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PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH ON THE CAMPUS OF TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY  
AN INTERNATIONAL YOUNG LEADERSHIP HOUSE  
(a 1a International House adjacent to Columbia University)

1. CONCEPT

In the post-philanthropic period, 35 years after statehood, in thinking of what the relationship of concerned Diaspora Jews must be to Israel, one of the clear factors is the necessity of learning the history, geography and sociology of Israel in depth by living there for extended periods of time, and by learning the Hebrew language, so that a genuine approach between Israeli and Diaspora Jew becomes possible instead of a superficial structured stylized dance between "sabara" and "visiting mission member."

This was the essence of my talk at the 20th Anniversary banquet of the Y.L. Cabinet in Washington on May 21, 1983.

If the above is true for Jews in general, how much more so is it relevant, nay crucial, for the trained, elite, leadership man-and-woman power represented by the phrase "Young Leadership Cabinet graduate." That latter person is the finest human leader-type produced by the American Jewish community. By any definition, including all such criteria as ideological commitment, financial generosity, sense of responsibility and power of persuasion, the Young Leadership graduate, man or woman, is the epitome of what can be achieved through years of training, conferences, missions overseas, visits to other communities, reading, exposure to the influence of top Israeli and American government officials.

And yet even he or she has not taken the ultimate step of living in Israel for longish periods and learning conversational Hebrew, so that the surface emotion of love felt for Israel and Israelis can be strengthened by sinking very deep foundations of knowledge upon which a permanent and more realistic relationship can be built.

The idea behind building an International House is to provide a support framework for housing, feeding, socializing, playing - all the physical features which are often unsatisfactory and terribly expensive when one tries to solve them alone - and which are really only the background for the more serious matters of personal study and organized dialogue.

In simpler terms, the existence of an International House solves all the logistical problems, and enables the Y. L. graduate to face the question of living



in Israel for a year or two or half-a-year without having to worry about the mechanics.

The basic matter then becomes: **do** I want to live in Israel to learn Hebrew, Israeli mentality, local geography and obtain full knowledge of future problems - so that I become a better Jewish leader, either in Israel if I decide to stay longer, or back in the Diaspora from whence I came. The existence of International House eliminates all excuses, and forces one to the face the fundamental question.

## II. PURPOSES

1. House people coming for extended periods to study.
2. Offer presence of an entire faculty, to study any subject anyone wants. An instructor can be found for even one student.
3. Provide Ulpan - self contained.
4. Provide instant mix with Israelis, by careful programming, *and Israelis living on campus also.*
5. Serve as base for intensive touring.
6. Provide counselling and advisory services re: jobs, professions for future life in Israel, as well as integration into present life.

## III. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

1. Lobby and Administration - small central building.
2. Residential quarters for 50-100 families, built Condominium style.
3. Seminar Facilities (various size rooms - incl. complete a-v).
4. One auditorium - for total population.
5. Lounge (in Administration building) - with big stone wall containing fireplace, seating, rug on floor, paintings, etc.
6. Sports - 4 tennis courts indoors - a la Woodlands in Houston; swimming pools, in and out; other courts.
7. Indoor Recreation - pool tables, electronic games, ping-pong, chess, cards, etc.
8. Library and study carrels.
9. Parking lot - for busses, luggage, private cars, tourist busses.

IV - Sites - build near a university  
ultimately there should be three  
one near at Karmiel - in north  
one at Netanya - in center  
one at Beersheva - in south

#### IV. ADVANTAGES TO UNIVERSITY

1. P. R. - service to Diaspora leaders; stimulating future aliya; etc.
2. Develop friends as future prospects for funds.
3. Develop friends as future prospects for students.
4. Extra employment for faculty.
5. Living laboratory on campus for Israelis to analyze Diaspora mentality.

#### V. OPERATIONAL PROCEDURE

1. Develop various curricula - for varying periods of time - in English.
2. Develop individual tutoring available - in variety of subjects.
3. Develop Hebrew language study courses - short; medium; long.
4. Make up brochure - describing all these packages and facilities.
5. Set up administrative office in U. S. (could be in AFTAU office), parallel to one on campus.
6. Recruit for fixed periods - by mail; phone; networking; etc.

#### VI. FUNDING

1. Raise funds to construct International Y. L. House.
2. Determine operational costs - then fix weekly, or monthly tuition, room, board, etc. Fees should enable operations to be self-sufficient.

#### V. PERSONNEL

1. Top administration - promoter in U. S. with additional staff in Europe and Latin America.
2. Top administrators - program director and academic director in Israel to run the place.



"THE DREAM REQUIRES NEW INVOLVEMENT"

Speech given at 20th Anniversary of Young Leadership Cabinet

by

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

at

Washington, D. C.

MAY 21, 1983

FRIENDS, STUDENTS, CHERISHED DISCIPLES, MEN AND WOMEN, COMRADES-IN-ARMS:

WE HAVE FOUGHT MANY A GOOD FIGHT TOGETHER OVER THESE YEARS, NOW DECADES. THE GREENING OF THE YOUNG LEADERSHIP CABINET HAS TAKEN PLACE. YOU ARE WELL PLANTED ALL OVER THIS COUNTRY, WITH STRONG ROOTS PLUNGING DEEPLY INTO THE SOIL OF ORGANIZED AMERICAN JEWRY. YOU ARE ITS TRUNKS AND YOUR CHILDREN ARE ALREADY ITS BRANCHES. YOU HAVE AN IDEOLOGY, A POINT OF VIEW, A SET OF GOALS, AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK. ALL THIS WE DID TOGETHER, AND TODAY YOU ARE A WONDROUS CREATION TO BEHOLD - MODEL TO THE WHOLE DIASPORA, A SOURCE OF JOY TO ISRAEL. EACH OF YOU SHOULD BE FILLED WITH A DEEP SENSE OF SATISFACTION, AND THOSE OF YOU WHO WORKED THE HARDEST MUST FEEL IT THE MOST. YOU HAVE DONE WHAT WE SET OUT TO DO - TO RECRUIT AND INSPIRE AND TRAIN A GENERATION OF LEADERS. FROM YOU IT WILL CONTINUE. THERE IS A CHINESE PROVERB WHICH SAYS, "IF YOU ARE PLANNING FOR A YEAR, PLANT GRAIN. IF YOU ARE PLANNING FOR A DECADE, PLANT TREES. IF YOU ARE PLANNING FOR A CENTURY, PLANT MEN." I HOPE WE HAVE DONE THIS - PLANTED MEN WHO WILL LAST FOR A CENTURY.

BUT CELEBRATION MUST NOT BLIND THE EYE. I HAVE COME HERE TONIGHT TO SALUTE YOU - AND TO CHALLENGE YOU ANEW. IN SPITE OF ALL THE PRIDE WE FEEL IN EVERY ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR PAST RECORD, FULL RECOGNITION OF THE PRESENT TRUTH REQUIRES US TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE FLAWS AND FAILURES IN THE DREAM WHICH HAS BOUND US TOGETHER. THAT ISRAEL - THAT ISLAND IN THE SEA OF HOSTILITY - THAT PRECIOUS TINY VESSEL HOLDING OUR DEEPEST AND FONDEST HOPES FOR A JEWISH RENAISSANCE AND REBIRTH, IS NOT PERFECT AND MAY EVEN BE IN URGENT NEED OF REPAIR WHICH WE, AS A SELF-CHOSEN ELITE, ARE OBLIGATED TO PROVIDE. LET US BACK OFF NOW AND LOOK AT OUR LADY LOVE WITH EYES UNBEDAZZLED, WITH



MINDS CLEAR AND OPEN.

ZIONISM IS A REVOLUTION AGAINST JEWISH HISTORY OF THE PAST TWO MILLENIA, AGAINST THE CONDITIONS OF JEWISH LIFE IN EXILE WHEREIN JEWS LIVED ON THE MARGINS OF ALIEN SOCIETIES, AND ACCOMODATED IN THEIR POWERLESSNESS TO THE HARSH REALITIES OF POGROMS AND EXPULSIONS. ZIONISM IS A REVOLUTIONARY EFFORT TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL AND MILITARY SOVEREIGNTY, TOGETHER WITH A SYSTEM OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE, INFUSED WITH A SPIRITUALITY AND SENSE OF UNIQUENESS STEMMING FROM AN ANCIENT RELIGIOUS TRADITION.

