not endorse it; that there could be no prior commitment as to the Transport portfolio, and that this hinged on Mr. Landau's consent too; and, that Aluf Weizman, who had been reputed to be a Herut sympathizer, must first join Herut.

### UNANIMOUS CHOICE

Aluf Weizman's plane arrived late Saturday night, and Mr. Kremerman filled him in on Mr. Begin's conditions. In the early hours of Sunday morning, Aluf Weizman called on Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Haim Bar-Lev, who he had previously advised of such a contingency, and he was demobilized the same day. Defence Minister Moshe Dayan also had given his consent to the resignation, and reportedly passed a note to Mr. Begin during Sunday's Cabinet meeting, informing him that Mr. Weizman's transfer to the Reserves had been completed.

After being chosen unanimously — with only Dr. Yohanan Bader M.K. abstaining — Aluf Weizman was called to the

Herut Central Committee meeting at Beit Jabotinsky, where he was accorded a standing ovation and was embraced by Mr. Begin. The Herut leader did not forget to comment on the irony that a nephew of the late Chaim Weizmann was now joining the front ranks of the latest incarnation of the Revisionist Party, which had fought Dr. Weizmann for so long.

## DEPUTY MINISTERS APPOINTED BY CABINET

The new Cabinet yesterday held its first official and weekly meeting. Among its first steps was to approve the appointment of five Deputy Ministers. The new ones will be Mr. Benzion Halfon, M.K. (Labour Party), of the Moshav Movement, for the Agricultural Ministry, in place of Mr. Aharon Uzan; and Mr. Michael Chazani, M.K. (National Religious Party), for the Ministry of Education — who will serve together with the incumbent Deputy Minister, Mr. Aharon Yadlin. Mr. Chazani succeeds Rabbi Kalman Kahana (Poalei Agudat Yisrael). Mr. Yehuda Sha'ari (Independent Liberal) will be appointed Deputy Minister of Tourism. He was previously Deputy Minister of Development and Tourism, a joint Ministerial portfolio then held by Mr. Moshe Kol, now Minister of Tourism alone. Dr. Zvi Dinstein will be reappointed Deputy Minister of the Finance Ministry.

The Cabinet was also to approve the appointment of a number of new Ministry Directors-General.

## Cabinet sworn after 90:10 vote

By ASHER WALLFISH

Jerusalem Post Knesset Reporter

Mrs. Golda Meir's National Unity Coalition received a massive vote of confidence in the Knesset Monday, whereupon she and her ministers took the declaration of allegiance, and the country's 15th Cabinet came into being.

Ninety hands were raised in support of Mrs. Meir. Ten M.K.s voted against, representing the two Communist factions, the Free Centre, Ha'olam Hazeh and Agudat Yisrael. There were four abstentions, from the State List and Poalei Aguda.

Formally, Mrs. Meir commands a total of 102 votes at present, 85 per cent of the House.

Transport Minister Ezer Weizman (Gahal) who donned civvies just 36 hours earlier, did a smart about-turn after he was sworn in, making a titter run around the chamber. It was hard to know whether he did so entirely in a fit of absent-mindedness, or with a trace of impishness as well.

"A 25-man Cabinet would have been the straw that broke the camel's back," a Knesset official in charge of seating told *The Post*. "It would have meant rebuilding the whole Cabinet table. Chairs are no problem—we have lots more in stock. As it is, there's no point even in fixing name plates on the table opposite the seats, because the space under the table-top has only 18 drawers."



# REVENUERS WEIGH NEW KINDS OF TAXES

Jerusalem Post Economic Correspondent

Lights are burning late in the Treasury as all possibilities are combed of bringing the State Budget into closer balance during the coming fiscal year. A perpetuation of the existing deficit threatens to generate demand inflation, that will widen the already forbidding trade gap still further.

Leading officials had themselves underestimated the amount of money that must be pumped out of the economy, whether through cuts in Government expenditure or bigger tax revenue. "It is much more than the IL700m. or IL800m. which have been mentioned," one of them hinted to *The Jerusalem Post* Thursday.

Chief cause is the defence budget fixed at IL2.5 billion in the 1969/70 estimates

## Sapir warns of imbalance

Jerusalem Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir on Friday called for drastic measures to bridge the country's growing trade imbalance "otherwise we are heading for an economic earthquake in 1970." His warning at the first session on economic and wage policies of the Labour Party Economic Affairs Committee was in line with the belt-tightening prognosis spelled out at the recent Histadrut convention.

The meeting, chaired by Mr. Akiva Govrin, was also attended by Mapam leaders and Labour Party trade union leaders. This meeting found Mr. Sapir and other economic leaders opposed by trade union chiefs and Mapam on wage policies. This was the first of a series of discussions.

Mr. Sapir noted that the country was deeply in debt and the deficit was increasing, as a direct result of the ever-present heavy defence outlay. He warned against the likely negative effects of a high wage raise.

A similar theme was aired by the Governor of the Bank of Israel, Mr. David Horowitz, who noted that defence expenditure took foreign currency that would otherwise go to development schemes. He urged measures to restrict private consumption.

## Trade deficit up 37% in November

Israel's trade deficit grew by 37 per cent in November from the month before, a far greater rise than anticipated on the basis of normal seasonal changes, the Central Bureau of Statistics announced. The deficit totalled \$77m. in November, compared to \$56m. the month before.

During the period January-November of this year, the deficit totalled \$540m., as compared to \$424m. during the same period in 1968. This 27 per cent rise grew out of a net increase in imports of 20 per cent, while the net increase in exports was 13 per cent.

The figures do not include trade between Israel and the administered territories, the Bureau stated.

Net imports in November (including ships and planes) totalled \$133m., an increase of \$17m. over the month before, it was stated.

## Sapir resigns Labour post

TEL AVIV. — Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir Thursday resigned his post as Labour Party Secretary-General, a job he has held since August 1, 1968. Mr. Sapir announced his resignation, effective January 1, at the weekly meeting of the Party Leadership Bureau.

A similar announcement was made by the Associate Secretary-General, Mr. Shimon Peres, who enters the Cabinet as well. Mr. Sapir's successor will be chosen in a fortnight by the Mapai wing of the party. According to party sources, the likeliest candidate is Mr. Lyova Eliav.

The Rafi wing of the party will meet early this week to elect Mr. Peres' successor.

Mr. Mordechai Surkis asked Mr. Sapir for a discussion on the maiden Knesset speech of Mr. Avraham Ofer, which he asserted deviated sharply from Government policy. It called for withdrawal and a "defeatist approach".

Mr. Sapir defended Mr. Ofer's right to speak his mind.

— which even so showed a deficit of IL600m., to be financed by drawings from the Bank of Israel. Actual expenditure has been greater, and so have those drawings.

The housing budget was IL328m., and will be more than double that figure or around IL700m., according to the Immigrant Absorption Ministry.

The only serious economy that can be made on the expenditure side is in defence. This fact alone makes it clear that drastic changes must be enacted to step up tax revenue in the coming 15 months. Some revenue specialists in the Treasury are opposed to the added value tax and to the payroll tax advocated by Mr. Zandberg, preferring to rely on the sales tax — which would have to be raised on a wide range of goods.

It is generally agreed that there is little room to move in direct taxation, although this is the one area where increased rates do not affect prices. Other possibilities canvassed are a deposit on imports, and an increase in the various licence fees.

An important point stressed in the consultations is the connection between wages and taxes. The higher the wage increase to be won by the Histadrut, the heavier the taxes that will have to be clapped on the wider community (for higher "luxury taxes" yield a negligible return). It is hoped that this consideration will inspire restraint in wage bargaining.

## Sapir picks Agmon as Treasury head

Jerusalem Post Economic Reporter

Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir has chosen Mr. Avraham Agmon as his Director-General and was to recommend his appointment at this week's Cabinet meeting. He will take over his new post on January 1, according to the Treasury spokesman.



Avraham Agmon

Mr. Sapir paid tribute to Dr. Ya'acov Arnon, who terminates 15 years at the head of the Treasury. "I found Dr. Arnon's resignation an accomplished fact when I returned to the Ministry," Mr. Sapir stated Thursday, "and can only express my regret at losing his services." Dr. Arnon states he has no plans for the immediate future.

Mr. Agmon was born 41 years ago near Byalystock, in Poland. He came to Palestine in 1947 at the age of 19, in time to fight in the War of Independence.

### SERVED IN EAST EUROPE

Afterwards he studied economics at the Hebrew University, and entered the Treasury in 1954. Twice he broke off to serve in Israel's embassies in Eastern Europe—the first time as Second Secretary in Moscow, the second time in 1961 as First Secretary in Warsaw. Eighteen months later he was transferred as Counsellor back to the Moscow Embassy.

Since 1964 he has worked in the Treasury's Budget Division, becoming Deputy Director under Mr. Moshe Zandberg, and Director when Mr. Zandberg left less than two years ago. Mr. Zandberg is returning to the Treasury part-time as Economic Adviser to the Minister, so will revive an old partnership. Mr. Agmon is married and has two sons.

Likeliest candidate to take over the Budget Division is Mr. Arnon Gafny, Director of Ashdod port, informed circles say. Mr. Gafny (son of Mr. Simha Gafny, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue) was himself a former member of the Treasury's Budget Division.

Questioned by *The Jerusalem Post* last week, Dr. Arnon stated that he is retiring as Director of the Economic Planning Authority as well. "I am leaving the civil service," he said, "and taking a holiday." No decision has been made as to who will succeed Dr. Arnon at the EPA, but informed circles do not expect it to be Mr. Agmon.

## 516 buildings demolished or sealed since Six Day War

Jerusalem Post Knesset Reporter

Defence Minister Moshe Dayan Tuesday told the Knesset that since the Six Day War 516 buildings in the administered areas had been demolished or sealed off.

His reply to a parliamentary question by Mr. Yosef Tamir (Gahal) refuted recent reports by the B.B.C. estimating the number at the 1,000 mark and Arab

claims that some 7,000 houses had been destroyed since June 1967.

Of the 516 buildings that were demolished or sealed off, 265 were in the West Bank, 227 in the Gaza Strip and 24 in Jerusalem. Replying to a supplementary question, Mr. Dayan reiterated his view that the demolishing of houses was justified and served as deterrent against terrorism.

In another reply, Mr. Dayan said that since the Six Day War 71 men and women from the administered areas were deported. Most of them reside in Jordan and receive regular allocations from the Jordanian Government. Some of them are engaged in anti-Israel political and information activities, he added.

He cited as an example the former Mayor of East Jerusalem, Ruhi el-Khatib, who serves as chairman of the committee for the "rescue of Jerusalem." Another deportee, Kamal Nasser, is in charge of information with the Palestine Liberation Organization, while Ibrahim Bakher until recently held a key post with the Fatah leadership, when he fell out with Yasser Arafat. The former head of the Jerusalem Moslem Council, Sheikh Abdul Hamid e-Sa'eh, was a Minister in the Jordanian Cabinet until three months ago and is now active in anti-Israel propaganda.

Requests to let 15 of the deportees return were received from various individuals and institutions in the West Bank, but only one woman was allowed to return so far on humanitarian grounds.

### DENIES 'MANOEUVRES' REPORT

In other replies, Mr. Dayan denied a report by "Al Ahram" claiming that the Israel Air Force had taken part in recent Nato manoeuvres and said that the Egyptian authorities had claimed credit for the sabotage of two Israel ships in the port of Eilat.

When Mr. Tamir asked for the Defence Minister's interpretation of a statement by the Jordanian Government that Jordan would in future refuse to admit deported persons, Mr. Dayan said: "I am replying on behalf of the Government of Israel, and not for the Jordanian Government. For your question you have to approach another Parliament."

## PWD clears land near Kfar Etzion

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Public Works Department Tuesday began clearing the Shifa lands near Kfar Etzion, though without touching the houses of the Arab farmers living there.

The 200 persons cultivating the land have been served with eviction orders by the Military Government on the grounds of "overriding security reasons." A 1,200-dunam tract, constituting the village of Beit Skaria, is affected by the order.

There were only about 80 people residing in the village Tuesday. The rest, it was said, had left for the village of Artas, near Bethlehem, for the winter. Despite the sunshine, Beit Skaria was chilly. The remaining villagers occupy 10 of the village's 19 houses.

The mukhtar, Sheikh Ibrahim Atallah, had gone off to Jerusalem. According to his son, he "was looking for a good lawyer" to stay the eviction order.

Relations between the village and the settlers at Kfar Etzion, just across the road, have not been of the best. On the other hand, contacts with Rosh Zorim, the newer Jewish village to the north, have been quite friendly.

As one young settler from Kfar Etzion put it, the Arab villagers were not wanted in the area. The people at Kfar Etzion are mostly sons of the original settlers, driven off their lands in 1948. Their bitter memories cannot fail to cast a shadow over their relations with the Arabs. On the other hand, the youngsters who had come to live at Rosh Zorim "knew nothing about what had gone on in the past."

A young man from Rosh Zorim stopped his tractor on the road long enough to say that his group got along well with the Arabs and he "doesn't know what Kfar Etzion wants them out of there for."

## Cotton harvest nears 40,000 tons

This year's cotton crop has reached 39,500 tons. Last year's harvest was 33,500. Income, however, is not expected to be higher than last year's, because of damage from early rains.

Export sales in 1969 are expected to reach \$12m. compared to \$7m. last year. Of the 63,000 tons of cottonseed, 15,000 are earmarked for settlements, and the remainder for oil production.

## Sulphur price drop saving Israel IL5m.

EILAT. — The Timna Copper Mines and the Chemicals and Phosphates Company will together save some IL5m. during the coming year due to the fall in the world prices of sulphur.

Timna and Chemical and Phosphates use some 75,000 tons of sulphur annually and it is, in fact, Timna's largest expense.

## Young squadron leader dies

AFULA. — Kibbutz Merhavim Thursday laid to rest one of its outstanding sons, Rav-Seren Efraim Ashkenazi, an air force officer with a distinguished record, who died after a long illness at the age of 31. He enlisted in 1956, served as a combat pilot and later as a flight instructor. He was a technological wizard and made several important inventions that improved the performance of fighter planes. In 1968 he was awarded the Israel Defence Prize for his work.

Many officers gathered at the kibbutz for the funeral which was conducted by Air Force Chaplain Rav-Seren Yitzhak Rabinowitz and his childhood comrade, Raphael Tzour. Efraim Ashkenazi is survived by his wife, a daughter and by his parents. His father is chairman of the Jezreel District Council.

## Heavy terms for captured Fatah

RAMALLAH. — A military court here imposed heavy prison sentences on two terrorists Monday, the sole survivors of a 13-man Fatah band wiped out in a clash in June 1968.

The leader of the group, Abas Hamad, 28, got 45 years in jail. Jihad Sabah, 22, drew a 30-year sentence.

According to the charge sheet, the gang crossed the Jordan on June 21, 1968. They were headed for Nablus on the following day, when they encountered an Israeli patrol in a banana grove near Nu'eima, in the Jericho district. In the ensuing battle, which lasted several hours, 11 of the gang died, and Hamad and Sabah were captured.

During the battle, Seren Gad Manella exposed himself to enemy fire to rescue an Israeli soldier wounded in the fighting. About a month later, Seren Manella and Sgan-Aluf Arye Regev were killed in a similar encounter near the Damya bridge.

## A/M Bendel killed

TEL AVIV. — Aluf-Mishne Gideon Bendel, 45, was killed in a road accident near Afula on Thursday. The car in which he was driving was crushed by a heavy lorry. He is survived by a wife and two children. The family lives in Zahala.

It is alleged that the collision occurred when the lorry driver — a resident of Kiryat Binyamin — went through a stop signal.

Aluf-Mishne Bendel was rushed to the Afula hospital where he died. His driver, who was seriously injured, is still undergoing treatment.

Aluf-Mishne Bendel, who occupied a senior post in Northern Command, was born in Israel, served in the Palmah and fought on the Latrun front during the War of Independence. Occupying senior Training Command posts, he was an instructor at army G.H.Q. college, and served as battalion commander.





February 22, 1971

Rabbi Norman Lamm  
The Jewish Center  
131 West 36 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10024

Dear Rabbi Lamm,

In my letter of February 19th I indicated that I would bring to Rabbi Schindler's attention your letter of February 17th, when he returns to the office on February 22nd.

Unfortunately Rabbi Schindler has found it necessary to go on to another commitment without returning to the office at this time. I have therefore taken the liberty of turning your communication over to Rabbi Hirsch, who is Chairman of our Israel Committee. However, since Rabbi Hirsch is in Israel at the present time, it might be a while before he can respond to your letter.

I am sorry I could not be more helpful at this time.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Rae Weiner,  
Secretary to Rabbi Schindler

cc: Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch



Memo from

RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER

2/19/71

From: Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch (by phone)

Reservations: not having been part of the process, not sure, but would imagine ~~this is probably~~ the group that is really supporting this is the Orthodox group. ~~He~~ Thinks they are using this means to strengthen their hold on the Sabbath, some of which is unforgivable under any circumstances.

The fact that a Jew ~~whatever~~ would have what amounts to one day off a month in which there would be for example transportation and other conveniences available, does not preclude the many disadvantages which occur to him on the Sabbath because of the Orthodox control over such things as transportation.

He thinks this is probably a pretext only to serve to strengthen the control of the Orthodox element over the Sabbath which occurs 52 times a year.

Very grave reservations about signing it.

He will bethere next week and can tell you about his feelings more fully on his return in 2 weeks.

This (above) might not be the case in Lamm's intentions. He may be 'kosher' in his motivations because he is liberal, but he isn't doing it -- it is the Orthodox party.

Call Rabbi Hirsch on Monday - he leaves on Tuesday.

my 6/6/72  
Ishehx  
A H 6. 3 ✓ Is / 1102



February 19, 1971

Rabbi Norman Lamm  
The Jewish Center  
131 West 86 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10024

Dear Rabbi Lamm,

This will acknowledge receipt of your Special Delivery letter of February 17th to Rabbi Schindler.

In view of the fact that Rabbi Schindler is out of town today, your letter will be held for his immediate attention when he returns to the office on Monday.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Rae Weiner,  
Secretary to Rabbi Schindler



RABBI NORMAN LAMM  
THE JEWISH CENTER  
131 WEST 86TH STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10024  
SCHUYLER 4-3511

February 17, 1971

Rabbi Alex Schindler  
House of Living Judaism  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am writing to you and to a few other select individuals from among leaders in the American Jewish community and in industry and scholarship. It is my hope that you will contribute your prestige and influence to a proposal to solve a grievous problem in the State of Israel.

During my stay in Israel there took place the unfortunate Ashkelon car-race affair. This was only the latest of the many incidents that have plagued the State in the area of Sabbath observance. It is hard to convey the sense of animosity, of contempt, and of social disruption caused by this and similar conflicts.

Under the present six-day-a-week situation, non-observant Jews have only Saturdays available for travel, entertainment, artistic events, sports, etc. To be denied the right to pursue their interests on this one free day of the week is something they understandably consider intolerable. Yet to permit the open and public desecration of the Sabbath is to invite the de-Judaization of the Land of Israel. Furthermore, observant Jews find the situation even more onerous, because their religious convictions prevent them from participating in public events even in a limited measure.

It has occurred to a number of people that the only equitable solution is the five-day week. Eventually this system will have to come to Israel. But economists maintain that this cannot be instituted in the foreseeable future.

February 17, 1971

It therefore occurred to me that a way out of this problem is the restoration of Rosh Hodesh (the first day of each Hebrew month) as an official day of rest in Israel. This will add from seven to nine days (instead of approximately fifty as in the five-day week) to the current number of official days-off. During this time there can be scheduled many of the "events" now scheduled for Saturdays, for want of any other time. Religious and secular Jews will both benefit, the escalation of tempers and tensions will be avoided, and an ancient Jewish tradition reestablished -- at not too great a cost to the economy. In addition, these extra days of rest will make aliyah more palatable to Western Jews who, accustomed to the five-day week, find that the Israeli system is unduly harsh.

The enclosed copy of an article on the subject will explain the plan in some more detail although, necessarily, some important particulars could not be included in it.

The Rosh Hodesh Plan was officially introduced to the Knesset last month by Mr. Zevulun Hammer, M.K., after he consulted with a number of leading economists in the country. It was then assigned for study to the Labor Committee of the Knesset. Earlier, I had discussed the idea with a number of prominent M.K.'s of the Labor parties who seemed quite sympathetic.

However, the Minister of Labor has opposed the proposal because of his reluctance to add these seven-to-nine days off to the labor calendar. Members of his party will probably feel bound to follow his decision regardless of their personal convictions on the matter. So far, appeals to him to change his mind have failed.

The sponsors of the bill have therefore asked that prominent individuals in the U.S.A., who are concerned by the perennial religious conflicts in Israel, bring their influence to bear on the Prime Minister and other leading officials, asking them to intervene personally.

I am therefore turning to you in your personal capacity, asking you to associate yourself with those of us who are anxious to prevent these internecine struggles from jeopardizing the relationship of American Jews to Israel and to Judaism as well. We must convince



Rabbi Alex Schindler

-3-

February 17, 1971

the Government that the ultimate cost to Israel of one Ashkelon affair, or other such hate-ridden controversy, is far more than nine work-days in a country where the population works six days out of seven.

Because the Knesset Labor Committee is preparing to debate the bill in the very near future, it is urgent that you respond at once, permitting me to include your name amongst other Jewish leaders -- from all groups, organizations, and persuasions -- in the telegram to Mrs. Golda Meir. You will find enclosed a copy of the text.

Please be kind enough to sign the enclosed blank and return it to me immediately.

With all my thanks in advance,

Cordially yours,

  
RABBI NORMAN LAMI

NL/hh  
Enclosures

Mrs. Golda Meir  
Prime Minister  
Jerusalem, ISRAEL

THE UNDERSIGNED URGENTLY IMPORE YOU TO USE YOUR INFLUENCE  
IN SECURING PASSAGE OF LABOR BILL AMENDMENT ON ROSH HODESH  
INTRODUCED BY M.K. ZEVULUN HAMMER NOW IN LABOR COMMITTEE. WE  
FEEL THAT RESULTING SOCIAL HARMONY AND RESPITE FROM RELIGIOUS  
CONFLICT WELL WORTH THE NINE DAYS REST PER YEAR. THE ROSH  
HODESH PROPOSAL IS A CREATIVE SOLUTION, WILL CONTRIBUTE TO  
GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND LESS FRICTION AMONG JEWS OF DIFFERENT  
RELIGIOUS PERSUASION, AND MAKE ALIYAH EASIER FOR AMERICAN JEWS  
ACCUSTOMED TO FIVE DAY WEEK. YOUR INTERVENTION WILL BE DEEPLY  
APPRECIATED BY ALL SEGMENTS OF AMERICAN JEWRY TO WHOM ISRAEL  
IS DEAR.

# AN EXTRA DAY OF RES

THE religious conflicts which seem to afflict Israel with appalling regularity and constitute a threat to the social fabric of the state are all the more insidious because each issue is somehow "solved" and then promptly forgotten. The nature of the crises is such, however, that they tend to be cumulative in the residue of communal discord and mutual mistrust they leave.

It is, indeed, a galling irony that it should be the Sabbath above all else that is the source of so much friction and animosity — the day of rest, "of love and goodwill... of peace and tranquility and quiet and confidence" (from the Shabbat afternoon (*Minha*) prayer). For a religious Jew to see a Jewish state — his Jewish state no less than any one else's, regardless of his minority-status — experience the public desecration of Judaism's most characteristic religious institution is unthinkable and unforgivable. For Judaism is not, and never can be, solely a matter of the individual's conscience, and conduct. Unlike Christianity, which addressed itself to the individual and the world, Judaism never surrendered its emphasis on the concentric circle in between, the two: the Jewish people as a whole. Were it otherwise, there would surely be no State of Israel today. At the same time, the situation for the non-observant Jew in Israel borders on the insufferable. He has but one day in the week to himself, away from the routine of his work. To have someone else — and a minority at that! — tell him how he must spend that one day, and what he may or may not do, is intolerable.

Here, indeed, is the crux of the problem — the conflict between two irreconcilable claims on the one available day for the Israeli citizen. The demand for public respect for the Sabbath collides head-on with the demand for the individual's freedom (and the facilities to make use of it) to do what one wants, especially when no alternative is possible.

## 5-day week inevitable

A satisfactory way out of this dilemma would, of course, be the five-day week as it is known and practised throughout the Western world. Such ideas have been proposed before only to be rejected because of economic reasons or because of the shortage of manpower. At present, I am told, such considerations are even more formidable — although a prominent industrialist has confided in me that Friday is a "wasted day" anyway and the five-day week is eventually inevitable. But what until then? How many more Ashkelon Races must and can the country suffer?

If complete solutions are not at hand, a sensible, pragmatic, and

The Knesset last week began considering a motion for the first day of each lunar month to be a day of rest in Israel. This would give religious Jews a day of rest without restrictions. The initiator of the plan, Dr. NORMAN LAMM, here discusses the *Rosh Hodesh* idea.

thus, be no offence given to religious sensibilities, and there will be no denial of the rights of the non-observant majority. Furthermore, the religious minority will be able to participate (as it cannot at present) in many such cultural or athletic events.

The Rosh Hodesh Plan has several important points in its favour. First, it involves approximately seven to nine additional days off from the work schedule of the year — a seemingly satisfactory compromise between the public's demand for days for its own amusement or entertainment without embroiling it in religious polemics, and the needs of the national economy. (The first day of Tishri is observed as Rosh Hashana anyway, and about twice every three years Rosh Hodesh falls on the Sabbath which, again, is not a working day.)

There is one side-problem here: When Rosh Hodesh falls on a Monday or a Thursday, the adjacent Sunday or Friday may prove unproductive, as does any working day sandwiched between two holidays. The difficulty can be met, however, by a simple method.

Often, Rosh Hodesh consists of two days (the historical reasons do not concern us here). At such times, the Sunday or the Friday of the two days can be marked, or the Tuesday or Wednesday. For the ten years 5732-5741 (1972-1981), the maximum number of days off under

the plan is 91 (i.e., when Rosh Hodesh falls on Friday-Saturday or Saturday-Sunday, the Friday or the Sunday will be considered an official holiday). The minimum (if the above days will be considered as falling on Saturday and thus no "official" Rosh Hodesh that month) comes to 74. During these ten calendar years, Monday will be declared a day-off only six times, and Thursday only four times — a day per year!

A second advantage of the Rosh Hodesh plan is the spacing of the days off. It follows a natural rhythm of a day every month. In this way it is superior to the alternate suggestion that has been made of releasing workers on festivals such as Hanukkah and Purim.

banquet on Rosh Hodesh (20: 5,6). From the same passage we learn that the New Moon was similarly celebrated by all families, not only the royal one. The same chapter refers to a *yom ha-maaseh* ("day of work"), which the commentaries (Targum, Rashi) explain as referring to a weekday as opposed to Rosh Hodesh, which, thus, is considered a non-work day (*ibid.* 18, 19). Throughout Scripture, Rosh Hodesh is included with Shabbat and Festivals (as in 11 Kings 4:22,23; Isaiah 1:13, 14; Hosea 2:13, etc.). Even today, in very pious families, women refrain from major manual labour on Rosh Hodesh.

