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The Wexner Heritage Foundation
Summer Institute

AMERICAN ISRAELI
VISIONS & DIVISIONS

J U L Y
9 *through* 18
1 · 9 · 9 · 5
JERUSALEM
I S R A E L



**VISIONS & DIVISIONS:
THE STRUGGLE FOR JEWISH IDENTITY
IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL**

PROGRAM

SUNDAY, JULY 9

Depart USA

MONDAY, JULY 10

5:00 pm	Arrive Ben Gurion Airport	
7:00 pm	Haas Promenade Psalm & Song: Rabbi Ramle Arian and Merri Lovinger Arian	
8:00 pm	Check-In	Laromme Hotel
8:30 pm	Barbecue Dinner <i>quintet</i>	Courtyard

TUESDAY, JULY 11

7:00 - 7:45 am	Breakfast	Bistro
8:00 - 8:30 am	Introduction: Architecture of the Institute Rabbi Nathan Laufer <i>President, Wexner Heritage Foundation</i>	Zion Ballroom
8:45 am sharp	Buses depart for ICC Jerusalem <i>International Conference Center</i>	Laromme Lobby
9:30 - 11:00 am	Workshops THE CENTRALITY OF THE LAND IN THE BIBLICAL COVENANT	ICC Classrooms
	Ms. Ruth Calderon Ben-Shahar <i>Elul Institute for Jewish Studies</i>	Room 105
	Dr. Isalah Gafni <i>Hebrew University</i>	Room 106
	Rabbi Donnell Hartman <i>Shalom Hartman Institute</i>	Room 113
	Ms. Mellla Hellner Eshed ✓ <i>Hebrew University</i>	Room 108

Dr, Bryna Levy
*Matan, The Women's Institute
for Torah Studies* Room 114

Dr. Shalom Paul
Hebrew University Room 110

Rabbi Jonathan Porath
Joint Distribution Committee Room 111

Dr. Daniel Tropper
Gesher Foundation Room 112

Dr. Deborah Weissman
Kerem Institute Room 107

Dr. Jeffrey Woolf
Bar-Ilan University Room 109

Mr. Noam Zion
Shalom Hartman Institute Room 210

11:15 am

Site Visits
THE COVENANT IN CONTEXT
Bible Lands Museum
(Denver, Phoenix & San Diego groups)
Valley of Hinom & Mt. Zion
(Cleveland & Columbus groups)

1:15 pm

Lunch

Zion Ballroom

2:00 - 3:30 pm

Free Time

3:30 - 4:45 pm

Plenary

VISIONS AND DIVISIONS

Zion Ballroom

Introduction:

Professor Aviezer Ravitsky, *Hebrew University*
Professor Arnold Eisen, *Stanford University*

5:00 - 6:30 pm

A "HAREDI" VISION OF ISRAEL

Zion Ballroom

Rabbi Yisrael Eichler
Editor, Ha-Machaneh Ha-Haredi

7:30 pm

Dinner & Commencement

Zion Ballroom

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12

7:00-8:00 am	Breakfast	Bistro
8:15 am	Buses to ICC Jerusalem	Laromme Lobby
9:00-10:30 am	Workshops THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND IN ANCIENT ISRAEL Ms. Ruth Calderon Ben-Shahar Dr. Isaiah Gafni Rabbi Donniel Hartman Ms. Melila Hellner Eshed Dr. Bryna Levy Dr. Shalom Paul Rabbi Jonathan Porath Dr. Daniel Tropper Dr. Deborah Weissman Dr. Jeffrey Woolf Mr. Noam Zion	ICC Classrooms Room 105 Room 106 Room 113 Room 108 Room 114 Room 110 Room 111 Room 112 Room 107 Room 109 Room 210
11:15 am - 12:30 pm	Site Visit THE CONQUEST OF THE LAND IN MODERN ISRAEL Ammunition Hill	
1:00 pm	Lunch	Zion Ballroom
2:00 pm	Walk to Van Leer Institute	
2:30 - 4:30 pm	Plenary "HILONI" VISIONS OF ISRAEL Mr. Amos Oz <i>Author</i> Mr. Elyakim HaEznl <i>Former Member of Knesset</i>	Van Leer Institute
5:30 pm	Reception H.E. EZER WEIZMAN <i>President of the State of Israel</i>	President's Residence
7:00 pm	Dinner WARS OF THE PAST, WARS OF THE FUTURE Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman <i>Founding President Emeritus Wexner Heritage Foundation</i>	Zion Ballroom

THURSDAY, JULY 13

7:00 - 8:00 am	Breakfast	Zion Ballroom
8:15 am	Buses to ICC Jerusalem	Laromme Lobby
9:00-10:30 am	Workshops	ICC Classrooms
	THE UNIQUENESS OF JERUSALEM	
	Ms. Ruth Calderon Ben-Shahar	Room 105
	Dr. Isaiah Gafni	Room 106
	Rabbi Donniel Hartman	Room 113
	Ms. Mella Hellner Eshed	Room 108
	Dr. Bryna Levy	Room 114
	Dr. Shalom Paul	Room 110
	Rabbi Jonathan Porath	Room 111
	Dr. Daniel Tropper	Room 112
	Dr. Deborah Weissman	Room 107
	Dr. Jeffrey Woolf	Room 109
	Mr. Noam Zion	Room 210
10:45 am	Site Visits	
	ANCIENT JERUSALEM	
	Rooftops of Yeshivat HaKotel	
	Herodian Mansions	
1:15 pm	Lunch	Zion Ballroom
2:00- 4:00 pm	Free Time	2 - Joan Sebellin wedding
4:00 - 6:00 pm	Plenary	
	"DATT" VISIONS OF ISRAEL	
	Rabbi Benny Elon	
	Dean, Yeshivat Beit Orot, Jerusalem	
	Rabbi Moshe Halbertal	
	Hebrew University, Shalom Hartman Institute	
7:30 pm	Dinner	Zion Ballroom
	HON. EHUD OLMERT	
	Mayor of Jerusalem	

FRIDAY, JULY 14

7:00 - 8:00 am	Breakfast	Bistro
8:15 am	Buses to ICC Jerusalem	Laromme Lobby
9:00 - 10:30 am	Workshops THE DESTRUCTION OF THE 1ST AND 2ND TEMPLES AND THE RABBINIC RESPONSE	ICC Classrooms
	Ms. Ruth Calderon Ben-Shahar	Room 105
	Dr. Isaiah Gafni	Room 106
	Rabbi Donniel Hartman	Room 113
	Ms. Mella Hellner Eshed	Room 108
	Dr. Bryna Levy	Room 114
	Dr. Shalom Paul	Room 110
	Rabbi Jonathan Porath	Room 111
	Dr. Daniel Tropper	Room 112
	Dr. Deborah Weissman	Room 107
	Dr. Jeffrey Woolf	Room 109
	Mr. Noam Zlon	Room 210
10:45 AM	Site Visits FROM TRIUMPH TO TRAGEDY Emek Ha-Eylah Archaeological Dig at Beit Guvrin	
1:00 pm	Box Lunch	
3:30 - 6:00 pm	Free Time	
6:00 pm	Candlelighting	Ballroom Foyer
6:15 pm	Buses depart for Erev Shabbat Services: Traditional: Kotel, The Western Wall Liberal: Congregation Kol HaNeshama	
8:30 pm	Shabbat Dinner	Zlon Ballroom

Faculty Admission

SATURDAY, JULY 15

7:30 - 9:30 am	Breakfast	Bistro
8:00 am	Services at Jerusalem Synagogues	
11:00 am	Kiddush	Ballroom Foyer
11:30 am - 1:00 pm	Shabbat Shlur Dr. Avivah Zornberg <i>Matan, The Women's Institute for Torah Studies</i>	Zion Ballroom
1:00 pm	Lunch	Zion Ballroom
2:00 - 4:00 pm	Walking Tours in Old City (Optional) Rabbi Jonathan Porath Rabbi Michael Paley	
4:30 - 6:00 pm	Plenary A "MITKADEMET" VISION OF ISRAEL Rabbi Levi Weiman-Kelman <i>Congregation Kol HaNeshama</i> Rabbi Na'ama Kelman Ezrachi <i>Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism</i>	Congregation Kol HaNeshama
6:30 pm	Mincha	Gall
7:00 pm	Dinner	Zion Ballroom
8:30 pm	Havdallah Rabbi Ramle Arian <i>Vice President for Programs</i> Ms. Merri Lovinger Arian <i>Hebrew Union College</i>	Zion Ballroom
9:00 pm	Dancing Andrew Raabe & Renee Grunwald <i>Tena'im (Engagement)</i>	Zion Ballroom

SUNDAY, JULY 16 (17th of Tammuz, Observed)

7:00 - 7:45 am	Breakfast	Bistro
8:15 am	Buses to ICC Jerusalem	Laromme Lobby
9:00 - 11:00 am	Workshops & Discussion OUR VISION OF ISRAEL TODAY Ms. Ruth Calderon Ben-Shahar Dr. Isalah Gafni Rabbi Donniel Hartman Ms. Mellla Hellner Eshed Dr. Bryna Levy Dr. Shalom Paul Rabbi Jonathan Porath Dr. Daniel Tropper Dr. Deborah Weissman Dr. Jeffrey Woolf Mr. Noam Zion	ICC Classrooms Room 105 Room 106 Room 113 Room 108 Room 114 Room 110 Room 111 Room 112 Room 107 Room 109 Room 210
11:00 - 11:30 AM	Evaluations	
11:45 am - 1:00 pm	Plenary THE COVENANT AND THE JEWISH FUTURE Dr. David Hartman Hebrew University Founder, Shalom Hartman Institute	Dulzin at ICC
1:00 pm	Free Afternoon & Evening	

MONDAY, JULY 17

6:00 - 6:30 am	Breakfast	Bistro
6:45 am	Buses Depart for Allenby Bridge	Laromme Lobby
7:30 - 9:30 am	Amman Audience with: HIS ROYAL MAJESTY, KING HUSSEIN	Royal Palace
1:30 pm	Tour of Ruins of Rabat Ammon Mt. Nebo	

6:00 pm	Arrive Laromme	
7:00 pm	Dinner Concluding Address: <i>Kat introduce</i> H. E. YITZHAK RABIN Prime Minister of Israel	Zion Ballroom
10:00 pm	Departure for Ben Gurion Airport	Laromme Lobby

TUESDAY, JULY 18

5:40 am	Arrival in New York Connect to Domestic Flights
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Eichler 11/7/95

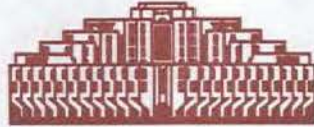


1. Why do we need the Jewish people? What is task of J. people?
2. Why the Jewish tribe which entered Egypt didn't assimilate? That would have solved the whole question
- 2a. If there is a need for Jew. people, perhaps there is need for Jewish state
3. One man Abraham revolted against his family, to enter Canaan
4. The existence of the Jews is because God wants it so. He wants Jewish state to exist forever.
5. If the Jewish population in Israel assimilates, that is a tragedy
6. Eichler quoted conversation with Peres, who said 1986 was a worse danger than Syrian missiles. So E. asked why Peres didn't invest millions in defense against assimilation.
7. Proof that we are one people is that we all say Shema Yisroel.
8. Israel is a Holy Land and should be treated as such.
9. Assimilation is not the solution to eliminate anti-semitism, but only increases it.
10. How can assimilation be avoided? It started 200 years ago. Even though Jews shed traditional clothing, a-s continued.
11. A million children in Israel today don't know Shema Yisroel
12. If peace comes, the danger of assimilation will be as great in Israel as in the Diaspora. The youth will destroy us.

 **laromme jerusalem hotel**  מלון לורום ירושלים

Liberty Bell Park, 3 Jabotinsky St., Jerusalem 92145 Israel Tel. (02) 756-666 Tlx. 26379 Fax. (02) 756-777

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charming
witty

simplistic

His Hebrew was more clear
to me than Roubisky's

He avoided all fireworks

He ducked the question of religious parties joining a secular government.
If the Gov't leads us to real peace, we are for it. Present process we doubt.

He was asked why his movement didn't send its kids to Army.
Answer - Torah is also a weapon.

Conversion is OK and acceptable if done strictly.

There is only one Judaism. God decides what is Judaism. Reform + Conservative
are like Christianity. They are treasonous.

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Amos 02 12/7/95

Is. is a constant bloodless civil war - every day on every street - a life drama

Is. is only example of collective creativity - cities, language (remarkable achievement).