"THIS REVOLUTION DENIES CLASS DISTINCTION AND RACIAL ANTAGONISM. ITS STRUGGLE IS FOR THE DIGNITY OF MAN AND HIS RIGHT TO EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND SPIRITUAL INDEPENDENCE." THUS WRITES PROFESSOR KLUBACK OF CUNY IN THE CURRENT (SPRING 1983) ISSUE OF JUDAISM, WHERE HE ANALYZES THE RECENT BOOK OF SHLOMO AVINERI ENTITLED "THE MAKING OF MODERN ZIONISM."

BUT THE REVOLUTION APPEARS TO BE FAILING OR FALTERING. ISRAEL IS BECOMING A MIRROR-IMAGE OF DIASPORA LIFE. INSTEAD OF BUILDING A SYSTEM BASED UPON VALUES WHICH COULD MAKE IT A MORAL LEADER, SHLOMO AVINERI SAYS IN HIS NEW BOOK "THE MAKING OF MODERN ZIONISM": "TWENTY YEARS AGO, THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN ISRAEL AND DIASPORA JEWRY - SOCIALLY, INTELLECTUALLY AND ECONOMICALLY - WAS FAR GREATER THAN IT IS TODAY. NOT THAT DIASPORA JEWRY BECAME SIMILAR TO ISRAELI SOCIETY, BUT ISRAEL CAME TO RESEMBLE THE DIASPORA.

KLUBACK SAYS: "THE ZIONIST REVOLUTION PRESUPPOSED A RADICAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE: THE EXILE WAS TO BE ROOTED OUT OF THE PEOPLE, THE PARASITIC QUALITIES ELIMINATED. THIS DOES NOT SIMPLY MEAN A CHANGED LAND, LANGUAGE OR POLITIC; IT SIGNIFIES A REVOLUTION OF THE SOUL."

AVINERI SAYS: "WHEN ISRAEL WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1948, IT WAS MUCH NEARER TO THAT IDEAL THAN TODAY, AS PRACTICALLY ALL THE WORK DONE IN THE ECONOMY WAS CARVED OUT BY JEWS. TODAY SIZABLE SECTORS OF THE ISRAELI ECONOMY HAVE SEEN THE DISAPPEARANCE OF JEWISH WORKERS FROM MANUAL JOBS AND THEIR SUBSTITUTION BY ARAB LABORERS WHO FLOW IN



DAILY FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. IN WHOLE AREAS OF AGRICULTURE, THE BUILDING INDUSTRY, AND CERTAIN MENIAL SERVICE OCCUPATIONS, MOST OF THE MANUAL WORK IS DONE BY ARABS."

THIS CREATION OF A SERVILE CLASS WILL ERODE AND EVENTUALLY DESTROY ISRAEL'S SOCIAL UNIQUENESS. WE SEE ALREADY THE LOSS OF SO MANY VALUES SO DEEPLY TREASURED ONLY 50 YEARS AGO BY A. D. GORDON AND BEN-GURION. WE HAVE TODAY A GENUINE MORAL CRISIS ON OUR HANDS, OF THE SAME MAGNITUDE OF DANGER AS ANY MILITARY THREAT. IF WE LOSE SIGHT OF THE IMPULSES WHICH INSPIRED THE FOUNDERS - i.e. TO BUILD A STATE BASED ON THE EQUALITY OF MEN AND THE VALUE OF LABOR - THEN ISRAEL WILL BECOME MERELY ANOTHER SMALL NATION, NOT POSSESSED OF THE POWER TO THRILL, EXCITE OR MORALLY INSPIRE. IN SUCH A CASE, SHE WILL OFFER NOTHING TO THE JEWISH DIASPORA, WILL NOT AFFECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD JEWRY AND THE ZIONIST REVOLUTION WILL HAVE FAILED. ISRAEL TODAY FACES A HUGE MORAL CRISIS, AND ALL OF US TOGETHER, THOSE WHO LIVE THERE AND THOSE WHO LIVE IN THE DIASPORA BUT ACKNOWLEDGE ISRAEL AS THE CENTER OF JEWISH EXISTENCE, MUST WORK TOGETHER VERY DILIGENTLY AND SKILLFULLY TO RE-NAVIGATE THE COURSE TO MAKE SURE WE DO NOT CRASH.

THE VERY PHRASE - ISRAEL AS THE CENTER OF JEWISH EXISTENCE - IMMEDIATELY RAISES A PROBLEM. THERE ARE ISRAELIS WHO SAY THAT THE WORD CENTRALITY DESCRIBES THE REAL SITUATION - i.e. THE JEWS WHO LIVE THERE ARE THE ONLY ONES ENTITLED TO SPEAK ON SUBJECTS OF SEMINAL IMPORTANCE, SUCH AS SECURITY, POLITICS, INTERNAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE LIKE. ALL OTHERS, WHO LIVE OUTSIDE ARE PERIPHERAL TO THE CENTER AND MAY, AT BEST, MAKE MARGINAL COMMENTS. THERE ARE DIASPORA JEWS WHO SAY EXACTLY THE SAME THING IN REVERSE - i.e. WE WHO DO NOT LIVE THERE, NOR SERVE IN THE ARMY, NOR PAY THE TAXES NOR SHED OUR BLOOD, HAVE NO RIGHT TO SPEAK OUT AND EXPRESS OUR OPINIONS ON ANY ISSUES WHICH SUBSTANTIALLY AFFECT THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE STATE AND ITS INHABITANTS.

BOTH ATTITUDES ARE WRONG. ISRAELI OFFICIALS, WHETHER IN THE GOVERNMENT OR THE JEWISH AGENCY OR THE ARMY OR ANY MAJOR INSTITUTION OR NEWSPAPER OR PUBLIC BODY, WHO SAY THAT DIASPORA JEWS SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN EXPRESSING OPINIONS OR TRYING TO INFLUENCE POLICY ON INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND WHO RATIONALIZE THAT ATTITUDE BY THE CONVENTIONAL



WISDOM THAT JEWS WHO STAY OUTSIDE THROUGH FREE CHOICE CANNOT, AT THE SAME TIME, ACT AS INSIDERS, HAVE DECIDED THAT UNITY IS A MYTH AND THEY ARE WILLING FRANKLY TO SAY THAT THERE ARE TWO DISTINCT CATEGORIES OF JEWS WHO, LIKE REMOTE COUSINS, FIND THAT THEY REALLY DO NOT HAVE MUCH TO SAY TO EACH OTHER WHEN THEY MEET INFREQUENTLY ON SOME FAMILY OCCASION.

WOE TO THOSE OFFICIALS WHO MAKE SUCH A DECISION, FOR THEY ARE DOOMING THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL, OR AT LEAST RELEGATING IT TO SOME BALKAN EXISTENCE. ISRAELI OFFICIALS WHO TAKE SUCH A POSITION, NO MATTER HOW HIGHLY PLACED THEY MAY BE, ARE BLIND IN THEIR CHAUVINISM, MYOPIC IN THEIR NARROW NATIONALISM, AND ARROGANT IN THEIR JUDGEMENT. NO MATTER HOW FRUSTRATED ISRAELI OFFICIALS MAY BE BY THE FAILURE OF WESTERN AND RUSSIAN JEWS TO MIGRATE TO ISRAEL IN LARGE NUMBERS; NO MATTER HOW ANNOYED THEY MAY BE AT THE UNFAIRNESS OF THE SHARE OF THE DEFENSE AND ECONOMIC BURDEN THEY MUST CARRY COMPARED TO THE DIASPORA SEGMENT; NO MATTER HOW WEARY OR HEARTSICK THEY MAY BE AT THE DIFFICULTY OF THE STRUGGLE TO GROW AND PROGRESS; NO MATTER THE LEGITIMACY OF ALL THESE AND MANY MORE EMOTIONS THEY MAY FEEL - THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR LEADERS IN ISRAEL TODAY TO HAVE LOST THEIR SENSE OF HISTORY, WHICH SHOULD TELL THEM THAT A DIVIDED KINGDOM IS WEAK AND DOES NOT ENDURE WHILE A UNITED KINGDOM PRODUCES GLORY AND CREATIVITY. NO - WHEN ISRAELI JEWS DISPLAY A TURNING INWARD AND A DENIAL OF EQUALITY, DIASPORA JEWS MUST SPEAK OUT BLUNTLY AND STRONGLY THAT THIS IS NOT THE WAY TO THE UNITED FUTURE, BUT WILL LEAD TO IRREVOCABLE FRAGMENTATION.