In the Middle Ages, according to a number of authorities "hard work" was forbidden to men as well as women.

The Halacha does not proscribe *melacha* (work) as it does on Shabbat and Festivals. Nevertheless, Rosh Hodesh was considered a day in which the labourer was free from his daily rounds. One might, perhaps, distinguish between *work* in a technical halachic sense (this including such activities as smoking, writing, travelling) and *labour* in the sense of engaging in one's normal pursuit of a livelihood. On Rosh Hodesh then, work is permitted and labour discouraged (although not forbidden).

Surely the time has come for us,



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### Day week inevitable

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be run before the country suffers?  
Complete solutions are not at  
hand, a sensible pragmatic ap-  
proach calls for us to seek out at  
least partial answers. The "Rosh  
Hodesh Plan" is such an attempt  
at a partial and temporary solution.  
The plan is, quite simply, that  
on Rosh Hodesh, the first day of every  
month, considered a semi-  
holiday in Jewish tradition, be de-  
clared an official holiday. The citi-  
zen will have the opportunity to  
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as Hanukka and Purim.

Third, the celebration of Rosh Ho-  
desh will result in the revitaliza-  
tion of an ancient custom in Israel,  
now largely unknown to the major-  
ity of its citizens. Religious Jews  
today are aware of Rosh Hodesh  
mostly liturgically: the recitation of  
*Hallel*, *Ya'aleh Ve'yavo*, *Musaf*. Non-  
observant Jews are almost totally  
unaware of it; in discussing my  
plan with a number of bright and  
well-read Israelis, I had to begin  
by explaining what the very words  
Rosh Hodesh indicated!

Yet such was not the case in the  
days of Israel's early eminence. In  
I Samuel we read of David and  
Jonathan discussing a plan to save  
the former from King Saul's wrath;  
the scheme revolved about a royal

banquet on Rosh Hodesh (20: 5,6).  
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forbidden).

Surely the time has come for us,  
in the re-established Commonwealth,  
to resurrect this ancient and beau-  
tiful observance. The very fact that  
it has been neglected for so long  
provides an opportunity for our most  
imaginative and creative minds to  
develop appropriate cultural, artistic,  
and social forms for its observance.  
At the same time, we shall have  
made a serious effort to remove  
from the national agenda a source  
of friction and dissension which gets  
worse with each confrontation and  
which threatens the internal peace  
of a people which must marshal all  
its resources to withstand relentless  
enemies from without.

Dr. Lamm is Rabbi of the Jewish  
Center in Manhattan (New York) and  
Professor of Philosophy at Yeshiva  
University.

# Religious Action Center

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036. TEL. (CODE 202) 387-2800

RABBI RICHARD G. HIRSCH, Director  
MARVIN BRAITERMAN, Counsel  
and Director of Education and Research

November 10, 1970

Mr. Aryeh Pincus  
The Jewish Agency  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Pincus:

I am enclosing a letter which I received from Rabbi Bruce Warshal, referring to the problem which has arisen in the case of Brenda Cline, a convert to Judaism.

Upon receipt of the letter, I phoned Mr. Zeev Ben-David, the Director of the Cleveland office of the Israel Aliyah Center, and he confirmed that the details set forth in Rabbi Warshal's letter are accurate.

The matter was discussed yesterday in New York by the Executive Committee of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, and I have been asked to communicate to you our deep concern that the revised Law of Return is not being properly implemented either by the representatives of the Sochnut or the Israel government. The Law specifically states:

"For the purposes of this Law, 'Jew' means a person who was born of a Jewish mother or has become converted to Judaism and who is not a member of another religion."

It was clear from the discussions which I, as the representative of the Reform Movement, had with Prime Minister Golda Meir and with other representatives of the Israeli government, most notably Minister of Justice Shapira, as well as the government's position expressed in the Plenary Session of the Knesset, that all conversions performed by non-Orthodox rabbis abroad would be considered valid for purposes of the Law of Return.

I discussed this matter with the representative of the Sochnut in Washington and it appears that he also is unclear

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Mr. Aryeh Pincus

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November 10, 1970

as to what disposition he would have made in the instance of Brenda Cline.

May I respectfully suggest that a clear-cut directive be issued to all representatives of the Sochnut, as well as to Israeli government officials who deal with these matters, so as to prevent contravention of the Law of Return and personal embarrassment to converts of Conservative and Reform rabbis.

We do not want to create any unnecessary difficulty, nor do we want to make a cause celebre of this case, but we consider the manner in which this particular case was handled intolerable. We look forward to receiving your assurance that this matter has been corrected and that further incidents such as this will not arise again.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch

RGH:iem  
Enclosure

cc: Prime Minister Golda Meir  
Rabbi Bernard Bamberger, President, World Union for  
Progressive Judaism  
Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Chairman, Committee on Rights  
in Israel  
Mr. Zeev Ben-David

# TEMPLE BETH EMETH

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300 NATIONAL BANK & TRUST BLDG.  
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TELEPHONE 663-2445

October 30, 1970

Dear Rabbi Hirsch:

On May 8, 1970 I converted a woman by the name of Brenda Cline. Brenda is 30 years old, divorced with no children. Her address is 901 Berkshire Rd., Ann Arbor, Michigan; Tel. 668-6864. Since she originally started with a Conservative rabbi in Detroit, she was converted by a Bet Din in which I participated. It met all the requirements of halacha including mikveh. The rabbis signing the conversion certificate were Benjamin Gorrellick, Leonard Cahan and myself. She now has both Reform and Conservative conversion papers.

Miss Cline has now applied for aliyah through the Cleveland office of Israel Aliyah (the Sochmut). She was interviewed on Tuesday, October 13, 1970 in Detroit by Zeev Ben-David, the Director of the Cleveland office. Ben-David informed Miss Cline that her non-Orthodox conversion was not valid, and he advised her to obtain an Orthodox conversion. He has a copy of her non-Orthodox conversion papers.

Ben-David informed me personally here in Ann Arbor at a meeting for our local rabbis on Monday, October 26, 1970 that Miss Cline meets all the requirements for aliyah, and that in fact she would make a fine Israeli, except that she is not Jewish for purposes of the Law of Return. Yesterday, October 29, by telephone Ben-David informed me that he had spoken to the Israeli General Council in Chicago and that Bilha Galill of that office informed him that it is the Jewish Agency's position that a "proper conversion" is now required for purposes of the Law of Return and that only an Orthodox conversion is proper. Trying to be as accurate as possible, Ben-David informed me that he has mailed a request to Jerusalem for final word on this case and has asked for a reply by cablegram.

Needless to say that I am quite disturbed. It is my understanding that after the Shalit decision, the Knesset amended the Law of Return to define a Jew as "one who is born of a Jewish mother



Rabbi Hirsch  
October 30. 1970  
Page Two

or who has been converted." If this is the case then the Jewish Agency in the United States is administratively repealing this law. I am disturbed on two levels. First, Brenda Cline has no desire to become a cause celebre. She has booked passage to leave the United States on December 22 and she hopes to enter a Jewish Agency ulpon in Tel Aviv for the February 2 class. She needs olah status first, of course, because not to have it strikes at her very Jewishness, but moreover she cannott qualify for entrance to the city ulpon on a tourist visa. Thus we need an answer for Miss Cline immediately. Obviously the personal needs of this human being are paramount at this point.

On a second level, I am disturbed that every non-Orthodox rabbi in the United States is being undercut by the Jewish Agency. I believe that every shaliach in the United States should be explicitly informed on this matter so that there will be no mistakes in the future.

I look forward to your expediting this matter.

Sincerely,

Bruce S. Warshal

Rabbi Bruce S. Warshal

BSW:by

Rabbi Richard Hirsch  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
2027 Massachusetts Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20036

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF HATZAAD HARISHON

October, 1970

Dear Friend,

You may have heard by now that this past June, I and some other members of the black and white Jewish community withdrew from Hatzaad Harishon. Since my return from Israel in September, a number of people have called upon me for an explanation as to why I left Hatzaad Harishon and resigned as Vice President. Therefore, I have decided to write this letter.

Most of you know that I played a very instrumental role in the origination of Hatzaad Harishon and the principles upon which it was founded. Since the beginning of the creation of Hatzaad Harishon, I was consistently protective towards the organization and its members so that Hatzaad Harishon could grow and achieve its aims. Why? Because it was alright at the time. (Perhaps that was my error.) But I still feel that the idea of Hatzaad Harishon has an important role to play in the community, and wish to emphasize that the ideals of Hatzaad Harishon still are very dear to me.

However, recent developments which involve the local religious community and Israel have made me change my attitude, and now I feel it is no longer possible for me to carry on as before. For six years I helped steer and guide Hatzaad Harishon into the Jewish community, often very alone and frustrated, and without involving myself in Halachic considerations. I asked no questions. On the contrary, I was indignant when questions were asked and was often protective to the point of deception. However, certain documents and information were brought to my attention which led me to understand better the concerns of Orthodox Jewish authorities. Now with the present situation in the local Jewish community and Israel, I have felt compelled to change my attitude about Halacha (Jewish law) because when a situation arises in which there is a confrontation with the Jewish law, and the Jewish community is put in a bad light, then for the sake of Klal Yisrael (unity of all Jews) the law must be upheld. The same holds true when there is a confrontation with religious authorities at the time of marriage, immigration to Israel, or when the time comes for burial.

But the leadership of Hatzaad Harishon has not, thus far, faced what I consider to be a significant and profound problem. They have been unwilling, after considerable urging, to accept this thinking. And in so doing, they are helping to perpetuate the frustrations which black Jews have been enduring for most of the twentieth century. That is why I have resorted to this stand. By avoiding the reality of the situation, and by refusing to encourage proper conversion when necessary and refusing to abide by the requirements of the religious authorities, the leadership of Hatzaad Harishon is pursuing a policy of divisiveness rather than one which will lead to the unity of all Jews - which is the aim of Hatzaad Harishon. The dangers of such a policy are apparent. Imagine a boy receiving a Yeshivah education, believing that there is no difference between him and his classmates. As long as he does not confront the law, there is no problem. This same boy goes to Jewish summer camp with his friends, joins a Zionist youth movement, or attends Jewish community activities, and he feels (and is made to feel) one with his group. However, what will be the result when this boy's parents, at the time of his Bar Mitzvah, are asked for proof of Jewishness by the Rabbi who is to officiate (such proof is asked of everyone when the Rabbi has cause to question). The result if the parents haven't such proof is a cry of racism and bigotry which will not change the facts or the situation; and the boy will be put to shame, will suffer, will feel that he was deceived by his teachers, that he was rejected because of color, and his problems will go on to compound each other.

Recently a group of 39 black people, men, women, and children, arrived unexpectedly in Israel, without money, without jobs, insisting that they were Jews and demanding all the benefits given to Jewish immigrants under the Law of Return. The reaction of some non-Jewish newspapers and some members of the New Left, despite the fact that these people were welcomed in, taken to a settlement, given homes and food and jobs, was that Israel was not treating black people as it does white people. Also, uncomplimentary caricatures appeared in syndicated newspapers across the country. Here is a perfect example of a problem which is strictly religious in nature turned into a racial problem by the enemies of Jews and of Israel.

By withdrawing from Hatzaad Harishon, I and the others who withdrew seek to encourage the remaining members to make a more serious evaluation of their own situations - so that those remaining members who are not legally Jewish would now take the necessary steps, and be in fact, as well as in spirit, a part of Klal Yisrael. It is not too late to start - now would be the time.

Sincerely yours,

*Yaakov Gladstone*

Yaakov Gladstone



# Black Jews

By HAROLD GOLDFARB

## Writing

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THERE are circles in the Jewish community which claim that the Board of Rabbis has flatly refused to accept blacks, who assert that they are Jews as authentic Jews. This charge not only distorts the facts, but implies the existence of racism and prejudice on the part of rabbis.

It is Jewish law, *Halachah*, which determines Jewish status. It is not the personal view of any rabbi or layman that determines it. And the truth is that there are blacks whom the rabbis recognize as authentic Jews, because they fulfill the Halachic requirements of authenticity.

But where there is reason to question an individual's status as a Jew, he must submit proof of his Jewish legitimacy or, if such proof is lacking, undergo the conversion procedure required by *Halachah*, if he wishes to be recognized as a Jew. This is the law for everyone, whether he be black or white, yellow or red. There is no race test in Judaism.

Rabbi Goldfarb is executive director of the Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia.—Ed.

Every convert enjoys the prerogatives and, of course, the responsibilities of Judaism in the same way as a Jew who can trace his biological ancestry to Abraham. In fact, as is well known, the convert always is referred to as so-and-so ben Abraham. Judaism makes it very clear that a convert is an authentic Jew in the same way that Abraham's son, Isaac, was an authentic Jew.

An important legal principle of Jewish law, as it is of every system of law, is the doctrine of "presumption." The historical Jewish community since time immemorial has consisted of whites. This is fact. This creates the presumption, therefore, that a white who claims to be Jewish is, in fact, a Jew unless there is reason to doubt his assertion. In such a situation, being white does not exempt him from submitting proof of his Jewishness and, if required, of undergoing conversion, should he wish to regularize his status.

IN the case of blacks, there is no such general presumption. This, too, is a fact of history; it is not discrimination or racism. It is also a fact of history that no Chinese is presumed to be Jewish; neither is an American Indian nor a Polynesian. Even though some Japanese have converted to Judaism, a Japanese claiming to be Jewish cannot be presumed to be one.

As a matter of fact, there is indeed one community of black Jews which is presumed to be legitimately Jewish. This is the B'nai Yisrael community of Cochinchina. Their long and well-documented history led the rabbinate of Israel to accept them as Jews, the only exceptions being some instances resulting from irregularities in divorce procedure which required special Halachic attention.

On the other hand, the Falashas of Ethiopia, as well as other tribes in that country, are not presumed to be Jewish. Although there is historical evidence that more than 2000 years ago, the Falashas were in contact with the main body of Jews, their practices and beliefs are very different from those which developed among the Jews in later Talmudic times. Thus their claim to being Jewish and to being included automatically in the family of Jewry is disallowed. The Karaites and Samaritans, sizeable white communities in Israel

today and related historically to the Jewish people, also are not accepted as Jews. But anyone within all the above groups, of course, can be converted to Judaism.

On occasion, a group, a congregation or a combination of groups, whether white or black, seeks mass recognition as Jews. Such was the case with an Italian group in Israel some years ago. Another instance recently came to world attention when a group of blacks from Chicago went to Liberia, then to Israel, and desired mass recognition of its entire membership. In both situations the rabbinate of Israel required each individual to submit proof or undergo conversion.

HISTORY records one instance of mass conversion to Judaism—the Idumaeans, a tribe descended from the Edomites. It happened in the Second Century BCE when John Hyrcanus, the Hasmonean King of Judea, imposed it. The rabbis of the Mishnah viewed this event as the source

IN this small volume (it can be read easily in one sitting) he addresses himself to this enormous problem, principally through recollections gleaned from his own trip to the Soviet Union, reflections of others, and a brief history of anti-Semitism in Russia.

Lawrence writes well and in a smooth style, but *Three Million More?* is no *Jews of Silence*.

Actually, anyone who has kept abreast of the problem of Soviet Jewry in such publications as the JEWISH EXPONENT will gain very little from the book. In fact, an evening with the Jewish Community Relations Council could be more enlightening and interesting, if one is really concerned with the problems of Soviet Jewry. Unfortunately, too few Americans—and this includes American Jews—are.

This is not meant to denigrate Lawrence's effort or his intent. But one fails to detect any new flashes of insight or suggestions for constructive action in his book. It is merely a restatement.

of later misfortune for the Jewish people, for from this group came the wicked King Herod, who brought untold misery to Judea just before the beginning of the Christian era. Ever since, mass conversion has been banned by the *Halachah*.

Jews who criticize rabbinic refusal to change the rules are not doing a service either to the blacks who sincerely desire to be included in the household of Israel, or to the Jewish people as a whole. Whether we like it or not, we are a transnational people with responsibilities to all people, not solely to Jews in our own community or in the United States. We have responsibilities to Jews who dwell in countries of oppression, to the Jews in Israel, to Jews of differing religious leanings, even to Jews claiming no religion.

It is wise and prudent that in this troubled and changing era, the age-old rules for establishing Jewish authenticity be retained. This is especially so today, because by observing the rules we prevent barring any individual from joining the people of Israel, if he is genuinely drawn to it.

Blacks, and their white sympathizers who advocate modifying the rules, do not realize the heart-breaking and tragic consequences of such an action by a local segment of the Jewish community. If the Jewish authenticity of blacks accepted as Jews under such modified standards is to be questioned, whether in Israel, in other parts of the world or in our own community, the shock to these converts could thrust them into a state of such psychological, spiritual and social insecurity as to be disastrous to the individual blacks and their children.

THIS also could be shattering to the unity and well-being of the Jewish community as a whole. What may now seem to be a galling (in some cases) procedure that is time-consuming, rigorous and even unnecessary, ultimately will prove to be the very strength by which blacks can assume their full and authentic Jewish identity which rabbis wish them to possess.

The rabbinate is well aware that there are many blacks who, for whatever reasons, are close to Judaism spiritually and religiously and who feel part of the Jewish people even though their formal status as Jews has not been established according to the requirements of Jewish law. If such blacks are sincere, they will not carp when the religious leaders of Judaism, desiring to maintain the character of the Jewish people and its tradition, require of them the same religious procedure which is applied to all would-be Jews, namely, proof of being a Jew or undergoing religious conversion.

We know, to be realistic, that there are many organized groups of black people who maintain that they are Jews. The rabbinate believes that the Jewish community should establish lines of communication with them and assist them in their educational efforts. Therefore, the Board of Rabbis supports the Federation of Jewish Agencies and its granting of aid, financial and otherwise, to these groups which wish to undertake programs of religious activity and education as well as of cultural expression and social service in the spirit of Jewish tradition.

Such aid and communication is not to be taken as recognition of the Jewish authenticity of these groups, but as an act of friendship in the expectation that with closer communication and association with the historical Jewish community, the blacks who love Judaism will be absorbed gradually into the Jewish group by Halachic means.

To achieve this goal, the members of black synagogues, groups and clubs eventually should submit to one of the two criteria which Jewish tradition demands: either proof of being Jewish or accepting the traditional rite of conversion.

That will impose hardships and responsibilities and touch deep sensibilities, but it is the price exacted by life for the privilege of being a Jew and bearing witness to God. To all such genuine devotees of our faith, the rabbinate will extend a hearty and cordial welcome.

## HUC-JIR Names Friend Director of Development

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion announced the appointment of Chaim H. Friend as Director of Development. Friend formerly served as executive vice chairman of the Reform Jewish Appeal.

Prior to assuming that post, he was its associate director in New York City. Before joining the Reform Jewish Appeal, he served in the national office of the United Jewish Appeal.



*התנועה ליהדות מתקדמת בישראל*  
*The Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism*

Haifa, August 25, 1970

Rabbi Richard Hirsch  
UAHC  
2027 Washington Ave  
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

Dear Dick,

First of all I want to thank you for your prompt response to my urgent application for the budget for the High Holidays. You surely must have understood that I found myself in a desperate position as I was unable to give any authorization for expenditures, until knowing where we stand.

Meanwhile we have met with Rabbi Schoolman and have received the dol.5.000.-- I hope to meet him again next week in order to clarify some points in respect of this year's budget.

I have had an urgent phone call from Mel from which I understood that he has been phoning you. I had the feeling that this call to you was not made only in respect of a question of "Giyur". Therefore I would like you to know that neither I nor anybody else have asked him to contact you concerning any financial matters. But how could I possibly prevent him to expend public monies without authorization?

Furthermore he is pressing me to confirm the conversation we have had at the last moment on the last day of the Amsterdam Conference with Rabbis Schindler and Schoolman and some other people. Actually I never considered it a proper meeting, as it was not clear to me what was the purpose hereof, as I did not grasp most of its content. /and except that Mel was worried about his pension scheme. This meeting took less than half an hour during which we have been interrupted for at least 20 minutes by delegates who, before departing wanted to say good-bye. Therefore, on my return I did not report at the Vaad Haarti's meeting on this conversation, of course to the annoyance of Mel.

Now I understand that the Tel Aviv Congregation is asking for a substantial financial support for the High Holidays, because, they say, in the neighbourhood the Conservative Congregation is opening a new prayer place where they will have services during the High Holidays without charging for the entrance tickets.

Personally I am of the opinion that this fact should not have any bearing upon our assistance to "Kedem", but this problem shall probably have to be brought before the meeting of the Vaad Haartsi.

In my opinion neither is it proper that Mel should write to you directly without the authorization, either from the Vaad Haartsi or from the Financial Committee. We heard from Rabbi Schoolman that he (Mel) applied to the World Union for a subvention for the Amsterdam delegates even before this had been brought before the Vaad Haartsi. I think it would be very good if ways could be found to prevent any Rabbis or congregations from bothering you unless they are so instructed by the Vaad Haartsi.

מועצת הרבנים המתקדמים: תל-אביב: ת.ד. 17172. P.O.B. 17172  
The Council of Progressive Rabbis: Tel-Aviv: P.O.B. 17172  
הוועד הארצי: חיפה: ת.ד. 6241. P.O.B. 6241  
The National Board: Haifa: P.O.B. 6241



Jerusalem Post  
6/26/70

# Conversion: the figures and the facts

by Malka Rabinowitz

AS the shock waves of the Seidman case recede, both Orthodox and secular Jews are left trying to cope with the implications of the power held by Israel's Rabbinate to threaten the country's coalition government.

In neither camp is there any illusion that the makeshift solution for Mrs. Helen Seidman marked anything but a temporary respite in a series of religious-secular collisions. Mr. Ben-Menashe, the lawyer who specializes in anti-clerical law suits, has already announced he has similar cases coming up in the courts. They cannot be hard to find in a country where no one can be married, divorced or buried unless he belongs to a recognized religious community.

Even many who value *halacha* as an instrument for crystallizing the State's Jewish identity are troubled by the attitude of the rabbis who administer religious law. In a country which needs immigrants, non-Jewish spouses of Jewish newcomers find themselves confronting rabbis whose mentality is that of the closed orthodox world.

Nor is the effect felt only in the first generation. There have been heartbreaking cases of youngsters who grew up in Israel and served in its army only to find, when they needed proof of Jewishness in order to get married, that their mother is non-Jewish, and so, by *halacha*, is the son or daughter who is, therefore, disqualified from marrying a Jew.

Under the accumulated impact of cases which have aroused a public furor — and subjected to gentle pressure by the National Religious Party which is more sensitive to public opinion — the rabbinical courts are said to have become less inflexible in recent years. Mixed marriage cases are now processed in under a year, according to Rabbi Zev Gotthold, Ministry for Religious Affairs official dealing with conversion problems.

Seeking to avoid a showdown on this issue, the N.R.P.-run Interior Ministry has quietly shown more give. It generally recognizes Mexican proxy marriages and divorces obtained here by couples compelled to by-pass the rabbinical courts.

Similarly, the Rabbinate has recognized, however reluctantly, the conversion of some 30 soldiers carried out in the army by military chaplains.

A senior official, who has dealt extensively with the problem of *halacha* and State law, says: "A change will come when the young chaplains now in the trenches at Suez, Golan and the Jordan Rift take over from the old guard."

★ ★ ★

WHO wants to become a Jew? Just over 4,000 persons in the period between 1948 to 1968, according to statistics compiled for these two decades in Israel by the Ministry for Religious Affairs. The figures break down as follows:

- Of 4,010 persons who sought conversion in this period, 57 per cent (2,283 persons) were successful, after waiting for periods ranging from less than one year to over four.
- Of those (1,722) who did not make the grade, the reason in 90.5 per cent of cases was given as "not in good standing in church." A Ministry official

exact reason for non-appearance. Another 6.6 per cent were rejected by the rabbinical courts, while 2.9 per cent (50 persons) were turned down on grounds of security.

Rejection by the rabbinical courts was on one of the following grounds:

- the candidate sought only to marry a Jew and showed no other interest in Judaism.
- refusal to learn the principles of Judaism.
- refusal to break ties with the former religion.
- the court was not convinced of the candidate's sincerity.
- a woman applicant planned to marry a cohen after conversion (in violation of the *halacha* ban on marriage between a cohen and a convert), or if already married to a cohen by civil ceremony, refused to leave him after conversion.
- the parents of one of the sides did not agree to the marriage of the son or daughter with a convert.

Motivation for conversion breaks down as follows:

Desire to adopt the religion of a Jewish spouse out of conviction, (74.6 per cent of all applications); conviction (21.2 per cent) and the desire to marry a Jew (4.2 per cent).

By religion, the 4,010 candidates were: Catholics (45 per cent), Protestants (18.4), Eastern Churches (22.7), Moslems — including Israeli Arab Christians — (9.3), and all others — among them Druse, Bahai, Buddhists, and Hindus — (4.6).

No figures are available yet for 1969 but the number of applicants was said to be on the rise, totalling about 400 for the year.

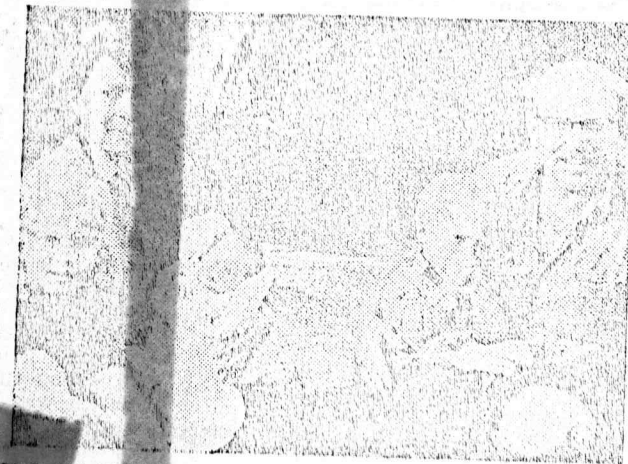
Rejected at the outset are persons who are forming a growing category — Christians who believe that by conversion and keeping all the mitzvot they will live as Jesus did and therefore become better Christians.

★ ★ ★

A CANDIDATE, equipped with a temporary residence visa from the Interior Ministry, must pay a IL2 registration fee at a regional rabbinical court office where he fills out a series of questionnaires. He is the more or less told to go away and come back in a year's time. "If we tell someone to study," is the attitude of the court, "it would involve a commitment on our part. Also, this is a cooling off period in which the candidate can test his own intentions."

Officially, then, the prospective proselyte receives no advice and is not even told what to read. Unofficially, he may get help from the Ministry for Religious Affairs which will usually bring him into contact with a volunteer teacher. This may be a family or a rabbi's wife (for women). There are no fixed requirements for study, each teacher proceeding according to his own lights.

Generally, the candidate may be called upon to know the following: the fundamentals of Jewish belief as expressed in the prayers and blessings; the months of the Jewish calendar; the Jewish holidays and their customs, with particular emphasis on the Sabbath; Jewish history; and the laws of family purity.



Helen Seidman with her husband and children at their kibbutz.

ture, says Rabbi Gotthold, "Some of the candidates are simple people. The questions are geared to the individual applicant."