Orthodoxy is a museum culture, not a living.

Every day in Is. is a struggle between various elements in the heritage. A game of spiritual anarchy.
There can be no Jewish state. There can be a state of the Jews.

HA-ETZVI - non-observant apologist for orthodoxy

Nazis wanted to kill the ideology - so they killed Jews.

What is the J. ideology? A question - where have I sinned?
What did I do wrong? Jews posed a moral question to themselves.

Why do we have these frictions in Is? No choice

Two previous civil wars - over Baal, and over Hellenism

I hope we don't have a third. There is a direct clash in the Psak Din which forbids soldiers to evacuate. This might evolve into civil war - between state + religion.

Basic question - who are we? A Jewish people or an Israeli people.
A Jewish people is a tribal notion - a group of families. You are born into the tribe or taken in. Most secular people want the modern halacha to decide who is in the tribe and who isn't.
This is a Jewish state. Zionism grew out of a religious basis.

The fight here is not only around membership, but also around territory. We may have to fight it out by force. The feelings are high - great bitterness.

Re education - we produce a generation of ignorant people - who don't know their own heritage, which they can later discard if they wish.

Questions of national interest must be decided by a Jewish majority. That means Arab citizens cannot vote in a referendum on Golan.

July 11, 1995

Dear Herb

Here is some recent background on Elyakim Haetzni. He is the main author of the so-called "moral code" of the national camp.

We now have new terms in the national debate — "peace criminals" and "peace victims" —

This is a report on his press conference two weeks ago.

All the best —
F. H.

SUMMER INSTITUTE
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL
JULY 12, 1995

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

WARS OF THE PAST, WARS OF THE FUTURE

Ladies and gentlemen. We had a remarkable performance this afternoon from the president of the state. To me it was remarkable for another reason. He made four or five of the main points which I intend to make tonight. So I was glad to know in my own soul that I was not crazy and that I was not too far off the track. "Wars of the past, Wars of the future" was an attempt to induce futuristic thought on your part. I want to cover three topics this evening.

First, I want to compare Israel and the United States during two periods: the first 40 or 50 years of each country and the second 40 or 50 years of each place. There is an uncanny symmetry of the experiences, indicating that what was taking place here in Israel for the first 50 years and what I think will take place in the next 50 are not unusual. Countries are born and grow just as children do and there are certain ineluctable rules that apparently control growth and formation.

Second, I want to outline the details of Israel's next wars, obviously using the word "war" as a metaphorical word. Third, I want to talk about the character of Israel, that is it's spiritual shape. These three items may seem disconnected to you but I don't think they are.

Let's look at the United States between 1775 and 1815 - the Congress of Vienna. In those 40 years the United States went through its external wars.

The Emir of Tripoli declared war on the United States in 1801. Why? He was dissatisfied with the tribute money which President Jefferson was paying him to allow American shipping on the Mediterranean. Jefferson was paying 2 million dollars a year when the total revenue of the entire United States was 10 million dollars, so 20% was going in tribute to this bandit. Jefferson sent some war ships to accompany a final payment. The Emir backed off and Jefferson backed off. Hardly did the U.S. have a chance to breath, before the British came and burned the White House in 1812. That brought America's wars of creation to an end.

What was Israel doing in the first 47 years, 1948 to 1995? She went through six wars, and one missile attack from Iraq, which had nothing to do with any conflict Israel was involved in. Now her wars are finished. The Arabs know it, and Israel knows it. Defense spending in Israel today has dropped to 9% of the budget whereas it was very recently as high as 33%. But having said that her wars are finished, Israel will still maintain a very strong defense force, with more power than all of the surrounding Arab states put together and she will always retain that superiority, whatever it costs. In addition there is the feeling that Israel maintains a nuclear deterrence, which might be real or might be imaginary, and this useful ambiguity will always be maintained. That being the case, it's fair to say that Israel's wars are finished within the first 50 years just as America's wars were.

Let's move to the second period - the United States between 1815 and 1860 - 45 years. As the wars were coming to an end, Jefferson understood that the country had to expand and he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase with the French. The haggling was unbelievable. Congress had voted 2 million dollars for a negotiation, (didn't name what country or what projects.) concerning some interesting projects. Robert Livingston went off as the American minister to negotiate with Tallyrand and told him that he had 2 million dollars to spend. Tallyrand rejected this diplomatically, suggesting that Livingston should think it over, and come back tomorrow. He came back with 4 million. Tallyrand said go home. Livingston came back with 12 million, more than the entire annual revenue of the United States, and that's what was paid to purchase a territory that went from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. People think that the Louisiana Purchase involved merely the State of Louisiana. The territory purchased went clear up to Canada, and opened the way for the Lewis & Clark expedition to go right up the Mississippi, into the Missouri, into the Snake and through the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. Suddenly America was continental from Atlantic to Pacific. And that's the point at which America started to grow. People went West, free land was given, the wagon trains rolled, the Indians resisted. You have all studied American history. And you know the whole story. The vast expansion of land shaped American's destiny, and she was on the way toward becoming the greatest power in the world.

What's the situation in Israel? In this second 50 years of her existence, she is exactly at the same point. You remember the question was asked this afternoon about the population and President Weizman gave an answer of 6 million in the next few years. The planning department in the Ministry of Interior has calculated for the year 2020, which is 25 years from now, that the population of this country will be 8.4 million, just about double what it is today. That constitutes a problem. There is no comparable Louisiana Purchase available to Israel. She will shrink in some regards, not expand. There is only one place to go for growth, and that is the Negev. In order for that to be done, some incredible, technical achievements have to take place.

Terra-formation is the word. Scientists and engineers must create a top soil, shave mountains down, pulverize stone and rock and make it into arable soil. Then there remains the main problem - the question of water. The first nuclear-powered desalination of sea water in quantity is set for 2005 and probably will be located at Ashdod. So that within a very short time from now, let's say 10 years, enormous quantities of water will be provided, pumped southward, thus beginning to make the desert a place in which three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a little deck on the back porch, not much grass, will be available for all of the millions and millions of people who will be coming and Israel will grow internally, without requiring additional territory.

Nuclear power plants will then have to begin to dot the country. The one institution in Israel which will have a very difficult time with this is the army,

because 90% of the territory in the Negev is closed off as a military reserve. Live fire exercises take place, tanks firing, artillery firing, planes coming in on targets, dropping live bombs, all of it real training, you can't simulate. If you want to keep your military machine up to standard then you have to keep training, training, training.

Some air training can take place out over the Mediterranean. But for tanks and artillery, for paratroopers and infantry, land surface is needed. There is no more Sinai Desert, that was the great training ground. Israel spent that in order to buy peace with Egypt. Everybody is satisfied with it, that deal was okay. The Negev is all that's left. And therefore the IDF will have to do some unbelievable readjustment in order to try to find a place for them to do all of the training. But as one says, that will be their problem.

In the United States after they bought the territory to the Pacific, a period began where there was some fighting with Mexico and fighting with Indians as the settlers were pushing west and south into Texas, always moving in order to grow the country and accommodate more people. So in Israel from now on, whenever these peace negotiations are completed and in whatever form, which is a matter simply of backing and filling and waiting and then pushing forward some more, eventually a fixed area will become the territory of the State of Israel.

Rabin is using the date of November 1996, the next election in Israel, to remind Syria that Israel's offer is on the table only for a short time because the

gentleman whom you will hear tomorrow night (Mr. Netanyahu, head of Likud) will tell you what he has said publically, that if his party heads the government, all agreements made by the previous government, namely the present one, are up for annulment. So that argument is being used now to prod Mr. Asad along. Let's hope it works.

The peace making will go on continuously for several years. Terrorism will not stop. It will go on. Added to it will be resistance coming from the settlers. They applaud the P'sak-Din which was issued today, the one referred to this afternoon by the president, stating that soldiers should disobey any orders commanding them to remove settlers by force if necessary. Such a rabbinical ruling puts religion in direct confrontation with the state because soldiers in the army cannot take directions from two authorities. If the Rabbis attempt to give direction as to what soldiers should do, then the government obviously will not countenance that.

Therefore you must anticipate a period of nervousness or tension, regardless of who is elected next November, doesn't make any difference. Should Likud attempt to annul the agreements signed by the Labor government, then there will be one kind of blow-up inside the country from one segment of the population. Should that not happen and the peace process continue, as I predict it will, there will be the other kind of constant irritation, confrontation and struggle and this will not be easy, but it will not reach the proportions of civil war, which somebody mentioned this afternoon. I think civil war is very

far fetched. In the second period of American development, they came to 1860 with civil war. In the second period of Israel's future history, I don't think it will come to civil war. There are those who disagree. How many times did Weizman say "we'll see"? He said it many times.

In America during the second period, as the settlers moved west, the economic structure of the country was being shaped. The country was developing its capitalistic form of supporting the industrial north, thus irritating the agricultural south. There were 10 or 20 years in which that problem boiled and bubbled and boiled and finally led to the explosion of a civil war. But in that development of capitalism in America, the industrial north was favored because that was the region from which products could be created and sold abroad, earning extra revenue. President Jackson then closed down the Bank of America, a national bank, which Hamilton had formed 40 years earlier, while Jackson said no, we must have individual banks all over the country, not just one national bank. And there was no national bank in America until the Federal Reserve system was established in 1913.

Looking at the development of free market capitalism here in Israel as it is occurring slowly, slowly, still far to go, all the banks in Israel, the major ones, are owned by the government. 93% of the land is owned by the government. The shipping company and the utilities and the airline are all owned by the government. That is hardly entrepreneurial capitalism. Israel is on the verge of trying to decide which way she wants to go and obviously she is

going to go in the direction of a free market economy but is still not there.

At the same time that she is doing this, she has to do something which America didn't try to do in her second 50 years. Israel has to try to solve many aggravated social problems, which have been present, and everybody knows they're present and everybody knows that they have got to be solved and can't be pushed under the rug forever. There was always a reason for not getting at them. It was either another war or another big wave of immigration. The Russians just came or the Afghanistans are going to come or the Icelanders, or who knows what wave of immigration history has waiting around the next corner. So, the school system is a shambles, especially at the elementary level. Some schools are running only at four hours a day, 8 o'clock until noon. Other schools have slightly better schedules, but then payments are being devolved onto the parents, although the law of the land says that education is free, universal for all up to grade 12 but in actuality that's not the case.

And repairs have to be made in the old age system and repairs have to be made in the way immigrants are absorbed. It's not all smooth, it's not all seamless, it's not all easy and there are lots and lots of casualties along the way and nobody will deny it. Those social corrections have got to take place, they should not and cannot wait any longer and so that's on the docket during this next 50 years and it would be glorious if success could meet all the efforts and we would know that once and for all the needy in the country would not have been neglected.

And that brings us to my third point - perhaps the most important - the necessity for this country Israel to define its character. It hasn't done that. The physical body of the nation is prospering but it's inner core is not yet in existence. It used to be that the inner core, which defined the nature of this country, was the Israel Defense Force. That institution, embracing almost the entire population, embodied the elements of honor, glory, loyalty, of fighting for one's home, fighting for one's family. There was a visible enemy, constantly trying to conquer you and the IDF identified the country, both in the minds of its own citizens and in the minds of the world abroad.

Today, Israel is nation #12 among the top 20 industrial nations of the entire world. That's some league in which to be playing at the end of less than 50 years of existence, containing so many wars and such huge immigrant intake. The per capita share of the GDP in Israel is 14 to 15 thousand dollars. That's the same as England, more than Italy, almost as much as the U.S. at \$15,500 and close to Germany, which is 18 thousand. The country is prosperous and people here live as well as they do in any middle class country in the world.

Israel possesses the highest ratio of automobiles to population: 4.5 million Jews, 1.3 million automobiles. This is more than Singapore, more than Hong Kong, more than any similarly congested place in the world. This is not an unmitigated blessing. Tragic accidents cause more deaths than war and terrorism. New roads are constantly under construction to accommodate to this

condition. The prosperity has resulted in an orgy of consumption: 40 TV channels, buying clubs, stock market speculation, McDonalds and malls. Bless the people, they've had a tough life, let them enjoy it, it's not that anybody begrudges it to them. But is this the motivating ideal which the country represents? Does Israel mean simply mindless materialism? Most people don't trouble themselves about such abstract questions. But journalists do and intellectual people should and intelligent politicians do.

