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"History Demands a Change Now." November 1993.

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## HISTORY DEMANDS A CHANGE NOW

Re-designing American Jewish Communal Conduct in Order Effectively to Address the Emergency of the Century Ahead

A proposal by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

#### I. <u>EMERGENCY</u>

In 1938, three major philanthropic organizations, after operating separately and competitively for years on problems of Jewish danger overseas, managed to overcome their hostilities, and in six weeks merged their fund-raising efforts. They swiftly created the United Jewish Appeal, which has confronted history for more than a half-century. The miracle of union instead of divisiveness occurred under the impact of a single onslaught known as Kristallnacht, the night of November 9-10, 1938. By January 1, 1939 the UJA campaign was launched. The situation was deemed to be an emergency - and the response was equally swift and powerful. The leaders of that era re-engineered all former processes in order to meet the new future.

Today, we face another emergency - not of Holocaust, not of war, but of a danger which, if allowed to rage unchecked and inadequately confronted, could end in similar results the dwindling and weakening and gradual disappearance within the next two generations of another major Jewish community, our own, in North America. This emergency will not appear to be hitting us with the power of a massive murder-program, but the long-range effect could be the same, for we are in a period of mass suicide.

We must once again re-engineer the philanthropic and social structure of our community if we are to meet the present emergency of a steadily faltering and shrinking population in this wonderfully democratic and permissive America. Admittedly, a two-generation-long emergency does not secrete the same adrenaline as a 6-day war or an 18-day Yom Kippur war. Still, the term "emergency" is valid. Most fortuitously, we are possessed of two very powerful instruments with which to fight, namely, the UJA and CJF, each with loyal followers, great resources, and the vision to appraise this historic time properly. It is to be hoped that they will not resist the re-engineering, rather that they will take the lead in it.

Re-engineering is a term which first appeared this year in the title of a book now on the best-seller list for the past 25 weeks, "Re-engineering the Corporation: A Manifesto for Business Revolution". The authors define the word (p.31):

"When someone asks us for a quick definition of business re-engineering, we say that it means 'starting over'. It <u>doesn't</u> mean tinkering with what already exists or making incremental changes that leave basic structures intact...It <u>does</u> mean abandoning long-established procedures and looking afresh at the work required to create a company's product or service and deliver value to the customer...Reengineering a company means tossing aside old systems and starting over. It involves inventing a better way of doing work."

More formally (p. 32):

"Re-engineering is the <u>fundamental</u> rethinking and <u>radical</u> redesign of business processes to achieve <u>dramatic</u> improvements."

Again (p. 49):

"We can do no better than to return to our original two-word definition for reengineering: 'starting over'. Re-engineering is about beginning again with a clean sheet of paper. It is about rejecting the conventional wisdom and received assumptions of the past...It is about inventing new approaches that bear little or no resemblance to those of previous eras...Re-engineering is the search for new models of organizing work. Tradition counts for nothing. Re-engineering is a new beginning."

The shock waves emanating from the explosive CJF Population Study of 1990 have by now spread across this nation, Israel and probably the rest of the English-speaking world. There is hardly a Federation without a "continuity" committee; a national organization without a task force; a rabbi who has not preached once or more on various aspects of the subject; a Jewish newspaper or magazine which has not had one or several articles analyzing causes and predicting results.

The basic statistic of a 52% average intermarriage rate erupted with the force of a tsunami wave. And if that figure is the <u>average</u>, with New York at a probable 15% rate, there must be communities (in the western and southern sections of the U.S.) enjoying a 70-80% rate. Fear for the future has been consuming the attention of the national and local leaderships.

There are differences of opinion. Many say that the American Jewish community has only two generations (60 to 70 years) to redeem itself from an irreversible disappearance. A popular question has become "will your grandchild be Jewish?" Some say that the future is already foreordained, that it is too late to create the conditions necessary for continued survival. Others take the opposite position and cite many factors which illuminate the fundamental strength of the community.

My own position is that the "optimism" of this last position is fatuous, grounded more in wishful thinking than in persuasive data. Yes - we have hundreds of wonderful departments and programs of Jewish studies on American campuses where there simultaneously reside hundreds of thousands of Jewish students, third-and-fourth-generation born in this country, most of whom do not take those wonderful courses. Many students are bereft of a strong sense of identity, are ignorant of Judaism's history and message, indifferent to Israel, and unconcerned with the dangers inherent in intermarriage.