In practice, the final, definitive test is carried out in the candidate's mother tongue by an outside examiner — retired rabbis or others who enjoy the confidence of the rabbinical court, which will generally accept the examiner's recommendation. The last stage is immersion in the *mikveh* and for men circumcision where this has not already been carried out. A conversion certificate is then issued by the court; the change of religion is officially entered by the Ministry for Religious Affairs; and the Interior Ministry makes the relevant changes in the identity card.

Officials have calculated on the basis of immigration statistics that there should have been more applicants for conversion than actually appeared over the last two decades. Horror stories about the attitude of the rabbinical courts undoubtedly kept many away. Moderate Orthodox circles concede that in the early years of the State the attitude of the rabbinical courts was "strictly Pharisee" with consideration being given only those undertaking to be Orthodox.

But, they add hopefully, the courts have become somewhat more flexible. It may now take only two to three months for the conversion of a non-Jewish spouse in a mixed marriage.

One dilemma is generally avoided by examining knowledge of the *kashrut* laws without asking the candidate outright whether he will observe them.

★ ★ ★

A THRIVING conversion factory is reportedly in operation in the Mea Shearim quarter of Jerusalem where for IL3,000 to IL5,000 anyone can be converted and married in two days. A young man who marries a non-Jewess abroad by civil ceremony may avail himself of these courts if the parents insist on a conversion that the Orthodox rabbis in his home country will not agree to. These Mea Shearim ceremonies are similar to Reform conversions in that they are not being recognized by Israel's Rabbinate.

That some practical thought has finally been given this problem by the responsible authorities is seen in the attempt to set up a free ulpan for prospective converts in Jerusalem. For the moment the plan is frozen because of the difficulty for candidates in taking off the two or three months needed for full-time study. The Ministry is now thinking of evening courses but no action has been taken as yet.



# REFORM CONVERSIONS

(continued from previous page)  
ing obtained political power, demand that non-Orthodox abroad be declared invalid and invalid by the State of Israel. They are oblivious to the fact that a state which practices freedom of religion has the right to impose no movement on any religious movement within its borders, let alone on a movement beyond its borders.

★ ★ ★  
Judaism is a threat to the purity of Orthodox Judaism.

Orthodox Judaism is a legitimate authentic interpretation of Jewish law which in the liberal environment of the Western World has succeeded in retaining millions of Jews who, in the choice of "all or nothing," have chosen "nothing."

The American scene most Orthodox rabbis and most Orthodox Jews regard the validity and significance of Reform Judaism. Reform-Conservative relations are generally characterized by cooperation and collaboration. On the national level the Council of America is the organizational body for the rabbinical and Conservative and Reform. The spirit of cooperation is reflected in the rotation of officers between the movements. On the local level Jewish community of any size Board of Rabbis and a Jewish Community Council in which representatives of all three movements work side by side. Even on religious matters there is collaboration. Reform will often refer couples to an Orthodox Beit Din for a divorce and Orthodox rabbis will on occasion suggest to prospective converts that they go to a Reform rabbi. Reform rabbis have been instrumental in gaining recognition that public meals served by Jewish community should be kosher. Reform Jews continue to support Orthodox yeshivot and day schools.

America the acrimony and venomed forth against Reform Jews by a narrow-minded persons are muted. The general recognition that the for solidarity takes precedence differences in interpretation of Judaism. The competitiveness which

which has enabled the Orthodox to forge a one-issue political party is conducive to perpetuating and exacerbating the differences between Jewish religious movements.

★ ★ ★  
Reform Rabbis officiate at marriage ceremonies without requiring conversion.

**The Facts**  
THE Central Conference of American Rabbis opposes marriages without conversion and calls upon its members not to officiate at intermarriages. I have been a rabbi for almost 20 years and have never officiated at an intermarriage. In the city of Chicago, where I served for eight years, only two Reform rabbis of a total of approximately 50 will officiate at such ceremonies. The majority of Reform rabbis are very critical of those few who do officiate at such ceremonies and from time to time severe debates have erupted within the Reform movement over the issue of intermarriages.

In America, intermarriage is an increasingly common phenomenon. Catholic and Protestant clergy regularly officiate at intermarriages. When a rabbi officiates he does not pretend that he is performing a valid Jewish act, but that he is in this instance, the representative of the civil authority. Neither the rabbi nor the couple involved believe that the ceremony makes a Jew of the non-Jew.

As for the Reform rabbis in Israel, they have adopted a binding position prohibiting marriage without conversion, and when the Reform movement will attain full rights, no such problem will arise.

★ ★ ★  
Conversions performed by Reform rabbis lead to assimilation.

**The Facts**  
I HAVE never yet heard of a situation where a rabbi's refusal to convert was the factor in breaking up the proposed marriage. If the rabbi rejects the prospective convert outright, the couple will marry in any case, and another family will be lost to the Jewish people. In an open society where intermarriage is on the increase, conversion is an essential means of preserving the Jewish people.

There is a fundamental difference in approach toward conversion between

same passages from the Rambam and Jewry has been steadily intensifying. Talmud which Reform rabbis have at its Jewish content. It is grossly unfair ways used as their basis for leniency of the Orthodox rabbinate to slander in accepting converts. He and his colleagues are to be congratulated for one of the all too rare applications of a liberal spirit by the Orthodox rabbinate.

★ ★ ★  
Conversions performed by Reform rabbis are "paper conversions."

**The Facts**  
REFORM rabbis in Israel have established high standards of Jewish knowledge as a prerequisite for conversion. The convert must study for six months to a year. He must be familiar with the basic tenets of Judaism, understand the essential differences between Judaism and Christianity, know the major laws and customs, attend Shabbat and holiday services regularly and be familiar with the Siddur and Machzor, be able to conduct the Kabbalat Shabbat and have a reading knowledge of parts of the Bible and selected classic Jewish literature.

Immersion is required for both male and female converts and circumcision is required for all male converts. The convert must pass a test before a Beit Din of three rabbis and demonstrate his knowledge of the above material as well as his sincere commitment to the faith and people of Israel. We contend that the converts of Reform rabbis are at least as well if not better prepared than the converts of Orthodox rabbis to comprehend and practise a full Jewish life.

As for Reform conversion in America, this is no longer really an issue, since the revised Law of Return recognizes, in effect, the conversions performed by all non-Orthodox rabbis abroad. However for the record it is important to know the facts. In recent years formal classes for converts have been developed in all the major cities, where the knowledge required is similar to that expected of converts in Israel. It is unfortunately true that there are a few Reform rabbis whose demands upon a convert are minimal. These rabbis are the exception and not the rule. They are criticized by their colleagues no less than by Orthodox rabbis. Every Orthodox rabbi who has any real experience and contact with the Reform movement knows that Reform

The Jewish people today, abroad as in Israel, is pluralistic in its religious as well as its political outlook. No amount of coercion by the Orthodox religious establishment will make the non-Orthodox movements retreat or disappear from the Jewish scene. To the contrary, in great measure the non-Orthodox movements are a response to the failure of Orthodoxy to adjust to the needs of the time. The greater the coercion, the greater the inflexibility, the more stimulus will there be to find alternatives to Orthodoxy which will give meaning to Jewish values in a contemporary context.

The Reform movement issues an appeal to reason to our Orthodox colleagues. Progressive Judaism is dedicated to the ultimate task of preserving Judaism and the Jewish people. We believe that it is essential for Orthodox Judaism to prosper and grow. Therefore, we do not address our message to Orthodox Jews. Rather do we come to the uncommitted, to those who do not attend synagogue or observe Jewish rituals or adhere to the religious tenets of Judaism. We come to those who have tasted Orthodoxy and rejected it, or to those who have had no contact with Jewish religious life at all.

We believe that our interpretation of Judaism enriches the lives of Jews by inculcating knowledge, faith, and purpose. In America more than twice as many Jews identify with non-Orthodox than with the Orthodox movements. If the non-Orthodox movements have nothing to offer the Jews in Israel, then the movements will not attract adherents. If the Reform movement is as diluted and meaningless as some of its Orthodox critics affirm, then the Jews of Medinat Israel will not be reluctant in so declaring. But let them make that decision for themselves!

Let the State of Israel indeed be the State of all the Jews. Let it refuse to be put in the position of giving establishment to a minority interpretation of Judaism and using its political powers to invalidate or impose a second-class status on other legitimate expressions of Judaism.

According to statistics compiled for these two decades in Israel by the Ministry for Religious Affairs: The figures break down as follows:  
• Of 4,010 persons who sought conversion in this period, 57 per cent (2,288 persons) were successful, after passing for periods ranging from less than one year to over four.  
• Of those 1,222 who did not make the grade, the reason in 90.5 per cent of cases was given as "failure to appear in court." A Ministry official said the Post: It was impossible to track down the

are no fixed requirements for study, each teacher proceeding according to his own lights.  
Generally, the candidate may be called upon to know the following: the fundamentals of Jewish belief as expressed in the prayers and blessings; the months of the Jewish calendar; the Jewish holidays and their customs, with particular emphasis on the Sabbath; Jewish history; and the laws of family purity.  
"We do not view conversion as an intellectual ven-

recognized by Israel's Rabbinate.  
That some practical thought has finally been given this problem by the responsible authorities is seen in the attempt to set up a free ulpan for prospective converts in Jerusalem. For the moment the plan is frozen because of the difficulty for candidates in taking off the two or three months needed for full-time study. The Ministry is now thinking of evening courses but no action has been taken as yet.

## Conversion: Reform rabbi states case

The following has been written by Rabbi Richard Hirsch of Jerusalem.

THE "resolution" of the so-called "conversion crisis" is a surprise ending to a tragedy-comedy. It is a political, not a religious solution.

Ever since the debate over "Who is a Jew" the rabbinate and the National Religious Party have been vehemently opposing Reform conversion.

And now, after months of slander of Reform Judaism and its leaders, they themselves take a convert prepared by a Reform Rabbi, who is married to a Cohen, who lives at a kibbutz where neither Kashrut nor Shabbat is observed, and convert her in a flash.

The contention of the Orthodox establishment has been that if the conversion of Mrs. Seidman by Reform rabbis was permitted to stand, it would serve as a precedent. If so, does not the conversion of Mrs. Seidman by the Orthodox rabbinate serve as a precedent? Does it not demonstrate that the Orthodox rabbinate can, if it is sufficiently concerned, find ways of facilitating the process of conversion, that it need not place before converts interminable obstacles and impossible demands? And does it not indicate that the Reform movement in Israel, as abroad, serves a vital role, and that the Reform rabbinate deserves appropriate recognition of its standards, values and practices as a valid expression of Judaism?

Herewith is a listing of the contentions made by some Orthodox rabbis, followed by the facts:  
The Chief Rabbinate and the National Religious Party are defending the integrity and sanctity of the Halacha.

**The Facts**  
It is not the desire to preserve the Halacha which motivates the Or-

thodox Rabbinate, but rather the desire to keep the Halacha as their special preserve. The World Union for Progressive Judaism has requested permission for its rabbis in Israel to officiate at marriage ceremonies after the prospective couples have been duly registered at the Rabbinate and certified for marriage in full conformance with Halacha. The ceremony itself would be performed according to Halacha — with a Reform rabbi officiating, and if necessary, with witnesses appointed by the Rabbinate. But this has been rejected outright by the religious authorities; proof that not the Halacha, but the Orthodox control of rabbinical functions is the real issue which propels them.

The furor raised by the Seidman case demonstrates clearly the real motivation of the Orthodox leadership. According to all interpretations, except the Orthodox, the registration of Mrs. Seidman as a Jew was not to be considered a precedent. She was in a unique position, having filed her petition after the Shalit decision and before the revision of the Law of Return. But the Rabbinate and the majority of the N.R.P. have seen in the case an opportunity to erase that part of the revised Law of Return which they never accepted in the first place — the recognition of non-Orthodox conversions abroad. They know that there is no logical reason for sanctioning conversions by Reform rabbis abroad and for denying the right of these same rabbis to convert once they have settled in Israel. And so, recognizing that both time and logic were against them, they decided to exploit the delicate political situation in order to strengthen their monopoly over religious life. In so doing they employed old-fashioned political blackmail clothed in the garb of Judaism.

of religion. Their stated purpose was to unify the Jewish people. But the consequence of their action was to divide the Jewish people and to threaten to dissolve the coalition government at the very time when solidarity is so essential to the well-being of both the State and the people.

To recognize religious acts performed by Reform rabbis would lead to a schism within the Jewish people.

**The Facts**  
In America, the religious acts performed by Reform and Conservative rabbis far outnumber those performed by Orthodox rabbis. In addition, many Jewish couples are married by court magistrates, generally non-Jews, in a civil marriage ceremony. Divorce is granted only by a civil court and the get of a rabbinic court is only supplementary and voluntary. The preponderance of Jewish divorces are never brought to a Rabbinical Beit Din, and so, most Jewish divorces are halachically invalid. If one would add up the number of Jews who over the generations are the progeny of marriages, remarriages and conversions not performed by Orthodox rabbis according to the strictest Orthodox interpretation of Halacha, one would arrive at a figure representing the major percentage of American Jews today. To insist that the only valid marriages, divorces and conversions are those carried out by Orthodox rabbis would immediately disqualify most of the Jews of the world. In this instance the schism is not the result of any actions performed by Reform or Conservative rabbis, but rather the bitter fruit of an entrenched orthodox minority.

The Jews in the Diaspora will not accept recognition of Reform and Conservative Judaism.

**The Facts**  
In the United States there are approximately 6,000,000 Jews. Of these, no more than three-fourths — to one million are Orthodox Jews. And even that number includes many who are only nominally affiliated with an Orthodox synagogue and many who do not live according to the 613 Commandments.

The majority of American Jews are not Orthodox. Reform and Conservative Judaism each has more than one million. The majority of the members, leaders and professional staffs of the major national Jewish organizations comprising the President's Conference, the body coordinating efforts to gain public support for the State of Israel, are non-Orthodox. The bulk of funds contributed to the United Jewish Appeal and to Israel bonds comes from non-Orthodox Jews. On the local level the majority of Jewish welfare and educational institutions are funded and operated by and for non-Orthodox Jews.

To maintain that the Jews of America want the Orthodox Religious Party to have a monopoly over Jewish religious life in Israel is ludicrous, as well as untrue. What is true, unfortunately, is that a small minority of American Orthodox Jews, who have continuously failed in their efforts to diminish the influence of Conservative and Reform Judaism in America, now see in the State of Israel a political instrument for imposing a second-class status on non-Orthodox Jews.

It is not enough for the Rabbinate and the Ministry of Religion to have a monopoly over Jewish religious life in Israel. No monopoly is ever assured if there are competitors overseas, and

(Continued on next page)



forth against Reform Jews by narrow-minded persons are muted by a general recognition that the for solidarity takes precedence differences in interpretation of m. The competitiveness which exist is generally salutary in that movements practise coexistence as their primary objective search for new adherents from the of the uncommitted — who use almost half of American The ultimate task of the syna- and the rabbi is to bring Jews daism and Judaism to Jews. Is any Orthodox rabbi of integrity would prefer that Jewish children Jewish education rather than a Jewish education, or that Jews away from synagogues altogether than worship in a Conservative ague?

ve all, it is the State of Israel is the unifying factor of American life, bringing together Orthodox, vative and Reform Jews to for a common cause. What a x that in this very State of Is- he peculiar political structure

Jewish people. In an open society where intermarriage is on the increase, conversion is an essential means of preserving the Jewish people.

There is a fundamental difference in approach toward conversion between Orthodox rabbis and Reform rabbis. In America almost all the candidates for conversion are persons who wish to marry a Jew and who look upon their conversion as an essential step toward marriage. According to the strictest interpretation of Halacha, such persons are to be automatically rejected. However, more liberal rabbis have always been able to find rabbinic sources to justify conversion initially motivated by marriage.

In order to become a Jew converts often have to commit perjury by promising to fulfil laws which both they and the rabbi know the convert has no intention of adhering to. The excesses of rabbinic power often lead to impossible demands.

If a prospective convert lives at a non-Orthodox kibbutz where kashrut is not observed, the rabbinate apparently expects the convert to uproot himself and go to a religious kibbutz.

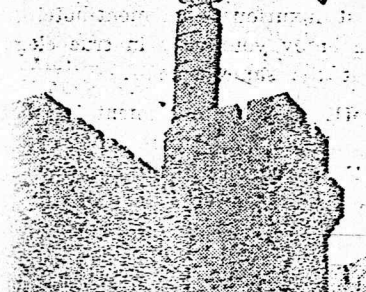
In the United States the traditional Orthodox approach toward conversion is not in keeping with the needs of the young people involved or in keeping with our vested interests of preserving the Jewish people. That is why in some instances liberal Orthodox rabbis in the United States will refer prospective converts to Reform rabbis.

In Israel, the attitudes and practices of the Orthodox rabbinate are totally unwarranted. A non-Jew who has come to settle in Israel, whether originally motivated by love for a Jew or by the idealism of the State of Israel and its unique institutions, such as the kibbutz, makes a significant commitment. He affirms his willingness to work, and if necessary to die, for the Jewish State and to raise a family in a Jewish environment. How can anyone seriously contend that in the state of Israel conversion is a step leading toward assimilation? To the contrary, in a Jewish environment, conversion becomes the primary means of identifying with the Jewish people.

It is especially fascinating to note that in this instance Rabbi Goren based his conversion of Mrs. Seidman on the

no less than by Orthodox rabbis. Every Orthodox rabbi who has any powers to invalidate or impose a se- real experience and contact with the cond-class status on other legitimate Reform movement knows that Reform expressions of Judaism.

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serviced apartments in luxury apartment house, private swimming pool from \$220 monthly

June 3, 1970

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch (Israel)

Al Vorspan

X  
Who is a Jew

Enclosed, the items you requested.

Al Vorspan is coordinating the further effort which you requested. Wolf Kelman has already issued his release.

Busy, busy -- but we'll survive, im yirtze hashem!

Keep well.

P.S. Am meeting with Hank next week.



6/3/70

To: Rabbi Balfour Brickner  
Al Vorspan

For your information, Rae read the cable  
which was sent to Golda Meir on May 28th,  
to Rabbi Wolf Kelman's secretary.

Telefax

# WESTERN UNION

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CALL LETTERS F Z W NL CHARGE TO Union of American Hebrew Congregations

May 28, 1970

THE HONORABLE GOLDA MEIR  
JERUSALEM (ISRAEL VIA RCA)

WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE UNSEEMLY THREAT BY THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY OF YOUR COALITION GOVERNMENT IN REGARD TO THE REGISTRATION AS A JEW OF A WOMAN CONVERTED BY OUR PROGRESSIVE RABBIS IN ISRAEL ALMOST THREE YEARS AGO. IT IS ASTOUNDING THAT THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY SHOULD BE SO EXERCISED OVER ONE CONVERSION THAT AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE IT WOULD THREATEN THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COALITION GOVERNMENT AND JEOPARDIZE THE UNITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

WE ARE ESPECIALLY DISMAYED AT REPORTS THAT LEGISLATION WILL BE PROPOSED TO OPPOSE REGISTRATION AS JEWS OF ALL SUCH CONVERTS IN THE FUTURE.

Cont'd.....

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Page 2.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL IS INTERESTED IN INCREASING IMMIGRATION INCLUDING THE IMMIGRATION OF NON-ORTHODOX LAWMEN AND RABBIS. IT IS TOTALLY INCONGRUOUS FOR THE STATE TO RECOGNIZE CONVERSION PERFORMED BY NON-ORTHODOX RABBIS ABROAD AND THEN TO DISQUALIFY THE CONVERSIONS OF THOSE SAME RABBIS AFTER THEY HAVE RESPONDED TO THE CALL OF ALIYAH.

PROGRESSIVE RABBIS IN ISRAEL HAVE ESTABLISHED STRICT STANDARDS FOR CONVERSION. CONVERTS UNDERTAKE SIX MONTHS TO A YEAR OF STUDY, PASS AN EXAM BEFORE A RABBINIC BET DIN, AND UNDERGO T'VILAH AND B'RIT MILAH. IT IS THEREFORE CLEAR TO US AS IT SHOULD BE CLEAR TO ALL THAT THE ORTHODOX ESTABLISHMENT IN ISRAEL IS NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN PRESERVING THE HALACHAH BUT RATHER IN PROTECTING THEIR PRESENT MONOPOLY AS THE EXCLUSIVE INTERPRETERS OF HALACHAH.

Cont'd.....

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Page 3.

THE MAJORITY OF JEWS IN ISRAEL ARE NOT ORTHODOX. WE URGE THE GOVERNMENT NOT TO COMPROMISE AWAY THE RIGHT OF THE MAJORITY TO A SMALL LOCAL MINORITY WHO HAVE ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THAT PETTY VESTED INTERESTS TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THEIR SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL TO REJECT FORTH-RIGHTLY POLITICAL BLACKMAIL CLOTHED IN THE GARMENT OF RELIGION AND TO MAINTAIN THE SOLIDARITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

WE ASSURE YOU OF OUR CONTINUING SUPPORT IN THE MAJOR TRIALS CONFRONTING AM YISRAEL AND MEDINAT YISRAEL.

Cont'd.....

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**WESTERN UNION**  
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Page 4.

(Signed) RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH, PRESIDENT,  
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSON, PRESIDENT,  
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

RABBI JACOB K. SHARFMAN, PRESIDENT  
WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM

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→  
from  
2/18/70  
Rabbi Eisendrath called the attention of the Executive Committee to the new development in Israel and the controversy that has been stirred up attendant upon the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Israel relative to "who is a Jew?". In the struggle over the Shalit case in Israel, the Orthodox community mounted a vehement campaign to overturn the Israeli Supreme Court and to fasten the Orthodox definition of "Jew" upon the Knesset. Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, who is the Director of the Religious Action Center in Washington and greatly experienced in social action, is in Israel on his leave of absence. He mobilized the Liberal Jewish community in Israel, utilizing the techniques of American-style lobbying and campaigning in the Knesset, in an extremely effective support for religious liberty. The result of all these efforts was adoption of legislation which was condemned by extremist Orthodox spokesmen because it recognized, for the first time, the legitimacy of non-Orthodox rabbinic conversions in defining "who is a Jew?".

Rabbi Eisendrath then announced that Rabbi Richard Sternberger, presently Director of the New Jersey Council, has been assigned as the new Director of the Mid-Atlantic Council, effective July 1.



Rabbi Eisendrath complimented Mr. Morse on the exhibition of his exceedingly unique collection of historic Chinese art, which has been recently on display in San Francisco, and which will soon open at the Los Angeles County Museum. He said that he had attended the exhibit when it was presented at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto and could testify to the reception and response to it. He also commented on the highly commendatory review of Mr. Morse's extraordinary exhibit in a recent issue of THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

Rabbi Eisendrath said that he was pleased to announce that Mrs. Joseph Harlam is desirous of some memorial to her late husband in this building, in addition to the Betty and Joseph Harlam Camp in Pennsylvania which was established in their names as a consequence of their very generous gift. She has very eagerly accepted the idea of having our display windows on Fifth Avenue dedicated to his memory and has graciously made a gift of \$40,000 for this purpose. Rabbi Eisendrath moved that the Executive Committee formally accept this gift, which motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

April 23, 1970

Dear Dick,

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of the various materials concerning Kfar Kassam and the Who Is a Jew decision. It was thoughtful of you to send this along to me, and I found the material very helpful.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi A.M. Schindler

838 Fifth Ave.

New York, N.Y. 10021

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch  
70 Uziel Street  
Jerusalem, Israel

c/o Argov

## MEMORANDUM

Date February 6, 1970From Myron E. SchoenTo Rabbi SchindlerCopy for information of Rabbis Brickner, Eisendrath and Seltzer, and Al VorspanSubject Arab-Jewish Dialogue

I want to heartily endorse the suggestion of Sandy Seltzer's that the staff of the UAHC discuss the implications of his memo of January 19, 1970. While the time I have spent in Israel has been quite limited (two weeks in December 1968 and two weeks in December 1969), there were several aspects that troubled me greatly.

It is more than a month since my return from my visit with my son, who is studying at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, but there is one comment, among many, that he made that keeps running around in my mind. In one of our long and serious discussions on the role and relationship of Israel to the Jews of the diaspora, he declared, "But Pop, there are no Jews here, there are only Israelis!" I do not want to try to interpret this comment in this memo, but I think it is an integral part of the questions that Sandy raises.

Going back a full year, I can still recall the shock both my wife and I experienced at the "official line" given us as part of a bus-load of ordinary tourists by our Israeli guide, when viewing the scene in the Gaza Strip and on the Golan Heights. This, too, has religious implications which I would love to discuss without being considered "anti-Israel."

My family was in Dick Hirsch's home the day his article appeared in the Jerusalem Post and I wish I had a tape recording of the exchange that took place between my youngsters and Dick, not only in regard to his article but on other facets of the Israeli scene. Dick listened, but I am not quite sure that he understood the full import of the reactions of these American born Reform Jewish, college-age kids.

However, I must, at the same time, say that I, for one, agree with



Rabbi Schindler

-2-

February 6, 1970

Dick's statement that the political leaders of Israel seem to have a tremendous following in the American Jewish community. Further, that more and more in my travels and contact with the leadership of our Reform congregations, I get the feeling that Israel and its survival are of prime importance to the vitality and strength of the American Jewish community.

I am curious to hear from Sandy about the contacts between Arab-Israeli students on American campuses. The report I have from my daughter in Washington, D. C. (which has a large Arab population, student and otherwise), is of extreme hostility and no basis for dialogue. However, with the scene in the near East becoming daily one of greater retaliation to retaliation, we must certainly search for some way to keep the situation from deteriorating to the point where the only recourse is to arms.

I sincerely hope that at the earliest possible date, the staff will have the opportunity for a full discussion of the situation.



MES:mr

# WCBS-TV

CBS Television Stations  
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51 West 52 Street  
New York, New York 10019  
(212) 765-4321



Dear Mrs. Weiner:

Thank you for your interest in requesting a transcript of the news piece I did on the extra Y chromosome story.

It's enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Earl Ubell".

Earl Ubell  
Science Editor

Mrs. Rae Weiner  
838 Fifth Avenue - Room 900  
New York, N.Y. 10021

21 April 1969

EU/jm

CBS

Ubell/Chromosome Murder - April 14, 1969

Ubell o/c

John Farley was sick of mind and sick in each and every one of his body's cells when he killed a forty-nine-year-old Queens woman last August. His attorney, Marvyn Korberg, all but admitted that he did the killing. He told a jury that his client's warped cells made him abnormal, and his warped mind made him believe he was killing his own mother. The combination makes John Farley not guilty by reason of insanity, his attorney said. This is the first time such a defense was offered to a jury in an American Court.

The unique legal and medical approach will assert that John had an extra chromosome in every cell of his body ... a chromosome that made him 6 feet 8 inches tall, that made him especially aggressive.

Here's the chromosome story: his body--and yours too--is composed of organs--heart, lungs, kidneys, and liver. Here, for example, is his liver...

And the liver in turn is composed of microscopic cells--bags of chemicals that carry on all living chemistry... every organ is composed of cells.