I would like you to listen to a paragraph from an article that appeared in Yediot Aharonot in April, a copy of which we put in your information kit. The essence follows: "The historical mission of Israelis who are now in their 70's was to establish a state and provide it with peace and security. They redeemed the sand dunes of Rishon Litsion, (the village where the reporter was born), and they developed a big city. The mission of Israelis who are now in their 40's and 50's was to create an advanced, strong, open and thriving western economy. They built the mall and high tech industry on those dunes. Now the mission of the young people in their teens and 20's will be to transform all this into new ideas, a new culture and a new social story. Our children, who are maturing into the new Israeli republic, will lead the spiritual revolution toward the new Israeli-ness - its character, nature, quality." And the reporter says: "They will lead the spiritual revolution toward the new Israeli-ness but I still have no idea what it will look like." End of article.

That journalist has hoped that the next generation will pursue the search for the inner meaning of this third Jewish commonwealth. The country has to find its soul - to determine its inner nature, has to represent to its citizens, to its diasporas and to the world at large what it stands for morally and spiritually.

The U.S. has a definition for itself - freedom and liberty for all. The dream is not yet fully realized on behalf of the blacks or the Hispanics or the Asiatics and even of all whites. But still this is a government of, by and for the people, and the dream is the engine motivating the idealistic citizens. The dream is the description of what America stands for.

France has a definition of itself - Liberte', Fraternite', Equalite'' - only three words, but they describe France. Everyone who hears those words, or reads those words thinks of the French Revolution, 1789. Through the 1800's, 1900's, 2000's, France remains committed to those three words.

What's the word to use for Israel? Or the example or the symbol? What we have from our tradition is a phrase "the chosen people" - Atah Bochartanu. We call ourselves the chosen people in a chosen land. Do we really think of ourselves in those terms? Do we try to translate those words into actions which make those claims real in the hearts and minds of our people? I don't think so. I think it's merely a phrase that we repeat every Erev Shabbat when we make the Kiddush over the wine and never give a moment's serious thought to what it really means.

The final point that I would like to make concerns the future of religion in terms of this search for a national identity. The answers should come from religious and intellectual sources in society - from Rabbis who should search for the meaning of a sovereign Jewish state in a modern world, or professors of Jewish studies at universities, or philosophers who have the luxury of puzzling over systems of thought. It should come from any one of these sources. But it doesn't.

One of the most famous religious scholars of our time, Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz, whose name you all know, said recently in New York "we are on the way out as a people". I say it often but I'm not he. For him to say it, and for me to read it, was a shock. Both Israel and the diaspora are struggling to survive, he says - thus putting Israel in the same boat. If we talk about assimilation and inter-marriage, etc., etc., etc. in America diluting the Jewish population, that's not true in Israel, but Judaism is being diluted, by materialism and secularism. Some of the speakers we have heard seem to be hinting at the same conclusion. The only solution Steinsaltz offered was to create a new center of learning such as existed in Babylonia. Was he giving up on Israel? Was he hinting that this center should be in the modern Babylon called New York, because he was making this speech in America? Whatever he meant, he was certainly pessimistic. And therefore he is no hope in the search for a defining ideal.

Religious forces in Israel do not even try to provide moral inspiration. They think in categories of text and law, halacha. They deal with the legalities and rituals of the life cycle -- birth, marriage, divorce, death. They deal with the supervision of the food chain. They deal with an educational network for their own followers, and with very active participation in the political system.

The key role which the religious parties play lies in coalition building, where the Knesset seats they control are crucial to the larger parties who need them and buy them. This fact enables the religious parties to demand the funds from the public treasury to finance all the above activities, which they do. I'm not diminishing the activities they do. I'm bemoaning the things they don't do.

The term "religious forces in Israel" usually denotes an orthodox and super orthodox monopoly. This has created a chasm among the population. A deep cleft wherein the vast secular majority resent the religious in a spectrum of emotions ranging from cold indifference to hot disgust. This fact simply cancels any opportunity for the religious forces to serve as a leader in the search for a high moral tone. It's sad, but true.

I will predict that as the election rules change, which will occur beginning next year 1996 when the Prime Minister will be elected by direct vote of the people, the thresholds for political parties will be raised in order for Knesset seats to be obtained by them. Now there is no threshold. In Germany, for example, a political party has to gain at least 5% of the popular vote before it can seat any of its members in the parliament. In Israel there is talk that after

next year there will be a threshold established of 1 1/2%. There is no doubt that some small parties will find themselves left out, and the orthodox political muscle will be weakened. Furthermore as Supreme Court rulings gradually supersede halachic rulings, and that's already happening, the religious monopoly of orthodoxy over people's lives will gradually decrease.

Should the power of the orthodox political parties be diminished, the non-Orthodox religious groups - reform, conservative, liberal, reconstructionist, all those "deformed versions" of Judaism according to Rabbi Eichler, will then emerge as the dominant ideological force and they will be joined by many from the hitherto estranged secular majority and they will realize what their task is and they will try to articulate the sustaining ideal. Those are the two words. There has to be an ideal for this society in this country and it has to be a sustaining one that will sustain the moral of the people and the diasporas connected to this country.

Up to now what has Israel had? First, Israel has had a perfectly marvelous, Statute of Liberty image. Remember the poem "give me your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free" that is engraved on a plaque at the foot of the Statue of Liberty? This country has done magnificently in that area. Nowhere in the world is there anything comparable. It's incorporated in the law here, in the Law of Return and there are constant efforts made to change it and there are constant fights to keep it as it is. And keeping it as it is a great, shining symbol of what Israel stands for, the law of return.

Secondly there is a magnificent document, the Declaration of Independence of Israel written in 1948. It is filled with gorgeous principles of how a model society should function. Not all of those principles have been fulfilled yet, but never mind, they are written down and they are the goals toward which the nation aspires. So here are two fundamentals - the vast ingathering of Jews, and a declaration which states the principles for shaping a model society.

Now add to these two elements a belief in ethical monotheism: a sense of social justice for all regardless of race, gender, religion, age or any other distinguishing characteristic: higher education for every citizen; and there you have really created the model society.

This is a universalistic message going out to all the world as the very best prophetic vision of a small particularistic people, a tribe as we were told today we are. I like that, it's a good word, a tribe whose membership we cherish and love. Thus we have made the bridge between the universalism which the prophets talk to us about and the particularism of our family, which we love so much. This, in my book, is the meaning of Ohr l'goyim when we talk about being a light unto the nations. This is inspiring enough, if you can create this form of society, to fight to preserve. This is inspiring to the youth who cherish those ideals. This is grand. This can evoke admiration from non Jews, not what we heard the other day from those who preach that our whole existence depends upon staying away from the people who are trying to kill us. I'm not

concerned about that. We stay away as best we can, and protect ourselves successfully if attacked. I'm concerned about having stayed away, what do we stand for? This is the essence of our Messianic mission. This is the meaning of choseness. If you say you are chosen, then you have to define. Liberated religious forces, joined by large numbers of non- religious, can create a sense of worth, a swelling of pride, a happiness of spirit which will spread throughout this small country and to the large diaspora outside, giving it additional tools with which to fight its battles for survival. Decrying assimilation is simply not enough. Emotions must be aroused. Pride is an emotion and education can be provided as a continuous fuel to keep the emotions of pride and worthwhileness running in high gear. When a spiritual revolution occurs within millions of Jews in this beloved land and a sustaining ideal grows and is articulated, then the final war will have been won. And we will know what Israel stands for in an eternal manner.

One politician in this country has perceived it and expressed it, and that's Shimon Peres. I would like to close with a paragraph from the epilogue in his latest book "Battling for Peace". And, by the way, once one politician grasps it, others will follow. And perhaps Steinsaltz's pessimism can be turned into your generation's optimism.

Here's what Peres said. "Jewish history presents an encouraging lesson for humankind. For nearly 4,000 years a small nation carried a great message. For part of this period the nation dwelled on its own land. Later it wandered in

exile. The small nation swam against the tides and there is no example in all history of a nation, after so long a saga of tragedy and misfortune, rising up again, shaking itself free, gathering together its dispersed remnants, setting out anew on its national adventure, defeating doubters within and enemies without, revising its land and its language, rebuilding its identity and reaching toward new heights of distinction and excellence." This one sentence might be the defining ideal. The message of the Jewish people to humankind is that faith can triumph over all adversity. That's a universal message.

In the five decades of Israel's existence, all efforts have been focused on re-establishing the territorial center. In the future we shall have to devote our main effort to re-establishing our spiritual center. This is not a Rabbi talking. This is not a professor talking. This is not a philosopher talking. It's an idealistic politician talking. And if that's the source from which the inspiration has to come, then so be it.

The Jewish people is neither a nation nor a religion in the accepted sense of these terms. Its essence is a message rather than a political structure. A faith rather than an ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Jewish people and the Jewish religion are one and the same. Judaism or Jewishness is a fusion of belief, history, land and language. Being Jewish means belonging to a people that is both a particular chosen people and simultaneously a universal people.

My hope is that Israel will become the center and source of our heritage, not merely a homeland for our people. That the Jewish people will not need to

depend on others, but will give of itself to others.

The thesis of Peres' book has always been my personal belief, that it is permissible for a man to dream, not just any dreams, but great dreams, the greatest dreams. The physical wars are over. The spiritual wars begin. The shaping of the defining ideal rests in your hands just as much as in any one else's. You come here, you see it, you read about it, you love it. Shape it.

Thank you.



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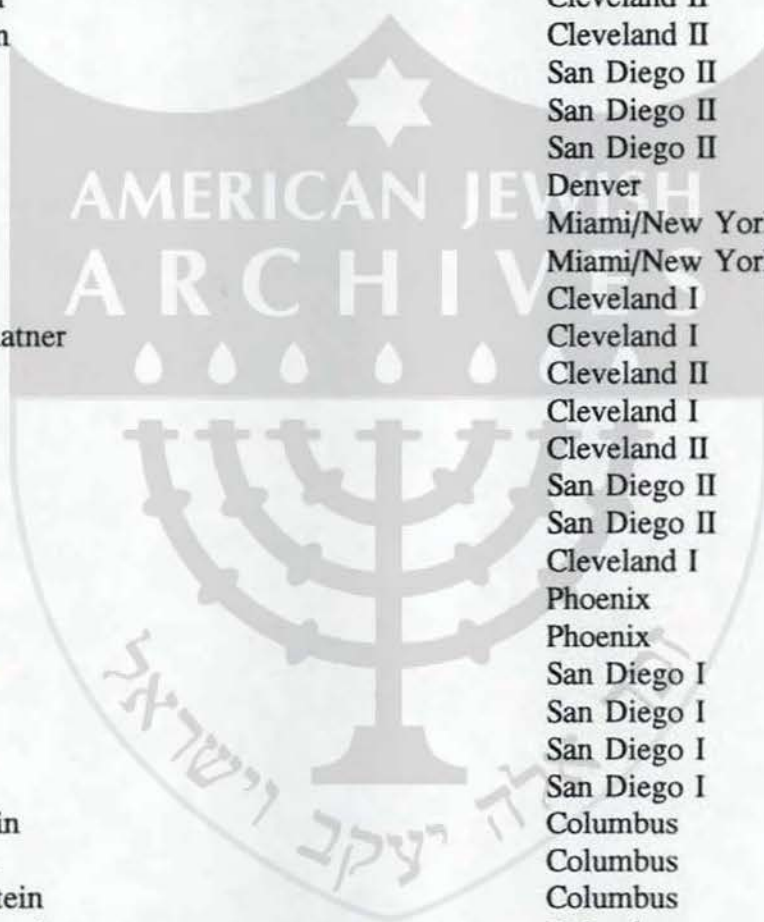


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ARNOLD M. EISEN

Dr. Arnold Eisen is a professor and an Aaron Roland Fellow in the Department of Religious Studies at Stanford University.

He is a specialist in the Study of Jewish Identity, and his books, articles and lectures have helped many Jewish leaders to understand and to explain the forces which contribute to the formation of identity by America's Jews. His voice is increasingly influential as policymakers in the American Jewish community seek to develop new, more powerful ways to shape identity among members of the changing community.

Dr. Eisen holds degrees from the University of Pennsylvania, Oxford University, and Hebrew University. He has published two important books and dozens of scholarly articles in the fields of Jewish Philosophy and Sociology.

AVIEZER RAVITZKY

Dr. Avi Ravitzky is a professor and former chairman of the Institute of Jewish Studies, in the Faculty of Humanities at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He currently serves as chairman of the Department of Jewish Thought at Hebrew University.