On the other hand, I do not agree with the "pessimists" who shrug off the appeals to help in the fight against assimilation with the tired argument that it

can't succeed, it's too late, the juggernaut possesses too much strength and momentum.

I choose to believe that there are remedies which can defeat or slow down the plague, and I urge that we quickly test their feasibility. Following below is my proposal for the redesign which history now demands, which must be put in place within the very few coming years, and which we do have the human power and institutional power to effectuate if we simply will it. The emergency exists - does our will?

Incidentally, for whatever it means, the leaders of Israel and the media, are lately taking a similar tack and in an unprecedented manner are speaking about the necessity of strengthening the sense of Jewish identity in the Diaspora. They sense that a weakened Jewish presence, particularly in the United States, will result in a weakening of support for Israel, and they are, therefore, urging remedial measures.

Shimon Peres, in his closing speech to the Jewish Agency Assembly some months ago (June) did not ask for increased campaigns or personal aliyah, as might have been expected, but concentrated on the continuity question. He said to the Diaspora delegates: "Your problem, let me be frank, is to keep your children Jewish. If we want something from you, number one, is to keep your children Jewish. You know we are divided in the question of who is a Jew. Some say a Jew is a person whose parents or at least whose mother is Jewish. But others say a Jew is a person whose children and grandchildren are Jewish. We cannot change our parents, but we have to provide our children with a Jewish message and a Jewish identity." Yitshak Rabin spoke similarly in his famous speech on the White House lawn on September 13.

Just this month, Peres asked Uri Gordon of the Jewish Agency to head a new committee to prepare for a changing relationship between Israel and the Diaspora. Peres said, in his letter to Gordon, that a "significant transformation" of Diaspora Jewry is taking place and at the same time "Israeli society is distancing itself from the Diaspora." Is a new committee just tinkering, or is serious re-engineering being contemplated? Gordon says this is not business as usual. "I am talking of a new conception, a completely fresh look at the problem...without connection to the WZO or the Jewish Agency." Bravo - if he really means it.

Hirsh Goodman, editor of the "Jerusalem Report" wrote in September: "I suggested that perhaps the time has come to raise the (UJA) money directly for Jewish causes in the Diaspora...It has been proven that Jewish education is the best bulwark against (assimilation and intermarriage), but that the cost of Jewish education puts it beyond the reach of many American Jewish families.

Instead of sending the money to Israel where its impact is marginal, keep it in the Diaspora; instead of investing huge sums in the Jewish Agency's bureaucracy, put it into Jewish education and identity in countries where Jews are facing what can be considered cultural and religious genocide...

Surely the time has come to recognize that the tables should be turned; for us to recognize that the real threat to Jews is not in Israel, but in the Diaspora. The time has come to stop putting our money into bureaucracies (here) and start investing it in survival (there)."

#### II. REMEDIES, with Suggestions for Financing

## A. DAY SCHOOLS IN UNITED STATES

- <u>Elementary</u> hundreds more communal schools are needed, for the largely non-orthodox population. The orthodox yeshiva network (Torah U'mesorah) indicates they have 560 schools. The conservative network (Solomon Schechter) claims 66 schools, with 16,000 students. The reform network has about 20 schools and is growing.
- <u>High Schools</u> at least 100 more are needed, of superior quality. Models must be Andover, Exeter. The secular curriculum must enable students to seek admission to the finest universities, and the Judaic curriculum must be equally high.
- 3. Financing
  - a) Go to the market. I tested the idea (with a key individual in a major Wall Street firm) of a \$3 billion bond issue, to be floated by a non-profit corporation whose board would include the most stellar names in the North American Jewish establishment. The funds raised would be used to buy land and build schools throughout the continent, in cooperation with local federations. These physical assets would constitute a type of collateral for the bonds. The individual thought it might be possible. The interest payable on the bonds might even be tax-exempt to the purchasers, since the product was a school. But the main factor influencing the flotation would be the income flow needed to pay the bond interest.

- b) <u>Create a \$3 billion endowment fund</u>, through the Wexner-Bronfman mega-group (30 persons at \$100 million each, payable over 10 years, sooner if possible). This endowment fund, properly invested, could earn enough to pay the bond interest; while the capital would be used (after 20-25 years) to redeem the bonds. In effect, this is a defeasance operation - \$3 billion bond issue matched by a \$3 billion endowment fund.
- c) <u>The non-profit corporation</u> would obviously need to obtain 501-c-3 (or any similar) tax-exempt status from the IRS in order to enable the endowment fund to be amassed.
- d) <u>Tuition income</u> is an additional factor, but this would have to be kept at an absolute minimum for the average middle-class family. (e.g. \$1000 annually per child, instead of the present average of \$5-8000, which prevents many parents from even considering day school as an option). Local federations would tap their own endowment funds to provide maintenance support for the schools built in their cities.