This is a typical cell: the ordinary chemistry goes on in this region: your muscle cells contract, your brain cells fire electricity, your liver cells create new chemicals.



Ubell o/c

This is the brain of the cell. It controls all the chemistry. And in the brain there are these rod-like objects, less than a ten-thousandth of an inch long--these are chromosomes.

The chromosomes contain all the instructions for the cells' chemistry. You and I have 23 pairs, including a pair that determines our maleness or femaleness.

Males have a small one called X Y, and a big one called X. Females have two XX's. John Farley has an extra Y chromosome. He inherited it at birth in some unknown way. And in the last year, scientists have found that many criminals have extra Y chromosomes; that extra chromosome changes the body chemistry... makes the man more aggressive: more likely to assault, more likely to rape, more likely to kill.

John Farley has that killer chromosome.

# C.P. Snow Suggests Jews 'Superior'

By Lewis Grossberger

New York—Physicist-novelist C. P. Snow suggested yesterday that Jews may be genetically superior, entering a scientific controversy heavily laden with emotional overtones: Is human development influenced more by heredity or environment?

"Is there something in the Jewish gene pool which produces talent on quite a different scale from, say, the Anglo-Saxon gene pool?" Snow asked. "I am prepared to believe that it may be so. Take any test of achievement you like—in any branch of science, mathematics, literature, music, public life," he said. "The Jewish performance has been not only disproportionate, but almost ridiculously disproportionate." He made his remarks in a Founder's Day address at the New York School of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

Snow, the British lord noted for achievements in both science and letters, was cautious in his treatment of what has been called the nature vs. nurture question, acknowledging that equalitarian Americans would probably not like a theory that one group might be superior to others because of its genes. Snow refused to be drawn into a discussion of the genetics

of the Negro race or the controversial work of Arthur Jensen, a leading educational psychologist, who has argued that intelligence is determined largely by heredity and cannot be significantly changed by environment.

What Snow did say was that Jews, through centuries of inbreeding, may have produced an "undiluted gene pool" that led to "astonishing performance" in "whatever kind of human excellence you examine." He conceded, however, that environment could be a strong factor in that performance. "The very obvious truth that a Jewish person starts with two strikes against him means that he will struggle through where others don't," he said.

Snow argued that a theory of hereditary group superiority, if proven correct, need not lead to racism, but to a more effective use of the abilities of such groups. Geneticists and psychologists, largely divided on the group-superiority-inferiority question, have tended to treat it gingerly because of possible emotional racial reactions and also because there is little scientific evidence on the subject.

Thus, the recent publication in a Harvard University periodical of the Jensen study caused a stir

in scientific circles. Jensen, a psychologist at the University of California at Berkeley, theorized that inborn genetic factors determine intelligence and that this accounts for the fact that Negroes average 15 points below whites on intelligence quotient tests. Jensen added that recent tests indicated that children from Negro and other disadvantaged groups do poorly in abstract reasoning, but do well in rote learning and memory.

Because heredity is more important than environment, Jensen reasoned, educational programs designed to raise the intelligence of disadvantaged children by enriching their cultural surroundings are mistakes. Instead, he said, if his theory is correct, "the next step will be to develop the techniques by which school learning can be most effectively achieved in accordance with different patterns of ability."

Jensen's treatise was praised by some scientists, but caused dismay for others, who felt that he had gone further than the evidence justified. Snow, asked about Jensen's writing yesterday, would say only: "The findings should not be dramatized until there is absolute scientific justification. I wish that Jensen had been a little more careful."



## Ray's Judge Is Dead; Retrial May Result



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The New York Times

**CALLS JEWS SUPERIOR: C. P. Snow, British author and physicist, who spoke yesterday at the New York School of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion here.**

## C. P. Snow Says Jews' Success Could Be Genetic Superiority

By LAWRENCE VAN GELDER

C. P. Snow, the British author and physicist, said yesterday that he was prepared to believe that Jews are genetically superior to other people.

In a Founders' Day address at the New York School of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, at 40 West 68th Street, the 63-year-old Briton, who was knighted in 1957, asked, "Why have the Jews been so successful?"

"The record," Lord Snow observed, "is remarkable, and quite outside any sort of statistical probabilities."

"Well, take any test of achievement you like—in any branch of science, mathematics, literature, music, public life," he said. "The Jewish performance has been not only disproportionate, but almost ridiculously disproportionate. To use a crude criterion, run your eye down the lists of Nobel Prize winners for the last 25 years. You will find something between a third and a quarter have Jewish names."

### 'The Facts Are Plain'

Lord Snow said that "roughly the same astonishing performance turns up whatever kind of human excellence you examine."

"This isn't arguable," he said. "The facts are plain. But why is it? One answer is, of course, that the Jewish environment makes for the utmost use of talent. The very obvious truth that a Jewish persons starts with two strikes against him means that he will struggle through where others don't."

He said that in less oppressive societies, like the United States or the United Kingdom, one would expect the "explosion of talent in due course to lose its force."

"Will that happen?" he asked. "Or is there something in the Jewish gene-pool which produces talent on quite a dif-

ferent scale from, say, the Anglo-Saxon gene-pool. I am prepared to believe that may be so."

Lord Snow, who was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters at the ceremonies last night, discussed the content of his speech during a news conference earlier in the day.

"One would like to know more about the Jewish gene-pool," he said in his speech. "In various places—certainly in Eastern Europe—it must have stayed pretty undiluted, or unaltered for hundreds of years."

At the news conference, he declined to discuss the Negro race or the theory of a leading educational psychologist, Arthur Jensen of the University of California at Berkeley, who has maintained that intelligence is largely hereditary and cannot be altered significantly by environment.

### Caution Is Suggested

"The findings should not be dramatized until there is absolute scientific justification," Lord Snow said. "I wish that Jensen had been a little more careful."

In his speech, Lord Snow also raised the question: "What is the destiny of the State of Israel?" He said, "Israel has to live."

He noted that "advantages in military technology don't last forever" and that "Jews and Muslims can live, and have lived, harmoniously together—particularly if there are barbarous and bloodthirsty Christians somewhere near."

He suggested that acceptance by the Soviet Union and the United States of responsibility for resettling Palestinian Arabs "would remove one of the ulcers of the world."

"It would also," he said, "in this gloomy world of 1969, shine out as a major sign of hope such as we are all looking for and have almost ceased to expect."

## Lindsay

By PETE

A Puerto Rican who was named Lindsay as the city's Coroner Rights today to have in political party support of voters' ground.

Dr. Sergio S. old Bronx speaker of medicine and the New Progress himself as pro accepted by of State's o to him date

His group hopes to designate and other view, he have no members Mayor Lin choice.

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# C. P. Snow Says You Have to Be Jewish

By BARRY CUNNINGHAM

Nothing succeeds like success—except being born a Jew.

That's the view of C. P. Snow, statesman, novelist, scientist, philosopher and gentle.

"Why have the Jews been so successful?" Lord Snow asked an audience of Talmudic scholars assembled at Hebrew Union College to award him an honorary doctorate.

Snow suggested that, apart from their heritage of persecution and their cultural environment, the Jewish people are born with a creative intellect

superior to that of Anglo-Saxons.

## A Different Scale

"Is there something in the Jewish gene pool which produces talent on quite a different scale from, say, the Anglo-Saxon gene pool? I am prepared to believe that may be so."

The British peer described the "almost ridiculous proportion" of Jewish names on the roster of Nobel Prize-winners over the last quarter century, and added that the Jewish people's "inexplicably large con-

tribution to the world . . . has often roused the envy of less gifted persons."

His theory of the genetically Chosen People may have ingratiated him with his audience, but reporters at a press conference yesterday pressed Snow for a fuller explanation.

What is a Jew? he was asked. Lord Snow replied without hesitation: "Anyone who thinks he is."

## Liberty to Succeed

Then anyone who thinks he has the required gene pool is most likely to succeed?

Snow glowered through owlish spectacles and dismissed the question as an impertinence. Lord Snow, shambling, bald, face congested, said, "All of us like to believe that our fate is entirely in our own hands. We think we ought to be able to play the piano like Richter, broad-jump 29 feet, write 'War and Peace,' or become a movie star. We don't believe in any predetermination. I don't like to upset these cherished dreams."

He conceded that "a lot of people are going to be very

upset" over his suggestion of inborn Jewish intelligence. He agreed that the theory was a kind of "scientific Calvinism."

## Ought to Be Equal

"Of course all people ought to be equal in creation," he said, "but you've got to be extremely careful who you spend your time giving a long education to."

Asked if he were specifically referring to disadvantaged blacks and other minorities, Lord Snow stressed that he wasn't taking "the broad view" but talking about people who were going to make a different contribution to the world."

**"ENTERTAINING!  
WORTH SEEING!  
ATTRACTIVE AND  
LAVISH!"**

Judith Crist,  
New York  
Magazine

**Zeppelins.  
Bombs.  
Bordellos.  
Burials.**

**You name it.  
We have it.**



**Opening**

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April 17, 1969

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Sydney Gross

Myrna Pollak

I think your idea for getting Snow to expand on his theory was excellent. I passed it on to Myrna Pollak for follow-up.

## Slomovitz Chides Newspaper Colleagues For Their Reaction To Lord Snow's Thesis

DETROIT, April 21 (JTA) -- The editor-publisher of an English-Jewish weekly published here has criticized the editors of a number of other Jewish weeklies for rejecting a suggestion by the British author and physicist, C.P. Snow, that outstanding Jewish achievement in many fields might be attributable to a superior genetic endowment.

Philip Slomovitz, of the Detroit Jewish News, accepts Lord Snow's thesis as "truth." He chided its critics for being "jittery" and "frightened by the gene pool compliments" and urged Lord Snow not to be "upset by the critics." According to Mr. Slomovitz, "If there is a disproportionate performance of Jewish superiority--as there undoubtedly is--it is the result of a challenge, of the need to overcome difficulties, of rising above the degradations to which our people have been subjected through the ages... That is why the Jew rose above his environment. That's why the gene produced so well."

Editors of English-Jewish weeklies published in Boston, Cleveland and Newark, N.J., however, saw in Lord Snow's theory the elements of a potentially dangerous doctrine of racial superiority which could make Jews complacent. They attributed the excellence of Jewish performance to ambition, hard work, closely knit families and a tradition of learning. One editor maintained that the "challenge-and-response" theory promulgated by the British historian Arnold Toynbee was a more likely explanation of Jewish achievement than Lord Snow's gene pool thesis. There is no scientific evidence that environmental factors affect human genes.

## New Jersey Senate Gets Assembly-Passed Bill Allowing Prayer Or Silent Meditation

TRENTON, N.J., April 21 (JTA) -- A bill allowing brief, daily silent prayer or meditation in New Jersey public schools was passed on to the Senate last week after winning almost unanimous approval in the State Assembly. The measure, which could constitute a challenge to the U.S. Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution's edict calling for separation of church and state is expected to face a veto by Gov. Richard J. Hughes if passed by the Senate. He vetoed a similar bill last year and its supporters failed by a narrow margin to over-ride it. The measure supported by 15 Democrats and 44 Republicans provides for a period of meditation at the opening of every school day and would be mandatory if directed by the local school board and optional with each teacher in lieu of any school board directive.

## National Council Of Jewish Women Hears President Comment On Youth, Black Anti-Semitism

CHICAGO, April 21 (JTA) -- The National Council of Jewish Women opened its 28th biennial convention here yesterday with an analysis of the disaffection of American youth and an assessment of Negro anti-Semitism. Mrs. Leonard H. Weiner, president of the 100,000-member organization, said in her keynote address that young people were dismayed by the gap between the image of America they grew up with and the realities they saw.

"Many of our young people have grown up living the 'good life' portrayed in ads and on television screens," she said, "and as they have reached maturity and grasped the nature of the world as it is for the great majority of its inhabitants, they have been overwhelmed by dismay and disillusionment." Mrs. Weiner said that looking to their elders "they have seen avoidance or response so measured that it could be interpreted as indifference."

Mrs. Weiner urged the Jewish community not to hold the entire Negro people responsible for the anti-Semitic manifestations of small groups of extremists. "We cannot expect black America to be free of anti-Semitism or any other human weakness," she said. She added, however, that it was the responsibility of black leaders to condemn irresponsible and anti-social behavior. The same position was taken by Judge Otto Kerner, chairman of the National Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission), who was on hand to receive the John F. Kennedy Award for his contributions while serving on the Commission.

## New Yorkers Will Pay Tribute To Danes For Rescuing Jewish Community During War

NEW YORK, April 21 (JTA) -- New York's academic community will pay tribute to the Government and people of Denmark here April 26 for the rescue of almost the entire Jewish community of that country by their Danish fellow citizens. A program of music and dance featuring international artists will mark the escape of Denmark's Jews to Sweden in 1943 after they were slated for deportation to Nazi death camps. The event will be sponsored by Tribute to the Danes, Inc., a foundation which provides scholarships in Israel for Danish youth.

JOACHIM PRINZ

February 19, 1970

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York

Dear Alex:

It was so good having seen you last night. I hope the meeting was helpful.

I am writing you to impress upon you the great importance of a meeting with Golda Meir, not merely in terms of religious freedom and all the rest of it, but in very concrete terms of political concerns. This should include some of the points which I made last night.

There is a story in the paper today that Israel has suggested some plan for the solution of the refugee problem. Nevertheless, all this should be discussed. But the most important point to be made is that you are under the impression that the government of Israel does not always understand the issues which are paramount to American Jews and other Jews in the world. However, I would stress American Jewry. I would tell her in no uncertain terms that we sometimes feel the government shows little sensitivity to the problems which beset us, that they do not understand or realize the extent of their alienation which can only be aggravated by Israel's political attitudes.

I would in this discussion mention concrete problems such as the Presidents Conference taking orders from the Embassy, and that by doing so, becoming politically useless. This conversation will be senseless unless it is completely frank, and even brutally frank. You are, after all, free agents and do not aspire to any position in the Israel cabinet. Therefore you can speak with the utmost frankness and honesty. It would be catastrophic if the Central Conference would have a convention and indicate that its only concerns are with religious and cultural matters. Such esoteric stance is no longer possible or helpful.



- 2 -

I hope you will discuss it with your people and, if you wish, you can convey it to them in my name.

Give my love to your wife who in my mind is identified with wild strawberries and a good Sancerre, preferably vintage 1959.

With all good wishes, I am

Yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John".

March 13, 1970

Dear Dick,

Just a note to let you know how nice it was to be with you -- and to be in Israel, of course. You covered yourself with glory these past weeks, and we basked in this reflection.

A favor, if you can: Was the Kafr Kassem (1958) decision ever published? If so, would it be possible for you to obtain a copy for me (preferably in English)? I notice that the Jerusalem Post advertised its intention to issue a special supplement on the "Who is a Jew?" case; perhaps a similar supplement was released on Kafr Kassem in 1958 (for that matter, if the "Jew" supplement is interesting, be good enough to send it to me as well. I really hate to impose on you for this, but I will be beholden to you for this if you can help me here. Maybe it can be done through your secretary.

Heartfelt thanks for all your helpfulness and for your friendship.

Love to Bella and the kids.

As ever,

Alexander M. Schindler

c/o Argov

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch  
70 Uziel Street  
Jerusalem, Israel



1/8/70  
Copies sent to MNE, ALV, N. Hess

# The issues before U.S. Jewry

UNTIL the Six Day War, the theory upon which the American Jewish community was structured was that American Jewry and Israeli Jewry were equal partners. The historical analogy most frequently drawn was that between Babylon and Jerusalem. The American "Babylon" was a great independent centre whose wealth, status, influence, vitality and creativity would be a source of support and stimulus to Jerusalem. After the establishment of the State, even ardent American Zionists refused to accept the term *Gola* as defining the condition of the American Jew. For this reason, the Zionist Congress of 1951, the first held since statehood, could not agree on the formulation of new aims for the Zionist movement. For this reason, also, the task of promoting *Aliya* was rejected by American Jewry in general and ignored, or at best given lip service by the American Zionist organizations in particular. The establishment and nurturing of the State were essential for the solution of the "Jewish problem" in Europe, Africa, South America and Arab lands, but since American Jews had no "Jewish problem," the Zionist solution was not applicable to their condition. The American Jewish community's attitude to Israel may be characterized as a *fur yemem* approach, "for others" are we committed to financial and political support of Israel, its immigrants and its educational, welfare, and cultural institutions.

In the '60s the *fur yemem* theory was tested in the crucible of history — and it was found insufficient. Though most American Jews would probably not agree, the events of the last decade have initiated a process which will lead in the decade ahead to the development of a *fur uns* approach — "for us" also was the State of Israel established, "for us" also must it be nourished. American Jewry has generally conceived of its role as donor to a cause, and has developed the psychological characteristics inherent in the donor-recipient relationship. It is now beginning to realize that the roles are in reality reciprocal and that, if anything, Israel has given more in Jewish value than it has received in American Jewish money.

The events of the '60s have not yet made their full impact on the intellectual perspectives of American Jews. There is always a time lag between historical events

pectives of American Jews. There is always a time lag between historical events and the intellectual perspectives of American Jews. There is always a time lag between historical events

That are the developments which will affect the fundamental assumption of American Jewish life?

## First: The continuing impact of the Six Day War

Time had dulled the memory of the post-1948 generation. The Six Day War dramatically revived the poignancy of the 1948-49 war and reminded Jews that the Jewish powers would never jeopardize their national interests for the sake of a super power, let alone for the sake of Jewish interests. The fellow Americans whom Jews have most in common on the major issues confronting American Jewry, the liberals in both politics and religion, are for the most part either opponents or indifferent to the Israeli cause. "Zionism" of American Jews is now a divisive factor in their society. Because it highlights the differences rather than the similarities of Christians and Jews, it has become a bone of contention between Christian and Jewish religious leadership and has been the prime factor in the diminution of interreligious programming.

For the moment Americans left of centre are united in an all-out anti-Vietnam campaign. A major question of the '70s is what will happen to the anti-war, anti-establishment forces once America has been off the field of its Asian debacle. Will they focus their highly sensitive critical lens on domestic policy, as they now are, or will they, for a variety of reasons, not the least of which being the complexity and insolubility of America's domestic problems, maintain the attack on American foreign policy? And if the latter case, will they not find a ready target in the government's policy of support of Israel, a policy "which alienates Third World and militates against a rapprochement with Russia?"

Should that unfortunate development come to pass, the pattern of history may repeat itself and Jews may find that their Jewishness becomes an obstacle to cause. Those who want to remain Jews either remove themselves or be read of the movement.

Should those forebodings prove unwarranted, Jews still may find themselves inexorably toward closed identification with Israel. The constant effort required to win or maintain the support of government, the press, and the public,



The Jews of America must learn to relate to Israel as an integral part of their life-being. And the Jews of Israel must so order the priorities of State that it becomes a great campus of Jewish life and learning serving the needs of the entire Jewish people, write Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, a leading American Reform rabbi.

the treachery of France, the indifference of England, the vacillation of the U.S. Government all serve to reemphasize the lessons relearned during 1967: the State of Israel is inseparable from the Jewish People; the State of Israel and, therefore, the Jewish People are expendable to everyone except Jews. The more isolated Israel becomes in the family of nations, the more isolated the American Jew feels among his fellow citizens.

## Second: The loss of confidence in the capacity to fulfill the American dream

John F. Kennedy inaugurated the 60s with a slogan of New Frontiers. America was to renew itself by renewing the American dream: racial, economic and social justice at home, peace and Peace Corps abroad. At the end of the decade, America is rent asunder by conflict over both its domestic conditions and its foreign policies. The contemporary American tragedy is not to be found in the racial problem itself, but in the loss of confidence that the problem can ever be resolved; not in the failure of American policy in Vietnam, but in the loss of confidence in America's capacity to be both a just and strong leader of the free

of confidence in America's capacity to be both a just and strong leader of the free world. The momentum toward social progress has been reversed, the sense of mission has dissipated. The messianic motivation undergirding America has been crippled. Sometimes in the future, America may recover from the damage to its self-image, but it is highly questionable if it can do so in the first years of the 1970s.

Jews are bound to be affected by the current mood. If the U.S. has lost its passion to realize the American dream, if it is not indeed "the land of the free and the home of the brave", then wherein does America differ from all other societies? History has demonstrated that Jews thrive best under conditions of economic and social stability, but if America is buffeted between the radicals of the right and the left, then is there not a danger that the Jew will again assume his traditional role of scapegoat, the vicarious atonement for the inability of a society to resolve its own problems?

Over the centuries, the Jew has developed an allergy to societies in turmoil, and the last decade saw the sensitivities of the Jew reactivated. The allergy was manifested not only in the Jewish reaction to specific Jewish concerns, such as indications of increasing anti-Semitism among blacks or anti-Israel sentiment among the New Left, but in the trepidations concerning the threat to traditional American liberties in general. Thus, despite all the outward signs of success and prosperity, the American Jew in 1970 is less secure psychologically than he was in 1960.

## Third: The evolution of the State of Israel as the political and cultural centre of the Jewish people

In 1970 Israel is "where the (Jewish) action is." The most influential leaders of the Jewish People are the political leaders of the State of Israel. The leaders of national American Jewish organizations are unknown to most American Jews. The visit of the Prime Minister of Israel to the U.S. becomes a triumph because she represents not just a foreign state, but all Jews, and America's Jews bask in reflected glory. It is the Government of Israel and not the American Jewish community which takes the lead in dealing with the problems of Jews outside Israel and the U.S. Whether it be in the forum of the United Nations or in the international councils of Jewry, it is

Israelis who have the expertise and exercise the power levers for the Jewish People around the world.

What is true for Jewish politics is true as well for Jewish culture. American Jewry has produced little indigenous Jewish culture. Most of what is considered contemporary Jewish culture is either an importation from Israel or from the *shtetl* of European Jews. A "Fiddler on the Roof" and the works of a Mqlamud and an Isaac Bashevis Singer are rooted in a non-American past. Israel has become the center of contemporary Jewish culture, because it offers the essential ingredients for cultural expression — the language of Israel and the life experience of the people Israel in the land of Israel. American Jews are fast recognizing that Israel has become the prime moulder and bearer of the Jewish heritage. To be sure, American Jews have created seats of Jewish learning and institutions of Jewish religious and cultural worth — and they will continue to do so. But at best the American stage is the setting for the "road show." Israel is the "Broadway" of the Jewish People — the major stage for the enactment of the Jewish drama.

The above three developments of the last decade will shape the relationship of American Jews to Israel in the next decade.

decade will shape the relationship of American Jews to Israel in the next decade. They will create the conditions conducive to increased *Aliya* and tourism, greater interest in the Hebrew language, and closer identification with the people and problems of Israel.

However, the fundamental question confronting the two communities is not what will happen in the 1970s, but what do we want to happen? And what we want to happen is dependent upon the philosophic attitudes and ideological commitments of leadership.

For its part, American Jewish leadership will have to shift its stance and recognize that Israel is the prime instrumentality for the preservation and perpetuation of Judaism and the Jewish People, and that *includes American Judaism and the American Jew*. It is not essential for American Jews to adopt the terminology of classic Zionism. If the description of American Jewry as a *Gola* is unacceptable because to some it connotes an oppressed or inferior minority, then let American Jewry come to terms positively with the centrality of Israel. Just as it is no deprecation of the Cincinnati Jewish community to say that the centre of American Jewish life is New York, so it should be no deprecation of American Jewry to recognize that the centre of Jewish life is Israel.

Similarly, it is no deprecation of the synagogue to recognize that for many Jews identification with the State of Israel 7,000 miles away is a more tangible expression of Judaism than is the synagogue around the corner. The emotional response of *Amcha* has often been a more accurate barometer of Jewish vested interest than the ratiocinations of Jewish intellectuals and organizational leadership; and Ame-

rican *amcha* is Israel-oriented. Israel is the one subject which unifies the heterogeneous American Jewish community, the one "compulsion" of a voluntary society.

And for its part, let Israeli leadership recognize the duties of centrality and act accordingly. There are many potential areas, but to take one example only. The major concern of American Jews today is for survival. This expresses itself primarily in worry over the frightening erosions of intermarriage and the serious deficiencies in Jewish education. Let Israel come to the rescue of American Jewry. Let Israel, with the cooperation of the American Jewish community, develop a massive aid program to meet the needs of American Jewish youth. The university years are crucial. Those are the years when students develop or reform their intellectual stance toward their Jewish identity and when they either marry or prepare for marriage. There are approximately 400,000 Jewish students attending university in the U.S. Of these approximately 1,000 are enrolled in Israeli institutions of higher learning for a one-year program. (In addition, another 900 students are registered as potential olim.) These are the students whose parents have understood that a year in Israel can provide an injection of Jewishness to last a lifetime. But under present condi-

can provide an injection of Jewishness to last a lifetime. But under present conditions the Israeli institutions are limited in the number of foreign students they can accept without distorting their proper function in Israeli society. At the present rate, only a small percentage of American Jews will be able to take advantage of the limited spaces available. The demand is already greater than the openings.

What is required is a radical new approach, a crash program, the creation of new institutions, either independent or related to existing institutions, which will serve as academic centres of high standard for tens of thousands of Jewish youth from abroad and which will provide opportunities for enriched experiences in Jewish living. The same resources which American Jews have made available to build housing for new immigrants to Israel or for Israeli academic institutions will be readily made available to preserve and intensify the Jewishness of their own sons and daughters. And the consequences for *Aliya* and the establishment of closer ties between the two communities are manifest.

A drive for educating diaspora Jews in Israel is only one of the multi-faceted programmes which must be undertaken in the '70s. The Jews of America must learn to relate to Israel as an integral part of their life-being. And the Jews of Israel must so order the priorities of the State that it becomes a great campus of Jewish life and learning, serving the needs of the entire Jewish People. "May Zion rejoice as her children are restored to her in joy."

Rabbi Hirsch is Director of the Religious Action Centre of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Chairman of the Israel Committee of the World Union for Progressive Judaism. He is now in Israel on a sabbatical year.

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Rassco Bldg.  
3rd floor, Tel. 53722L



February 9, 1970

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi Jack Spiro; Abraham Segal

At 4:00 P.M. Mr. Nabon , an Israeli speaker, will be meeting with me in my office.

If you are free, I would like very much for you to join us at that time. This is no command -- just a point of information for you and if you can make it, it would be nice to have you.

# PHONE-O-GRAM

for:

M Consul Caspi of \_\_\_\_\_

☒ Telephoned ☐ Please return the call ☐ Will call again ☐ Came in ☐ See me

Message:

for Rabbi Gittelsohns #  
in Boston

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

Date

1/12

Time

12<sup>30</sup>

By \_\_\_\_\_

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON



מְנִירֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל  
וְשִׁנְנוֹן

January 14, 1970

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alexander,

Many thanks for your letter of December 15.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

A. Avidar  
Minister of Information

AA:rjk



January 6, 1970

The Hon. Avraham Avidar, Minister  
Israel Embassy  
1621 22nd Street Northwest  
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Avraham,

You may be interested in reading the enclosed  
Call to Action bulletin.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



שגרירות ישראל  
ושינגטון



December 23, 1969

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alexander:

Thank you for forwarding to me the copies of the statements on Vietnam which I had requested.