He is a specialist in Jewish thought, and particularly with regard to the religious motivations of the various political movements in Israel. His latest book, *Messianism and Jewish Religious Radicalism* was published in Israel in 1993 and has been accepted for publication in English in 1995 by the University of Chicago Press.

Avi Ravitzky is a well known public figure in Israeli intellectual life. He is a member and leading spokesman for *Oz V'shalom* [Strength and Peace], the Israeli religious peace movement.

He has served as Visiting Professor at several major institutions of higher learning in the United States, including Harvard University, Brown University, the University of Pennsylvania, Rice University, Yeshiva University, and the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Tuesday, July 11
5:00 - 6:30 pm Plenary
A "Haredi" Vision of Israel

RAV YISRAEL EICHLER

In his book, *Defends of the Faith*, Samuel Heilman observed that every group contains individuals who by their individual temperaments and interests occupy themselves with the philosophy of a wider movement - Heilman identified Yisrael Eichler as such an individual. Yisrael Eichler is the editor of *Ha-Machaneh Ha-Haredi*, which is the weekly Belz paper, (Belz is one of the largest groups of the Haredi Camp). The paper is much more than a weekly publication. Beyond the editorials and news items, one can also detect in this an image of what life ought to be.

Rav Eichler has become a leading figure in the Haredi movement and is often seen on television news broadcasts and news magazines, not as a spokesman for the Haredi world, but as an interpreter of that perspective to the general Israeli public. His message moves beyond Belz and sends the message for all the Haredim. Rav Eichler was instrumental in the formation of the coalition that founded the Degal Ha-Torah party and for some time, was considered a candidate for political office. He has been a builder of communication links between the world of the Haredim and the Israeli public, while maintaining his sense of purity of the world from which he comes. He was educated at the Belz Yeshiva and without any formal training in the field he has ascended in the world of journalism.

Wednesday, July 12
2:30 - 4:30 pm Plenary
"Hiloni" Visions of Israel

AMOS OZ

Amos Oz was born in Jerusalem in 1939. He is the author of fifteen books, including *My Michael* (1968), *Touch the Water, Touch the Wind* (1973), *In the Land of Israel* (1983), *Black Box* (1987), *To Know a Woman* (1989), and *Fima* (1993). His work has been translated into twenty-nine languages, and he has been the recipient of several major literary awards. He holds a Chair in Modern Hebrew Literature at Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva, and has been awarded three honorary doctorates. He has been a visiting professor or writer-in-residence at many prestigious universities, including Oxford, The University of California at Berkely, and Hebrew University.

Since the Six Day War in 1967, he has been actively involved with various groups within the Israeli Peace Movement, and has been one of the leading figures of "Peace Now" since its founding in 1977. He lives with his family in Arad in the Negev Desert, Southern Israel.

Wednesday, July 12
2:30 - 4:30 pm
"Hiloni" Visions of Israel

ELYAKIM HA'ETZNI

Elyakim Ha'Etzni is an attorney with a private practice in Kiryat Arba (near Hebron) serving both Arabs and Jews. He served as a Knesset member from 1990-92, representing the Tehiya Party. He is currently Chairman of "Elisha" (Citizens for Judea, Samaria and Gaza) and of the Action Committee for the Abolishment of The Autonomy Plan.

He escaped Nazi Germany with his immediate family in 1938, and came to (then) Palestine. He served in The Hagana, and was severely wounded while an officer in the 1948 War of Liberation.

While a student at Hebrew University's Law School (from which he graduated cum laude in 1954), he founded and directed an organization which helped to absorb new immigrants and fought corruption in government. In this latter context, he resigned his membership in the Labor Party. One of his pamphlets was the subject of a sensational court case "Amos Ben Gurion v. Elyakim Ha'Etzni" which became a landmark in the development of Israeli law in the areas of Freedom of Speech and Ethics in Government.

Immediately after the Six Day War, he was involved in re-establishing Jewish settlement in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, especially including the Hebron area. In 1972 he left his residence in Ramat Gan to live in the newly founded Jewish town of Kiryat Arba.

Wednesday, July 12
5:30 pm

EZER WEIZMAN

President Ezer Weizman, is the nephew of Israel's first President, Haim Weizman.

Born in Tel Aviv in 1924, President Weizman at 18 joined the British Royal Air Force. During World War II he served as a fighter pilot over Egypt and India. On demobilization, he returned to Palestine and in 1947, together with eight other pilots, founded what became the Israel Air Force. Under cover as a civil aviation club, these pilots made liaison flights and parachuted supplies to besieged settlements.

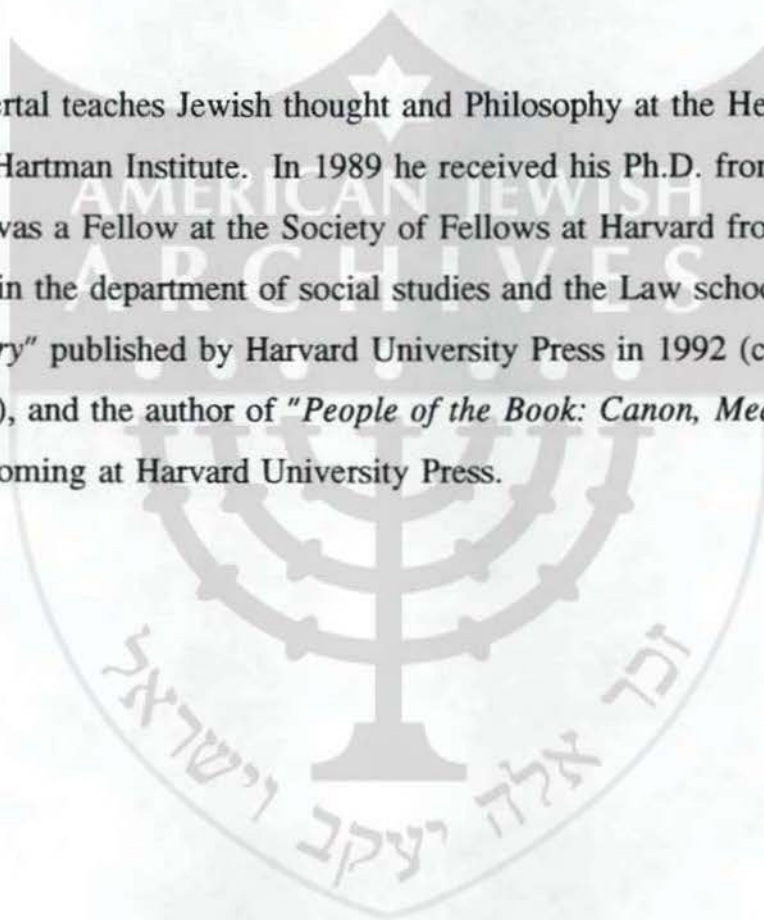
During the War of Independence in 1953, Mr. Weizman was appointed Commander of the fighter wing. At the age of 34, he became the Israel Air Force Commander-in-Chief. In this capacity he laid foundations for airforce successes during the Six Day War.

He served as Minister of Defense under Prime Minister Menachem Begin from 1977 until his resignation in 1981. A great favorite with the late President Sadat of Egypt, Mr. Weizman played a pivotal role in the peace talks with Egypt. Mr. Weizman returned to politics in the July 1984 elections as head of newly formed Yahad party which later merged with the labor alignment. In May 1993 he began his term as President of Israel.

Thursday, July 13
4:00 - 6:00 pm Plenary
"Dati" Visions of Israel

MOSHE HALBERTAL

Dr. Moshe Halbertal teaches Jewish thought and Philosophy at the Hebrew University and the Shalom Hartman Institute. In 1989 he received his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University. He was a Fellow at the Society of Fellows at Harvard from 1989-1991, where he taught in the department of social studies and the Law school. He is the author of *"Idolatry"* published by Harvard University Press in 1992 (co-authored with Avishai Margalit), and the author of *"People of the Book: Canon, Meaning and Authority"* forthcoming at Harvard University Press.



Thursday, July 13

7:30 pm

EHUD OLMERT

Ehud Olmert is the Mayor of Jerusalem, after winning the November 1993 election against Teddy Kollek, with a majority of 60%.

Ehud Olmert was born in Israel in 1945 and was first elected to the eighth Knesset in 1973 at the age of twenty-eight. Since then, he has been re-elected a consecutive five times.

Mr. Olmert is a graduate of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem with degrees in Psychology, Philosophy and Law. He has practiced law in Israel, and was the senior and managing partner of a premier law firm, Ehud Olmert & Co.

Between 1981 and 1988, Olmert served as a senior ranking member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee in the Knesset. Since 1988, he has served as a minister in the Israeli Cabinet under Yitzhak Shamir, first as Minister of Minorities and later (1990-1992) as Minister of Health.

Mr. Olmert is a frequent guest on most popular television talk shows worldwide, primarily as a representative of the Israeli point of view on the Arab-Israeli conflict, and now as the Mayor of Jerusalem.

Mr. Olmert is married and a father of four.

Saturday, July 15
11:30 am - 1:00 pm
Shabbat Shiur

AVIVAH ZORNBERG

Dr. Avivah Hannah Gottlieb Zornberg was born and educated in England. She concentrated her studies in English Literature, receiving her Ph.D. from Cambridge University with a dissertation on the life and work of George Eliot.

She came to Israel in the late 1960's, serving at first as a lecturer in the English Department at Hebrew University. Gradually, she turned her attention to Bible and Midrash. Since 1980 she has taught in a variety of Jewish institutions in Jerusalem, including the Jerusalem College for Adults, Pardes Institute, and Matan: The Women's Institute for Torah Studies.

Her weekly writings on the Weekly Torah reading have come to attract a large and lively following. Her book, *Genesis: The Beginning of Desire*, was published in 1995.

Saturday, July 15
4:30 - 6:00 pm Plenary
A "Mitkademet" Vision of Israel

NAAMAH KELMAN

Rabbi Naamah Kelman was born and raised in New York City. She is a descendent of a long line of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbis. Upon receiving her undergraduate degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1976 she moved to Israel.

In Israel Naamah Kelman first worked in community organizing and then at the Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora at the Hebrew University. In 1986 she enrolled in the Israeli Rabbinic program of Hebrew Union College. In 1992 Rabbi Kelman became the first woman Rabbi to be ordained in Israel, concurrently receiving an MA from Hebrew University's Institute for Contemporary Jewry.

Rabbi Kelman is the Director of the Education Department of the Israeli Movement for Progressive Judaism and active in many areas such as womens rights, interfaith dialogue and religious pluralism.

Naamah Kelman is married with three children.

Monday, July 17

HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN I

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

His Majesty King Hussein bin Talal is the 42nd generation direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) through the male line of the Prophet's grandson Al-Hassan.

King Hussein's branch of the Hashemite family ruled in Mecca from 1201 (C.E.) until 1925 (C.E.). King Hussein's great grandfather, Sharif Hussein bin Ali, Emir of Mecca and later King of the Hejaz, led the great Arab Revolt of 1916 against the Turkish colonial occupation of Arab lands, thereby freeing and creating the modern states of the Hejaz, Syria, Iraq and Transjordan. Sharif Hussein's second son, King Abdullah, founded the Emirate of Transjordan on 11 April 1921. The Emirate assumed the name of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan upon formal independence from Britain on 22 March 1946.

King Hussein bin Talal was born in Amman on 14 November 1935 to Prince Talal bin Abdullah and Princess Zein Al-Sharaf bint Jamil. The King has two brothers, Their Royal Highnesses Prince Muhammad and Crown Prince Hassan, and one sister, Her Royal Highness Princess Basma.

King Hussein completed his elementary education in Amman and received his secondary education at Victoria College in Alexandria, Egypt, and at Harrow School in England.

On 21 July 1951, King Abdullah was assassinated at Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, while attending Friday prayers there with his grandson Hussein. As King Abdullah's eldest son, King Talal was only able to rule for a brief period due to health reasons, King Talal's eldest son Hussein was proclaimed King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on 11 August 1952. A Regency Council was appointed until King Hussein's formal accession to the throne on 2 May 1953, when he came of age. During that interim period, King Hussein attended the Royal Military Academy in Sandhurst where he received his military education.