## B. PROGRAMS IN ISRAEL FOR HIGH SCHOOL, COLLEGE AND GRADUATE STUDENTS, AGES 15-25

Summer camps and other types of programs - 8 weeks.

Notes for all above: School buildings would have to be built; dormitories; other facilities; faculty recruited, and trained. A h i g h school campus, Kfar Silver, near Ashkelon, might be available for purchase from ZOA. Also, other facilities could probably be found for purchase.

- 2. Tenth and eleventh grade one semester.
- Year-in-Israel (any year) for college and graduate students one or two years.
- 4. Financing -
  - a) Use the amount normally sent by UJA to Jewish Agency ca.
    \$300-350 million annually. Obtain approval from Prime Minister;
    phase Agency out over 3 year period. Take \$100 m. the first
    year, then \$200 m., then \$300 m. This amount would enable
    sending 20,000 young people in the very first year, plus 5
    thousand kids to summer camps. Money would be left over to
    purchase and construct buildings.

Approximate Costs

\$5000 per student for year x $10,000 =$	50 mill.
\$3500 per student for semester x $10,000 =$	35 mill.
\$2500 per student for summer camp x 5,000 =	12.5 mill.

25,000 kids Total 97.5 mill.

b) <u>Israel Bonds</u> could be used for physical infrastructure, if Government approved. Thus, Government of Israel would be making a contribution to strengthening Diaspora. How is that for a switch? Or re-design.

## C. <u>HILLEL</u>

1. Build a National Organization - based on local or regional

responsibility for all Jewish college students in a given neighborhood.

 Financing - <u>UJA Young Leadership Cabinet members and alumni, and</u> <u>Wexner Heritage members and alumni</u> to be given autonomy to raise capital and maintenance funds.

## D. SUMMER CAMPS IN UNITED STATES

- Create a National Organization mobilizing all denominational religious bodies (congregational) into autonomous board. Camp programs to be pluralistic. Program goal - 200 camps for 50,000 kids.
- Financing <u>UJA rabbinic cabinet</u>, as core, plus local rabbis and congregational lay leaders to raise one large endowment fund, to subsidize tuition, plus any construction funds. National camp endowment fund makes grants to local camps, in order to keep tuition minimal.

## E. <u>FAMILY VILLAGES IN ISRAEL</u>

- See attached speech, which defines the purposes of such a village. One village to be built, with two more following, if successful.
- 2. Financing
  - a) Experienced Builders (Albert Ratner) to be consulted for advice.
  - b) <u>Self-financing</u> for maintenance, through rental fees.
  - c) Israel Bonds participation for capital investment (ownership of physical properties could be in hands of an Israel Government company; management of village in hands of a United States company)

## MISCELLANDOUS NOTES

## I. <u>STRUCTURE</u>

- a) I suggest that the non-profit corporation be called <u>The Corporation for the Future</u>. Its Board should be sub-divided into Committees with functional responsibility, as in Appendix A. The Corporation must obtain IRS approval.
- b) The Corporation floats the bond issue.
- c) The Corporation creates The Fund for the Future, to support the Bond issue.

#### II. DETAILS

Perhaps I have gone into too much detail, particularly regarding the

financing suggestions, board committees and other matters. But I don't really think so, because I did not want this paper to be just another "inspirational" piece, filled with generalizations. I wanted to force the issue. Nothing has happened for a whole year, since The General Assembly of the CJF in November 1992, except for the appointment of a National Commission (I don't consider that as action, but just more stalling around.) No one has made concrete suggestions. So I decided I would, which will at least start debate. If my ideas are no good, they will be shot down, but then there is an obligation on the part of someone else to come up with something better or different. Let's get down to brass tacks.

I always think of a phrase attributed to the architect Mies van der Rohe - "God is in the details." That's why I love details.