I was most pleased to make your personal acquaintance, and I am looking forward to deepening our friendship. Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

A. Avidar  
Minister of Information

AA:rjk

December 11, 1969

The Hon. Avraham Avidar, Minister *(of Plenipotentiary)*  
Israel Embassy  
1621 22nd Street Northwest  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Avraham,

Enclosed, the requested copies of our recent statements on  
Vietnam. They will undoubtedly be of interest to you.

I found your visit this morning very hopeful, and I hope  
that it will be only the beginning of not infrequent  
meetings which can only lead to a better understanding --  
certainly on my part.

All the very best to you individually and to us all  
collectively.

Chag Someach!

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.



# PHONE-O-GRAM

for:

11 AM Thurs

M Quinn of Wash., DC

☐ Telephoned ☐ Please return the call ☒ Will call again ☐ Came in ☐ See me

Message: Will try to rearrange his  
Thurs schedule to meet w/ you  
Thurs AM (otherwise not until  
after 1st of year)

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ Date 12/10 Time 10 15 By \_\_\_\_\_

# PHONE-O-GRAM

for:

202/tw 3 4100

M Arvidson of \_\_\_\_\_

☒ Telephoned ☐ Please return the call ☐ Will call again ☐ Came in ☐ See me

Message:

Minister of Israel in  
Washington. Ask V. to ask him to come  
& meet w/ you but he w/ only be  
in NY this Thurs. We call when  
possible in NY.

Phone:

Date

12/9

Time

4:10

By

Jerusalem Post 12/8 al m n e

## Readers' letters

# Meir's letter to Nixon rouses controversy

The Jerusalem Post has received a number of letters from readers who feel strongly about Mrs. Golda Meir's letter congratulating President Nixon on his recent speech on American Vietnam policy. One such letter, in a critical vein, was published in our Readers' Letters column recently; here are extracts from others, including one supporting the Prime Minister.

**A**N irate reader in Haifa, MR. PAUL PAISNER, thinks that we are mixing with the wrong people when we send letters of encouragement to President Nixon: "The people of the Vietcong are in the same position as we in Israel, fighting for their very existence, shedding their blood to protect the lives of their families. There is no moral, human or physical separation between the majority of the Vietnamese people struggling for their freedom and the people of Israel. We should fully sympathise with them, or at least not publicly show our affiliation with American aggression."

"Millions of people in America and throughout the world are protesting against the war in Vietnam... thundering a demand for a stop to the needless killing. I'm afraid the letter to President Nixon creates and will create resentment against Israel's policies. Millions of the demonstrators against the Vietnam war will ask themselves how it is possible for Israel, struggling for her existence, to send a letter of praise to President Nixon."

A Jerusalem resident, JUDITH S. ROSENFELD, finds it "shocking to learn that Mrs. Golda Meir finds Mr. Nixon's speech 'meaningful' and derives encouragement for Israel's future in any facet of American commitment in Vietnam... I sincerely hope that Israel never finds herself allied with any nation in such a senseless and atrocious venture as the war in Vietnam."

MR. WILLIAM FREEDMAN left America last September in order to avoid, among other things, arguments about Vietnam, he writes from Haifa. Israel's lack of knowledge about the causes of that war, however, force him to rejoin the fray: "Mrs. Meir's justification of the letter on the grounds that in Vietnam the U.S. has set out to preserve the rights of small nations, of which Israel is one, is not only an inaccurate analogy but damaging to Israel's cause."

"According to Paragraph 6 of the Final Declaration of Geneva, an agreement the United States refused to sign but pledged itself never to disrupt, 'the military demarcation line (between what are now North and South Vietnam) is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary.' Paragraph 7 states that 'general elections shall be held (throughout all of Vietnam, not merely in the South) in July, 1956, under the supervision of an international commission.' It is now commonly acknowledged — I doubt that even Dean Rusk or ex-President Johnson would deny it — that it was the then President of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, who, certain of defeat and with encouragement from the U.S., refused to permit these elections to be held or even to participate in the consultative conferences scheduled to precede them."

"In short, it has been United States policy since at least 1956 not to pre-

serve a small nation, but, contrary to international agreement and its own pledge, to carve a small nation out of a larger one, not by election but by force, and contrary to the apparent will of the majority of its people."

MR. ELIEZER AKABAS, Assistant to the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency, sees things somewhat differently: "Those criticizing Mrs. Golda Meir's step do not go into the heart of the matter and have not until now perceived the link between Vietnam and the Middle East — particularly the State of Israel. The military defeat and the political surrender of the U.S. in Vietnam would doubtlessly strengthen the enemies of Israel. The U.S.S.R. and the Arab countries will detect in it a weakness and the signal to continue their taking hold of still other countries in the Far and Near East."

"Our position in this political and military whirlpool is clear, and we must not keep silent in the face of the open and brazen aggression of our enemies plotting to destroy us as a people and to erase our state from the map of the globe. I do not — and am sure that most of my fellow citizens feel like me — share the complacency of the Jewish 'liberals' in the U.S. and wherever they are concerning this acute problem torturing our souls and endangering our very existence here."

DAVID STEIN of Berkeley, California, who says that he is a candidate for Israeli citizenship as soon as he finishes his studies, is "outraged" over the Prime Minister's letter: "I wish to protest vehemently the capitulation to the President of the United States. Israel cannot survive if she aligns herself with the most clearly reactionary actions of the super-powers, even if the short-range aim is greater military security... This action will not gain Israel any good-will from American Jewish youth, all of whom are opposed to American economic imperialism and its military counterpart in South-East Asia... He who chooses the lesser of two evils forgets that he has chosen evil."



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RABBI JAY KAUFMAN  
Executive Vice President

**B'NAI B'RITH**

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December 3, 1969

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I think you will be interested in the enclosed report which is Part III of Rabbi Gerald Engel's study on aliyah.

I'll be in New York for the Presidents' Conference meeting with Lou Pincus and am looking forward to seeing you there.

With fondest regards, I am

Sincerely,

  
Rabbi Jay Kaufman

JK/ejm  
Encl.

## COMPARISON BETWEEN AMERICAN PERMANENT RESIDENTS OF ISRAEL: PART III, PREDICTIONS ABOUT AMERICA AND ISRAEL\*<sup>1</sup>

*B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Purdue University*

---

GERALD ENGEL

---

### A. INTRODUCTION

In 1967, native American Jews who became permanent residents of Israel during the years 1962 through 1966 evaluated their American background and adjustment to Israel, and made predictions about the future of the Jew in America and Israel. Part I dealing with life in America, was presented as a comparison between the religious and nonreligious.<sup>2</sup> There was a general criticism of materialism; to a lesser degree both groups were troubled by anti-Semitism. However, the religiously oriented were more disturbed by assimilation and expressed greater interest in Israel than the nonreligious, who were more disturbed by conformity and witchhunting than the religious (2).

Part II focused upon the attraction of Israel and life in Israel. The religious were more attracted by Israel's Jewish factors than the nonreligious who found kibbutz (collective settlement) living more to their liking than the religious. However, Jewish aspects of Israel were of paramount importance to both groups. Similarity of age upon settling and shared feelings of ease upon arrival in Israel indicated similarity of dissonance. In 1967 both groups shared similar views about housing, living within Israeli income, and

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\* Received in the Editorial Office, Provincetown, Massachusetts, on June 20, 1969, and published immediately at 35 New Street, Worcester, Massachusetts. Copyright by The Journal Press.

<sup>1</sup> The author gratefully acknowledges the aid of Dr. Harold Kahn, National Institute of Health, in preparing the questionnaire; of Dr. Ben Winer, Purdue University, for statistical analysis; Glenda McCracken and Arnold Woodruff, Purdue Computer Center, for programming. Marilyn Kopelowitz Engel served as study coordinator.

Special acknowledgment is made to B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations for granting me a decennial leave to gather the data, November 1966 through August 1967, and to Dr. Frederick L. Hovde, President of Purdue University for allocating President's Funds for computer work; to Sarge Biltz, Inc., for funds for immediate publication.

<sup>2</sup> In Israel 255 subjects identified with Jewish religious tradition: 87 traditionalists (masorti); 30 keepers of commandments (shomer mitzvot); 138 observant (dati). One hundred eighty-eight were designated nonreligious in Israel: 27 against observance (anti-dati); 80 not observant (lo dati); 55 secularists (chiloni); 24 who wrote "don't know"; 2 Hebrew Christians.



work satisfaction, despite differences in occupation and disagreement about occupational prospects (3).

Part III presents the immigrants' views about the future of the Jew in America and Israel. Outwardly the situation of the American volunteer differs from olim (immigrants) who fled their homelands (1, 10, 11, 12). However, Americans come to reduce dissonance (4); they respond to inner signals of discontent (7).

Quantitative and qualitative differences exist between the religious and nonreligious in making predictions (8). Despite group differences, Americans in Israel reject the notion that the Jew in America is successfully adapting to a new social setting (6, 9). Since their arrival in Israel, Americans have become more concerned about the survival of the Jew in America, while simultaneously becoming more self-assured that Israel is the land of the future.

## B. METHOD

### 1. Subjects

From an official list of permanent residents of Israel the names of 780 Americans born in the United States or Canada were selected, comprising all native Americans who became permanent residents of Israel during the years 1962 through 1966, and who were 20 years of age or older by the end of 1966. Seventy-seven subjects were eliminated, including six who said they left America as infants, six who were deceased, and 65 who were not in Israel from March through August 1967 when this questionnaire was administered. Of 703 potential subjects 443 cooperated, representing a 63 percent response.

### 2. Procedure

All subjects were mailed a four-page self-administering questionnaire. Respondents included 364 who voluntarily answered one of four mass mailings and 79 other subjects who were considered forced, responding to personal letter or interview. When few statistical differences were observed between these groups, the subjects were combined. The comparison presented between religiously oriented and nonreligious is based upon subjects' religious alignment in Israel, and does not necessarily reflect their religious outlook when in America (2).<sup>3</sup>

## C. RESULTS

In comparing the responses of the religiously oriented and nonreligious no difference in age of arrival was observed (3). It was therefore hypothesized

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 2.

that both groups would project a similar dim view of the future of Jews in America. Results indicated the nonreligious became equally concerned about assimilation 79.9 percent of all respondents foresaw increasing assimilation, only 3.5 percent anticipated any decrease.

Religiously oriented subjects more than the nonreligious anticipated an increasing bond between Jews in America and world Jewry, 37.2 percent compared to 21.0 percent. However, more of the religious also predicted increasing anti-Semitism, 35.6 percent compared to 20.7 percent (chi square differences significant at the .005 level). The religiously oriented also expressed greater concern about church-state relations, 25.6 percent compared to 12.1 percent (chi square differences significant at the .01 level).

Simultaneously, nonreligious more than the religiously oriented visualized less contact between Jews in America and world Jewry, 32.3 percent compared to 26.9 percent; however, the nonreligious anticipated less anti-Semitism, 28.8 percent compared to 16.9 percent. Nonreligious also were less disturbed about church-state relations, anticipating decreasing concern about church-state relations, 22.3 percent compared to 18.6 percent.

The religiously oriented, more alarmed by the prospect of increasing anti-Semitism and church-state relations in America than the nonreligious, looked with greater favor upon their own children living in Israel, 93.7 percent compared to 74.9 percent. More of the religious also preferred having their children study in Israel, 88.1 percent compared to 68.4 percent. Religiously oriented subjects also were more readily in favor of having their children marry in Israel, 89.8 percent compared to 69.8 percent (chi square differences significant at the .001 level).

Group differences existed for four out of ten suggested factors which might influence Americans to remain in Israel (Table 1). Religiously oriented felt more strongly than nonreligious that more Americans stay because of Jewish atmosphere, religious environment, and the land's educational opportunities, ranked in that order. While nonreligious subjects agreed that living in a Jewish state was of paramount importance, the nonreligious felt more strongly than did the religious about the value of kibbutz (collective settlement) living in influencing more Americans to stay (Table 1).

When 13 factors were considered as possibly influencing Americans to either stay or leave, four significant group differences were observed (Table 2). The religiously oriented were more inclined than the nonreligious to maintain that more Americans will stay if they come with either money or friends and relatives. However, the nonreligious, more than the religious, felt more Americans who either marry a native (sabrá) or join a collective set-

TABLE 1  
REASONS FOR STAYING IN ISRAEL

Question	Percentages	
	Nonreligious (N 188)	Religiously oriented (N 255)
Treatment	(N 163)	(N 228)
none	38.7	43.4
some	41.1	38.6
much	20.2	18.0
Housing	(N 158)	(N 224)
none	39.9	45.1
some	31.6	28.1
much	28.5	26.8
Education	(N 157)	(N 222)*
none	35.7	23.4
some	40.1	45.9
much	24.2	30.6
Job opportunities	(N 160)	(N 222)
none	30.6	32.4
some	33.7	34.7
much	35.6	32.9
Religious environment	(N 157)	(N 232)****
none	24.8	9.9
some	55.4	37.9
much	19.7	52.2
Family health	(N 155)	(N 220)
none	35.5	31.4
some	47.1	44.5
much	17.4	24.1
Living in Jewish state	(N 164)	(N 236)***
none	8.5	4.7
some	28.7	17.4
much	62.8	78.0
Position in society	(N 155)	(N 223)
none	21.3	29.6
some	58.7	52.9
much	20.0	17.5
Kibbutz life	(N 157)**	(N 208)
none	33.8	42.3
some	42.0	46.2
much	24.2	11.5
Cultural life	(N 160)	(N 221)
none	18.8	16.3
some	44.4	49.3
much	36.9	34.4

Note: All tables derived from BMD02s—Contingency Table Analysis—Version of March 11, 1964, Health Sciences Computing Facility, UCLA.

\* Chi square significant differences = .05.

\*\* Chi square significant differences = .01.

\*\*\* Chi square significant differences = .005.

\*\*\*\* Chi square significant differences = .001.



TABLE 2  
REASONS FOR STAYING OR LEAVING ISRAEL

Question	Percentages	
	Nonreligious (N 188)	Religiously oriented (N 255)
If Americans would:		
Arrive young,	(N 174)	(N 233)
they would leave	7.5	7.7
makes no difference	15.5	12.9
they would stay	77.0	79.4
Arrive with spouse,	(N 171)	(N 225)
they would leave	11.7	10.2
makes no difference	36.8	30.7
they would stay	51.5	59.1
Arrive with friends or relatives,	(N 169)	(N 226)*
they would leave	5.3	3.5
makes no difference	32.5	20.8
they would stay	62.1	75.7
Arrive with \$20-40,000,	(N 169)	(N 233)**
they would leave	10.7	2.1
makes no difference	23.7	17.2
they would stay	65.7	80.7
Arrive after graduating technical or professional school,	(N 163)	(N 225)
they would leave	19.6	16.4
makes no difference	25.8	27.6
they would stay	54.6	56.0
Be seasoned technicians or professionals,	(N 163)	(N 221)
they would leave	26.4	20.8
makes no difference	20.2	23.1
they would stay	53.4	56.1
Be seasoned businessmen,	(N 160)	(N 215)
they would leave	46.9	36.3
makes no difference	29.4	32.1
they would stay	23.7	31.6
Obtain an apartment,	(N 166)	(N 227)
they would leave	2.4	.9
makes no difference	21.7	19.4
they would stay	75.9	79.7
Join kibbutz or moshav,	(N 160)**	(N 217)
they would leave	6.3	18.4
makes no difference	35.0	36.9
they would stay	58.7	44.7
Marry a Sabra,	(N 167)**	(N 221)
they would leave	8.4	12.2
makes no difference	16.8	32.1
they would stay	74.9	55.7
Be Zionists,	(N 165)	(N 223)
they would leave	11.5	7.2
makes no difference	30.3	24.2
they would stay	58.2	68.6

TABLE 2 (*continued*)

Question	Nonreligious ( <i>N</i> 188)	Percentages
		Religiously oriented ( <i>N</i> 255)
Be fluent in Hebrew, they would leave	( <i>N</i> 170) 1.2	( <i>N</i> 232) 1.3
makes no difference	22.9	22.0
they would stay	75.9	76.7
Seek American friends and relatives,	( <i>N</i> 167)	( <i>N</i> 226)
they would leave	8.4	6.2
makes no difference	47.9	42.9
they would stay	43.7	50.9

\* Chi square significant differences = .02.

\*\* Chi square significant differences = .001.

tlement (kibbutz or moshav) will stay. There was general agreement that Americans fluent in Hebrew will stay.

When considering seven possible reasons for Americans leaving Israel, religiously oriented felt more strongly than did nonreligious that family concerns cause emigration, 72.3 percent compared to 53.8 percent (chi square difference significant at the .001 level). There was a general consensus that the number one reason for leaving Israel relates to lack of job opportunities, followed by concern relating to inadequate housing and high cost of living. These American subjects included only 14.0 percent who plan to return to America; another 33.6 percent would not return, while 52.4 percent have no plans.

#### D. DISCUSSION

American immigrants in Israel expressed increasing concern about the future of the Jew in America, and greater confidence about the position of the American in Israel. The quantitative increase in both areas reflected the reduction of dissonance among Americans who choose to remain in Israel (5).

Nonreligious were not as Jewishly oriented or as concerned about assimilation while in America (2). Nonreligious in Israel were as troubled about assimilation of Jews in America as the religiously oriented. However, religiously oriented have become more alarmed than the nonreligious about anti-Semitism and church-state relations in America. Though religious Americans were also more hopeful about relations between Jews in America and world Jewry, they expressed more concern about Jewish life in America, and more confidence about the position of the American in Israel. This feeling was reflected in their more intensive desire to have their children live, study, and marry in Israel.

Group differences in knowledge of Hebrew were not reflected as a group difference in feeling of ease (3). However, there was general agreement that speaking Hebrew helps Americans become integrated and stay in Israel. For the religiously oriented, more self-assured about their Jewishness, the process of integration was speeded up by what a person brings to his homeland (friends and relatives, cash). The nonreligious felt more keenly than the religious that integration, even in Israel, is more of a process of assimilating [marry a sabra (native Israeli), join a kibbutz (collective settlement)].<sup>4</sup>

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*B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation*  
*at Purdue University*  
*State and Waldron*  
*West Lafayette, Indiana 47906*

<sup>4</sup> Weinberg suggests ten or more years necessary for successful integration of (Dutch) immigrants to Israel.



## A DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

"Pray for the peace of Jerusalem" (Ps. 122: 6)

As Christians bidden to pursue peace and to fight evil, we cannot remain silent in the face of threats by Arab leaders to destroy the people of the State of Israel.

We condemn and deplore such threats as a sin against God and humanity.

We therefore call upon the Administration firmly to maintain its commitments to safeguard the integrity of the State of Israel and to restore the freedom of innocent passage through the Gulf of Aqaba, an international waterway, whose blockade President Johnson has called "illegal and potentially disastrous to the cause of peace."

Before God, let us not again be guilty of silence.

## BACKGROUND MEMORANDUM

### United States Commitment to Free and Innocent Passage Through the Gulf of Aqaba

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Address to the American People

20 February 1957

With reference to the passage into and through the Gulf of Aqaba, we expressed the conviction that the Gulf constitutes international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf. We announced that the United States was prepared to exercise this right itself and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right...Egypt, by accepting the six principles adopted by the Security Council last October in relation to the Suez Canal, bound itself to free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, and to the principle that the operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country. We should not assume that, if Israel withdraws, Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the Armistice Agreement or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

Aide Memoire Handed to Israel's Ambassador Abba Eban by  
Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, 11 February 1957

With respect to the Gulf of Aqaba and access thereto -- the United States believes that the Gulf comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the Straits giving access thereto. We have in mind not only commercial usage, but the passage of pilgrims on religious missions, which should be fully respected.

The United States recalls that on January 28, 1950, the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the United States that the Egyptian occupation of the two islands of Tiran and Senafir at the entrance of the Gulf of Aqaba was only to protect the islands themselves against possible damage or violation and that "this occupation being in no way conceived in a spirit of obstructing in any way innocent passage through the stretch of water separating these two islands from the Egyptian coast of Sinai, it follows that this passage, the only practical one, will remain free as in the past, in conformity with international practice and recognized principles of the law of nations."

In the absence of some overriding decision to the contrary, as by the International Court of Justice, the United States, on behalf of vessels of United States registry, is prepared to exercise the right of free and innocent passage and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right.

Reply by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles at News Conference  
26 March 1957

"It is our intention to...(establish the principle of free or innocent passage through the Gulf of Aqaba). That intention was made clear I think by the aide memoire which we gave to the Government of Israel and published last February. Now the question of how it takes place is not yet determined. I think that it is the fact that a certain amount of shipping is or shortly will be in fact passing through the straits, although I also think that it is important to get a decision by the International Court of Justice as to what the legal rights of the parties are. We indicated, indeed, in that aide memoire that that would be a factor; that we felt that the preponderance of legal authority was so strong in favor of the right of passage unless and until there was a contrary decision by the World Court. And you may recall that the report of the Secretary-General said that he did not think that belligerent rights should be exercised in relation to the Sharm el-Sheikh area and the Straits of Tiran, because he also shared the view that the preponderance of legal authority was that there was no right to exercise belligerent rights and to stop innocent passage through there."

Statement by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Head of the United States  
Delegation to the United Nations, 1 March 1957

"With respect to the situation in the area along the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran, I stated on 28 January, and again on 2 February, that 'it is essential that units of the United Nations Emergency Force be stationed at the Straits of Tiran in order to achieve there the separation of Egyptian and Israeli land and sea forces. This separation is essential until it is clear that the non-exercise of any claimed belligerent rights has established in practice the peaceful conditions which must govern navigation in waters having such an international interest. All of this, of course, would be without prejudice to any ultimate determination which may be made of any legal questions concerning the Gulf of Aqaba.'

...Once Israel has completed its withdrawal in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, and in view of the measures taken by the United Nations to deal with the situation, there is no basis for either party to the Armistice Agreement to assert or exercise any belligerent rights."



Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, 1 March 1957

"...The U.S. believes that the Gulf comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the Straits giving access thereto. We have in mind not only commercial usage, but the passage of pilgrims on religious missions, which should be fully respected."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Address to the American People,  
20 February 1957

"...Equally serious efforts have been made to bring about conditions designed to assure that if Israel will withdraw in response to the repeated requests of the United Nations, there will then be achieved a greater security and tranquillity for that nation. This means that the U.N. would assert a determination to see that in the M.E. there will be a greater degree of justice and compliance with international law than was the case prior to the events of last October-November."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Message to Israel's Prime Minister,  
David Ben Burion, 2 March 1957

"I believe that Israel will have no cause to regret having conformed to the strong sentiment of the world community as expressed in the various United Nations resolutions relating to the withdrawal. It has always been the view of this Government that after the withdrawal there should be a united effort by all the nations to bring about conditions in the area more stable, more concrete and more conducive to the general welfare than those reached heretofore. Already the U.N. General Assembly has adopted resolutions which presage such a better future. Hopes and expectations based thereon were voiced by your Foreign Minister and others. I believe that it is reasonable to entertain such hopes and expectations, and I want you to know that the U.S., as a friend of all the countries of the area and as a loyal member of the U.N., will seek that such hopes prove not to be in vain."

Statement by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, 31 December 1956

"During the coming year the United States will have to accept an increasing responsibility to assist the free nations of the Middle East and elsewhere, to maintain their freedom and to develop their welfare. We must live by the Golden Rule. By so serving others we serve ourselves."

Reply made by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to questions asked at a News Conference, 26 March 1957

..."I would not say that the initial role of the United Nations Emergency Force was exhausted until there is more assurance than there is today that belligerent rights may not be exercised if it should wholly withdraw. And while it is true that the initial hostilities have come to a close and the initial forces of invasion has been totally withdrawn, I do not think that there is assurance of tranquility which would indicate that the initial mission was wholly accomplished. That depends, of course, upon how one interprets the original terms of reference. But I think that the original terms of reference are broad enough to cover the prospective activities of the UNEF.

"...The generally accepted view in the United Nations is that the General Assembly has no right to impose upon any nation the presence of any observers or representatives or forces of the United Nations and that, in order for them to enter upon the territory of another state, they have to have the consent of that state. Now once the consent has been given, then I think a good argument can be made that the consent cannot be arbitrarily withdrawn, frustrating the original project, because other people change their positions in reliance of the original consent, forces are set in motion, a chain of events has occurred. And we would question, certainly, whether Egypt has the right arbitrarily to alter and change a consent once given until the purpose of that consent has been accomplished."

- Q. Mr. Secretary, I would like to check back on an answer you gave a moment ago. Do I understand it is the position of the United States that the Egyptian Government does not have the power, legally speaking, under present circumstances to compel United Nations forces to withdraw from its territory?
- A. The problem I don't think permits a categorical answer. Now there was one question put to me here that suggested that the United Nations had accomplished its original mission, to which the consent of Egypt had been given, and that therefore its continuance there in effect was for a new purpose. If that's the case, and to the extent that's the case, then the original consent given by Egypt may have exhausted its purpose. If that has not been the case, then I think the consent given by Egypt cannot be arbitrarily withdrawn. I don't say it can't ever be withdrawn, but I say it can't be "arbitrarily" withdrawn without giving countries who have relied upon it an opportunity to turn around and reappraise their position in the light of the new situation.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is it your view then that the mission of UNEF has not been completed as yet?

A. Well, I indicated, I think, my views: I felt that under a liberal construction of the original mandate to the UNEF, in the light of the present situation and the fact that there is no clear assurance that hostilities -- that belligerency -- may not reoccur, it is not correct to conclude that the original mandate has been exhausted.

Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone, Adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, 27 April 1958

Article 16, p.4

"There shall be no suspension of the innocent passage of foreign ships through straits which are used for international navigation between one part of the high seas and another part of the high seas or territorial sea of a foreign state."

Statement by President John F. Kennedy at Press Conference, 8 May 1963

Q. Mr. President, do you consider the situation in the Middle East -- the balance of power there -- to have been changed as the result of recent developments, and what is the U.S. policy towards the security of Israel and Jordan in case they are threatened?

A. I don't think that the balance of military power has been changed in the Middle East in recent days. The -- obviously, there are political changes in the Middle East which still do not show a precise pattern and on which we are unable to make any final judgments.

The United States supports social and economic and political progress in the Middle East. We support the security of both Israel and her neighbors. We seek to limit the Near East arms race, which obviously takes resources from an area already poor and puts them into an increasing race which does not really bring any great security. We strongly oppose the use of force or the threat of force in the Near East. And we also seek to limit the spread of Communism in the Middle East, which would, of course, destroy the independence of the people.

This Government has been, and remains, strongly opposed to the use of force, or the threat of force, in the Near East. In the event of aggression, or preparation for aggression, whether direct or indirect, we would support appropriate measures in the United Nations and adopt other courses of action on our own to prevent or to put a stop to such aggression, which, of course, has been the policy which the United States has followed for some time.