BUT THE PROBLEM WITH DIASPORA JEWS IS THAT THEY DO NOT SPEAK OUT BLUNTLY AND STRONGLY, AT LEAST NOT UNTIL VERY RECENTLY. IF THE ERROR IN THE ISRAELI ATTITUDE IS ONE OF TENDING TOWARD ARROGANCE, THE ERROR IN THE DIASPORA ATTITUDE IS ONE OF TENDING TOWARD SUBSERVIENCE. THE DIASPORA JEW "COPS OUT" IN THE VERNACULAR, BY HIMSELF SHRINKING BEHIND THE SAME CLICHES. THE DIASPORA JEW SAYS - "I DON'T SERVE IN THE ARMY, SO WHAT RIGHT HAVE I TO SAY WHETHER ISRAEL SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT GO INTO WEST BEIRUT." HE SAYS - "I DON'T VOTE AND ELECT A GOVERNMENT, SO WHAT RIGHT HAVE I TO SAY WHAT ISRAEL'S FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE TOWARD AMERICA OR CHINA OR ANY PLACE ELSE."



HE SAYS - "I DON'T LIVE OR SPEAK THE LANGUAGE OR KNOW THE INNER DETAILS OF DAILY LIFE, SO WHAT RIGHT HAVE I TO EXPRESS OPINIONS OR TRY TO SHAPE SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC OR ETHNIC OR EDUCATIONAL MATTERS. ALL OF THIS COYNESS AND WITHDRAWAL AND SELF-IMPOSED RETICENCE ON THE PART OF THE DIASPORA JEWS IS THE MIRROR-IMAGE OF THE CHAUVINISM OF THE ISRAELI JEWS AND IS EQUALLY WRONG. IF THE DIASPORA JEWS CONTINUE FOR LONG ALONG THE LINES OF KEEPING SILENT AND WITHDRAWING, THEY WILL BE JUST AS GUILTY AS THEIR ISRAELI COUNTER-PARTS OF SPLITTING THE JEWISH NATION.

DIASPORA JEWS MUST OVERCOME THEIR SHYNESS: ISRAELI JEWS MUST WELCOME THEIR PARTICIPATION; AND THE PRICE OF THIS CLOSENESS WILL BE CONFLICT, WHICH WOULD BE WONDERFUL, FOR OUT OF SUCH FRICTION WILL COME PROGRESS AND GROWTH.

RABBI HERMAN SCHAALMAN, BORN IN GERMANY, PRESENTLY IN CHICAGO, WROTE A TRENCH-ANT PARAGRAPH IN HIS RECENT VALEDICTORY SPEECH AS PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE OF REFORM RABBIS. HE SUGGESTS DISCARDING THE IMAGE OF A CIRCLE WITH ISRAEL AT THE CENTER AND EVERYTHING ELSE ON THE PERIPHERY, SUBSTITUTING INSTEAD THE SYMBOL OF AN ELLIPSE WITH TWO MORE ACTUAL POINTS. HE SAYS: "INTENTIONALLY, THIS STATEMENT OF THE CENTRALITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IS A JUDGMENT. WHAT IS NOT IN THE CENTER OF THE CIRCLE IS BY DEFINITION PERIPHERY. AND WHETHER SUCH NON-CENTER AREAS ARE CALLED TEFUTZOT, GOLA, GALUT, OR DIASPORA, THE UNMISTAKABLE IMPLICATION IS THAT OF DEPENDENCY, INFERIORITY, AND IMPERMANENCE. TO THIS CLAIM OF THE CENTRALITY OF THE JEWISH STATE, AMERICAN JEWRY'S RESPONSE HAS BEEN LUKEWARM, IF NOT NEGATIVE. IT IS NOT A USEFUL ASSERTION. IT MAY, IN FACT, TURN OUT TO BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

THERE IS A TRUER SYMBOL TO DESCRIBE THE RELATION BETWEEN THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND NORTH AMERICAN JEWRY, AS PERHAPS ALSO OF OTHER SEGMENTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. IT IS THE ELLIPSE FORMED AROUND TWO FOCI, TWO CENTRAL POINTS, HELD IN TENSION OVER AGAINST EACH OTHER WITH NEITHER CLAIMING NOR POSSESSING AN INHERENTLY PERMANENT PRIORITY OF STATUS. THE ELLIPTIC SYMBOL REFLECTS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POTENTIAL EQUALS AND THEIR INTERACTION. IT CONSIGNS NEITHER TO INFERIORITY. RATHER, IT POINTS TO THE



INEVITABLE MUTUALITY AND NECESSARY RECIPROCITY BETWEEN THE TWO FOCAL POINTS. MOREOVER THERE CAN BE AS MANY SUCH RELATIONSHIPS AS THERE ARE VIABLE, ACTIVE JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE WORLD WHO WISH TO MAINTAIN THEIR RELATION TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN THIS MANNER, EACH BEING ONE FOCUS OF THIS ELLIPSE WITH THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN EVERY CASE BEING THE OTHER.

GONE WOULD BE THE VOCABULARY AND, HOPEFULLY THEREAFTER, ALSO THE ATTITUDE OF PRESUMED SUPERIORITY AND INFERIORITY. IN PLACE OF WHAT IS OFTEN MONOLOGUE THERE MIGHT BE GENUINE DIALOGUE WITH FAR GREATER LISTENING, GREATER CONSIDERATION OF THE POSSIBLE FALLOUT BY THE STATE'S ACTION ON WORLD JEWRY, MORE PERVASIVE, REGULAR, SENSITIVE CONSULTATION THAN NOW IS CARRIED ON. WE COULD EXPLORE AND LEARN TOGETHER THE USES OF POWER AS BAFFLING AND EXHILARATING TO JEWS IN ISRAEL AS IT IS WONDROUS AND STILL OFTEN UNSETTLING TO US. WE COULD BE SEEN AS PARTNERS NOT ONLY MATERIALLY, BUT ESPECIALLY IN A SHARED CONCERN OF ROOTING AND EXPANDING THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE WORLD AS WELL AS IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. SHEILAT HAGOLA WOULD BE REPLACED BY A MUTUAL ENCOMPASSING, EMBRACING, STIMULATING AND NURTURING PARTNERSHIP. WE WOULD TRULY BE AM ECHAD BOTH USING OUR BEST RESOURCES AND WILL TO INSURE: "AM YISRAEL CHAI."

LET US UNDERSTAND CLEARLY - WE CAN HELP BY SPEAKING OUT - NOT BY SHRINKING BACK INTO A RESENTFUL SILENCE WHICH CAN LEAD TO ALIENATION. DISSENT IS NOT TREASON; QUESTIONING IS NOT HERESY; DISAGREEMENT IS NOT DISLOYALTY. THE LEBANESE WAR OPENED THE DOOR - A FLOOD OF WORDS AND EMOTIONS WAS RELEASED. THE HIGH PRICE IN DEATHS - THE CONFUSION AS TO WAR AIMS - THE SUDDEN MORAL ISSUE INVOLVED IN THE SABRA-SHATILA CAMP MASSACRES - ALL THESE AND MORE BROUGHT ISRAELIS THEMSELVES TO THE STREETS IN HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS TO PROTEST, ARGUE, DEMAND EXPLANATIONS; AND BROUGHT DIASPORA JEWS TO THE BRINK OF DOUBT, HESITATION AND A SEARCH FOR SOME WAY TO RE-AFFIRM THEIR LOVE FOR ISRAEL. PEOPLE WALK AWAY ONLY WHEN THEY DESPAIR. NO ONE DESERTS A CAUSE, ONCE BELOVED, EXCEPT WHEN THERE APPEARS TO BE NO ALTERNATIVE.