Over his 40 year reign, King Hussein has guided Jordan through several regional crises. The June 1967 War left Israel in occupation of the West Bank of Jordan and East Jerusalem, including the Old City. The East and West Banks of Jordan had united together by mutual consent after the 1948-1949 Arab-Israeli war pending the final resolution of the Palestine problem. King Hussein was subsequently instrumental in drafting U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 which calls for an Israeli withdrawal from all lands captured in the June 1967 War in exchange for peace. This resolution serves as the basis for the current peace negotiations. King Hussein continued to defend the integrity and sovereignty of Jordan when an Israeli attempt to invade the East Bank of the Jordan River was repulsed at the Battle of Karameh on 21 March 1968, and also two years later in September 1970 by ending the subversive and destabilizing activities of various guerilla factions based in Jordan.

King Hussein has always been committed to peace through diplomatic resolution of conflicts rather than the use of armed force. Recently, during the Gulf crisis of 1990-1991, King Hussein repeatedly attempted to mediate a peaceful solution to the conflict.

King Hussein has presided over the transformation of his country from a tribal and nomadic society still under British colonial influence, to a fully modern state with a complete internal infrastructure, and literacy and education levels that are among the highest in the developing world. King Hussein is committed to popular consultation and participation in government as well as respect for human rights throughout the Arab world. Jordan today is internationally recognized as having the most exemplary human rights conditions in the region.

In 1989, Jordan held its first full and free parliamentary elections since 1967. Soon thereafter, King Hussein appointed a royal commission representing the entire spectrum of Jordanian political thought to draft a national charter that would establish the framework for democracy and political pluralism in the country. The National Charter was ratified by King Hussein in June 1991.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Since the 1967 War, King Hussein has worked incessantly to convene an international peace conference in order to implement a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region based on U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. King Hussein played a pivotal role in the convening of the Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991, not only by committing Jordan to the peace process, but also by providing an umbrella for the Palestinian people to negotiate their future as part of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

King Hussein married Her Majesty Queen Noor Al-Hussein on 15 June 1978. They have four children: Prince Hamzah (b. 29 March 1980), Prince Hashem (b. 10 June, 1981), Princess Iman (b. 24 April 1983), and Princess Raiyah (b. 9 February 1986). King Hussein also has seven children from three previous marriages: Princess Alia (b. 13 February 1956); Prince Abdullah (b. 30 January 1962); Prince Feisal (b. 11 October 1963); Princesses Zein and Aisha (b. 23 April 1968); Princess Haya (b. 3 May 1974); Prince Ali (b. 23 December 1975). In addition, King Hussein has an adopted daughter, Abir Muhaisin, and several grandchildren.

King Hussein is an accomplished sportsman in the fields of water sports, karate, fencing, skiing and tennis. His other hobbies include flying, motorcycling, race-car driving, and amateur ham radio. He reads extensively on political affairs, history, international law, military science, and aviation.

King Hussein holds a large number of decorations from Arab and other countries. Many books have been written about King Hussein and his policies. He himself has written three books: *Uneasy Lies The Head* (1962) about his childhood and early years as King, *My War with Israel* (1969), and *Mon Metier de Roi* (1975).

Monday, July 17

7:00 pm

PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN

Yitzhak Rabin has long served Israel -- As Chief of Staff for the Israel Defense Forces, as Israel's Ambassador to the United States and as Prime Minister.

In the Military arena, his career spanned the allied invasion of Syria during World War II, through to his appointment as Chief-of-Staff of the Israel Defense Forces in 1964.

From the time Mr. Rabin participated in the Rhodes Armistice Negotiation talks in 1949, to his appointment as Ambassador to Washington in 1968, and his election as Prime Minister in 1974, Mr. Rabin has been involved in the political and diplomatic issues facing Israel.

WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

1995 SUMMER INSTITUTE

JERUSALEM

EVALUATION FORM

NAME _____ SEMINAR GROUP _____

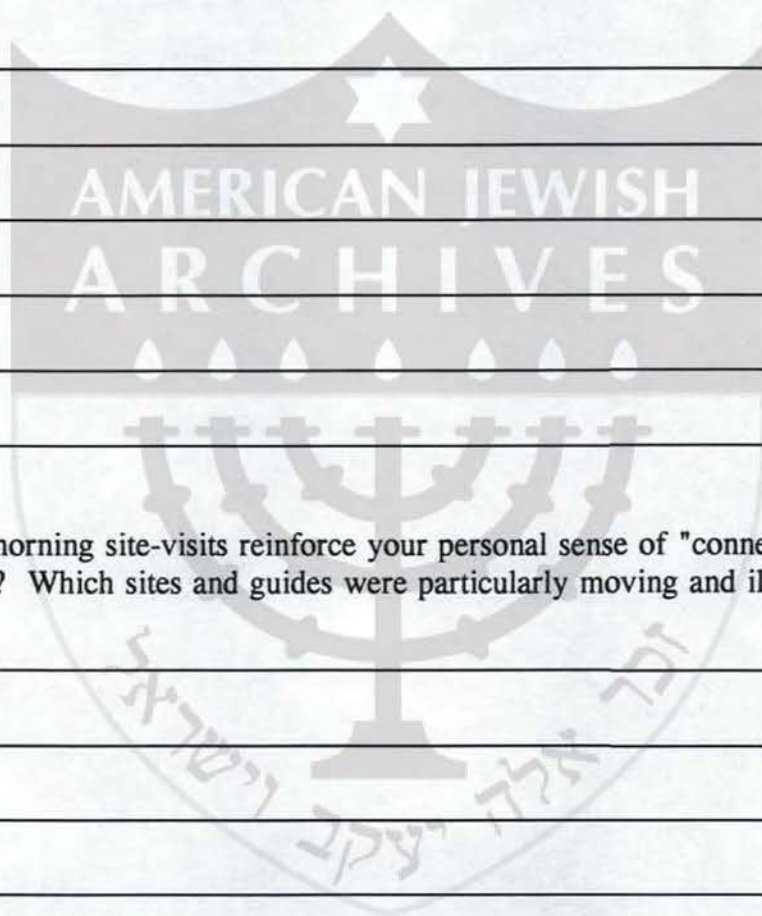
NOTES

Our primary objectives for the 1995 Summer Institute were threefold:


- 1) To deepen our knowledge of the Jewish people's attachment to the Land of Israel and the City of Jerusalem.
- 2) To understand the ideological visions and divisions regarding Jewish Identity in the state of Israel.
- 3) To compare and contrast our own struggle for Jewish Identity as American Jews, with the struggle for Jewish Identity of Israel's Jews.

Now that the Institute is drawing to a close, we would value your detailed answers to the following questions. (You might want to use your printed program to assist you in the process of recollection).

1) Were the morning workshop sessions effective in conveying to you the centrality of Israel and Jerusalem in Jewish history and thought? Which sessions and teachers stand out in your mind in this regard?



2) Did the late-morning site-visits reinforce your personal sense of "connectedness" to our land and history? Which sites and guides were particularly moving and illuminating?



- 5 -

ALAN B. SLIFKA
477 MADISON AVENUE
8TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, NY 10022

March 15, 1995

Rabbi Herbert Friedman
The Wexner Heritage Foundation
551 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Dear Herb:

I appreciate the time you gave me to discuss the summer Wexner program.

In my opinion, the critical issue for Israel and the Jewish community throughout the World is how Israel's citizens choose to define their country, specifically with respect to what being a Jewish democratic state entails.

Israel will have a minority of more than 2 million in 10 years. This minority will either become more or less Palestinized or more or less Israeli; more or less modern or more or less fundamentalist, depending in large measure whether we, the Jewish community, are willing to share this country with equality, respect, and civility.

In my opinion, panels of Jews, questioned by Jews, to talk about the minority as an "Issue," rather than participatory human beings, is exactly why a ticking time bomb exists today. The Israeli Palestinian community is increasingly deciding that Jews will not allow Arabs any degree of self participation. The Jewish community is not seeing Jewish leadership who speak up for the minorities' rights to be heard and understood.

Equality would suggest that an Arab questioner sit together with the two Jewish questioners. It would be interesting to hear the questions posed by an Arab, and to hear the responses which are made by each Jewish societal group. It is impossible to seek to have Arabs in positions of influence and power in Israel if institutions such as Wexner demonstrate that Arabs should be talked about, neither seen nor heard, rather than be part of the process.

Equality would also suggest that an Arab panel be convened to be questioned by the Jewish and Arab questioners. Such a Panel could include both strongly Israeli and strongly separatist Palestinian Arabs, religious and non-religious, Christian and Muslim. It would be interesting to have some Jews on the panel to talk about Jewish identity in a democratic state, Jewish theology with respect to the issue of a Jewish inclusionary State.

Wexner is a model for enlightened Jewish leadership training. Educating the Jewish leaders of tomorrow, by example, that the Arabs of Israel should be out of the process in

Israel, and out of the educative experience of American Jews is both shortsighted, dangerous, and prejudicial, in my opinion.

Furthermore, I believe that one of the gifts that American and Canadian Jewry can give to Israel is participation in Israeli enterprises and processes. Our knowledge of Democracy and its practices, modified for use in Israel, is a unique, potential gift. I was surprised to hear you state that Americans should have no part in this discussion or Israeli need.

I believe that your proposed programming sends to both American and Israeli Jews the message that Arabs are best kept in the back room: unseen, unheard, and untrusted to even dialogue with American Jews. I do not believe that your proposed program is in keeping with Jewish values, Jewish ideals, and Jewish actions. It is no act of loving-kindness to neither see nor respect another nor to relate to the "other."

You are a kind visionary. However, I do not believe that the Wexner executive staff fully understands the insensitivity and dangerous teaching principles that their proposed programmatic model illustrates. Visiting King Hussein is the preferred Wexner display; manifesting equality to Israeli Palestinian citizens is unworthy of Wexner attention, time, or focus. It also appears to me to be a possibly political rather than a Jewish educational statement, as well as an unfortunate example that even the brightest and best teachers can seemingly demonstrate the xenophobia of a people who desperately need to learn how to be an enlightened majority, rather than a minority who can only focus upon themselves.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Nathan Laufer, since you told me that you had discussed this with him. You and Nathan might also like to know that I have a list of possible panelists and Arab questioners, should that be of interest to you. I would like to discuss this further with Nathan, in any instance.

Best regards.

Cordially,



Alan B. Slifka

ABS:jr

cc: Rabbi Nathan Laufer



March 16, 1995

Mr. Leslie H. Wexner
Chairman
Wexner Heritage Foundation
551 Madison Avenue
9th Floor
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Wexner,

Thank you for your letter dated March 10, 1995 concerning the forthcoming visit of a group of some 220 members of the Wexner Heritage Foundation to Jordan in July of this year.

I have forwarded your request for an audience with His Majesty the King, and I shall certainly relay to your good self the response as soon as I receive it.

Until then, please accept my best regards.

Sincerely,

Fayez A. Tarawneh
Ambassador of Jordan

AA/act

741
HAF

Leslie H. Wexner

FAX TRANSMITTAL
TO: NATHAN LAUFER
DEPT: WEXNER HERITAGE FAX #: 712/751-3
FROM: TRACEY WILSON PHONE: 614/479-7
CO: HTD INC FAX #: 614/479-7
Post-it brand fax transmittal memo 7671

March 10, 1995

His Excellency Fayez Tarawneh
Royal Jordanian Embassy
3504 International Drive N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

His Excellency Fayez Tarawneh:

The Wexner Heritage Foundation is the premier adult education institute of the Jewish community in the United States. The Foundation conducts seminars in 24 cities and adds new cities each year. The "Students" are men and women, 35-45 years of age and active leaders in the American Jewish communities of their cities. They are all university graduates and most are professionals or business persons. They have both political and economic influence in their communities.

The Foundation is bringing 220 of these American leaders to Israel in July for a week-long series of lectures. We feel it is crucial for them to spend a day in Jordan, not as curious tourists, but to deepen their understanding of the Middle East and particularly of Israel's closest neighbor. King Hussein's courage in establishing formal peace, following up on the idea which was already in the mind of his blessed grandfather 45 years ago, marks him as a personality whom it would be most valuable for them to meet.

Specifically, we are arranging the itinerary for the group to be in Amman on Monday, July 17, 1995. Would it be possible for His Royal Highness to receive them in the Royal Palace, to address them on any subject of his choice and to answer questions? They will come from Jerusalem in busses and would be available at 12 o'clock noon. No meal or refreshments are needed.

We are aware of the large number of requests you are currently receiving for such meetings and how burdensome the process can become. Yet this group is young, vibrant and of the very highest quality. His Majesty might actually enjoy the acuity of this particular audience, should he see fit to grant it.