# PHONE-O-GRAM

for:

M. Steve Flanders of CBS Radio

☒ Telephoned ☐ Please return the call ☐ Will call again, ☐ Came in ☐ See me

Message: Will you do a piece on  
Salda Meer - a value judgment  
(since MNE is not here)

765-4321 X 5841-2-3  
10/1

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Time 335 By \_\_\_\_\_

9/30 Golda Meir reception

---

Baker

B B

G. Cohen

Coleman

Eisner

Evans

Hess

Lewis

Morse

AMS

al V.

Is Earl Morse to follow  
up on this so that  
we can advise  
Z. Hellman?



INVITED TO MEET WITH P.M. GOLDA MEIR 9/30

*Last Fayer Maedary Astoria*

✓ EARL MORSE

✓ NAT HESS

✓ NORMA LEVITT

✓ GEORGE COHEN

ALVIN COLEMAN

✓ RICHARD EISNER

✓ RABBI SCHINDLER

RABBI-EISENDRATH

*Jane Evans*

*Al Varspan*

*B. Brickner*

*Admiral Y. Kellman  
who is coming*



838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 · (212) 249-0100

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Vice President

September 5, 1969

Mr. Richard A. Eisner  
114 East 72d Street  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Dick,

I just heard that Golda Meir will be in town during the day of September 30 rather than September 29. You may recall my speaking to you about her visit and you expressed an interest in joining a relatively small group (some five to ten people from each major Jewish organization) who have been asked to meet with her. At the time you indicated that you might be interested in doing so.

This meeting will be held in the afternoon at 3:30 to 5:30 P.M. For security reasons, the place of meeting has not been announced, but if you are still interested let me know and I will get in touch with you.

Let me take this occasion also to confirm the meeting date for the Steering Committee of our "Committee of 100," whose work we discussed at the pleasant Harmonie Club luncheon some weeks ago. We will convene at 10:30 A.M. on Sunday, September 28 in the Board rooms of the UAHC at 838 Fifth Avenue.

I realize full well that I ask no small sacrifice from you, to give up a weekend day which you should be spending with your wonderful family. But the task at hand is sufficiently important to merit the kind of consideration which a week-day luncheon meeting simply does not allow.

All my best to Carol and to the children.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

September 17, 1969

Mr. Yehudah Hellman  
Presidents Conference  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Hellman,

This is to confirm the fact that Mr. Earl Morse, the Chairman of our Board of Trustees will be part of the reception committee to meet Prime Minister Golda Meir at the airport on Thursday morning, September 29th.

We have instructed Mr. Morse to meet at 515 Park Avenue at 9:00 A.M., from where the reception committee will proceed to the airport and then on to City Hall.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander M. Schindler

bc : Earl Morse



September 4, 1969

Earl Morse

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

At the meeting of the Presidents Conference yesterday we were advised that the special meeting with Golda Meir will be held on --

Tuesday, September 30 (instead of Monday September 29)  
from 3:30 to 5:30 P.M.

For security purposes the place of the meeting will not be formally disclosed. I would assume that since the Prime Minister will be staying at the Waldorf Astoria that the meeting will be held there.

I was further advised that each of the organizations will be allowed to have ten representatives. I have already invited George Cohen and I will invite Alvin Coleman. I assume that an equitable distribution of invitations between the staff and the lay leadership is appropriate, and it is my suggestion that the following be invited:

From the staff: Rabbi Eisendrath, Rabbi Schindler, Jane Evans, Al Vorspan.

From the lay leadership: Earl Morse, Norma Levitt, Nat Hess, George Cohen, Alvin Coleman, and either Harry Gutmann or Cyrus Gordon, or some other suggestion.

Will you please let me have your advice, and arrange for the invitations under my name when we have both agreed on the delegation.

August 7, 1969

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Earl Morse

I have further information concerning the Golda Meir visit. The Conference of Presidents will convene at 4:00 P.M. on September 29th and will meet through the remainder of the afternoon.

I suppose we could amplify the usual delegation by inviting one or two more from amongst our lay leadership. Whom do you thus want to honor: Hess? Coleman? Anyone else? In addition to, or in place of these?

August 6, 1969

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath; Earl Morse

Albert Vorspan; Rabbi Balfour Brickner

As you know, Golda Meier will be in town in late September.

On the 29th of that month there will be two meetings:

An afternoon session for about five to seven people from each organization sponsored by the Conference of Presidents,

An evening planned at the Waldorf-Astoria sponsored by the UJA, possibly in cooperation with the Presidents Conference.

Needless to say, we are cooperating with both of these efforts. Undoubtedly further details will be forthcoming from the sponsoring organizations. I write you now so that you can place these dates in your calendar.



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Cable Address: COJOGRA

PLaza 2-1616



*Please put on  
my calendar  
Ash ~~Thurs~~ <sup>Vivian's</sup>  
put it  
on MWS*

August 5, 1969

TO: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents of  
Major American Jewish Organizations

FROM: Yehuda Hellman

---

This is to inform you that our meeting with Her  
Excellency the Prime Minister of Israel Mrs. Golda  
Meir will take place on Monday September 29 at  
4:00 P.M.

The entire afternoon will be devoted to this  
meeting so that there will be ample time for basic  
discussions.

Further details will follow at a later date.

-----

YH/pb

# MEMORANDUM

*TM*  
Date August 11, 1969

From EARL MORSE

To RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

Regarding the Golda Meir visit, I think Hess and Coleman are very good suggestions. I think you might want to add George Cohen, perhaps, of Rodeph Sholom. If a fourth is possible, you might want to consider someone from New England or Philadelphia. We could make an occasion out of it by having a lunch for these people, with someone from Israel speaking, as there probably will be a large delegation here from Israel.

*In our conversation we agreed on  
Coleman + Cohen. Will you  
contact them? I think you should.*

*The date Sept 29.*

*The hour 4 P.M.*

*Will they have time to spend with  
here too? If you think so, I'll  
set up the luncheon too.*

*Alr 1*



# MEMORANDUM

Date August 6, 1969

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

To Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath; Earl Morse

Copy for information of Albert Vorspan; Rabbi Balfour Brickner

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

As you know, Golda Meier will be in town in late September.

On the 29th of that month there will be two meetings:

An afternoon session for about five to seven people from each organization sponsored by the Conference of Presidents,

An evening planned at the Waldorf-Astoria sponsored by the UJA, possibly in cooperation with the Presidents Conference.

Needless to say, we are cooperating with both of these efforts. Undoubtedly further details will be forthcoming from the sponsoring organizations. I write you now so that you can place these dates in your calendar.

*Noted.  
E.M.*

*you will write George  
or do you want me to  
handle?*



September 5, 1969

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Earl Morse

I take note of the change in date for Golda Meir's visit.

The list which you proposed of staff and lay leader representatives is fine as far as I am concerned. Maurice will be on the west coast and therefore will not be able to join us. In any event, Balfour should be added, since he has been serving the Presidents Conference regularly.

EARL MORSE, NORMA LEVITT, NAT HESS, GEORGE COHEN and ALVIN COLEMAN were already agreed upon. Instead of Gutmann or Gordon, may I suggest a younger man, RICHARD EISNER, who I understand is anxious to get involved in our work.

As far as the invitation is concerned, may I suggest the following:

"Dear ...

I cordially invite you to join a select group of Reform Jewish leaders who have been invited to meet with Golda Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel, on the occasion of her forthcoming visit to America. Our delegation will be joining a relatively small group -- some five to ten men and women from each major Jewish national organization -- who have been invited to a meeting sponsored by the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations.

We will be meeting Mrs. Meir on Tuesday, September 30, from 3:30 to 5:30 P.M. at a place not yet formally disclosed because of security reasons. Should you be interested in joining us, let me know and of course I will tell you precisely where we will be meeting.

Cordially,  
EM"

If this letter of invitation is acceptable to you it can be processed. It need be sent only to NORMA LEVITT, NAT HESS, RICHARD EISNER since Cohen and Coleman have already been orally invited by you, and the staff members need no such invitation. If this letter is acceptable to you, tell Rae or Cally and they will take care of this task for you.

bc: Earl Morse

September 17, 1969

Mrs. David M. Levitt  
9 Mitchell Drive  
Great Neck, New York 11024

Dear Norma,

Please be advised that the September 30th meeting with Prime Minister Golda Meir will take place in the East Foyer room at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.

Because of security reasons, all invited guests must arrive by 3:00 P.M. as the doors will be closed by 3:10 P.M.

Warm good wishes.

Cordially,

Earl Morse

Same letter to:

Mr. Alvin Coleman  
Coleman Factors Division  
Bankers Trust Co.  
2 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Mr. Nathaniel E. Hess  
Sloans Court  
Sands Point, New York 11050

Mr. George L. Cohen  
1290 Avenue of the Americas - Suite 1600  
New York, N.Y. 10019

Mr. Richard A. Eisner  
90 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

September 17, 1969

Earl Morse

(Individually sent to): Rabbi Schindler, ,Jane Evans, Al Vorspan, Rabbi  
Brickner

Please be advised that the September 30th meeting with Prime Minister Golda Meir will take place in the East Foyer room at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.

Because of security reasons, all those invited must arrive by 3:00 P.M. as the doors will be closed by 3:10 P.M.



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022  
PLaza 2-1616  
Cable Address: COJOGRA

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC  
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

AMERICAN TRADE UNION  
COUNCIL for HISTADRUT

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF  
AMERICAN RABBIS

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UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

September 15, 1969

TO: Rabbi A. Schindler, UAHC

FROM: Yehuda Hellman

---

Please inform your ten delegates that the September 30th meeting with Prime Minister Golda Meir will take place in the East Foyer room at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City.

Because of security reasons, it is necessary that all delegates arrive by 3:00 pm as the doors will be closed by 3:10 pm.

Kind regards.

YH/scc

September 10, 1969

Mr. Yehudah Hellman  
Presidents Conference  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Yehudah,

The following people have been invited to attend the meeting with Golda Meir:

Earl Morse  
Nathaniel E. Hess  
Norma E. Levitt  
George Chhen  
Alvin Coleman  
Richard Eisner  
Jane Evans  
Al Vorspan  
Rabbi Balfour Brickner  
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

We have acceptances from all, except the following: Alvin Coleman and Richard Eisner.

As soon as we hear from them, or if there are any substitutions, we will let you know.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Earl Morse

# MEMORANDUM

Date September 5, 1969

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

To Earl Morse

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

I take note of the change in date for Golda Meir's visit.

The list which you proposed of staff and lay leader representatives is fine as far as I am concerned. Maurice will be on the west coast and therefore will not be able to join us. In any event, Balfour should be added, since he has been serving the Presidents Conference regularly.

EARL MORSE, NORMA LEVITT, NAT HESS, GEORGE COHEN and ALVIN COLEMAN were already agreed upon. Instead of Gutmann or Gordon, may I suggest a younger man, RICHARD EISNER, who I understand is anxious to get involved in our work.

As far as the invitation is concerned, may I suggest the following:

"Dear ...

I cordially invite you to join a select group of Reform Jewish leaders who have been invited to meet with Golda Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel, on the occasion of her forthcoming visit to America. Our delegation will be joining a relatively small group -- some five to ten men and women from each major Jewish national organization -- who have been invited to a meeting sponsored by the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations.

We will be meeting Mrs. Meir on Tuesday, September 30, from 3:30 to 5:30 P.M. at a place not yet formally disclosed because of security reasons. Should you be interested in joining us, let me know and of course I will tell you precisely where we will be meeting.

Cordially,  
EM"

If this letter of invitation is acceptable to you it can be processed. It need be sent only to NORMA LEVITT, NAT HESS, RICHARD EISNER since Cohen and Coleman have already been orally invited by you, and the staff members need no such invitation. If this letter is acceptable to you, tell Rae or Cally and they will take care of this task for you.





September 4, 1969

Mrs. David M. Levitt  
9 Mitchell Drive  
Great Neck, New York 11024

Dear Norma,

The Prime Minister, Golda Meir, is going to have an off the record meeting under the auspices of the Presidents Conference from 3:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. on Tuesday, September 30th.

Each of the member organizations are allowed to have a small delegation, and I hope you will be free to attend this meeting which I think you will find of special interest.

Please call my office at 564-3100 to confirm your acceptance. I will let you know as soon as I am advised where the meeting will be held.

Sincerely,

Earl Morse

EM/mg

cc: Rabbi A. Schindler

September 4, 1969

Mr. Alvin Coleman  
Coleman Factors Division  
Bankers Trust Co.  
Two Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10016

Dear Alvin,

The Prime Minister, Golda Meir, is going to have an off the record meeting under the auspices of the Presidents Conference from 3:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. on Tuesday, September 30th.

Each of the member organizations are allowed to have a small delegation and I hope you will be free to attend this meeting which I think you will find of special interest.

Please call my office at 564-3100 to confirm your acceptance. I will let you know then as soon as I am advised where the meeting will be held.

Cordially,

Earl Morse

EM/mg

cc: Rabbi A. Schindler



September 4, 1969

Mr. Nathan Hess  
Sloans Court  
Sands Point, New York

Dear Nat,

The Prime Minister, Golda Meir, is going to have an off the record meeting under the auspices of the Presidents Conference from 3:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M. on Tuesday, September 30th.

Each of the member organizations are allowed to have a small delegation and I hope you will be free to attend this meeting which I think you will find of special interest.

Please call my office at 564-3100 to confirm your acceptance. I will let you know as soon as I am advised where the meeting will be held.

Cordially,

Earl Morse

EM/mg

cc: Rabbi A. Schindler



September 4, 1969

Mr. George L. Cohen  
1290 Avenue of the Americas Suite 1600  
New York, New York

Dear George,

I received your telephone message letting me know that you will be able to go to the Prime Minister's off the record meeting of the Presidents Conference later this month.

When I phoned you, I had been told that the meeting was to be on Monday, September 29th. Yesterday I was advised that it has been changed to Tuesday, September 30th from 3:30 P.M. to 5:30 P.M.

I hope you will be able to accept this changed date and time. Please have your secretary call my office at 564-3100 to confirm your acceptance. I will let you know as soon as I am advised where the meeting will be held.

I now learn that there will be ten representatives from each organization at this off the record meeting, but the Prime Minister especially requested that it be a frank and confidential discussion, so it should be very interesting.

Cordially,

Earl Morse

EM/mg

cc: Rabbi A. Schindler

September 10, 1969

Mr. Richard A. Eisner  
90 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Richard,

I cordially invite you to join a select group of Reform Jewish leaders who have been invited to meet with Golda Meir, the Prime Minister of Israel, on the occasion of her forthcoming visit to America. Our delegation will be joining a relatively small group -- some five to ten men and women from each major Jewish national organization -- who have been invited to a meeting sponsored by the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations.

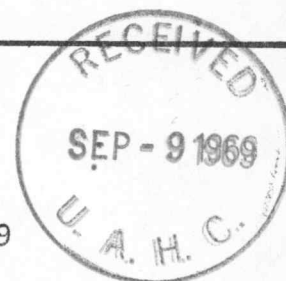
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Cordially,

Earl Morse

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CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

September 8, 1969

TO: Members associated in the Conference of  
Presidents of Major American Jewish Org.

FROM: Rabbi Herschel Schacter, Chairman

The Prime Minister of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, will meet with the Conference of Presidents on Tuesday afternoon, September 30, 1969, promptly at 3:30 o'clock until 5:30. You will be informed in due time as to the precise location of this meeting. This will be her only briefing session with top American Jewish leadership during her official visit to the United States.

The format of this meeting will therefore be in the nature of a national leadership conference, to which your organization may send a maximum of ten of your key leaders. Please be good enough to forward to our office as soon as possible your list of delegates so that proper accreditation can be prepared for your representatives. Admission will be limited to accredited delegates only.



***Greet***



**GOLDA**

**At CITY HALL**

**Monday, September 29, 1969, 12:00 noon**

**at the official New York City reception for**

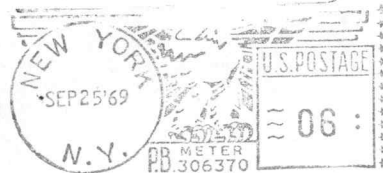
***Her Excellency Golda Meir***

**Prime Minister of Israel**

**Join this demonstration of solidarity with Israel**

shalom  
Golda

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler RR  
UAHC  
838 Fifth Ave.  
New York, N.Y. 10021



September 17, 1969

Mr. Yehudah Hellman  
Presidents Conference  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Hellman,

This is to confirm the fact that Mr. Earl Morse, the Chairman of our Board of Trustees will be part of the reception committee to meet Prime Minister Golda Meir at the airport on Thursday Monday morning, September 29th.

We have instructed Mr. Morse to meet at 515 Park Avenue at 9:00 A.M., from where the reception committee will proceed to the airport and then on to City Hall.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander M. Schindler

bc: Earl Morse

Mrs. Nathaniel E. Hess  
Rabbi Leanne Leavis  
will attend reception at City Hall



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
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UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



September 19, 1969

TO: Members associated in the Conference of Presidents  
of Major American Jewish Organizations

FROM: Yehuda Hellman

Enclosed please find memorandum summarizing the  
schedule of Mrs. Golda Meir's visit to New York.  
Please read this memo carefully and kindly  
convey to all your branches and affiliated  
organizations the content of this document.

We would like to take this opportunity to  
suggest that each organization submit to us  
by phone, on Tuesday, September 23rd the  
names of two (2) of your representatives for  
whom reserved seats should be allocated at  
City Hall during the welcoming ceremonies  
for Mrs. Meir. Please do not include the  
names of those who will meet her at the air-  
port as they will be admitted, as a matter  
of course, to the dais.

Each organization is herewith requested to  
transmit to the Presidents Conference a one-  
time assessment in the amount of \$100. to  
help defray the costs of the special expenses  
incurred by the Presidents Conference in  
connection with this program. You will  
receive a bill under separate cover. Your  
cooperation in this regard will be greatly  
appreciated.

YH:az

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Cable Address: COJOGRA

PLaza 2-1616

September 17, 1969

TO: All Jewish organizations

FROM: Planning Committee for Prime Minister Golda Meir's New York Visit

Chairman: Theodore Comet, CJFWF  
Co-ordinator: Kurt Goldberger, B'nai B'rith

RE: Special Events For The Participation of The Jewish Community

In order to deepen the impact of the Prime Minister's visit and to provide the Jewish community with opportunities to express its affection and solidarity, the following plans have been formulated, taking into consideration the strict security requirement.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29

## 1. RECEPTION AT AIRPORT-

Mrs. Meir will arrive at Kennedy from Washington in the late morning (exact time and place to be designated). In spite of the morning hour it was felt that several thousand residents and day school students of the surrounding Queens areas could be recruited to welcome the Prime Minister and add another dimension to the media coverage of her arrival.

For security reasons no private cars will be permitted near the disembarkment area. Only buses will be granted the necessary permit. These must arrive at the airport by 10:15 a.m. Special efforts must be made to reach sisterhoods and women's divisions. Information on bus formation areas will be coordinated by Rabbi Harold Gordon of the New York Board of Rabbis and by the Queens Jewish Community Council. Bus permits, which are obligatory, and instructions are available from Kurt Goldberger at the B'nai B'rith New York office.

2. CEREMONY AT CITY HALL - 12:30 P.M.

Our major efforts should be directed towards getting as large a turnout as possible for the welcoming ceremonies of the city of New York, taking place at City Hall at 12:30 p.m. Mailings to your members should emphasize the importance of attending this event which will receive the broadest media coverage.

All Jewish organizations are requested to close their offices from 12:00-2:00 and urge their staff to attend the City Hall ceremonies.

3. POSTERS, LAPEL TAGS & BUMPER-STICKERS

To add to the welcoming aura, special visual materials have been prepared:

- a. a large "Welcome Golda Meir" photograph poster for stores and other public places.
- b. a "Shalom Golda" self-adhesive lapel tag.
- c. a bumper-sticker for cars.

These are available upon request from

4. SERVICE FOR PEACE AT U.N. ISAIAH WALL

A special Service For Peace will be held at the Isaiah Wall at 1:00 p.m. to coincide with the Prime Minister's visit to the United Nations. This is not intended as a mass event and will be handled by the New York Board of Rabbis and the National Council of Young Israel. This is for your background information.

5. PUBLICITY

Public relations will be handled for the President's Conference by Richard Cohen and full use will be made of the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish Press.



Although security requirements preventing the publicizing of the Prime Minister's schedule and travel routes limit the character of our response, your full cooperation with the plans listed above, and the participation of your memberships, and their children, in these events, especially at City Hall, will insure an impressive and effective welcome.

# PHONE-O-GRAM

for:

M

Yehudah Telleman

☒ Telephoned ☒ Please return the call ☐ Will call again ☐ Came in ☐ See me

Message:

Designate someone to be part of  
Reception Comm to greet Golda Meir at  
Airport. 6 Limousines leave 5:15 PM 9 AM  
9/29 w/ police escort to airport & City Hall  
for reception bet 12:30 - 1 PM. Call by tomorrow  
AM & get name & confirm in writing.

Phone

Date

Time

By

FROM: Marvin Braiterman

SUBJECT: Feeling Jewish During the Mid-East Crisis

THE SCENE

...Rallies and demonstrations of solidarity with Israel in dozens of American cities...Jews turning out by the hundreds here and the thousands and tens of thousands there to listen, to speak, and to be heard...Incredible donations of funds to defend Israel, maintain her strength, reinvigorate her economic life...Telephone squads at work on every conceivable assistance and communication between Jews who never knew each other before, glad to call, glad to be called, willing to help, responding to any request...All kinds of Jews, meeting together, working together, worrying together, promising together that "on this one, they are one people."

...Volunteers and inquiries about going to Israel and rescuing the crops of the kibbutzim from neglect and loss in the wake of Israeli mobilization of its manpower..."Am I too old to go?" ... "I am not too young to go!" ... "If I can't go, here is money to send someone who can."

...Jews organizing and arranging things -- the kind of Jews who never did anything but pray before...Jews praying -- the kind of Jews who never did anything but organize and arrange before...Jews being Jews -- the kind of Jews who never had been any kind of Jews before...All kinds, every kind -- Jews learning to roll with the punches -- first, to prevent the war; then, to win it; then, to gain the peace -- real peace, not just a temporary truce.

When Egyptian acceptance of a cease fire was announced in the closing minutes of a rally at Lafayette Park in Washington, attended by some 35,000 from all states and all persuasions, the throng burst into cheers, songs were heard, horas were danced, tears were shed, voices were lost, strangers embraced, backs were pummeled. Jews were one people. Traffic jammed.



SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SCENE

For a while, all kinds of Jews came together. Organizational rivalries, and ideological quarrels were forgotten. Jews, read out of Jewish life by other Jews, were welcomed. Jews, who had eliminated all traces of Jewish kinship or identity, felt "something" stir and effervesce.

"Israelis are a fractious and argumentative people, but in this crisis, Israel was one," Ambassador Harman, of Israel, told the leaders and staff of the Washington Rally prior to its opening meeting. So were and are America's Jews. The disunity and disharmony of American Jewish life will return, but we know it has a floor below which cacaphony ends. And what of alienation -- that word that organization-minded Jews talk about so endlessly -- those "other" Jews "lost, strayed or stolen" from participation in and identity with Jewish life. Jews are Jews. Just as surely as we will live through the aftermath of this crisis, we shall again be able to proclaim, and to prove, our disunity and alienation. But will disunity ever again appear quite as unconditional and inevitable as before? Will alienation ever seem quite as complete, as it did before these days?

What kind of people are we? Are we a religious people? Yes, we are, regardless of the brand of religion that some of us believe in, and the absence of faith that other Jews proclaim for themselves. Are we a secular people? We surely are -- in the best and uncorrupted sense of that word. As surely as we have witnessed the salvation of a modern, earthy, progressive people by an army that, in the words of one correspondent, "uses the Bible as a roadmap," we, too, in the American Jewish Community, are very much a people of the world. Perhaps now is as good a time as any to recapture pride and respectability for that word, "secular." In its Greek root, it contains a view of the world, in the sense of time, and history and process -- a Jewish view of the world that no Jew need be ashamed to feel as his own, alongside and compatible with his faith in God, if he has such faith, and his identity

with the Jewish people, which, if he took part in anything in recent days, he must feel more strongly than ever.

There surely must be a lesson here. These neat and efficient classifications, secular or religious, -- imposed upon Jews by Christians, and social scientists, and scholars of all stripes who must live by finding labels and categories for people -- just don't fit the Jewish people. And perhaps, our peculiar tenacity in a "crunch" is the best evidence of our defiance of these dichotomies and fractures. Hopefully, we can learn to resist labels which identify Jews in such limiting terminology, and thereby eliminate others from the fold.

Squeezed ~~xxxx~~ against each other in the crowd, melting together in the heat at Lafayette Park, were five (5) Jewish young men, about 17 to 19 years old, strangers (and probably vague antagonists) to each other moments before the Rally began. Three of them -- a kid from a Yeshiva, whom the others called a "Yarmulke bopper;" and an officer of a temple youth group in Western Pennsylvania; and a near-sighted fellow wearing a blue shirt bearing the insignia of the Habonim Labor Zionist Youth Organization -- teased the other two. One of the recipients of the teasing readily admitted that he had had nothing to do with "Jewish stuff" since he was confirmed a few years ago. And the fifth one, a sophomore from Yale, owned up to the fact that his Jewish identity ended about the time of his father's Bar Mitzvah

But when the crowd cheered, they all cheered, and looked at each other for approval.

And when the crowd was asked to read in unison, from blue papers that had been distributed, the 137th Psalm -- "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem" -- they read together.

And they remembered.

## MEMORANDUM

Date April 30, 1969From Rabbi Alexander M. SchindlerTo Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, Rabbi Leonard SchoolmanCopy for information of Earl Morse

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

Just confirming our telephone conversation, Earl Morse suggested that Professor Herman of Hebrew University, who is currently at Brandeis, ought to be invited to our Israel Committee meeting to give his views on the need for Liberal religion in Israel.

Earl heard him on the subject at an American Jewish Committee Board meeting and recommends him highly. As a matter of fact, Earl made extensive notes of his remarks, which he is dictating to his secretary and which he will send along to you. A copy of this memo goes to him by way of reminder to have him do so.

I read Earl's notes, and there is little doubt that what Professor Herman has to say will be of interest.