THE ALTERNATIVE IS THAT WE MUST DEEPEN OUR INVOLVEMENT. WE CAN HELP RE-NAVIGATE



THE COURSE BY GETTING MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN ISSUES WE SELDOM TOUCHED OR THOUGHT OF BEFORE. A FEW WEEKS AGO, WHEN THE YACHAD MISSION WAS IN ISRAEL, A GROUP OF 20 MEMBERS OF THAT MISSION MET WITH 4 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO DISCUSS THIS VERY BASIC QUESTION. BOTH THE AMERICANS AND THE ISRAELIS FELT THE NEED TO TALK ABOUT THINGS LIKE: "WHO IS A JEW?"; THE STATUS OF REFORM JEWRY; ALIYA; YERIDA; THE USE OF UJA FUNDS; AND MANY SUBJECTS WHICH WOULD FORMERLY HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED TABOO, AS BEING INFRINGEMENTS ON ISRAEL'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. NOTHING SHOULD BE TABOO. OPEN UP EVERY CAN OF WORMS.

I CAN'T TELL YOU WHAT A HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT THIS WOULD BE. IT WILL LEAD TO TRUE PERSONAL FRIENDSHIPS WITH THE ISRAELI LAWMAKERS AND GREATER MUTUAL RESPECT. AS YOU EDGE CLOSER TO THE REAL PROBLEMS, TAKING POSITIONS, EXPLAINING WHY, YOUR ISRAELI COUNTERPARTS WILL SENSE THE GROWTH OF DEEP CONCERN ON YOUR PART FOR THE SAME ISSUES WHICH BOTHER THEM. YOU WILL NOT BE VISITORS, PARADING UNDER THE SLOGAN: "WE ARE ONE PEOPLE," BUT YOU WILL BE TRANSFORMING YOURSELVES INTO TRUE BROTHERS BY INTERNALIZING ISRAEL'S PROBLEMS INSTEAD OF ONLY THROWING MONEY AT THE PROBLEMS. SOME MATTERS ARE SIMPLY NOT AMENABLE TO SOLUTION BY MONEY.

UP TO NOW, YOU HAVE DONE BASICALLY TWO THINGS. YOU HAVE WORKED IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD THROUGH PHILANTHROPY, LOANS, INVESTMENTS; AND YOU HAVE WORKED IN THE POLITICAL FIELD THROUGH ADVOCACY OF ISRAEL'S NEEDS VIS-A-VIS PERSONS IN THE CONGRESS, WHITE HOUSE OR OTHER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AND MEDIA. BOTH THESE APPROACHES ARE INDISPENSABLE. YOU PERFORM THEM BRILLIANTLY, WITH SKILL AND CONVICTION. BUT THEY ARE NOT ENOUGH FOR YOU, THE LEADERSHIP. THEY DO NOT GO DEEPLY ENOUGH. THAT PERFORMANCE DOES NOT BRING YOU INTO A DEEP ENOUGH INVOLVEMENT WITH ACTUALLY SHAPING THE COURSE OF ISRAEL'S FUTURE, SO THAT YOU CAN CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN THE PRESENT REALITY AND THE UNFULFILLED DREAM.

TO FULFILL THE DREAM REQUIRES A NEW INVOLVEMENT. LET ME BE SPECIFIC CONCERNING THREE SUBJECTS I SUGGEST AS REQUIRING DEEPER INVOLVEMENT. YOU MUST IMMERSE YOURSELF IN THE CULTURAL LIFE, THE DAILY EVENTS OF LIVING, AND THE INSTITUTIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY. IF YOU TRULY SUCCEED IN PENETRATING THESE THREE AREAS,



COMPREHENDING AND PARTICIPATING IN THEM, THEN YOU WILL COME AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO THINKING AND ACTING LIKE AN ISRAELI, OR AT LEAST UNDERSTANDING THE ISRAELI. FAILURE TO ACHIEVE THIS IMMERSION WILL LEAVE YOU A PERMANENT STRANGER AND OUTSIDER, NO MATTER HOW MANY MISSIONS YOU ATTEND, HOW MUCH MONEY YOU RAISE, AND HOW MANY ISRAELI FRIENDS YOU ACCUMULATE ALONG THE WAY. THEY WILL NEVER BE MORE THAN ACQUAINTANCES.

LET ME ANALYZE EACH POINT. FIRST, ENTERING THE CULTURAL LIFE MEANS LEARNING THE LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE MEANS HEBREW. THERE IS SIMPLY NO AVOIDING THIS CHORE. THERE WERE ONCE OTHER GREAT INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGES WHICH LINKED THE JEWISH PEOPLE TOGETHER ACROSS THOUSANDS OF MILES AND DOZENS OF COUNTRIES. YIDDISH SERVED FOR MORE THAN A MILLENNIUM IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AS DID LADINO IN THE MAGHREB AND PARTS OF ASIA MINOR. THESE TONGUES ARE ESSENTIALLY FINISHED. THEY HAVE RUN THEIR COURSE. IN THE CENTURIES AHEAD, THE LANGUAGE WHICH WILL TIE A JEW IN SWEDEN TO A JEW IN ARIZONA TO A JEW IN BEERSHEBA WILL BE HEBREW. BROADENED FROM A LANGUAGE OF PURELY PRAYER AND BIBLE, MODERN HEBREW IS WRITTEN IN NEWSPAPERS, SPOKEN ON THE STAGE AND TELEVISION, TAUGHT IN THE SCHOOLS, AND CORRUPTED IN THE SUPERMARKET, ON THE FACTORY FLOOR AND THROUGHOUT EVERY STREET IN THE COUNTRY. IT IS THE MOTHER TONGUE OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AND THE ONLY TONGUE OF MOST OF THEM. ISRAEL IS AN INTERNATIONAL CROSSROADS AND MANY LANGUAGES INCLUDING ENGLISH ARE AT HOME THERE, BUT AS THE DECADES ROLL FORWARD THE PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION SPEAKING FLUENT ENGLISH WILL DECREASE.

INCIDENTALLY, THE MATTER OF HEBREW ALSO ESTABLISHES COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TWO DIASPORA JEWS, NOT EVEN INVOLVING ISRAELIS. THE OTHER DAY I FOUND MYSELF AT A MEETING SPEAKING HEBREW WITH A JEW FROM MEXICO. I HAD NO SPANISH, HE HAD NO ENGLISH - BUT WE HAD OUR OWN COMMON LANGUAGE. IT IS A PHENOMENON OF THE MODERN WORLD THAT THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY OF MEXICO, ADULTS AND CHILDREN ALIKE, HAVE DELIBERATELY AND CONSCIOUSLY LEARNED HEBREW IN THE 35 YEARS OF ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE. THEY ARE THE ONLY COMMUNITY IN THE WORLD TO HAVE DONE SO.

LANGUAGE OPENS THE DOOR TO LOVE, TO ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIPS, TO JOINT POLITICAL ACTION, TO HUMAN SYMPATHY, TO EATING TOGETHER AND HUGGING AND DREAMING AND FEELING



AS ONE. LANGUAGE IS SECOND ONLY TO THE EYE AS THE WINDOW OF THE SOUL - AND WHEN TWO PEOPLE OR TWO FAMILIES CAN SHARE THOUGHTS AND EMOTIONS, THEY CLOSE THE VOID BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND CREATE A COMMON UNIVERSE. LANGUAGE IS LINKAGE - WITHOUT IT THERE IS BLANKNESS AND BLACKNESS AND DISTANCE.

LEARNING A LANGUAGE IS A MATTER OF MOTIVATION AND PRACTICE. THE MOTIVATION MUST COME FROM WITHIN YOU. IF YOU WANT TO, YOU CAN. THE PRACTICE IS ANOTHER STORY, WHICH TAKES US INTO THE SECOND AREA OF EXPLICATION, NAMELY ENTERING THE DAILY EVENTS OF LIVING IN ISRAEL. IF YOU LIVE IN PEORIA, YOU CAN PRACTICE HEBREW THERE, BUT IF YOU LIVE IN PETACH TIKVAH, YOU WILL PRACTICE YOUR HEBREW BETTER. AND, YOU WILL SOAK UP MINUTE BY MINUTE THE MYRIAD MILLION TINY HAPPENINGS WHICH MAKE UP THE HUGE MOSAIC CALLED LIFE WITH A CAPITAL L. YOU ARE DOING YOUR LAUNDRY, OR PLAYING CHESS, OR MAKING LOVE, AND THE NEIGHBOR'S CRY FROM THE ADJOINING BALCONY INTRUDES WITH ITS MESSAGE OF DANGER OR TRIUMPH OR FEAR, AND YOU ARE INSTANTLY PLUNGED INSIDE SOMEONE ELSE'S LIFE. LET THIS HAPPEN ONE HUNDRED TIMES PER DAY FOR THE 100 DAYS YOU HAVE DEDICATED TO A LONG SUMMER VACATION IN ISRAEL AND YOU WILL HAVE EXPERIENCED 100,000 LITTLE NERVE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN YOU AND THE LOCAL POPULATION. STAY ANOTHER 100 DAYS AND YET ANOTHER AND YOUR FAMILY WILL HAVE BEGUN TO SUBMERGE TOTALLY INTO THE ENVIRONMENT.