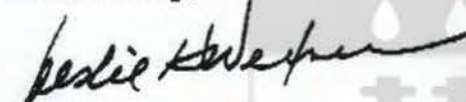
March 10, 1995
Page Two

We look forward eagerly to receiving your reply at our New York Office:

Wexner Heritage Foundation
551 Madison Avenue, 9th Floor
New York, New York 10022
Telephone: 212/355-6115
Facsimile: 212/751-3739

Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Leslie H. Wexner
Chairman



WARS OF THE PAST WARS OF THE FUTURE

I wish to cover three topics this evening:

I. compare Israel and U.S. - during two periods: The first 40 - 50 years of each, and the second 40 - 50 years.
There is an uncanny symmetry.

II. Details of Israel's next wars - i.e. several areas requiring solutions.

1. War against nature - e.g. Negev: water
2. War against human nature - e.g. self-centered materialism.
3. War against defects in society - e.g. education, health, aged, immigrant absorption.

III. THE CHARACTER OF ISRAEL - ITS SPIRITUAL SHAPE

First period - wars

<u>U.S. 1775 - 1815</u>	<u>ISRAEL 1948 - 1995</u>
40 years	47 years
a.) Bashew of Tripoli declared war on U.S. in 1801 because of dissatisfaction with tribute money - \$2 million annually which was 20% of <u>total</u> U.S. revenue.	a.) Six wars
b.) British burned White House in 1812.	b.) 1 missile attack (Iraq during Gulf war)
_____	c.) Wars finished. Arabs know it, Defense spending has been reduced to 9% compared to 33% at height.
Wars finished.	d.) <u>But</u> , a very strong IDF (more than all Arab neighboring states combined), plus a nuclear deterrence (based on reality or image) will be maintained for a long time.

Wars finished

Second period
main objectives
U.S. - 1875 - 1860
45 years

- a.) Land Expansion:
Louisiana Purchase by
Jefferson. Mississippi
River to Rocky
Mountains \$12 million
- b.) Conflicts with Mexico
and native Americans
- c.) Development of
capitalistic industrial
North - going so far as
President Jackson closed
down the Bank of U.S.
in 1833 (founded by
Hamilton), in order to
allow individual banks
to flourish. There was
no new National bank
until Federal Reserve in
1913.

Future wars

ISRAEL - 1995 - 2040
45 years

- a.) Projected population in 2020 -
8.4 million
- b.) More land needed - only area
is NEGEV. Huge terra-
formation required. Topsoil to
be created.
First large water desalination
plant set for 2005, probably in
Ashdod. Nuclear power plants
required
Note
90% of Negev is closed off by
IDF. Major re-adjustment
required.
- c.) Peace-making will be
continuous for several more
years - with terrorist attacks;
resistance by settlers. I do not
think it will reach actual civil
war.
Constant vigilance against Iran
and Iraq.
- d.) Develop free market
capitalism - all major banks
are owned by government -
must be privatized. Same with
land (93% gov't-owned),
utilities, shipping line, etc.
- e.) Devote attention to neglected
social problems: education in
serious trouble; health, aged,
immigrants.
- f.) Country must define itself.
What does it stand for? What
is its character? What is the
sustaining ideal for the nation?

THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT
POINT OF ALL.

The physical body of the nation may
be prosperous, but what is the inner
core?

Used to be IDF - patriotism, honor,
glory, fight the visible enemy.

Today - ?



- I. Today, we are #12 among the top 20 industrial countries of the world.
- a. Per capita share of GDP is \$14-15,000 - same as England, more than Italy, but less than U.S. (15,500), and Germany (18,000)
 - b. Highest ratio in world of automobiles to population: 4.5 m. Jews
1.3 m. autos
 - c. This has resulted in an orgy of consumption - 40 TV channels, buying clubs, stock market speculation, McDonalds and malls. God bless the people - they've had a tough life - let them enjoy.
 - d. But, is this the motivating ideal which the country represents?
Mindless Materialism?

Most people don't trouble themselves over such abstract questions. But journalists do, and intelligent politicians do. Listen to a paragraph from a Yediot Ahronot article in April entitled "The Israeli Revolution" which we gave you in your information kit:

"The historical mission of Israelis who are now in their 70's was to establish a state and provide it with peace and security. They redeemed the sand dunes of Rishon Le Zion (where the reporter was born) and developed the city.

The mission of Israelis who are now in their 40's and 50's was to create an advanced, strong, open and thriving western economy. They built the mall and hi-tech industry on the dunes.

The mission of our children, now in their teens and 20's, will be to transform all this into new ideas, a new culture, and a new social story.

Our children, who are maturing into the new Israeli republic, will lead the spiritual revolution toward the new Israeli-ness - and I still have no idea how it will look."

Of course the future is always blank, but at least he has hope that the next generation will burrae the search for the inner meaning of this third Jewish commonwealth.

- II. The country must find its soul - define its inner nature - represent to its citizens, to its Disporas, and to the world at large what it stands for, morally and spiritually.

The U.S. has a definition for itself - freedom and liberty for all (not yet fully realized for African - American, Hispanics, Asiatics); a government

of, by and for the people. It has the memory of a Puritan work ethic, and a promise of a brighter future.

France has a definition - reduced to three words -

LIBERTÉ, FRATERNITÉ, EGALITÉ.

What is the purpose, the end-goal of Israel's existence?

We call ourselves a chosen people in a chosen land. Do we really think of ourselves in those terms? Do we try to translate those words into actions which make these claims real in the hearts and minds of our people?

I don't think so. I think it's merely a phrase we repeat every EREV SHABBAT in the Kiddush, over the wine and never give a moment's serious thought as to what it means.

- III. The answers should come from religious sources in society - rabbi's who should search for the meaning of a sovereign Jewish State in the modern world; or professors of Jewish studies at universities; or philosophers who puzzle over systems of thought.

But one of the most famous luminaries of the day, Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz, said recently in N.Y. "We are on the way out as a people. Both Israel and the Diaspora are struggling to survive." The only solution he offered was to create a new center of learning such as existed in Babylonia. Was he giving up on Israel and hinting that this center should be in the modern Babylon called New York? Whatever he meant - he was certainly pessimistic, and no help in the search for a defining ideal.

Religious forces in Israel do not even try to provide moral inspiration. They think in categories of text and law (halacha). They deal with the legalities and rituals of the life cycle - birth, marriage, divorce, death; with supervision of the food chain; with an educational network for their own followers; and with active participation in the political system.

The key role which religious parties play in coalition-building, where the knesset seats they control are crucial to the larger parties, who need them, enables those parties to demand the funds from the public treasury to finance all the above activities.

The term "religious forces in Israel" usually denotes an orthodox and super-orthodox monopoly. This has created a chasm among the population - a deep cleft wherein the vast secular majority resent the

religious in a spectrum of emotions ranging from cold indifference to hot disgust. This fact simply cancels any opportunity for the religious forces to serve as a leader in the search for a high moral tone. This is sad, but true.

- IV. As the election rules change, which will occur next year when personal, not party, election of the Prime Minister will take place; and as thresholds will be raised in order for Knesset seats to be obtained, so that small parties will find themselves left out, the orthodox political muscle will be weakened. As Supreme Court rulings gradually supersede halachic rulings, the religious monopoly of orthodoxy over peoples lives will gradually disappear.

The non-orthodox minority (Reform, Conservative, Liberal, Reconstructionist - all these deformed versions of Judaism, according to Rabbi Eichler) will then emerge as the dominant ideological force. And they will be joined by many from the hitherto estranged secular majority, to articulate the sustaining ideal of the nation.

Up to now, Israel has had a marvelous Statue of Liberty image (remember the poem - "give me your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to be free") which is one of the boldest in the world - THE LAW OF RETURN. And she has a magnificent document - THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE - filled with gorgeous principles of how a model society should function.

Add to these two elements a belief in ethical monotheism, social justice, equality of race and gender, higher education for every citizen - and you have created the model society.

This is a universalistic message going out to all the world as the very best prophetic vision of a small particularistic tribe whose membership we cherish. This is ohr Lagoyim - a light to the nations. This is inspiring to our youth. This is grand. This can evoke admiration from non-Jews. This is the essence of our messianic mission. This is the meaning of our chosen-ness.

Liberated religious forces, joined by large numbers of non-religious, can create a sense of worth, a swelling of pride, a happiness of spirit which will spread throughout this small country to the large Diaspora outside, giving it additional tools with which to fight its battle for survival. Decrying assimilation is not enough. Emotions must be aroused - and education provided as continuous fuel to keep the Emotions of pride and worthwhileness running in high gear.

When a spiritual revolution occurs within millions of Jews in this beloved land, and a sustaining ideal grows and is articulated, and then the final war will have been won.

One politician in this country has perceived it and expressed it - Shimon Peres - and I would like to close with a paragraph from the Epilogue of his latest book "Battling for Peace."

Once one politician grasps it - others will follow - and perhaps Steinsaltz's pessimism can be turned into your generation's optimism.



(B) Jewish history presents an encouraging lesson for humankind. For nearly four thousand years, a small nation carried a great message. For part of this period, the nation dwelt on its own land; later, it wandered in exile. This small nation swam against the tides and was repeatedly beaten, banished, and down-trodden. There is no example in all of history—neither among the great empires nor among their colonies and dependencies—of a nation, after so long a saga of tragedy and misfortune, rising up again, shaking itself free, gathering together its dispersed remnants, and setting out anew on its national adventure, defeating doubters within and enemies without, reviving its land and its language, rebuilding its identity, and reaching toward new heights of distinction and excellence. The message of the Jewish people to mankind is that faith can triumph over all adversity.

The Jews are traditionally the People of the Book, but in today's world the book must fight to hold its own against the screen. The depth of the book must compete against the speed of the screen. Man's natural image, as portrayed in print, must vie with his made-up face as it appears on camera. The screen, of course, has clear advantages in this struggle: it is accessible, ubiquitous, absorbed without effort. It amuses and entertains us. But the screen, ultimately, distorts our image.

The conflicts shaping up as our century nears its close will be over the content of civilizations, not over the territory they occupy. Over many centuries, Jewish culture has lived on alien soil. Now, it has taken root again in its own soil. For the first time in history, some five million people speak Hebrew as their native language. That is both a lot and a little: a lot because there have never been so many Hebrew speakers before; but a little because a culture based on five million people can hardly withstand the pervasive, corrosive effects of the global television culture.

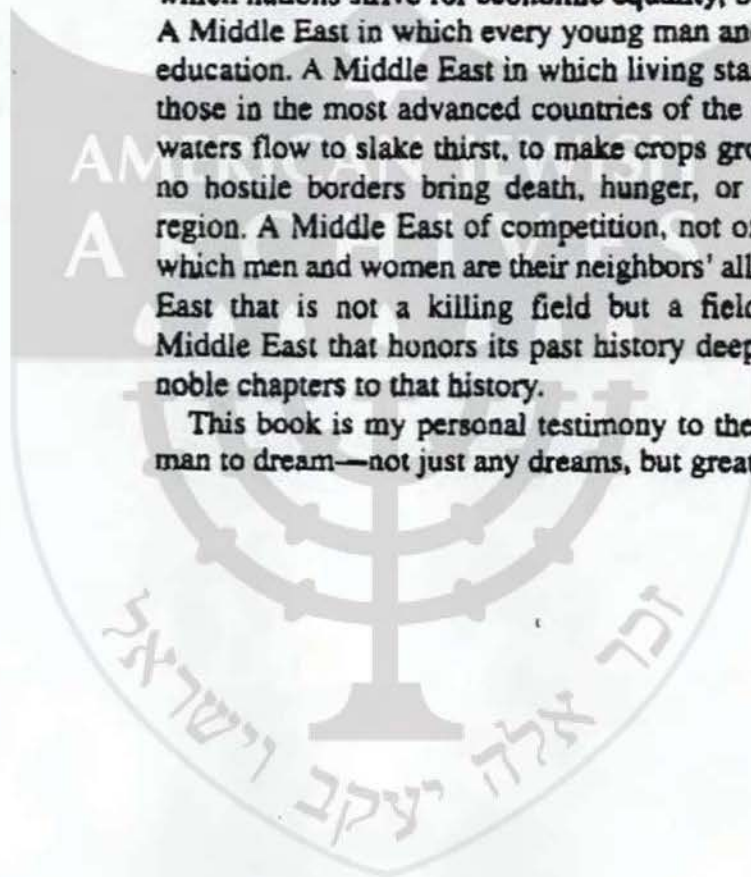
(C) In the five decades of Israel's existence, our efforts have been focused on reestablishing our territorial center. In the future, we shall have to devote our main effort to reestablishing our spiritual center. The Jewish people is neither a nation nor a religion in the accepted sense of those terms. Its essence is a message rather than a political structure; a faith rather than an ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Jewish people and the Jewish religion are one and the same. Judaism—or Jewishness—is a fusion of belief, history, land, and language. Being Jewish means belonging to a people that is both a chosen people and a universal people. [My greatest dream is that our children, like our forefathers, do not make do with the transient and the sham but continue to plow the historic Jewish furrow in the field of the human spirit.] My hope is that Israel will become the center and source of our heritage, not merely a homeland for our people; that the Jewish people will not need to depend on others but will give of itself to others.