## MEMORANDUM

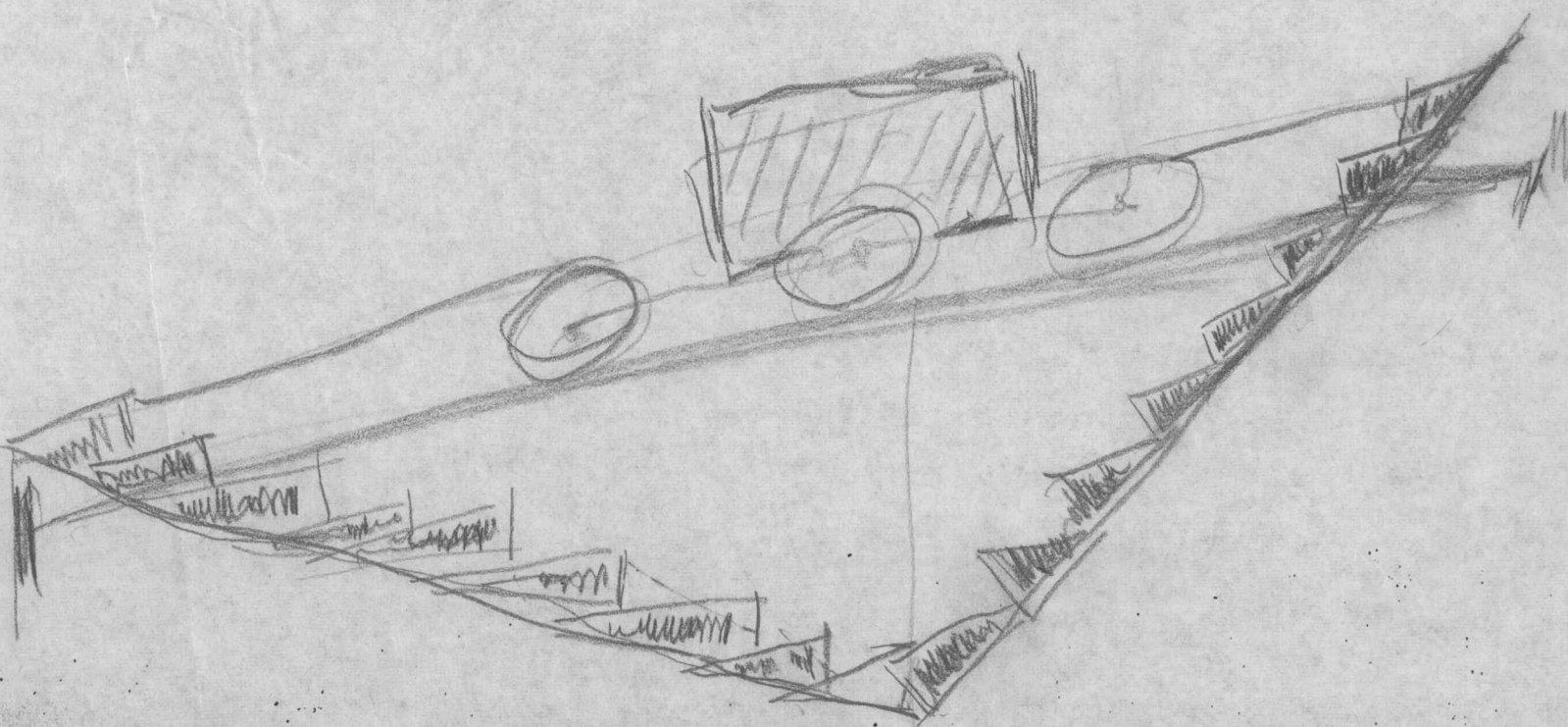
Date April 22, 1969From Rabbi Richard G. HirschTo Rabbi Alexander Schindler

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

This week, two groups met with Secretary of State Rogers -- the Presidents' Conference of Major Jewish Organizations on April 14 and the Synagogue Council of America representatives on April 17.

I am sending you herewith my summary of both meetings for your confidential information.



(Published with the permission of Dr. A. Roy Eckardt)

Address delivered by DR. A. ROY ECKARDT  
at the  
NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST  
Delmonico's Hotel, New York - March 24, 1969

The Reaction of the Churches  
to the Middle East Crisis

A practical device for analyzing and appraising the reaction of the American churches to the Middle East situation is to concentrate upon attitudes to Israel. My plan is to offer, first, some orientation to the subject; second, a review of attitudes expressed within Christian circles; and third, some ways of accounting for these attitudes.

I

Beginning in May, 1967, a marked crisis developed in Jewish-Christian relations in our country, and this has continued to the present. The resulting tensions have involved two related foci: on the one hand, a failure, and often a refusal, by many church bodies and churchmen to support Israel amidst the ongoing threat to her existence, together with considerable pro-Arab sentiment among these same parties; and, on the other hand, the American Jewish community's existential oneness with the Israeli cause, and that community's consequent disappointment over, and opposition to, the Christian response. By contrast, my impression from recent conversations in Israel is that most Israelis have not been terribly excited over where the American churches stand--with one qualification: The people of Israel are fully aware of the political importance of the churches in the United States and elsewhere. To offer my first gross simplification: The American Jew tends to be a moralist; the Israeli Jew tends to be a political man. For the one, the gospel of Hosea is paramount; for the other, the gospel of Hobbes has proven a grim necessity.

I rather doubt that my special topic would gain much of a place on the program were this Conference being held in Israel. Amnon Rubenstein wrote very recently of Israeli scorn of preachments from abroad--even by friends of Israel.<sup>1</sup> Many of the references I shall cite are not exempt from that kind of response--if not scorn, then justified indifference and, once in a while, laughter.

The fact remains that most American Jewish leaders are concerned and have been taken aback by what is for them a moral lapse within the churches. Accordingly, we would be irresponsible if we ignored this state of affairs. Only two months ago, a rabbi in New York City found it necessary to entitle his Sabbath sermon, "Preparing for a Second Holocaust: The Christian Response to the Middle East Crisis." I have myself been very critical of the churches. But in the interests of fairness, I may refer to three analyses that seek a more balanced view: one by Marc H. Tanenbaum and two by Judith H. Banki.<sup>2</sup>

Rabbi Tanenbaum emphasized and documented two points: (1) that for the most part the substantial numbers of American citizens who have supported and sympathized with the Israeli cause are, after all, Christians; and (2) that significant numbers of prominent and influential Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Christian leaders and journals of opinion have spoken out for Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state in freedom from Arab belligerency. Precisely because Rabbi Tanenbaum and Mrs. Banki are authoritative analysts and take the prevailing position they do, their own disclaimers about the extent of Christian advocacy become

that much more significant. For example, Rabbi Tanenbaum wrote that "Jewish leaders directed their most valid, serious and justifiable criticism at the 'establishment' institutions of the Catholic and Protestant churches. . . .When the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (finally issued a statement on June 8, 1967), it asked for 'a crusade of prayer for peace'. . . .In the face of what appeared to most Jews as the imminent prospect of another Auschwitz, (such) rhetoric, with its echo of the . . . flight into pietism by Christian leaders in Nazi Germany, contributed to a pervading sense of gloom in American Jewry.

"Nor were the statements of the National Council of Churches (the Protestant and Orthodox body) . . .(a) reinforcement for Jews or for Israel. In (a telegram to the President, Council officials) appeared to equate Israel's right to exist with the need to resolve the Arab refugee problem. In their July, 1967 resolution, the National Council of Churches contributed to the moral confusion of cause and effect by labeling Israel's retaliation to Arab provocations 'aggression' and 'expansionism.'"<sup>3</sup>

To add one point to Marc Tanenbaum's response, a visitor from another world could read from end to end the National Council of Churches' lengthy Resolution on the Middle East and never learn that the Arab world had anything whatsoever to do with bringing about the Six Day War. Christian documents are as revealing for what they omit as for what they say. The National Council statement was completely silent at such points as Israel's chronic need for defensible borders, her navigation rights, and the role of the Soviet Union in fomenting Arab aggression.

"The major preoccupation of Christian church groups"--I cite Mrs. Banki now--"appeared to be concern for (new and old) Arab refugees, strengthening of the U.N., and frequently the internationalization of Jerusalem. Often, the question of Israel's national integrity--indeed even of her survival--seemed secondary to (these other) concerns.

"In short, despite support of Israel by individual Christians, Jewish spokesmen had the impression that a number of Christian. . .groups considered Israel expendable and its survival a negotiable item on the agenda of international relations."<sup>4</sup>

## II

Next let us consider and illustrate the major points of view that have been advanced within representative Christian materials.<sup>5</sup>

1. The issue of Israel's right to live. Since the Six Day War, Christian opinion has ranged from the claim that Israel is an illicit intruder into the Arab world to the affirmation that Israel's integrity is justified upon one or another ground: historical, moral, or religious.

Early in the crisis Richard Cardinal Cushing and a number of Catholic and Protestant leaders in the Boston area declared: "We cannot stand idly by at the possibility of Israel's destruction, of (the decimation of) two and a half million Jewish people. . . ."<sup>6</sup> Contrariwise, Alford Carleton, an official of the United Church of Christ, wrote an open letter to pastors and leaders of his church



asserting that the creation of the Jewish national home--"not to mention (the) aggressive national State of Israel--was an act of Western political and economic invasion" into an area that "had been indisputably 'the Arab world' for well over a thousand years."<sup>7</sup> But the noted New Testament scholar, Frederick C. Grant, attested in The Witness, an independent weekly of the Episcopal Church, that "no nation has a historical claim to the land of Israel that can even be compared with that of modern Israel." It is simply false to say that the land "has always belonged to the Arabs. . . . (There have been Jews in Palestine) ever since there were Jews anywhere."<sup>8</sup>

Writing in Christianity Today, a widely-circulated evangelical journal, James L. Kelso, former moderator of the United Presbyterian Church and a longtime archaeologist in the Middle East, labeled the Balfour Declaration "the major cause of the three wars whereby the Jews have stolen so much of Palestine from the Arabs who have owned it for centuries," and he identified Israel as the sole culprit in the current Middle East conflict.<sup>9</sup>

The most influential Protestant publication in this country, The Christian Century, reacted as follows to a rabbi's proposal that interfaith discussion is contingent upon support by Christian leadership of the territorial and political integrity of Israel: "If interfaith dialogue must cease until all Christians become Zionists, then, of course, there will be no dialogue"--as if the rabbi were proposing that Christians become "Zionists." The editors also found "appalling" the adverse evaluations that had been made of the Christian community for its neutral position on the Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>10</sup>

Intrinsic to the advocacy of Israel's integrity is the issue of direct negotiations, in the sense that these will constitute minimal recognition of the nation's sovereignty. Here I have found only a few instances of unambiguous Christian backing. Thus, in a "Statement of Conscience" distributed by the Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies, two Catholic scholars, John M. Oesterreicher and Edward H. Flannery, strongly supported the Israeli stand on this question.<sup>11</sup> On the general issue of Israel's right to live, the stated position within the Roman Catholic Church in the United States has been more positive than that within Protestant and Orthodox quarters.<sup>12</sup> True, at the time of the War the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, along with the National Council of Churches, did not commit itself unequivocally on Israel's survival.<sup>13</sup> However, two recent pronouncements are noteworthy. Last November the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations affirmed: "The fundamental issue is that of Israel's right to exist and develop in peace. If this basic issue is settled, the solution of all other important issues, including that of the refugees, will be greatly facilitated."<sup>14</sup> And on January 5, 1969 the Division of World Justice and Peace of the United States Catholic Conference stated: "Those who wish to bring peace and justice to this troubled area must begin with . . . two facts:" Israel's existence as a state; and the need for effective help permanently to relieve the sufferings of "refugees on both sides."<sup>15</sup>

2. The comparative moral standing of Israelis and Arabs. To James L. Kelso, for whom Israelis look upon Arabs as dogs, there must be Christian solidarity in the face of "Israel's crimes against Arab Christians." And it is an equal or greater horror for Christians to sanction crimes against Arab Muslims. Kelso added that the Arabs, along with the Jews, should have been evangelized.<sup>16</sup> Christians, he seems to be suggesting, do not commit crimes. Horace D. Hummel of the Lutheran

School of Theology, Chicago, pointed out: "It is no secret that the vast majority of Christian intellectuals who have worked in the Arab world as archaeologists or the like champion the Arab cause. . . ." The language they use is suggestive of that used in the Vietnam issue: "the unquestionable good of Arab nationalism and self-determination as thwarted by Israeli imperialism or aggression; Israel even becomes a fascist and racist state, guilty of genocide, of all things!"<sup>17</sup>

The generalization is sometimes made that reputedly "liberal" Christians are more ready to recognize the moral caliber of Israel than are reputedly "conservative" Christians. This is not accurate. Many Christian fundamentalists are firmly anti-Communist, and this has tended to lead some of them, at least by implication, to appreciate Israel's moral stature, particularly since the Soviet Union has become so greatly opposed to Israel. On the other hand, in the "liberal" camp Dana E. Klotzle, Director of the United Nations office of the Unitarian-Universalist Association, condemned unequivocally what he called the evident "expansionist policy of the Israeli government," and he accused Israel of excessive nationalism and a naked power policy--although unlike most Christian spokesmen, Klotzle also condemned the policy of Arab leaders "to incite their people to violence against Israel."<sup>18</sup> Henry P. Van Dusen, former president of a noted liberal Protestant seminary, compared Israel's military successes in 1967 with Hitler's Blitzkrieg across Western Europe "aiming not at victory but at annihilation."<sup>19</sup> By contrast, the Catholic publication Providence Visitor attested that the compassionate element in Israel's military action and the humanitarian attention lavished upon her defeated foes appears to be "without historical parallel."<sup>20</sup> I have not found a single American Catholic statement expressive of the rancor toward Israel that suffuses many Protestant statements.

Charges against Israel of "aggression," "expansionism," "imperialism," "militancy," and "overreaction"--accusations that are of course plentiful in extra-religious circles, and Arab and Communist circles--are by no means absent among Churchmen, even where Arab provocations are fully admitted. Such accusations are very seldom answered. Here is one that was: When in the family magazine Presbyterian Life Willard G. Oxtoby of Yale University sought a la Arnold Toynbee to draw moral parallels between Israeli treatment of Arabs and Nazi treatment of Jews, a fellow Presbyterian, Noel Freedman of San Francisco Theological Seminary, found the comparison at once "vicious and odious."<sup>21</sup> We may add here that Israelis have been especially repelled by repeated demands by Christian spokesmen (as by others, including the esteemed New York Times) that Israel ought to be magnanimous to her Arab foes. The Christian Century dared to insist, for example, that the new burden and "advantage" of Israel "should be handled without arrogance and with great restraint and wisdom."<sup>22</sup> In general, The Christian Century has been quite ambivalent toward Israel. It keeps wanting to do something with her, to refashion her. In a recent editorial, curiously titled "To Zionists, with Love," the editors counseled wariness of "uncritical combinations of religious faith and political loyalty," the kind of combination to be found among "some of you Zionists. . . ." After protesting their support of Israel's existence, the editors went on to allege Israel's role in igniting the June War, her repeated defiance of and scorn for the U.N., and the ascendancy of hawks in the Israeli body politic.<sup>23</sup>

3. The sufferings of refugees and others. This item requires particular attention. The heaviest concentration of criticism of Israel among Protestant

spokesmen--has involved commitment to one side in the refugee question. As of September, 1968 the stated outlook of the National Council of Churches' leadership that we noted earlier had not changed; if anything, it had become more pro-Arab. Last July the Council sent a three-man study team of clergymen to the Middle East, with instructions to concentrate upon the refugee situation.<sup>24</sup> The investigators reported that their "inquiries regarding the causes for continuing flight of Arabs from occupied territory revealed 'the belief and fear' that 'territorial expansion is an integral part' of Israel's policy, and will mean a 'further squeezing out of the Arabs'; great economic insecurity; threats to the Arab way of life through 'the imposition of destructive alien elements of European culture'; and pressures upon people to leave.

The deputation alleged that there was great disillusionment with the American Christian community on the part of Middle Eastern Christians, and elaborated as follows: "Western nations out of a sense of guilt for the persecution of Jews in Europe created the State of Israel, and thus contributed toward the persecution of Arabs, forcing them from . . . their land." "For twenty years Israel has been permitted to ignore the resolutions of the United Nations aimed at justice for the dispossessed Arabs. . . ." "Since the War the United Nations has been virtually powerless in dealing with either the 1948 situation or the present situation, largely through the failure of the United States to give full support to United Nations resolutions. . . ." "The ineffectiveness of the United Nations and the failure of the United States 'must be due' either to support of the churches for Israel or to their neutral, ineffective stance. . . ." "Therefore, it appears to many Christians in the Middle East that Western Christians in the United States, despite relief programs and acts of mercy, have betrayed them in their struggle for justice."<sup>25</sup>

Incredible as it may sound, the reader, studying this lengthy Report from start to finish, is given no indication whatsoever either of the Arab world's interest in destroying Israel or of the plight of Jewish refugees--this in a document devoted to the refugee question and one that describes itself as endeavoring "to maintain objectivity throughout."<sup>26</sup> At the NCC Board's Houston meeting last September, the Report did not go entirely unopposed. It was challenged by David Hunter, deputy general secretary of the Council, and by A. Dudley Ward, a Methodist official. Hunter emphasized the severely pro-Arab bias of the findings and insisted that the National Council not take sides in this way. Ward labeled the Report "distorted" for failing to attend to the political factors behind the refugees' conditions. He said that if the churches had supported the recognition of Israel over the past two decades and had raised questions about the alliances of such a nation as Egypt, they would be in a position now to carry on objective debate about the refugee problem. But despite these pleas for objectivity and fairness, the Board received the Report and transmitted it for study to the National Council's thirty-three member churches.<sup>27</sup>

Almost no churchmen have contended for the other side of the refugee issue.<sup>28</sup> Mrs. Banki summed up the general state of affairs in the churches this way: Concern for the Arab refugees is quite understandable; many Jews share it. But many Christians write and talk as though Israel were alone responsible for their plight, without any reference to Arab aggression and the policy that has kept the refugees suffering in camps. These Christians ignore the thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab lands and the increased suffering and persecution of Jews in those countries.<sup>29</sup>



I may mention one partially compensating sentiment. Occasionally, it is asserted in the churches that Christians have a peculiar moral obligation to Jews and hence to Israel. Thus, the Lutheran theologian Aarne Siirala said that he felt ashamed when a rabbi friend had to plead for support from the Christian community in the face of the threat to Israel since no initiative had come from the Christian side. Siirala wrote that he heard in the request "an authentic concern to break the traditional Christian silence and indifference toward the fate" of Jews. It is the "inner contradictions and conflicts of the Western Christian world that have produced anti-Semitism. . . ." <sup>30</sup>

This compensating sentiment further appears in our final item reviewing expressed attitudes.

4. The religious factor. As would be anticipated, specifically religious types of affirmation have sustained conflicting points of view.

One influence here is a new readiness among some Christian churchmen to project themselves in some way into the faith of Judaism and into Jewish self-understanding, especially into the meaning and significance of Jewish peoplehood. A number of Protestant leaders published an advertisement in The New York Times that read in part: "For Christians, to acknowledge the necessity of Judaism is to acknowledge that Judaism presupposes inextricable ties with the land of Israel and the city of David, without which Judaism cannot be truly itself."<sup>31</sup> The editor of the Lutheran Forum expressed the matter incisively: For most Jews, to destroy Israel would be equivalent to "taking Christ out of Christianity."<sup>32</sup> The editor of Sheed and Ward, Philip Scharper, confessed: "I was reminded again and again in Israel of the ancient prophecy of Ezekiel when he saw the valley filled with dry bones restored to life at God's command. . . .Twenty years ago, six million Jews lay dead in Europe, and the spared but scattered remnant seemed, to the eyes of human vision, helpless and, perhaps, doomed. . . .Yet in that time the State of Israel was born and the impossible took place. . . .The people were summoned from their graves and were brought into their own land. Was it indeed that the Lord had spoken and performed it?"

"We Christians may not believe so but we must, at least, try to understand why so many Jews both within and without Israel look upon this State as God's reply to a people's faith," finding "that God is faithful to His promises and that the calls of God to the people of Israel are 'irrevocable.'"<sup>33</sup>

I should be the last to want to spoil these compelling words, but I do venture to add--and I think Dr. Scharper would not be upset--that a really fulfilled empathy must also extend to the thousands who live for Israel but simply cannot accede to a theological rendering of the Israeli story--not to mention those Jews and Christians who are entirely committed to a theological outlook but who cannot believe that history is capable of validating faith.

It would be totally misleading to conclude that the religious factor necessarily supplies Christian support for Israel while extra-religious arguments do not. On the contrary, religion is often among the weightiest of obstacles. R. Park Johnson, an ecumenical missions official of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., expressed a viewpoint quite opposed to Philip Scharper's. Johnson asked that American Christians avoid "superficial identification of the modern secular

national state of Israel with the historic ancient Hebrew nation. Present political and military events in the Middle East cannot be properly interpreted as a realization of the prophetic messages in the Bible about the people of Israel as an instrument of God's purposes of justice and mercy for all nations under the rule of God.<sup>34</sup> And the Church Herald, official organ of the Reformed Church in America, after denouncing Christians who, it said, condone Israel's persecutions of Arabs, asserted, "The Christian Church also has something at stake in the Middle East. It is not the free access to the holy places in Jerusalem, but the evangelization of Jew and Muslim alike, and their conversion to Jesus Christ."<sup>35</sup>

Often the religious authentication of Israel expressed by Christians is only provisional, and what is given with one hand is taken away with the other. Thus, an article in the evangelical monthly Eternity, after proposing that if God has begun resettling the sons of Isaac in Israel the sons of Ishmael can scarcely dislodge them, nevertheless cautioned that it was not "in faith" that Jews have returned to their promised land. But tomorrow the Jews will "look upon Him whom they pierced," and the nation "will be converted in a day."<sup>36</sup>

If a charge of biblical literalism is often made against Zionism in some Christian circles,<sup>37</sup> the presence of biblical literalism among Christians can also sustain opposition to Israel.

### III

Are there ways to account for Christian attitudes to Israel, and particularly the widespread indifference and hostility to the Israeli side? The search for motivations is much more difficult than a simple description of expressed points of view--and it moves us into controversy. Yet it would be naive to equate the conscious and public reasons put forward in Christian quarters with deeper urges or causes.

An overall factor is the measure of uncertainty within the Christian community. It is understandable that on such an enormously complex issue many Christians and their leaders should not know what to say or do. Evidently some churchmen have just not believed that the Arab detractors of Israel could or would destroy her. Such points as these are hardly the only ways to explain widespread Christian neutralism, but they are not irrelevant. There has been some avoidance of moral commitment by church representatives on the ground that the Middle East conflict is essentially a power issue. It is not true, however, that institutional bodies must inevitably temporize or compromise, and fail to commit themselves morally within the power-political sphere. The General Board of the National Council of Churches has twice deplored the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, despite the opposite view among churchmen in East European countries. The survival of Israel is not one more political issue; it is a moral issue. And it is a religious issue in the sense that it involves ultimate human meanings.

There is, furthermore, the stubborn hope that the Christian church may somehow fill a conciliatory role between Arab and Jew. You and I may doubt this possibility. But what may appear to be a moral failure to us can have moral intent behind it.

The concern for peace is of undoubted import, if one is to believe a great many petitions and pronouncements. Expressed fears of renewed warfare and, indeed, of a world conflagration have been compounded by the worsening tensions of very recent weeks. Yet it is surely unjust to imply that those churchmen who plead for the Israeli cause are insensitive to the explosive state of affairs in the Middle East. Many such churchmen will insist that the surest guarantee of war is the refusal to acknowledge Israel's rights. Curiously, most Christian groups have seemed unable to concern themselves with the threat to peace in the Arab plan to destroy Israel. Along this line, repeated Christian appeals to the decisions and intervention of the United Nations have been a grievous affront to Jews and Israelis, because the U.N. has been a disastrous and evil influence in the present conflict.

It appears plausible to suggest that potentially pro-Israeli voices have been muted by the severe opposition in the churches to United States' participation in the Vietnamese war as well as by recent isolationist influences. There is also the abiding pacifist tradition within Protestantism, an ideal that seems put into question by the popular image of Israel. On the other hand, Christian pacifists can hardly be honestly enthused over behavior in Arab circles.

The influence of church interests and ties in the Middle East is undeniable. This is readily admitted by such a pro-Arab writer as Willard Oxtoby, who stated concerning his own denomination: Presbyterians "have for a century invested in the educational resources of Syria, Lebanon and Egypt; the good will built up over a century can vanish overnight if Americans close their ears to the Arab side. . . ."38 There are today some 4,000,000 Christians in the Middle East.39

The response to the 1967 crisis on the part of the Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas was to seek to insure that "the traditional and inalienable rights of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem" be defended and preserved, and that "the shrines of all faiths in the Holy Land be given an internationally guaranteed status. . . ."40

Many Arab Christians and some non-Christians have been trained in schools and colleges founded and supported by American missionary enterprise. A number have been helped by clinics, hospitals, and philanthropic institutions. Much apprehension is expressed over the future of the Christian church in the Middle East.41 There is some tendency in the Arab nations to identify their Christian minorities with alien Western interests. Arab hostility to Americans is numbered among the serious obstacles to the Christian cause. Concern is voiced for the welfare and security of Christians in the Arab states.42 It is sometimes claimed that "the substantial numbers of Catholic institutions in Arab countries. . . make the Vatican susceptible to diplomatic pressure"--although not necessarily American Catholic leadership.43

In seeking to comprehend the motivations beneath the words and actions of the Christian community, we face a dilemma: The more popular and plausible the explanation, the less does it seem to bring us to the heart of the matter;44 while the greater the depth of the interpretation, the more difficult and maybe even impossible is its demonstration.



The elements we have just noted--to which can be added the contention that Christians simply lack understanding of the depth of Jewish feeling for Israel and of the solidarity of Jewish peoplehood--hardly provide a convincing or complete explanation, and they may even mislead us. They may, for example, tempt us to the utopian conclusion that once Christians are sufficiently educated, their whole attitude will change. I put it to you that while the "plausible" interpretations may help to account for Christian uncertainty and silence, and perhaps even Christian fears, they scarcely explain the marked ambivalence toward Israel that pervades the churches. We say to Israel: "Be good. Be righteous. Be better than anybody. But you are bad. You are unrighteous. You are worse than everybody. You ought to be saints, but you are going to be devils."

What is to be made of the out-and-out hostility of many Christians--and of their double standard? We have not referred as yet to the "double standard," although we have intimated its presence. Everyone has been talking about it of late, but, to my knowledge, few are asking: Why is there such a thing?

Christian circles are certainly not free of the "double standard." The Christian world has challenged no other nation's right to exist in the way it has that of Israel. Of what other people is that right called into question? We have said to Israel, "If you are good to the refugees, we just may accept you." When has this been told to the Arab world? Why do churchmen constantly lecture Israel on how she must behave? Why have so many Christian spokesmen condemned Israel for her alleged territorial expansion, and not arraigned the Arab nations for their relentless program to harass and annihilate Israel? Why have Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox representatives castigated the Israelis for reunifying Jerusalem, and found no sin in Jordan for her original conquest of the Old City and for abuses of religious freedom there?<sup>45</sup>

Why was it that Christian leaders, including Pope Paul, deplored the raid on the Beirut Airport in December, 1968 and denounced Israel for it, after having said nothing of the terrorist attack in Athens or of other recent acts of violence and terror against Israel?<sup>46</sup> Why did officials of the National Council of Churches go out of their way to commend the American Government for joining in the rebuke of Israel in the U.N. Security Council for the Beirut raid?

One might reply that Christian behavior is simply reminiscent or repetitious of the world's behavior, and the world as a whole is hostile to Israel. The Christian community is part of the world. But this reply is not convincing. It only raises other questions: Does the church always follow the world? Has the church no independent vantage point? At the very least, the lesson in the "double standard," respecting Christians who practice it, is the essential refutation of their claim to be pursuing a morally equitable course in the matter before us. Their claim is a deceit.