I AM SUGGESTING THAT IMMERSION WILL SOAK YOU AND STEEP YOU THOROUGHLY SO THAT YOU WILL BECOME A REAL PERSON, LIKE EVERYONE ELSE IN THE SOUP, INSTEAD OF A STEREOTYPE. AS IT IS NOW, YOU ARE LOOKED UPON AS SOME SORT OF FRIENDLY CREATURE WHO COMES FROM FAR AWAY TO STAY A FEW DAYS, MAKES GESTURES OF HELPFULNESS, SPEECHES OF SENTIMENT, EXPRESSIONS OF IDENTIFICATION AND GENEROSITY - AND THEN DISAPPEARS UNTIL THE NEXT RED BUSLOAD OF YOU SHOWS UP, PUZZLINGLY THE SAME ALTHOUGH FROM DIFFERENT CITIES WITH DIFFERENT NAMES. SOMEHOW YOU ALL LOOK THE SAME, AS CHINESE DO TO OCCIDENTALS. THEY FEEL YOU LIKE THEM, AND WANT TO HELP, BUT THEY REALLY DON'T KNOW YOU. AT WORST, THEY ARE ARROGANT TOWARDS YOU - AT BEST THEY ARE PATRONIZING. ONLY A VERY, VERY FEW, THROUGH YEARS OF EXPERIENCE OR INTUITION, UNDERSTAND YOU.



AND, OF COURSE, THE SAME IS TRUE OF YOU TOWARD THEM. YOU DEAL WITH THEM THROUGH SLOGANS AND STEREOTYPES. YOU DO NOT SEE THEM OR FEEL THEM AS REAL PEOPLE WITH HUMAN AND JEWISH PROBLEMS.

YOU MUST MAKE A CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO LIVE THERE FOR A PERIOD OF TIME. IT TAKES MASSIVE REARRANGEMENT OF ONE'S PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES, REQUIRING PLANNING FAR IN ADVANCE. (FOR EXAMPLE, A FAMILY MIGHT MAKE A DECISION 5 OR 10 YEARS IN ADVANCE, THAT WHEN ONE OF THE CHILDREN IS OLD ENOUGH TO SPEND A YEAR AT AN ISRAELI UNIVERSITY, THE WHOLE FAMILY WILL MOVE TOGETHER. THE EARNING CAPACITY OF THE FAMILY FOR THAT YEAR MUST BE PLANNED; LEAVES OF ABSENCE FROM OCCUPATIONS ARRANGED; SCHOOLING ORGANIZED FOR YOUNGER CHILDREN; A PLAN OF LIFE MADE FOR THE YEAR IN ISRAEL; AN APARTMENT RENTED; A SCHEDULE ORGANIZED. FOR NOW YOU ARE NOT TOURISTS. YOU WANT TO ENTER INTO THE VERY BLOODSTREAM OF THE NATION. YOU HAVE LEARNED THE LANGUAGE - NOW LEARN HOW TO GRUMBLE AND COMPLAIN IN IT LIKE EVERYONE ELSE. NOW LEARN HOW TO SING AND REJOICE IN IT LIKE EVERYONE ELSE.

GO TO THE GREAT PUBLIC CEREMONIES ON INDEPENDENCE DAY OR MEMORIAL DAY IN THE MIDST OF THE GREAT STREAMS OF PEOPLE WHO WALK OR BUS TO THE CEMETERIES AND THE STADIA AND THE PARADES - NOT SITTING IN SPECIAL RESERVED SECTIONS IN THE BLEACHERS WHICH THE UJA HAS ARRANGED FOR YOU - BUT MIXED IN WITH THE MASSES. SPEND THE FRIDAY EVENINGS AT FRIENDS' HOMES WORRYING ABOUT THEIR KIDS IN THE ARMY AND WAITING FOR THEM TO COME HOME ON A RARE SHABBAT LEAVE AND TALKING ABOUT THE CHANCES OF THE NEXT WAR. STAND IN THE ENDLESS LINES CREATED BY STUPID BUREAUCRATS AND FIGURE OUT HOW TO ALTER THEM. THRILL TO THE MAGIC OF THE SUDDEN SUNSET IN JERUSALEM AND THE HUGE RED GLOBE SLIPPING INTO THE MEDITERRANEAN IN TEL AVIV WHILE WALKING ON THE BEACH IN JEANS AND SNEAKERS INSTEAD OF LOOKING THROUGH THE TOURIST WINDOWS OF THE HOTEL.

TASTE THE LAND, SMELL IT, LOVE IT, HATE IT - LIVE IN IT, FROM READING THE MORNING NEWSPAPER TO WALKING THE MIDNIGHT TOUR OF THE CIVIL GUARD. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY THAT YOU WILL EVER COME TO FEEL THAT IT IS REALLY YOURS IN A HARD TRUE PRACTICAL WAY, RATHER THAN JUST LOVING IT IN SOME DISTANT SLOPPY SENTIMENTAL MANNER.



NOT ONLY WILL THIS BE BETTER FOR YOU, BUT ALSO FOR THE COUNTRY. BECAUSE AS YOU LIVE THE PROBLEMS, YOU WILL WANT TO SOLVE THEM. AND ONLY BY STAYING THERE WILL YOU MAKE A DENT. THROUGH YOUR AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN CREATING VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND MAKING THINGS HAPPEN, YOU WILL ESTABLISH A SIMILAR TRADITION IN ISRAEL. MOST ISRAELIS THINK IN CONSERVATIVE AND CENTRALIZED PATTERNS. THEY BELIEVE THAT IF THERE IS A PROBLEM, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD SOLVE IT. THERE ARE ONLY THE PRIMITIVE BEGINNINGS OF CITIZEN ORGANIZATIONS TRYING TO TAKE THINGS IN THEIR OWN HANDS. WHAT IS A HALF-CENTURY OLD PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES HAS YET TO CATCH ON IN ISRAEL - BUT IT CAN BE DONE.

REALLY MAJOR MATTERS, LIKE CHURCH-STATE RELATIONSHIPS, RACIAL AND ETHNIC SUSPICIONS BETWEEN POPULATION GROUPS, CIVIL RIGHTS, RECREATION PATTERNS, POLITICAL ELECTIONS, RELIGIOUS RIGHTS ARE ALL WAITING SOLUTIONS, IMPROVEMENTS, ADJUSTMENTS WHICH CAN COME ABOUT SLOWLY BUT SURELY IF THERE IS A CONSTANT TURN-OVER OF PEOPLE LIKE YOU COMING INTO THE COUNTRY, SENSING THE PROBLEMS QUICKLY, AND SEEKING SOME CHANGE.

I AM NOT TALKING ABOUT THE HEAVY PORTENTOUS MATTER OF "MAKING ALIYAH" FOR THE REST OF YOUR LIFE. THAT MAY HAPPEN, BUT RIGHT NOW I'M TALKING ABOUT A NEW KIND OF ALIYAH - ORGANIZING YOUR LIFE TO COME AND SPEND A PERIOD OF TIME - A YEAR, TWO, EVEN A HALF - LIVING INSIDE THE ISRAELI'S SKIN, SPEAKING THE HEBREW LANGUAGE. IT WILL BE MARVELOUS FOR YOU, MAGNIFICENT FOR THE COUNTRY - AND HELP RE-NAVIGATE THE COURSE. I'M NOT SUGGESTING IT ONLY AS A PLEASURE - RATHER MORE AS A DUTY. THIS IS A CALL TO DUTY, LIKE SO MANY OTHER CALLS TO WHICH YOU ARE TRAINED TO RESPOND.