## III. Meeting with Rabin

He is speaking at the General Assembly in Montreal on the evening of November 18. I am asking Itamar Rabinovich to try to arrange an appointment with him, before or after that date. I want to sound him out - because in the long run, we will want and need the endorsement of both Rabin and Peres to this suggested program (or any amended version thereof). So we might as well catch him now, and start him thinking about it. There are several elements in which he must take decisions:

- a) Government must pick up the slack caused by our financial withdrawal from Jewish Agency.
- b) Role of Bond organization will be determined by Finance Minister Shohat, who will be guided by Rabin.
- c) Peres already has strong opinions about Diaspora taking care of its own needs, but will want Rabin's backing - and then Peres can be a big help to us.

## IV. School Advisers

- a) I would like to mobilize the expert advice of Ted Sizer (former Headmaster of Andover for 10 years) and Steve Kurtz (former Headmaster of Exeter for 15 years), both of whom I know. They can help us enormously on shaping the secular curriculum, sports, extra-curricular, and general rules of organization and management.
- b) I would also like to get the participation of Avraham Shapiro (former Headmaster of the Reali School in Haifa - the best private school in Israel, older than the State) to help shape the Judaic curriculum.

## V. Various Routes

- a) Central authority (i.e. the Board of the Corporation for the Future) does everything, through its Committees.
- b) Central authority gives local Federations the freedom to do everything.
- c) Central authority requests local federations to provide the demographics (i.e. how many children for local camps; how many youth for Israel experiences; how many schools needed, etc. etc.) and then central authority plus local Federations

jointly decide everything.

 Number c) is obviously best, if we can avoid local ego and turf problems which always cause delays and compromises.

## VI. Schedule

- 1. Write memorandum, including all specific suggestions.
- 2. Get green light from LHW.
- 3. Convene mega-group to get their backing.
- 4. See as many members as possible, individually, before the group meets.
- 5. Small meetings with others:

UJA - Brian and Marvin and Joel Tauber

CJF - Marty and Goodman and Wishner and Cardin

In Israel - Rabin, Peres, Shohat, Mendel Kaplan, Dinitz

 Then spread throughout the system, with CJF acting as Parliament - HAF to speak at 1994 quarterly and next GA.

## 1 November 1993

## Attachments:

- 1. Speech given at JTS dinner, 16 June 1993
- 2. Speech given at Wexner Alumni Retreat 27 April 1991

A. 10, 20

## JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

# Rabbi Max Arzt Memorial Dinner June 16, 1993 "THE MOST PRECIOUS GIFT: A QUESTION OF WILL" by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman

Chancellor Schorsh, Chairman Wexner, honored faculty, colleagues, dear wife Francine and children, fellow Wexnerites from so many cities, ladies and gentlemen:

In the handsome invitation to this evening's dinner, there is a sentence describing Rabbi Mark Arzt in whose memory this award is given. It said, "He came to the Seminary to be a spokesman and to help raise funds. Throughout his fund-raising endeavors, he always remained a Rabbi and taught Torah wherever he travelled". This description comes uncommonly close to the course of my own life. Thus accepting this award in his name leaves me with a comfortable feeling.

May I express personal appreciation to the Chancellor and the Seminary for crossing denominational lines in their selection of an Honoree. Demonstrating the principle of Klal Yisrael is very important in today's religiously polarized world.

Leslie Wexner is bombarded with requests to chair communal endeavors. He has hands on responsibility for running the largest retail clothing chain in the United States. And now he is filled with the desire to spend as much time as possible with Abigail, his lovely new bride. In the face of all this, he stepped forward and volunteered to lead this dinner to success. I am grateful for the honor he has done me.

I should like to speak this evening on two subjects: my personal credo - so that you may know the religious and philosophical bases for my actions; and secondly, my fears and hopes for the future of the American Jewish community.

I believe in the uniqueness of the Jewish people. Even as we share the quality of human-ness with all others of the species homo sapiens, still we are quite different in so many ways. And if we were not different, we probably would have disappeared, as have all the others who started on the path of history when we did. You know the three elements of our uniqueness. First there is the covenantal nature of our birth as a nation, in which we were linked to a God and a moral code. Next, this was succeeded by the acceptance of an eternal destiny through the concept of redemption by a Messiah, in which a better world would be born for all humans to enjoy. How incredible! And lastly, there came the notion that the moral Covenant and the Messianic redemption must also be linked with a specific Land - a homeland-gained and lost, gained and lost - but the very yearning for which provided the strength to endure the passage of the centuries. Now the land is gained again, in our own

time, and we hope, for all time. How miraculous!

I believe in Judaism's gift to humanity. Alongside our uniqueness and separateness and particularity as a special people, we possess a quality of universalism in a measure which no other people or nation on earth, large or small, can claim. We are a people which truly believes in the equality of all persons; our sacred books stress that all human beings come from one God.