As for our region, the Middle East, Israel's role is to contribute to the region's great and sustained revival. It will be a Middle East without wars.

12

without fronts, without enemies, without ballistic missiles, and without nuclear warheads. A Middle East in which people, goods, and services can move freely from place to place without the need for customs clearance and police licenses. A Middle East in which every believer will be free to pray in his own language, Arabic or Hebrew or Latin or whatever language he chooses, and in which his prayers will reach their destination without censorship, without interference, and without offending anyone. A Middle East in which nations strive for economic equality, but encourage cultural pluralism. A Middle East in which every young man and woman can attain a university education. A Middle East in which living standards are in no way inferior to those in the most advanced countries of the world. A Middle East in which waters flow to slake thirst, to make crops grow and deserts bloom, in which no hostile borders bring death, hunger, or despair on the peoples of the region. A Middle East of competition, not of domination. A Middle East in which men and women are their neighbors' allies, not their hostages. A Middle East that is not a killing field but a field of creativity and growth. A Middle East that honors its past history deeply in that it strives to add new, noble chapters to that history.

This book is my personal testimony to the fact that it is permissible for a man to dream—not just any dreams, but great dreams.



WARS of the PAST: THE WARS AHEAD

1. War against enemies who seek to destroy you
2. War against opponents who say they believe in the same things you do, but have different means of achieving those goals



U.S. - 50 YEARS LATER -
1820 - 1860

1. Development of land acquired by Jefferson in Louisiana Purchase - from Mississippi River to Rocky Mountains.
2. Conflicts with Indians
3. Development of Industrial North and banking system - capitalism



ISRAEL - THE NEXT 50 YEARS

1. Development of Negev (water ^{desalination plants for} and nuclear power ^{plants for industry}, terraformation ^{levelling mountains} - creating ^{topsoil})
2. Even with peace, Iran and Iraq ^{will be} are troublesome
3. Development of free market, privatization and solutions of several social problems

* military problem - 90% of area is blocked off for training exercises with live fire - tanks, artillery, aircraft

• war against nature
 war against human nature (i.e. work less, enjoy life more)
 war against ~~social~~ inequalities in society
 war against conservation - (i.e. this is the way we did it before)

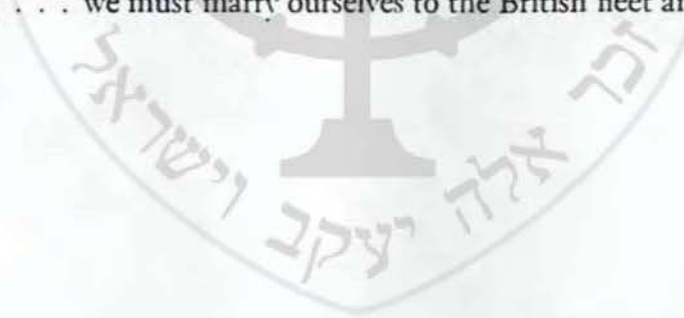
2. Pirates Punished and an Empire Acquired

By the time Jefferson became President, almost \$2 million, one-fifth of the annual revenue, had been paid to the Moslem states of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, either to ransom prisoners or in return for permitting American merchant ships to sail the Mediterranean. Jefferson, after reducing the navy somewhat further than the Act of 3 March 1801 permitted, looked around for profitable employment of warships remaining afloat. He found it against the bashaw of Tripoli who, feeling he was not receiving enough tribute money, declared war on the United States in May 1801. This naval war dribbled along in desultory fashion until 1804, when Commodore Edward Preble appeared off Tripoli in command of a respectable task force, U.S.S. *Constitution* flagship, and dished out a series of bombardments. Before his arrival, frigate *Philadelphia* had grounded on a reef off Tripoli, from which the enemy floated her tree. The bashaw imprisoned Captain Bainbridge and his crew, and would have equipped the frigate for his own navy had not Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, in captured schooner *Intrepid*, entered the harbor at night, boarded and captured *Philadelphia* and, after setting fire to her, made a safe getaway. Decatur performed other dashing feats in this war, but the most extraordinary exploit in it was that of a former army officer named William Eaton, American consul at Tunis.



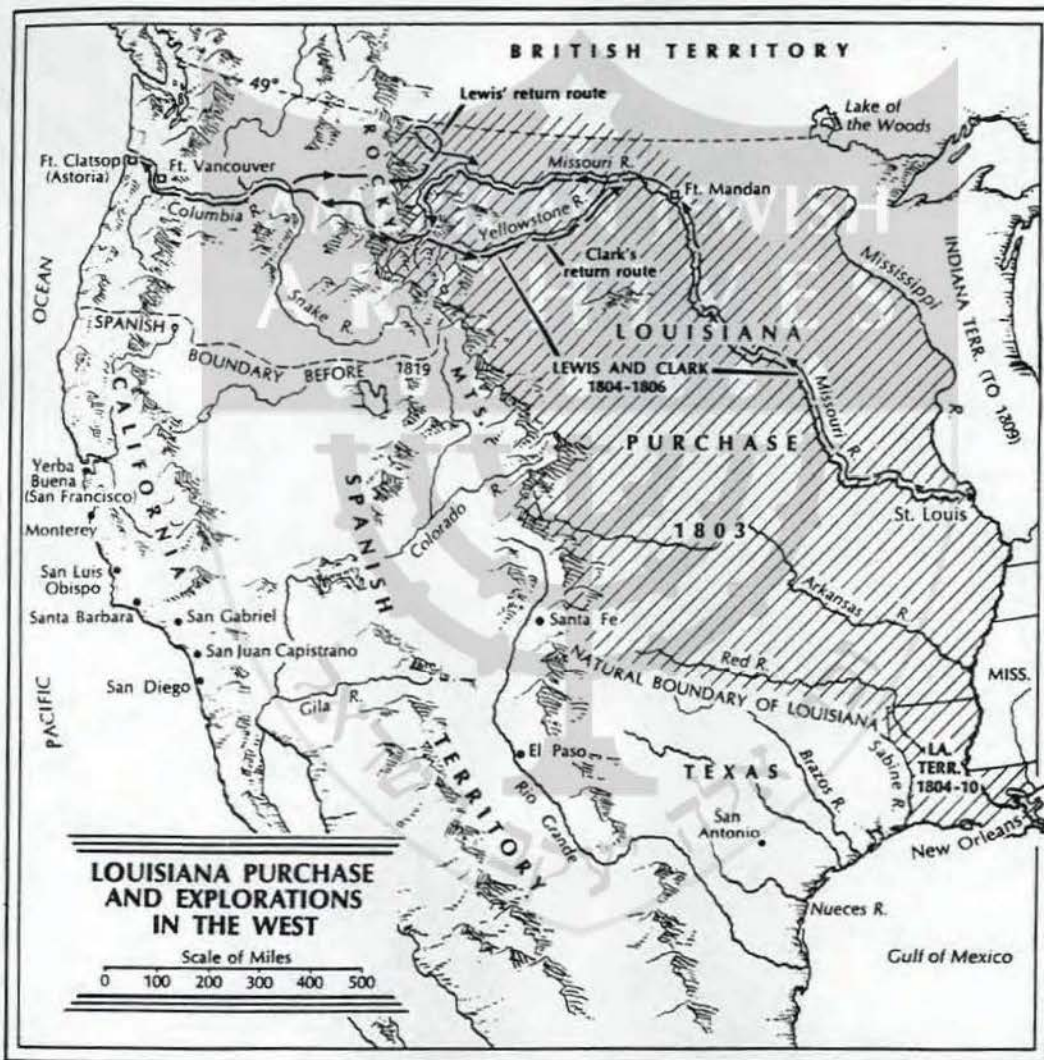
While Tripoli was being taught a lesson, the boundary of the United States advanced to the Rocky Mountains. Louisiana, comprising all territory between the Mississippi and the Rockies, had been in Spanish possession since 1769. Less than one per cent of it was settled. The Creoles, numbering with their slaves about 40,000 in 1800, were concentrated on both banks of the lower Mississippi. There were a few garrisons and trading posts on the west bank of the river up to St. Louis, and a few more on the Red river; the rest was in undisputed Indian possession. Sugar cane and cotton had recently been introduced from the West Indies, and the commercial importance of the Mississippi river to the American West was greater than ever.

The retrocession of this great province from Spain to France, by a secret treaty on 1 October 1800, completed the policy of successive French governments to replace the loss of Canada by a more profitable base in North America. Bonaparte, as soon as his hands were free in Europe, proposed to make France the first power in the New World as in the Old. As it was inconvenient to take immediate possession of Louisiana, he kept the treaty secret until late in 1801, when another event revealed its implications. Bonaparte dispatched an expeditionary force to Hispaniola with orders to suppress Toussaint L'Ouverture's Negro republic and then take possession of New Orleans and Louisiana. The prospect of a veteran French army at America's back door was very unpleasant. On 18 April 1802 Jefferson wrote to the American minister at Paris, "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans . . . we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." He was



ready to adopt Washington's formula of "temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies."

Late in 1802 the Spanish governor of Louisiana withdrew the right of transit at New Orleans from American traders. The West exploded with indignation, and the Federalists, delighted at an opportunity to divide Jefferson from his Western admirers, fanned the flame and clamored for war.



Jefferson remained serene and imperturbable. His annual message, in December 1802, breathed platitudes of peace, friendship, and economy. In the meantime, some of his friends pushed through Congress an appropriation of \$2 million for "expenses in relation to the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations." And in March 1803 the President commissioned James Monroe as envoy extraordinary to France, with an interesting set of instructions to himself and to the resident minister Robert Livingston.

First they were to offer anything up to \$10 million for New Orleans and

the Floridas. That would give the United States the whole left bank of the Mississippi, and the Gulf coast. If France refused, \$7.5 million should be offered for the Island of New Orleans alone. Failing there, they must press for a perpetual guarantee of the right of transit. If that were refused, Monroe and Livingston were ordered to "open a confidential communication with ministers of the British government," with a view to "candid understanding, and a closer connection with Great Britain."

Livingston began the negotiations before Monroe sailed, and at first made little progress. Fortunately for us, Bonaparte, who was about to renew war with England and make himself emperor, was becoming disgusted with the Hispaniola campaign. Troops had been poured into that island to the number of 35,000, and yellow fever swept away those that the Haitians did not kill. Without Hispaniola, Louisiana lost half its value to France; and when war came, Louisiana, for want of French sea power to keep up communications, would be Britain's for the plucking. So, why not sell it to the United States?

On 11 April 1803, the day that France broke diplomatic relations with England, Talleyrand suddenly remarked to Livingston, "What will you give for the *whole* of Louisiana?" Livingston gasped that he supposed the United States would not object to paying \$4 million. "Too low!" said Talleyrand. "Reflect and see me tomorrow." Napoleon had already determined to sell the whole. On 30 April 1803 the treaty of cession was signed; \$12 million was paid for the province of Louisiana as acquired by France from Spain, and the United States assumed the claims of citizens against France for the naval spoiliations of 1797-98. Inhabitants of Louisiana were guaranteed the rights of American citizens, and eventual admission to the Union.

The Louisiana purchase turned out to be the greatest bargain in American history; but in 1803 it seemed likely that the United States was paying \$12 million for a scrap of paper. Her title was defective on several points. The province was still in the hands of Spain. Bonaparte had promised never to dispose of Louisiana to a third power. The French constitution allowed no alienation of national territory without a vote of the legislature. The boundaries were indefinite; how far north Louisiana extended, and whether it included West Florida or Texas, or neither, was uncertain. Finally, according to the "strict construction" of the Virginia Republicans, the treaty itself was unconstitutional! If the federal government, as Jefferson had always claimed, possessed no power not expressly granted, the President had no right to increase the national domain by treaty, much less to promise incorporation in the Union to people outside its original limits.