THE THIRD AREA I REFERRED TO AS REQUIRING YOUR INTENSIVE PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IS WHAT I CALLED THE INSTITUTIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE NATION. BY THAT I MEANT THE INTERLOCKING NETWORK OF ORGANIZATIONS WHICH CONSTITUTE THE ANATOMY OF A CITY - ITS SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES, MUSEUMS, SYNAGOGUES, HOSPITALS, CAFES, THEATERS, BOOKSHOPS, POLITICAL CLUBS, RESTAURANTS, PUBLIC PARKS - ALL THE PLACES WHERE PEOPLE JOIN, MEET, INTERACT, REACT, SHAPE EACH OTHER'S OPINIONS, LEARN FROM EACH OTHER, RUB OFF ON EACH



OTHER, LOVE AND HATE EACH OTHER. THIS NETWORK OF INSTITUTIONS IS THE MATRIX, THE MOLD IN WHICH THE NATION IS SHAPED. ANYONE WHO WISHES TO HAVE INPUT IN THE SHAPING PROCESS MUST POSITION HIMSELF OR HERSELF TO BE OF INFLUENCE. SITTING IN SOME ENGLISH-SPEAKING TOURIST ENCLAVE PUTS YOU OUTSIDE THE KITCHEN WHERE THE STEW IS BREWING.

ISRAELI UNIVERSITIES MUST HAVE THE BENEFIT OF WESTERN YOUNGSTERS AND ADULTS ALIKE TO ADD AN INGREDIENT TO THE CAMPUS. ISRAELI CITIZENS WHO HEAR AMERICAN-ACCENTED HEBREW COMING FROM THE COUPLE SITTING NEXT TO THEM ON THE HARD BENCH OF THE KUPAT CHOLIM CLINIC WILL FEEL BETTER, BECAUSE THESE AMERICANS ARE ACTING NOT AS SUPERIORS BUT AS EQUALS, TAKING THE SAME POTLUCK. YOU CAN GO TO A DIFFERENT SYNAGOGUE IN JERUSALEM 750 SHABBATOT IN A ROW, AND BY THAT TIME YOU WILL HAVE SEEN AND HEARD EVERY KNOWN VERSION OF A BAR MITZVAH, INCLUDING FOOD, CLOTHING, MUSIC, DANCE, THAT THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF EXPERIENCE HAVE PRODUCED. THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE FOR TOURISTS LOOKS LIKE THE ONE IN SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA AND QUEENS IN BROOKLYN.

DIG DEEP - GO TO POLITICAL PARTY MEETINGS - LISTEN TO THE ARGUMENTS - LEARN SOMETHING ABOUT THE BOSSES - SMELL OUT WHAT DOESN'T SMELL GOOD - AND SPEAK YOUR PIECE. ARGUE FOR IDEALISM - ARGUE AGAINST EXPEDIENCY - PLEAD FOR HIGHER MORALITY - TALK ABOUT JEWISH ETHICS AND PROPHETIC JUSTICE - EXPRESS THE THINGS YOU BELIEVE AND DON'T LET ANYBODY MOCK OR SCORN YOUR NAIVETE. SOMEONE MUST STAND UP FOR ALL THE VALUES WHICH RELIGION TEACHES. AND THE SOMEONE MUST NOT BE A FOREIGNER, EVEN A JEW VISITING ON A MISSION. THE SOMEONE MUST BE SOMEONE WHO LIVES THERE, AND CAN SPEAK AS AN EQUAL.

TRUE, IF YOU LIVE THERE FOR 5 YEARS, YOU WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED THE EQUAL OF SOMEONE WHO CAME FROM A DP CAMP IN 1948 - BUT YOU NEVER WILL BE, EVEN IF YOU LIVE THERE FOR 55 YEARS. SO DON'T FALL PREY TO THE INFERIORITY COMPLEX. THE MINUTE THAT YOU TAKE ROOT AS ANYTHING MORE THAN A TOURIST, A FEW-DAY VISITOR, GRASP YOUR RIGHTS AND EXERCISE THEM. A LITTLE AGGRESSION NEVER HURTS.

YOU MAY SAY TO ME THAT ISRAEL'S PROBLEMS OF THE FAILING DREAM ARE SO REAL - POTENTIAL CIVIL WAR ALONG ETHNIC LINES; INTENSE RELIGIOUS CLASHES; A MILITARY



ECONOMY FOR THE LONG FORSEEABLE FUTURE; A PRECARIOUS AND EVER-WORSENING FINANCIAL STRUCTURE; POPULIST GOVERNMENT, POSSIBLY TENDING TOWARDS FASCISM - THE PROBLEMS ARE SO REAL THAT THESE REMEDIES I AM SUGGESTING ARE INFANTILE, EVEN LUDICROUS AND MEANINGLESS. SO WHAT IF SOME WESTERN-EDUCATED ELITE LEADERSHIP-TYPES LEARN HEBREW AND COME TO LIVE AND PARTICIPATE IN WAVES AND RELAYS, SPENDING A YEAR, OR TWO OR EVEN FIVE. HOW CAN THIS POSSIBLY RE-NAVIGATE THE COURSE?

DEAR FRIENDS - DEAR COMRADES-IN-ARMS - ONCE AGAIN EVERYTHING COMES DOWN TO THE STRENGTH OF AN IDEAL. THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT LOSS IN ISRAEL TODAY IS THE LOSS OF BELIEF. THERE IS STILL DEEP CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY OF THE ARMY TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY. BEYOND THAT ALMOST EVERY IDEAL HAS BEEN ERODED. YOUR COMING TO LIVE FOR A WHILE AND TO SHARE AND SHAPE, NOT BECAUSE YOU ARE RUNNING IN FEAR FROM SOME OPPRESSIVE REGIME, BUT THROUGH CHOICE, BECAUSE YOU SIMPLY WANT TO, IS THE GREATEST RESTORATIVE ISRAEL COULD HAVE. YOUR RE-STATEMENT OF THE IDEAL WHICH MOTIVATES YOU TO WORK FOR ISRAEL ON THE OUTSIDE, IN THE FORM OF COMING TO LIVE WITH ISRAEL ON THE INSIDE, IS THE MOST ELOQUENT ACT OF HEALING YOU COULD POSSIBLY PERFORM. YOU COME AND YOU HELP RESTORE FAITH IN THE IDEAL. IT'S AS SIMPLE AS THAT.

THE NATION NEEDS THIS FROM YOU NOW. MALAISE IS DEEP, BOTH INSIDE ISRAEL AND THROUGHOUT THE DIASPORA. THE EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR HAVE CAUSED THE LAMP OF FAITH TO BURN LOW. TURN IT UP BRIGHT AGAIN WITH THE ENERGY OF YOUR YOUTH AND THE POWER OF YOUR CONVICTION. THE PASSIONS ARE THE ONLY ORATORS WHO ALWAYS PERSUADE, SAID A FRENCH PHILOSOPHER. THEY ARE LIKE SOME MAGICALLY INFALLIBLE LAW OF NATURE AND THE SIMPLEST MAN, ENDOWED WITH PASSION, PERSUADES BETTER THAN THE MOST ELOQUENT MAN WHO LACKS IT.

THERE ARE ONLY TWO INGREDIENTS OF TRUE LEADERSHIP: EARTHLY REALISM AND SKY-SCRAPING VISION. VISION IS NEEDED NOW, FOR REALISM APPEARS TO BE DETERIORATING INTO PESSIMISM.

LISTEN TO SHIMON PERES' WORDS OF EUGLOGY ABOUT HIS BELOVED MENTOR. THESE WORDS ARE YOUR SPUR TO ACTION.