I believe the Diaspora is an integral part of the creative genius of the Jewish-people, and our history offers plentiful proof of this thesis. The Diaspora has been a fruitful hinterland providing intellectual spark and charismatic personalities. The American Jewish future is cloudy, at the moment. But if it finds its way and maintains its Jewish identity in the midst of unprecedented freedom, there is the possibility that it will outstrip all previous Diaspora in terms of what it might achieve for Jewish creativity and continuity. So, here are the four seminal, simple beliefs that have directed my deeds and ruled my life, now in its eighth decade. The Chosenness of the Jewish people, its linkage to a Land, its Universal message for all mankind and the creativity of its ever-loyal Diaspora.

Turning to the Diaspora on this continent, we see American Jewry at the very height of its power, in all dimensions and aspects: unparalled material affluence; unexcelled political influence; the highest level <u>ever</u> of education and professional skills in its population; a solid self-awareness and sense of responsibility in that portion of our people which cares; the strongest system of communal organization we have ever enjoyed. Entrepreneurship and education have brought us to these heights.

Lest hubris bring us crashing down, we must quickly recognize and admit to several deadly weaknesses which are in striking contrast to the picture just painted: massive ignorance of our heritage, leading to wide-spread assimilation; and a lack of respect for our traditions and values, leading to increasing rates of intermarriage, which cause the eventual disappearance of multitudes of nominal Jews. - These are plagues which kill, gaping holes in the hull below the waterline which can sink the ship.

We should be able to overcome these weaknesses but the key question is whether we have the will to do so. The damage done during the past halfcentury must be reversed, but this will never happen if we merely make speeches, hold conferences, appoint task forces and commission studies. All of that is simply bureaucratic busy-work. We do not need any more studies to tell us what we already know. We need strong remedial action on a scale no one has ever suggested. There are five basic action programs which we know will go a long way toward saving us. These programs will require billions and billions and billions of dollars.

1. A network of day schools must be built, going all the way to grade 12, with standards equal to the finest private schools in the country. Hundreds of such schools are required, beautiful to look at, with ample grounds for sports. laboratories, libraries, club rooms, and top-level teachers in both Hebraic and general studies. I do not mean to denigrate in any way the achievements by so

many sincere lay people and professionals who have labored for so many decades to build day schools, but all their work has produced a grand total of 66 Solomon Schechter schools, embracing 16,000 children in the entire U.S., with only a handful of these schools going beyond grade 8. The first Schechter high school in Manhattan was established at the Seminary just last year. Should we take comfort that at least this much has been created, or should we weep and be challenged to respond to the real need? A huge national effort must be organized and coordinated to construct hundreds of Jewish day schools of Andover and Exeter quality, sending forth annually tens of thousands of committed, eager, proud young men and women.

2. Day school tuition today represents a crippling cost for average middle class families and often the cost becomes the compelling fact in the decision <u>not</u> to enroll their children. More parents than you think do toy with the thought of day school because they know intuitively that this intense education will help solidify the Jewish shape, identity and character of their children. But they are daunted by the costs which run into the thousands per year, even at the pre-kindergarten level. Simply stated, tuition should be free. or at most. a small symbolic amount, and the heavy millions for maintaining the school system in every town should be borne by total community funding, backed up by a national fund which will ease the burden for smaller and weaker communities.

3. Young people must be sent to Israel for a whole year, once during their high school period and once again during their college careers to study and

experience Israel, learning the language and loving the land. Residency in Israel is not a magic bullet which will automatically make a practicing and knowledgeable Jew out of every student, but all authorities agree that Israel does exercise a most powerful impact on these impressionable young folk.

4. Every college campus in America with one hundred or more Jewish students resident thereon should have a Center for Jewish Life, a.k.a. Hillel House. The professional staff must include the very best of the fresh young rabbinical graduates, with older and seasoned rabbinical personnel added to those campuses whose Jewish population reaches into the thousands. There are more than 400,000 Jewish young men and women attending the colleges and universities of this country. They are just a few years away from marriage. The campus is the final place where we can battle for their hearts and minds. The campus is the field into which we should plow the most money, the best personnel, the most enticing and imaginative programs. Instead, we are investing here the least of all.