Jefferson's constitutional scruples vanished when a letter arrived from Livingston, urging immediate ratification before Napoleon changed his mind. The President's friends furnished him with some good Hamiltonian arguments, and the treaty was ratified by the Senate. On 30 November 1803 Louisiana was formally handed over by the Spanish governor to a French

prefect, who promptly established the *code Napoléon*, and as many other French institutions as he could think up. Three weeks later he transferred it to the United States.

Even before the purchase, Jefferson had ordered Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, officers of the regular army, to conduct an overland exploring expedition in the hope of finding a water route from the headwaters of the Missouri river to the Pacific. Lewis and Clark left St. Louis 14 May 1804 with thirty-two soldiers and ten civilians, embarked in a 55-foot keel boat and two "periaguas." These, propelled by sails and oars, took them up the Missouri into North Dakota, where they wintered among the Mandan near the site of Bismarck, and the following spring pushed on into Montana. A fleet of dugout canoes, built above the Great Falls, took them to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in what is now Idaho. Here their interpreter Sacajawea made friendly contact with the Shoshone, who furnished horses for the men, and women to tote the baggage. Crossing the Lemhi pass over the Rockies, the expedition moved north down the Bitter Root valley and in the Nez Percé country reached a branch of the westward-flowing Snake. In newly built boats they rowed down-stream to the Columbia, reaching tidewater on 7 November 1805. There, within sound of the Pacific breakers, the party built Fort Clatsop. Lewis and Clark expected to hail a ship and sail home, since through the coastal Indians' use of such elegant phrases as "son-of-a-pitch" they guessed that Yankee fur traders had been frequenting this region.

Months passed with no ship, so the leaders decided to return overland. Lewis and half the party took the shorter route to the Great Falls, while the other half cut overland from the forks of the Missouri to the Yellowstone, and floated down to its junction with the Missouri at the site of Fort Union. There the leaders met, and the expedition reached St. Louis 23 September 1806 intact, having avoided fights with the Indians.

Jefferson was delighted with Lewis and Clark's reports, their conduct toward the natives, and the specimens that they brought to Washington; and their journals are still a valuable source of information on the Far West in the early nineteenth century.

"Never was there an administration more brilliant than that of Mr. Jefferson up to this period," said John Randolph in later years. "We were indeed in the 'full tide of successful experiment.' Taxes repealed; the public debt amply provided for, both principal and interest; sinecures abolished; Louisiana acquired; public confidence unbounded."

Next, Hamilton made precise recommendations of ways and means. The foreign debt and floating domestic debt, with arrears of interest, should be funded¹ at par, and due provision should be made by import duties and excise taxes to pay the interest and gradually repay the principal. The war

1. To fund, in government finance, means to pay off one debt by creating another; in this instance to issue 6 per cent bonds in exchange for various securities and certificates of indebtedness which had survived the war.

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debts of the states should be assumed by the federal government in order to bind state creditors to the national interest. A sinking fund should be created in order to stabilize the price of government securities by buying them in whenever they fell much below par. The want of banking facilities should be filled by a Bank of the United States, on the model of the Bank of England, but with the right to establish branches in different parts of the country.

This daring policy could not have been carried out by Hamilton alone. Every proposal was matured by the cool judgment of the President; and in both House and Senate he found eager co-operation. Congress had already passed a customs tariff, with tonnage duties discriminating in favor of American shipping — essential parts of Hamilton's system. The foreign and domestic debt was funded at par; the former was entirely paid off by the end of 1795, the latter, despite another war, in 1835. Most of the states' debts were assumed by Congress after a bitter struggle not unmixed with intrigue. The Bank of the United States was chartered, and its capital subscribed within four hours after the books were open. By August 1791 United States 6 per cents were selling above par in London and Amsterdam, and a wave of development and speculation had begun.

from all parts, wished to throw an army into South Carolina at the first show of resistance to customs officers. But could he afford to? It was no question of suppressing a mere local insurrection, as Washington had done in 1794, but of coercing a state of the Union. Virginia regarded nullification as a caricature of her resolves of 1798, Georgia "abhorred the doctrine," and Alabama denounced it as "unsound in theory and dangerous in practice"; but Georgia had made the dangerous proposal of a Southern Convention. Thus, Jackson's friends feared that coercion would disrupt their party; and the nullifiers did not want bloodshed, but to reduce the tariff. Within three weeks of the President's proclamation, the House committee of ways and means proposed to lower the duties. Concession and compulsion went hand in hand. On the same day (2 March 1833) Jackson signed a force bill, authorizing him to use the army and navy to collect customs duties if judicial process were obstructed; and Clay's compromise tariff, providing a gradual scaling down of schedules until they reached 20 per cent ad valorem in ten years' time. The South Carolina convention then re-assembled and repealed the nullification ordinance.

Each party marched from the field with colors flying, claiming victory. Both seemed to have derived fresh strength from the contest. The Union was strengthened by Jackson's firm stand, but South Carolina had proved that a single determined state could force her will on Congress. Jackson would have preferred to have conceded nothing until Calhoun and his party had passed under the Caudine forks; for beyond nullification he saw secession. The "next pretext," he predicted, "will be the Negro, or slavery question." He counted on Calhoun, whom he now described as "one of the most base, hypocritical and unprincipled villains in the United States," to bring that up later.

4. Jackson, Re-elected, Fights the Bank

In the midst of these alarums and excursions came the presidential election of 1832, memorable in the history of political organization. Jackson men from all parts of the Union, now organized as the Democratic party, sent delegates to a national convention at Baltimore. It resolved that a two-thirds majority was necessary for nomination, a rule which Democratic national conventions did not abandon until 1936. The 1832 convention renominated Jackson for the presidency by acclamation, and Van Buren for the vice presidency with somewhat less enthusiasm. The opposition, organized as the National Republican party (for which the name Whig, of happy memory, was shortly substituted), nominated Henry Clay. And there was a third party in the field, the Anti-Masons.

That a party of so strange a title should contend for national power was of social rather than political significance. Americans of the nineteenth century were so in love with the methods of democracy, that no sooner did a few earnest men capture a bit of what they took to be eternal truth, than they

proceeded to organize it politically. If local success proved the scent good, it brought politicians hotfoot to the hunt, that they might partake of the kill or lead off the field in pursuit of bigger game. The Anti-Mason party arose in 1826 out of the disappearance of a New York bricklayer named Morgan, who had divulged the secrets of his masonic lodge. A corpse was found floating in the Niagara river. It could not be proved to be Morgan's; but, as a politician said, it was "good enough Morgan until after election." Both the event and the freemasons' efforts to hush it up revived an old prejudice against secret societies. Several young politicians such as William H. Seward, Thurlow Weed, and Thaddeus Stevens threw themselves into the Anti-Masonic movement, which became strong enough to elect a couple of state governors. In 1831 it held a national convention and nominated presidential candidates, who took thousands of Northern votes away from Clay. In a few years' time this party faded out; but the sort of people who were attracted by it easily took up with others such as the Liberty party, the Free-Soil, the Know-Nothing and, finally, the Republican party.

This presidential election decided the case of Andrew Jackson v. the Bank of the United States. Since 1819 the B.U.S. had been well managed. In the Eastern states it had become a necessary part of business mechanism; Pennsylvania Democrats and Carolina nullifiers had no quarrel with it and even Calhoun had no constitutional qualms on the subject.¹ But the Bank was still unpopular in the West because it kept local banks within bounds by presenting their notes promptly for payment, thus reducing the amount of paper credit for speculation. Jackson shared this prejudice, together with a vague feeling that the "money power" was an enemy to democracy. As the B. U. S. charter would expire in 1836, if not earlier renewed by Congress, Jackson's opinion was of some importance. "I do not dislike your bank more than all banks," he informed Nicholas Biddle, president of the B.U.S., "but ever since I read the history of the South Sea Bubble, I have been afraid of banks." What he wanted was a bank of deposit attached to the treasury department under officials appointed by himself.

Biddle was no mean antagonist. Precursor of a race of energetic and autocratic financiers, he had the same dislike of democracy that Jackson had of banking, but was anxious to keep his bank out of politics. Unfortunately, his social and business relations were largely with Jackson's opponents. Daniel Webster was at the same time a bank director, its leading counsel, its debtor to the sum of many thousand dollars, and senator from Massachusetts. Congressmen were often paid their salaries by the Bank in advance of the annual appropriation bill, without interest charges. Journalists like James Gordon Bennett, the Scots-born father of the American yellow press, obtained loans on very favorable terms in return for favorable publicity in their columns.

1. In January 1832 the bank stock was distributed as follows (in round numbers): New York, 31,000; Pennsylvania, 51,000; Maryland, 34,000; South Carolina, 40,000; New England, 15,000; the West, 3000; Europe, 84,000

Henry Clay was responsible for the financial war. He insisted on making the rechartering of the B.U.S. a major issue in the campaign of 1832; a most inadvisable move, as it aroused Jackson's pugnacity. Congress, led by Clay, passed a recharter bill on 3 July 1832, and most of Calhoun's partisans voted for it. Jackson vetoed it, with a message that smacked of demagoguery. The bank recharter was not only an unconstitutional invasion of state rights; it would continue a monopoly and exclusive privilege, the profits of which must come "out of the earnings of the American people," in favor of foreign stockholders and "a few hundred of our own citizens, chiefly of the richest class." He could not permit the "prostitution of our Government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many." The logic of this veto message was defective, but as a popular appeal it was irresistible, and it helped to re-elect Jackson, together with a House of Representatives upon which he could depend. Nicholas Biddle took up the challenge. "This worthy President," he boasted, "thinks that because he has scalped Indians and imprisoned judges, he is to have his own way with the Bank. He is mistaken."

So the fight was on. Instead of waiting for the Bank to die a natural death in 1836, Jackson decided at once to deprive it of government deposits. One Secretary, McLane, had to be "kicked upstairs" from the treasury to the state department, and his successor dismissed, before a third, Levi Woodbury, could be found to obey orders. Government receipts were then (1833) deposited in local banks — the so-called "pet banks" — which Jackson believed to be safer than the expiring "monster."

This financial war came in the midst of a period of speculative activity, coincident with improved transportation, a brisk demand for cotton, and heavy westward migration. The death of the B.U.S., with its wholesome policy of keeping local banks in line, took off the last brake. The currency was already chaotic, when an Act of 1834 made matters worse by establishing the coinage ratio of 16 to 1 between silver and gold, which drove silver from the country. Yet the Treasury's main embarrassment was a surplus! After January 1835, when the national debt was completely paid off, the tariff and public land sales began to bring in more money than the federal government could use in those frugal days before foreign aid, cold wars, welfare, and price supports. Jackson considered this a great triumph, but surplus proved to be a greater curse than deficit.

From Jackson's veto of the Maysville road bill, it was evident he could never be induced to spend the surplus on internal improvements. So Clay, fearing lest Jackson blow it in, got through Congress a "distribution" scheme in 1836. About \$28 million was theoretically lent, but really given by the treasury to state governments. Some states used the money for public works, others turned it into educational funds, many of which were badly invested and fed the speculative movement. Jackson countered with a severe astringent, the "specie circular" of 1836, ordering the treasury to receive nothing but hard money for public lands. For he had always hated "folding" money,

and many of his supporters believed that metallic coinage would cure all the country's financial ills.

Shortly after, the panic of 1837 burst upon the country, and the federal surplus disappeared overnight. Short-term treasury notes tided over the crisis, but the whole of Van Buren's administration (1837-41) was spent in seeking a substitute for the B.U.S. None comparable with it for service and efficiency was found until 1913, when the Federal Reserve system was adopted.

Jackson's war on the bank was not wholly personal, but an aspect of that fundamental hostility to monopoly and special privilege which the colonists had brought from England, and which had broken out in the Boston Tea-Party. It would break out again in the populist and progressive movements, and in the New Deal. But rarely to this day has a bank in the United States been permitted to have branches outside the locality or county where it is established. In every other Western country the important banks are nation-wide or (as in the case of the Bank of Nova Scotia) spread throughout the British Commonwealth.

After the lapse of over a century, it is clear that although democracy won the battle with the Bank, it lost the war. The bankers of New York City, almost splitting their sides laughing over the discomfiture of rivals on Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, promptly picked up the pieces of the B.U.S. and on Wall Street constructed a vastly bigger money power than anything ever dreamed of by Mr. Biddle. Poor farmers, mechanics, and frontiersmen gained nothing by this bank war; the net result was to move the financial capital of the United States from Philadelphia to New York.