"BEN GURION'S APPEARANCE ON THE STAGE OF JEWISH HISTORY CAME ABOUT AT A FATEFUL HOUR FOR OUR PEOPLE. THEY WERE A PEOPLE ACCUSTOMED TO DISASTER; HE WAS A MAN ACCUSTOMED TO FAITH. HE TRANSCENDED THE DISASTER OF HIS PEOPLE AND INSPIRED THEM WITH HIS EXTRAORDINARY FAITH. HE GAVE THEM A NEW SECURITY, A CREATIVE PRIDE. HE CONQUERED THEIR DESPAIR, AROUSED THEIR DYNAMIC INSTINCT AND APPEALED TO THEIR LATENT HEROISM; HE DEMANDED OF THEM HARD WORK AND DETERMINATION AND JUSTICE. HE LED THEM IN THEIR WARS, HE FOUGHT THEIR NEGATIVE HABITS. HE GUIDED AND CONSOLED, WARNED AND ENCOURAGED, HE TOLD THE TRUTH AND HE TOLD OF HIS VISIONS. HIS ARM WAS STRONG AND HIS SOUL WAS PURE. BUT ABOVE ALL ELSE HE EMBODIED THE SPIRIT OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE; A GREAT AND OBSTINATE SPIRIT, A REBELLIOUS AND STORMY SPIRIT, A SPIRIT THAT CHALLENGES THE RULES OF CREATION, A BELIEVING AND CREATIVE SPIRIT. AND DAVID BEN GURION, ALONE OF HIS GENERATION, NOT ONLY SYMBOLIZED THIS SPIRIT, HE WAS ITS GUIDE. THE WIND BLEW AND HE MAINTAINED ITS STRENGTH; HE GAVE IT DIRECTION AND HE ROSE WITH IT TO THE HEIGHTS WHERE THE PAST AND THE FUTURE MEET AGAIN, WHERE THE VAST PERSPECTIVES DO NOT DIMINISH MANKIND BUT ENDOW HIM WITH NEW ENERGY AND THE WILL TO FIGHT.

IN MIGHT AND IN SPIRIT. HE STOOD UP TO BOTH. HE DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN THEM. AND THROUGH THEM HE TAUGHT US THAT THE TIME FOR SATISFACTION HAD NOT YET ARRIVED; THAT WE STILL HAD A LONG WAY TO GO, AND THAT IF WE SPREAD THE SAILS WITH CARE, THE WIND OF HIS SPIRIT WOULD CONTINUE TO FILL THEM, GUIDING US ON TOWARD THE NEW DAWN OF THE JEWISH NATION."

THAT OLD TRUTH MUST BECOME YOUR NEW INVOLVEMENT.

GIVE ISRAEL ALL YOU HAVE - YOURSELVES - AND YOU WILL HELP STEER THROUGH THE PRESENT ERA OF DOUBT AND CONFUSION TO A CLEARER MORE CONFIDENT FUTURE CLOSER TO THE DREAM OF WHAT WE WANT HER TO BE. YOU CAN DO IT.



# SOMETHING TO BELIEVE IN

Delivered by

**HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN**

Executive Chairman

to the United Jewish Appeal  
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## MORAL CONFUSION IN AMERICA

This is a frightening time. There appears to be a moral confusion. Nobody knows what to believe in. So many persons, not only the young, turn from reality and seek escape. Drugs tempt; a new, very open and permissive attitude toward sex appears; parental guidance about values is rejected, because the children believe the parents to be hypocrites. This may be the Age of Aquarius, but certainly not of inquisitiveness, of searching for goals in life. This is a time when the drifter, the hedonist, the non-directed, the ostrich person appears to have become dominant - and the concerned person is either a rebellious black, or a rebellious youth, or a rebellious Jew. The great silent majority certainly is.

A shock is vibrating slowly throughout America today. What did we do at My Lai? Was this really done by nice clean-cut American boys, brought up in 4-H clubs, taught to drink orange juice for vitamin C, players of basketball? Did they shoot the babies in the head, the women in the belly as casually as the newspaper reports seem to indicate? American boys are not Nazis, trained to do atrocities, hardened by a sadistic machine. How, then, could this have occurred? The country is bewildered, and like some huge blind Samson, hunched over, reeling, tries to pierce through the blackness to find some inkling of what is happening to itself.

Obviously, there are no simple answers. It was not Captain this one or Lt. that one - it was not one villain of any rank - nor was it the whole general staff of all ranks. Horrible, outrageous, obscene, unforgivable, brutality appears to have taken place that day, not as an "accident of war", to use the disgusting phrase of some official whose name I have happily forgotten - but because of the moral breakdown.

Depart from the details of this episode, for a moment. Much will yet be written as to whether the village did or did not harbor Viet Cong; much will be said as to whether the slaughtered old men and women were really so innocent or not; much testimony will emerge concerning the duty of soldiers to obey orders, or whether orders actually were issued by some commander, or not;



much will be told of the provocation of the men, who had lost so many buddies killed in and near this village. Our purpose here is not to conduct a court of inquiry. Let us leave alone the details and look instead at the event in its broadest sense.

Young men, some black and most white, have seared the soul of their country by a deed which caused millions of Americans, let alone all others in the world, to experience a cold shudder of fear about what kind of a nation we have become. Particularly since we have always pridefully considered ourselves to be the exact opposite of what we now look like. Our shame may yet turn to panic, if self-doubt becomes acute enough.

Let me warn against this. National guilt could develop in unhealthy directions. People could begin to look for scapegoats. This would not be good. Instead we must look for the most reasonable cause, and attempt to remove it. The explanation I suggested seems most logical - moral breakdown and lack of values. Senator Fulbright used the same words the other day. He said (3 December 1969), "We are susceptible to the same virus of brutalization that other societies have come to, and nothing contributes more to a moral breakdown of a society than the long continuation of an unjust and an unnecessary war."

So - here it is. The very war itself is so unpopular with so many Americans - and there is such confusion as to whether we should be fighting it - and there is such a widespread lack of belief in its purpose - and there is such a tremendous malaise among the youth, those called to do the actual fighting - that there is little wonder one president was rejected because of it, and another is being judged by what he does about it. Thank God, turning against the leader in America does not bring bloody revolution and mass executions with it. To that extent, at least we are still the most civilized nation on earth. But lack of faith in the leader is exactly a sign of lack of direction and values in the society.

The long war in far-off Asia drags on; the black-white war in far-off Los Angeles, Chicago and New York drags on; the old-young war in every household drags on; and America falters in this age of her most brilliant technical achievements. We are the world's benefactor in medicine, biology, physics, communications - and our men walk on the moon, preparing for the long leap into black space. It's so beautiful - so cool, yet so sad. Technical skill will not redeem this nation, nor heal its soul unless we discover once again some transcendental purpose, such as the Pilgrim Founding Fathers possessed.

In mass media magazines recently, there appeared a two-page full-color advertisement showing a shiny new 1970 automobile with the caption, "Something To Believe In." A car is not something to believe in. It is an inanimate object, made so its occupants are killed if the object is heavily impacted. It is a toy, for grown men to tinker with. It is a status symbol, like a string of crocodile teeth in other cultures. It is even a sex substitute, with its attractive brutal power. But it is not something to believe in. A car is many things but it is



not a goal, it is not a value, it is not an ideal, it is not a purpose. And if this concept that a car is something to believe in, really represents American thinking, then we are in deep, deep trouble.

The soul of America bleeds and hungers - we don't want to do massacres - we yearn instead for some higher challenge - and what are we offered? A car to believe in. This is absurd! No wonder there is cop-out and freak-out and turn-away.

Rise, America, and find yourself again! Three centuries ago the first immigrants to these shores came with some beautiful ideas and in spite of much obscurantism in their lives, they laid foundations for a rational society based on tolerance and equality which gave America the halo we wish would shine again. Two centuries ago a tremendous burst of idealism exploded into a revolution followed by the creation of a form of government so nearly perfect that no major changes have been required over this long period. One century ago we suffered a huge inner convulsion as we tried to solve the black question afflicting us so sorely. The question bothers us, precisely because we do know which is the moral way and because the national goal is in conflict with individual white prejudice.

If we have had in the past, three, two and one century ago, periods of moral clarity, in which the nation and citizens were suffused with the heat and passion of creative achievement and struggle for goals which seemed meaningful - then once again America must find the path on which to go, so that health and balance and pride can be re-established. A healthy America will always give birth to a Martin Luther King, who will seek to articulate high goals for the nation; a sick America will always murder him.