5. Summer camps are incubators which bear great fruit. Everyone knows this. Several good years spent at an excellent summer camp, during the ages 10-15. will plant seeds, of ideology, ritual practice, habit and some Hebrew language. The Camp Ramah system consisting of only 6 camps, accommodating at most 5,000 kids, was virtually sold-out last summer and this. Creating enough attractive summer camps for all the youngsters in every town must be an item on the agenda of the total community together with a national funding program. Cost to the family must be minimal.

Do you sense the drift? The national community of all Jews in the United States who care about the continuity of our people and its heritage must accept the responsibility for establishing and maintaining a multi-billion dollar overarching program, from day school through college, including camps and long stays in Israel. All this effort would be directed toward the goal of increasing the sense of respect, pride, even love, which our young people can be made to feel for their Jewish identity. The ultimate objective is to make it hard for them to toss away their heritage casually or thoughtlessly; instead, to make it easier for them to cherish their tradition. If they will have learned something about their Judaism, come to recognize its worth, and pledge themselves to its preservation for yet one more generation, then our future will be safer than it would now appear.

New national mechanisms will have to be designed. The Council of Jewish Federations is turning itself into a Parliamentary democracy, based on a Board of Delegates (2 from each community) which can rather quickly make decisions on a national basis which the majority of communities will accept. That is a giant step forward. New leaders can be mobilized. A national consensus shaped. A massive funding mechanism constructed.

The United Jewish Appeal is turning inward toward internal needs. The executive vice-president has issued a call for sending 100,000 American Jewish kids to Israel every summer. Another giant step. But we would need to build an infrastructure in Israel to absorb them.

Lastly, the congregations and rabbis of America, of all denominations, the most gigantically underutilized force in the Jewish arsenal, must step out of the four walls of their synagogues into the broader light of the total community. They are a resource, for initiating converts into the peoplehood of Israel; for building community schools; for providing heavy manpower for the huge communal tasks lying ahead; for lending their professional cadres to the public campaigns necessary to sell the idea to the entire Jewish population that the "learning deficit" from the past must be reduced by raising the "educational taxes" for the future.

The brittleness which once characterized congregational-federation relationships must be replaced by genuine cooperation and a sense that the goals of each partner are not separate and competitive. The destiny of each is linked with the fate of the other. I feel that a comprehension of this fact is beginning to stir.

Seminaries must teach the same truth to their students. A vigorous search must recruit candidates for the rabbinate who are already communally minded and their orientation during the years of rabbinical studies must include the option of careers in community service, as well as in the pulpit. The Chancellor's report at the recent Seminary Board meeting alluded to this concept. What a gain it would be in this struggle for continuity if executive directors possessed a strong background in Jewish learning in addition to social work or business administration.

8 .

Opinions of experts vary:

Arthur Hertzberg is pessimistic about our future in America.

Charles Silberman is optimistic.

Steven Cohen, the social scientist, entitled his recent book with a question:

"American Assimilation or Jewish Revival?" That means he's not sure.

-Jacob Marcus, the 92 year-old dean of American Jewish historians, believes we are entering an American Golden Age.

I am not certain where we are going, but I do know that anything we set our mind to is possible, so I know where we <u>could</u> go if we wished.

This program for continuity demands an act of will of such dimensions as have not yet ever existed in the 3 1/2 centuries of our life in these United States. All this is doable because there is no limit to the talent and ability and financial resources within our constituency. <u>We can become whatever we wish</u>. We can become the strongest Diaspora which ever existed in all history, or we can be witness to our own extinction, within the next century.

Stephen Wise showed how the possession of a large vision itself created the characteristics which would guarantee its attainment.

"Vision," he said, "looks inward and becomes duty. Vision looks outward and becomes aspiration. Vision looks upward and becomes faith." Prodded by a sense of duty, ennobled by a sense of aspiration, sustained by a sense of faith, our little lives can acquire a dimension of incredible strength. Each one of us can become a small nuclear engine, driving with enormous power toward the goal: a free people living in a safe prosperous Israel. and in a creatively Jewish proud Diaspora, sharing the fruits of a good society with all neighbors in a democratic peaceful world, working for the betterment of all humanity. We belong to a people bold enough to have conceived, at the ancient beginning of existence, an end-view of human history. How audacious of this small tribe to have articulated, so early on, the grandest vision for humanity's final destiny - the concept of a messianic age in which the human species would someday create a world based on its highest values. We should be fiercely proud of ourselves as sons and daughters of the people Israel.

So - this is your dream to have and to hold, to cherish and make real, to give to your children and grandchildren as the most precious gift in the world. Make it come true. Make it come true.

10, 200 ME