Again, has the church been imitating the world, or has the world been learning more and more to be der Stellvertreter, the representative, of historic Christendom? The traditional and entrenched Christian stand on the Jewish people has been: You may either convert or leave or die. The eternal war against the Jew makes strange bedfellows--or are they really so strange? The arab detractors would never suffer to convert Jews, although there is a kind of conversion implied: a conversion to statelessness. And the detractors do represent the other two

alternatives: Israeli Jews may leave--they may go to Germany or Britain or someplace--or stay to fight and die.

The nations of the world and the Arab collaborators have become the latter-day instruments of historic Christendom's conspiracy to destroy the Jewish people.

Somewhat more circumspectly, we may set down three simple propositions:

1. Today's American Christian community focuses infinitely more upon Israeli sins than upon Arab sins.
2. Such behavior is, to say the least, incapable of truthful justification.
3. It makes sense to suggest, therefore, that the Christian community is being conditioned by impulses that lie beneath the surface.

These impulses are abetted by certain ideological influences. At the center of traditional Christian teaching and deep within the Christian psyche looms the myth that the Jewish people have been cast forth from their land because of their transgressions, especially for rejecting "their" Messiah, and that they cannot be restored to wholeness unless and until they repent of their evil and acknowledge divine truth.

The very concept or symbol "Israel" is an aggravating factor. Historically and ideologically, the Christian church is celebrated as the "new Israel." For example, right at the climax of a recent report of a National Council of Churches' conference, a report concerned with hopes and fears in the Holy Land, there appears the expression, "the Church as the Israel of God."<sup>47</sup> There is the rub. The old Israel failed. It is accursed. God has raised up a new and better instrument to do his work.

There is also the Christian dichotomy of "sacred" and "profane," of "religious" and "worldly," an impossible distinction for most Jews. The church's mind has been severely conditioned by a dualism of "matter" and "spirit," in contrast to a Hebraic insistence upon the sacred unity of life. Is not Israel--the Christian dualist asks--a woefully secular state, and, accordingly, is not something seriously lacking in her spiritually? One way the Christian conscience seeks to remove the "worldly Zionists" from the sphere of its obligations is, in effect, to read them out of Judaism.<sup>48</sup>

For its part, Christendom has never won through to a reconciliation with secularism. Accordingly, all through the modern period the church has been burdened by an idealistic universalism inherently distrustful of life's particularities. The church is caught between an advocacy of religiousness (though of course a religiousness inseparable from anti-Judaism) and an apolitical universalism (in implicit opposition to Israel as a secular state). On both these grounds, the religious and the universalistic, we encounter a failure or refusal to take seriously the Jewish people in their Israeli dimension, to accept them on their own terms. Is not Israel a case of nationalist, and even tribalist, regression?

The kind of ideological structure we are observing is connected with many practical issues--such as the fabrication that the "holy places" are somehow "above politics," beyond the sovereignty of the people of Israel, including even the capital of the nation. Here is suggested much of the hidden motivation behind recurrent demands within the Christian community, Protestant and Catholic, for the so-called internationalization of Jerusalem.<sup>49</sup> That demand exemplifies the imperialism of Christian universalism. (In point of fact Israel has guaranteed complete religious freedom in all of Jerusalem and the sanctity and protection of all "holy places," including a readiness to place them under independent denominational supervision.) Who would dream of applying the notion of internationalization to such cities as Damascus or Rome or Geneva? To this day, the Vatican has not recognized the State of Israel. There is no such place as "Israel" apparently; there is only "Palestine"! In the last resort--we Christians are saying--Israel is not in fact the property of Israel.

Finally, Christian anti-Zionism is the new Christian anti-Semitism. Time precludes a full exposition of this theme. It is in many respects an inference from much of the analysis. In principle, there is little reason to expect that Christian denigration and persecution of Jews over so long a history should not be revived in Christian policies and behavior regarding the Zionist ideal and the reestablishment of the State of Israel--in the "Holy Land" of all places! The anti-Zionist stance of many nations and peoples appears inexplicable apart from the age-old influence of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism within Western and Eastern Christendom.

A certain straw man has recently been circulating in our midst. Reputedly, any criticism of Israel is called an "anti-Semitic" act. Yet where in truth has a Jewish or Israeli spokesman insinuated any such thing? The most relentless critics of Israel are Israelis. Many churchmen give evidence of deliberately confusing the issue of Israel's right to survive with the demand (in actuality, a fabrication) that Israel's every act or policy be approved. Furthermore, the theological truism that no people's right to their land can be absolute readily becomes an ideological weapon for denying Israel's legitimate claims. This weapon is seen to be illicit by virtue of the fact that the critic is tacitly granting absolute rights to Israel's enemies. Support for Israel would become unwarranted absolutization only if it meant blind sanction of everything the nation does.

A repeated warning is heard these days: "In your anti-Zionism never let anyone accuse you of anti-Jewishness or anti-Semitism." The ardor and the pervasiveness of this counsel incline me (as a Christian, and therefore a suspicious man) to smell a rat. Anti-Semitism may be a highly complex phenomenon but its essence is quite elementary. It entails Judenfeindschaft, enmity toward the Jewish people. The real question is a simple one: How can a man not be an anti-Semite if he opposes Israel's right to live, or consorts with would-be destroyers of Israel? There is no way to be against Israel without being anti-Semitic.

I want to call your attention to an essay by Edward H. Flannery, entitled "Anti-Zionism and the Christian Psyche." Father Flannery's thesis is that the similarity of reaction in Christendom to the Holocaust and to the emergence of the State of Israel is "symptomatic . . . of determinative unconscious forces;



specifically, of an unrecognized antipathy (to) the Jewish people." The Holocaust and the State of Israel are at opposite poles in the existence of Jews. "One is its nadir; the other, its zenith: Israel prostrate and Israel triumphant." Yet even though the stimuli are poles apart, the response is single: apathy-hostility. Such an inappropriate affect can hardly come from rational sources. The very multiplicity of the indictments of Zionism by Christians conceals unrecognized motivations. "A certain vague uneasiness attends the idea of Jews restored to Palestine, and to Jerusalem in particular. This uneasiness may serve as the subliminal foundation for a Christian anti-Zionism and as the dynamics (behind) the various 'reasons' supplied for disfavoring the State of Israel...." The Christian death-wish for Jews finds a new actualization.<sup>50</sup>

Father Flannery stressed the need for caution and tentativeness in this type of conclusion. I cannot think of a more essential or timely subject for collaborative research among the social sciences, depth psychology, and theology than the whole phenomenon of Christian anti-Zionism. Any scientists who happen to be present will insist that we cannot build upon the absence of data. But we are not without data. We have 1900 years of Christian contempt for Jews and Judaism. And we have some formidable evidence from contemporary behavior in the churches right in our midst.

I should like to close on a moral note rather than a purely psychological one.

First, for most Jews, and some Christians, the primary question is not the mere perpetuation of a state as a juridical entity but the survival and welfare of the Israeli population as human beings. The place of the visible state comes to the fore as a function of the human question, and for that reason it cannot be denied. When I say "the Israeli population," I do not mean only Jews. It is not impossible that a frenzied Arab slaughter in Israel would entail little if any practical distinction between Jews and those Arabs who have, after all, become full Israeli citizens.

Second, in so far as Christian denigration of Israel cannot be divorced either from certain ongoing Christian dogmas and ideology or from historic Christian acts of hostility toward Jews, the responsibility of Israeli Jews and the Jewish world may become clear. Responsible action will be determined by decisions respecting the force and changeability of Christian belief and Christian behavior. There is, I judge, little in the history of dominant Christian attitudes to Israel since 1948, and particularly since 1967, to warrant the conclusion that the Christian world, and the American Christian community in particular, has changed or will change. This state of affairs may inspire Israelis and others sympathetic to Israel to face up to the A.C. Forrests, the Willard Oxtobys, the leadership of the National Council of Churches, by persisting in a resolutely political stance, by fostering structures of power that help make the negative attitudes within the churches increasingly inconsequential to the moral necessities of Israel's survival and well being. This course is commended, not just in the name of Israel but in the name of the Arab peoples and of humanity. From that perspective, we are brought back to one note hinted at in the beginning: the irrelevance of the churches.

NOTES

1 Amnon Rubenstein, "'Damn Everybody' Sums Up The Angry Mood of Israel," The New York Times Magazine, Feb. 9, 1969.

2 Marc H. Tanenbaum, "Israel's Hour of Need and the Jewish-Christian Dialogue," Conservative Judaism, Winter, 1968, pp. 1-18; Judith H. Banki, Christian Reactions to the Middle East Crisis, New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1967; Banki, "Emerging Issues in Jewish-Christian Relations," The Dialogue (published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews), Oct., 1968, pp. 1-9. The coverage of the first two studies was limited almost exclusively to the mid-months of 1967; the third extended into mid-1968.

3 Tanenbaum, pp. 7-8. The last reference is to the "Resolution on the Crisis in the Middle East" put forth by the Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches, July 7, 1967. The Resolution hewed to the familiar line of trying the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 to the plight of the Arab refugees. It continued: "Among the few who have heard" the cries of the refugees "have been Arab leaders, outraged at the establishment of Israel in the first place and fearful of her future expansion." The Council charged Israel with "significant responsibility" for solving the refugee problem, and then added that "the Arab states and other members of the international community" must share responsibility. The Resolution was totally silent on Jewish refugees and on the condition of Jews in Arab countries. Respecting the plight of Israel, here is the relevant passage: "For a generation the world has heard politically inspired threats of a war of extermination against Israel. The consequences speak for themselves. During this period we Christians have said little or done little to seek assurances for Israel that extermination would not be her fate. We have called on neither the Arab states nor Israel to abandon warfare as the means for settlement of conflicting national interests. . . ." The Resolution's partial sympathy for Israel and the point that a condition of peace is acceptance of Israel "by the entire international community" were offset by such passages as "the National Council of Churches cannot condone by silence territorial expansion by armed force" and "we cannot approve Israel's unilateral annexation of the Jordanian portions of Jerusalem." The Council seemed to imply that Israel should somehow be criticized for indicating that she would defend herself against attack. The Resolution totally ignored the fact that the "Jordanian portions of Jerusalem" were the consequence of armed conquest by Jordan.

4 Banki, "Emerging Issues. . .," p. 3

5 We may keep in mind that Christian spokesmen are by no means free of a readiness to distort facts. For example, in Presbyterian Life Willard G. Oxtoby refused to grant any reason for the "Israeli take-over of the Old City of Jerusalem and the Western portion of Jordan" since "surely Jordan had posed no serious threats to Israel's economy and trade." This distortion was answered by Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards: "Oxtoby forgets that a few days before war broke out, Jordan had joined Egypt in a war alliance--and that prior to June 5, Israeli leaders had specifically requested Jordan not to attack Jerusalem, to which Jordan responded by shelling the city at once." Again, Oxtoby claimed that American Christians and Jews practice a double standard: "Arabs could be judged bloodthirsty from their rhetoric no matter how little they could actually do,

while Israel could do no wrong no matter how far its conquests exceeded its provocation." Bernard's rejoinder was that this "overlooks entirely the record of Arab terrorist attacks on towns and settlements over the past fifty years, the pogroms against Jews in Arab lands and the vast military preparations of Egypt in the Sinai Desert prior to the war" (Bernard's, "The Arab-Israel Crisis and the American Christian Response," The Lutheran Quarterly, (Aug., 1968), 270-271). Revealingly, very few Christian analysts have seen fit to correct misrepresentations of fact. In Theology Today this charge appeared: "Christians have been chided and criticized" by Jews "for not enthusiastically supporting the swift and brilliant Israeli victory over Arab threats to their national existence ("Christianity and the Israeli-Arab World," in "The Church and the World" by E.G. Homrighausen, Theology Today, (Oct., 1967), 375). This wording constitutes a falsification. Where has there appeared an instance of a statement warranting any such accusation against Jews? The issue was not at all one of applauding the Israeli victory. It was one of concern over the terrible possibility of Israel's extermination before the hostilities began. This response in Theology Today almost seems to be saying that Israel's real offense was its refusal to die.

6 Cited in Banki, Christian Reactions . . . , p. 4, As early as May 23, 1967, the President of the Catholic Association for International Peace sent a telegram to President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk urging the United States to "take every possible measure . . . to discourage and prevent the threat or use of force by any state against the independence and territorial integrity of any other state in the Middle East." David R. Hunter, deputy general secretary of the National Council of Churches, contended: "I think Jews in this country are quite right in denouncing Christian churches for silence during the threats of genocide" (as cited in "Review of the Week," The New York Times, Dec. 31, 1967). Philip Scharper affirmed: "The fact that the threat of genocide was raised. . . should have evoked more than a shrug of the collective Christian shoulder. One cannot but wonder if the same response of no-response would have been given if the threat to annihilate the enemy had come from the Knesset and Tel Aviv. . . ("Israel, the Modern State, and Contemporary Christian Points of View," Andover Newton Quarterly (March, 1968), 242).

7 Cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . . , p. 11.

8 The Witness, June 18, 1967, as cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . . , p. 6. Some 150 ministers, priests and rabbis from the Southwest issued one of the few declarations that gave first priority to "the right of Israel and the Jewish people to exist as a sovereign state" (The Los Angeles Times, July 29, 1967).

9 James L. Kelso, in Christianity Today, July 21, 1967, as cited in Banki, Christian Reactions . . . , p. 5.

10 The Christian Century, editorial "Israel and the Christian Dilemma," July 12, 1967, p. 884. This publication's insistence upon employing the term "Zionist" is an interesting anachronism. It is not wholly unlike the use of "abolitionist" to identify someone in a situation where slavery has already been abolished.

11 John M. Oesterreicher and Edward H. Flannery, "A Statement of Conscience," The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University, South Orange,



N.J., Nov. 17, 1967. The Protestant Council of New York City called for direct negotiations "based upon recognition of the legal existence of Israel. . ." (June 15, 1967, as cited in Bernards, p. 264).

12 I am aware of the lament by Catholics at an international symposium meeting in Strasbourg in July, 1967, that "at the moment when the Jewish people in Israel were endangered to the utmost. . .so few Catholic voices were raised against the threat of genocide."

13 Banki, Christian Reactions. . . , p. 3.

14 Press Release from the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., Nov. 22, 1968.

15 Statement on the Middle East by the Division of World Justice and Peace of the United States Catholic Conference, Jan. 5, 1969 (mimeographed); italics added.

16 James L. Kelso, as cited in Bernards, p. 269.

17 Horace D. Hummel in "Symposium: Lutheran Reactions to the Arab-Israel War," Lutheran Quarterly, Aug., 1968, pp. 279-80.

18 As cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . . , p. 11.

19 Henry P. Van Dusen, letter to The New York Times, July 7, 1967.

20 As cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . . , p. 13.

21 As cited in Bernards, pp. 271, 272.

22 The Christian Century, editorial "Israel and the Christian Dilemma," July 12, 1967, p. 883.

23 The Christian Century, editorial "To Zionists, with Love," Oct. 9, 1968, pp. 1263-64. At the time of the original crisis in May-June, 1967, The Christian Century editors contended that "Arab recalcitrance and belligerence" tilted their "sympathies sharply toward Israel." But they also maintained that Jewish criticisms "erroneously assume that Christian commitment to Judaism and to Israel required hostility to Arabs" (editorial "Israel and the Christian Dilemma," July 12, 1967, pp. 883-884). No documentation was offered to support this charge. The editors also described the accession of East Jerusalem as "war booty" (editorial "Israel Annexes Old Jerusalem," July 12, 1967, p. 884). The Christian Century has time and again opened its pages to persons bitterly hostile to Israel.

24 The members were Raymond E. Maxwell (Episcopal Church), Edwin M. Luidens (Reformed Church in America), and Rodney A. Sundberg (United Presbyterian Church).

25 Report of Deputation to the Middle East, July 19-31, 1968, National Council of Churches, pp. 5, 8-9 (mimeographed).

26 Ibid., p. 3.

27 "Report on Middle East Sparks Controversy at NCC meeting," Religious News Service release, Houston, Texas, Sept. 18, 1968. On Jan. 3, 1969 the president and the general secretary of the National Council of Churches urged four steps in aid of "compassion, justice and peace" in the Middle East: support for the U.N. Security Council Resolution of Nov. 22, 1967; the return of West Bank refugees to their homes; increased U.S. contribution to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency; and this new item: "Mindful of reports of continued persecution of Jews in some countries of the Middle East, we protest and affirm that each person and association should be assured of adequate legal safeguards for the protection of their rights." The most extreme and malignantly anti-Israel presentation of the refugee problem was that of A.C. Forrest, editor of The United Church Observer, family magazine of the United Church of Canada, that country's largest Protestant denomination. A "special issue" of the publication appeared on Oct. 1, 1967. One page heading read in huge type "INJUSTICE" and the subheading stated, "In her present policies Israel stands condemned before the world." I select just two from among the many allegations: We condemn "the treatment of the Arab people in occupied territory in the weeks that followed the war and the harsh, inhumane treatment of the refugees now, and the 19-year-old record of inhumanity to Palestinian refugees." "For another 200,000 homeless--and if Israeli policies remain the same they are going to stay homeless--the future seems grim again in the Holy Land." Forrest's "report" was reproduced with varying degrees of editing, through a syndicated arrangement, in a number of the largest denominational publications in the United States, and thus falls within our delimited subject. These publications included Church and Home, The Episcopalian, The Lutheran, Presbyterian Life, Presbyterian Survey, Together, and the United Church Herald. For example, in Together (Methodist) much of the anti-Israeli slander was edited out. Still, no comments were appended concerning Jewish refugees.

28 The Jesuit journal America, which took the position that the plight of the refugees is at the heart of the Middle Eastern conflict, listed as part of the price for ultimate peace Israeli recognition of the Arab view that the refugees "have unjustly lost their homeland," although it went on to say that the Arab world must recognize that Israel is "a homeland for Jews who have no other" (June 24, 1967) as cited in Banki, Christian Reactions. . . , p. 14). The declaration of the interfaith group from the Southwest (see note 8) spoke not alone of "the rights of suffering Arab refugees" but of "the plight of persecuted Jewish minorities whose human rights have been jeopardized in some Arab lands" (The Los Angeles Times, July 29, 1967).

29 Banki, "Emerging Issues. . .," p. 4.

30 Aarne Siirala, in "Symposium: Lutheran Reactions to the Arab-Israel War," Lutheran Quarterly, Aug., 1968, pp. 285, 286.

31 The New York Times, July 12, 1967. These spokesmen went on: "Theologically, it is this dimension to the religion of Judaism which leads us to support the reunification of the city of Jerusalem."

32 Glenn C. Stone, in "Symposium: Lutheran Reactions to the Arab-Israel War," Lutheran Quarterly, Aug., 1968, p. 284.

33 Scharper, pp. 244-45.

34 As cited in Bernards, p. 265.

35 Church Herald, Sept. 8, 1967, as cited in Bernards, pp. 272-73.

36 Eternity, July, 1967, as cited in Bernards, p. 272.

37 A columnist in the Methodist publication Concern wrote: "Christians and Jews in the United States have a very serious obligation to reject the biblical literalism that lies behind political zionism. . ." (June 15, 1967, p. 9).

38 Willard G. Oxtoby, July 1, 1967, as cited in Bernards, pp. 271-72

39 In today's Israel, Christians number about 72,000, some 12,000 of whom are in East Jerusalem. The principal groups include Greek Catholics (23,000), Greek Orthodox (17,000), Latins (11,000), Maronites (3,000), and Protestants (2,000). Some 30,000 Christians live in the "West Bank" area (Facts About Israel, 1968, Jerusalem: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Information Division, p. 70). According to one estimate, the Christian population in the Middle East is no more than one half the 1900 figure (Alford Carleton, "Christian Alternatives in the Middle East," unpublished).

40 June 24, 1967, as reported in Newsletter, Committee on the Church and the Jewish People, World Council of Churches, Dec., 1967, p. 9.

41 At their 1967 Convention, Southern Baptists voiced much more concern for their missionaries in Arab lands than they did for the fate of Israel (Newsweek, July 3, 1967, p. 73).

42 This may be more of an admission than some realize. Such fears would hardly be forthcoming respecting Christians inside Israel.

43 "Review of the Week," The New York Times, Jan. 5, 1969. In January, 1969 Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee warned of a covert, unprecedented, and highly skillful campaign by Arabs to penetrate the "institutional systems of the American Catholic and Protestant churches with propaganda that is not only blatantly anti-Israel and anti-Zionist but also, in many cases, virulently anti-Semitic." One example is a leaflet providing a Muslim version of the medieval blood libel charge and a revival of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." A primary resource center for the campaign is Lebanon, where many Christian groups and leaders are collaborating in the effort (Statement before the New York Chapter, American Jewish Committee, Jan. 12, 1969, mimeographed).

44 The underdog-top dog transition vis-a-vis Israel and the Arab nations in June of 1967, in so far as it can be talked about at all, does not appear as a very significant factor in changing differing expressions of Christian opinion.

45 Cf. Oesterreicher and Flannery: "When the Jordanians held the Old City, they closed the border so that no Israeli Jew or Arab could visit any of his holy places; they destroyed 35 out of 36 synagogues; they used tombstones from the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives to pave the footpaths and latrines of the Arab Legion camp in Bethany. To cede the Old City to Jordan would be for



Israelis to participate in those acts of impiety" ('A Statement of Conscience').

46 Cf. "On World Reaction to Developments in the Middle East: A Statement by Rabbi Jacob P. Rudin, President of the Synagogue Council of America, "The Christian Century, Jan. 22, 1969, p. 110; Arthur J. Lelyveld, "Christian Morality and Arab Terrorism: An American Jewish Congress Statement," Congress Bi-Weekly, Jan. 13, 1969, p. 2. On Jan. 28, 1969 the Pope did deplore the public hangings in Baghdad of fourteen Iraqi "spies," nine of whom were Jews. James Feron surmised that this appeal and a subsequent one to the Jordanian authorities seeking clemency for two Christian Arabs were perhaps connected with the bitter criticism of the Pope by Israeli leaders following upon the raid on the Beirut Airport in December, 1968 (The New York Times, Feb. 1, 1969). An interesting variation on the "double standard" was a joint Methodist-Quaker seminar on current social issues arranged for high school students at the United Nations on Dec. 11, 1968. The single speaker on "Zionism and the Middle East Problem" was a representative of the American Council for Judaism, an uncompromisingly anti-Zionist group.

47 L. Humphrey Walz, "Hopes vs. Fears in the Holy Land," Social Action and Social Progress, Jan.-Feb., 1968, p. 19.

48 A. Roy and Alice L. Eckardt, "Again, Silence in the Churches. II. Christian and Arab Ideology," The Christian Century, Aug. 2, 1967, p. 993.

49 In January, 1968 Pope Paul reiterated in an address to the Roman Curia his contention that places specifically identified with the life of Christ should be internationalized, i.e., protected by formal agreements guaranteed by international authority. The Pope's statement contradicted reports that he had given up the idea of internationalization and was prepared to sanction full Israeli responsibility for the maintenance of the holy places. However, the Pope had apparently abandoned the idea of internationalizing the entire area (as reported in News-letter, Committee on the Church and the Jewish People, World Council of Churches, Feb., 1968, p. 12).

50 Edward H. Flannery, "Anti-Zionism and the Christian Psyche," a paper prepared for the International Conference of Christians and Jews, Toronto, Sept. 2-6, 1968 (mimeographed).

\* \* \* \* \*

Israel

December 1, 1967

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Al Vorspan

I spoke to Haim Zohar. He wanted to be apprised concerning events in Montreal, and I did it, though obviously not as well as you might have done.

Please be good enough to meet his request for the following materials:

- 1 - 5 copies of the State of Our Union Message
- 2 - copy of the King letter on negro anti-Semitism
- 3 - 10 copies of your book on Israel
- 4 - several copies of our Israel resolution
- 5 - 1 set of all resolutions
- 6 - a listing of our new officers

# MEMORANDUM

Date December 4, 1967

From Bernard Eyslin

To Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Mr. Albert Vorspan

Copy for information of Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch

Subject

I have just been studying Rabbi Hirsch's report on his recent visit to Israel and I am struck by two things -- how much most of us don't know what's going on there in terms of Reform Jewish activities. Secondly, if we do expand these activities, we must expand consciousness of what has happened, what is happening and what we mean to happen -- otherwise it won't happen.

Obviously there are many ways in which this department can be of aid in preparing and disseminating information. However, I think something more is needed which we are eminently qualified to do.

Specifically I am proposing a film about the program to be shot in Israel and to center about the Leo Baeck School, the Eisendrath-Exchange-Program, any Reform presence we manage in the youth villages, and congregational activity.

I should like to point out in this regard that I have shot several films for the UJA overseas -- two of them prize-winning documentaries and another which has been termed "the most effective fund-raising film ever made." All these films were shot on a very low budget. Two of them in Israel, one in Vienna and Naples and another one in this country. I can do it on a budget of about \$10,000, I estimate -- this for a half hour film which would be suitable for congregational use, for fund-raising and for television. It could all be done over the summer.

Let me know what you think.

where o where shall we get this

sum  
where o where is it now?

The idea is superb --

the ~~the~~ spirit it is willing but the flesh



From the desk of

**RABBI JAY KAUFMAN**

To

Vorskank

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return

J  
ridiculous!  
9/5

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

84-5th Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.



21 Shevat 5723  
February 15, 1963

Mr. Lewis H. Weinstein, Chairman  
National Community Relations Advisory Council  
10 Post Office Square  
Boston, Mass.

Dear Mr. Weinstein:

Please be informed that the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, by unanimous decision of its officers and Administrative Committee, will not participate nor be represented at the meeting called by Rabbi Israel Miller and Mr. Label Katz for Wednesday, February 20, 1963, concerning Russian Jewry. It was also unanimously decided to request the organizations of which the Orthodox Union is a constituent member, to abstain from participation in this meeting.

It is in accordance with this decision that we inform you of the position the Orthodox Union has taken in this matter. We have likewise informed the Synagogue Council of America which, therefore, will not participate.

The reasons for our abstaining from this meeting and for our request that the NCRAC and SCA likewise abstain from such participation, are obvious. Notwithstanding the high repute of the gentlemen calling this meeting and of the high repute and achievements of their respective organizations, we believe that any Zionist sponsorship of an effort to alleviate the plight of Russian Jewry or any effort which could possibly be interpreted as being initiated by, controlled by, or associated with the Zionist Movement, is doomed to failure and on the contrary would tend to increase the sufferings of our brethren in Russia. It has been the persistent claim and allegation of Soviet Russia that Russian Jews are the witting or unwitting tools of Zionism and Imperialism and as such suspect in a high degree of disloyalty and traitorous activities. Any endeavor associated with Zionist organizations or their leadership will, therefore, only exacerbate the situation.

In our opinion, the best chance for success lies in action initiated and conducted by the religious Jewish community and its representatives. The human rights aspect of this



Mr. Lewis H. Weinstein

February 15, 1963

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problem, in addition to the religious one, can come to expression quite forcefully and undiminished by religious spokesmanship, for the dignity of man and his freedom are fundamental to the theistic world view.

By copy of this communication, we are informing the constituent members of the NCRAC of our position.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

MOSES I. FEUERSTEIN  
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

MIF/sd