We are Jews, not only Americans. As Jews, thank God, we do not have this malaise. We are not afflicted by this moral confusion. If there is one thing we do have, it is a sure and certain sense of purpose, set of values and clarity of goal. Our 4000-year-old purpose is to create a decent society on earth; our values place man above property; and our goal is to survive so that we can achieve our purpose. These mandates constitute a unique mission which we are expected to discharge until the Messiah arrives to announce that we have succeeded. Under these terms we will be creatively busy for a long time.

### ISRAEL AT WAR

As Jews, our greatest moral obligation is to Israel. Israel too is at war - but this is not an unpopular one, because her people understand it, support it, sacrifice for it, and hope that eventually it will bring them peace, paradoxical as that may sound. The war in Israel is not for the sake of expanding territory, or taking hostages, or acquiring raw materials. It is not even ideological. The war is being fought so that she can live - nothing more complicated than that. Hence there is no moral confusion - for when a man is fighting for his life,



against an enemy who constantly threatens to destroy him, that man thinks in very simple and direct terms. The Prime Minister stated the principle quite clearly (in a luncheon to an Editors Committee on 28 November 1969):

"Our first injunction is to live, and for that we have to fight for our independent survival. If we do not wish to be killed, then we have to shoot back. When one fires, someone else gets killed."

The war is causing heavy casualties. In all the fire-fights, skirmishes, raids, ambushes, patrols, shellings, heavy bombings, there are dead and wounded every single day, relentlessly. The totals, since the 6-Day War, up to 22 November 1969, are:

	<u>Dead</u>	<u>Wounded</u>
soldiers	404	1354
civilians	84	543
	488	1897

More manpower is needed - and the men above 49, up to age 55, are also placed in the reserves now, subject to mobilization. For those under 49, new regulations call for service of 50 to 60 days per year on active duty. The saying now is that all civilians are in the army with 10 months leave per year.

In the face of all this, morale is very high. An Israeli spokesman (one of the generals, speaking to a weekly flight group in early December 1969) recently analyzed the mood of the country. "The people were never so united despite the high taxes, the daily casualties and the lack of prospects for peace. Israel is unique - a state with the mission of providing shelter for every Jew in the world who needs or wishes to come. One big Jewish community in the world wishes to leave for Israel but cannot because it lives in a great prison. We think that prison will open sooner than many believe. We need a big shelter for that great exodus. That is why we are confident we can stand on these borders no matter how long, no matter how difficult. The quality of the army is improving day by day and the quality gap between Israel and the Arab states grows wider year by year. For Israel's future we rely not only on that quality gap but also on world Jewry. The destinies of a nation are determined by the quality of its youth. Israel's youth serves gallantly and devotedly. It knows no university riots, no drugs. Its ambition is to be better than the parents."

The time for terrible testing is likely to come again soon. On 16 October, Moshe Dayan gave warning that a combined onslaught from both the Egyptian and Jordanian fronts next summer was possible. He urged the inhabitants of the Beth Shean and northern Jordan valley to strengthen their shelters against Jordanian and Iraqi artillery battalions facing their settlements. He said that



next summer Israel expected a redoubled Arab offensive, and that he could not even guarantee a quiet winter.

On 7 November 1969, Nasser proved him right, in a violent speech before the Egyptian National Assembly. He declared there was no alternative but war and said, "There is no other way to get out of our situation except by violence and force on a sea of blood and under a horizon blazing with fire." He accused the United States of assuming "the position of our enemy. Our friend is the Soviet Union." He said Egypt had put half a million men under arms. The Assembly burst into thunderous applause at his declaration that "the Palestinian commandos are here to stay until the Palestinian nation is established." He called for an Arab summit meeting and thanked the people of Egypt for their willingness to endure.

The New York Times next day headlined its editorial "Nasser Takes the Wrong Road", and commented "Although he speaks as if from strength, the Egyptian President's bombast in fact betrays desperate weakness."

A few days after his speech, agreement was reached by Foreign and Defense Ministers of 13 Arab States, to hold the summit meeting he requested. Time - 20 December (eight days from now); Place - Rabat, Morocco; Agenda - "mobilization and preparedness for the inevitable battle."

On 23 November, Mr. Eban declared that the forthcoming Arab summit was being convened to discuss plans for a renewal of war - active preparation for war. He noted that Nasser had now even abandoned his pretense of being interested in peace.

There is no sense in speculation. In a few days we shall know the tenor of the meeting and the intent behind the resolutions. Whatever they say or publish, it is clear that it will not be an offer to sit and negotiate peace. They are clearly on the path toward intensification of the war; escalation of weaponry and activities; greater vigor in their attacks. We should prepare for the worst, and hope that what happens will be not quite so bad.

Any attempt to generalize is difficult and dangerous, but the following observations can be made of the situation at this moment:

1. Israel is confident it will win another war, if it comes.
2. Israel's whole effort is to deter another war, by constant demonstrations to Egypt that she cannot win.
3. The daily airforce strikes, and occasional land raids, are intended to dampen the Egyptian will to fight, by showing her she is not prepared.



4. Israel has succeeded in preventing Egyptian seizure of any territory east of the Canal.
5. Israeli strategy has been to try to force a return to the cease-fire, but this has failed. The Arab states do not even maintain the pretense of a cease-fire. Rather, they say it does not exist.
6. Israel is not in favor of capturing territory deep within enemy country. The strategic policy is essentially defensive, maintaining a defense line, supplemented with counter-blows, in depth and breadth, in unexpected places, to hit out at them, hit out but return. (Dayan statement September 1969).

In a major review, Dayan stated on 11 November 1969, that Israel's strategic objective was "to prevent escalation to all-out war." Putting it simply, he said: "We want the Arabs to reach the conclusion that they will lose the next war."

In the same review, he gave some statistics on Arab re-armament. All losses of the 6-Day War have been more than made up with newer and better equipment. The combined Arab strength is now 60% greater in airpower and 50% greater in armor than before the war.

Gen. Mohammed Fawzy, Egyptian War Minister in a speech to the National Assembly, on 17 November, said that the Soviet Union was supplying weapons and equipment of a kind which Egypt never had before. The Egyptian mission in Russia this very day may well be discussing details of new transactions.

#### FATAH, TERRORISM, AND SABOTAGE

The level of guerrilla activity in the occupied areas is increasing. It is estimated that there are 8000 active Arab terrorists, and about 2000 have been killed since the war. The Fatah have obtained world-wide publicity, as have other commando organizations. They give interviews to journalists, open their training camps to photographers, boast of conquests, take credit for bombings, explosions, air hijackings, and indeed have developed enough audacity to challenge established Arab governments in Lebanon and Jordan, and to make deals in Cairo. They are constantly caught by the police and army. There are now more than 3000 in prison in Israel, yet they are well supplied with more recruits and plenty of money to keep their operations going. It is quite clear they are a phenomenon which will not disappear, and therefore Israel's best efforts will simply contain them and reduce their effectiveness.

The real and more important question for Israeli authorities is how to handle the million Arabs in the occupied areas among whom the terrorists hide.



Dayan has insisted on a policy of giving the Arabs as much freedom as possible - letting them govern themselves, with the Israeli army almost invisible; run their own schools; truck their produce across the open bridges to Amman; send their children to universities anywhere in the Arab world; receive money from their relatives as far afield as Kuwait; take jobs in Israel; receive their health and welfare services from Israeli ministries. In other words, he feels they should be treated as much like Israeli citizens as is possible recognizing that they might hate Israel in their hearts, but believing that the great bulk of them will remain quiet under these liberal circumstances. And underneath it all, unspoken, is the Jewish ethic about how one should treat the stranger in one's midst.

There is an alternative, of course. That would be to maintain a standard army of occupation, with very strict regulations of curfew, non-fraternization; showing the heavy and obvious hand of military government everywhere; disregarding poverty among the vanquished; closing the bridges and giving no access to neighboring Arab states. That alternative is considered much less desirable.

With a liberal policy firmly established and working, what should the Israeli attitude be toward the Arab who gives refuge to a guerrilla, or watches him plant a mine without reporting it, or witnesses a terrorist act but does not cooperate with the investigating authorities? Should the house of such an Arab be blown up?

Up to now, Israel's policy has been to blow up the empty house, after carefully removing all inhabitants and furnishings, of those who are caught actively participating in acts of terror, and also of those who are caught actively cooperating with the perpetrators. No house is blown up without concrete and specific evidence. Under this policy, the total of demolitions since the war, until 30 October 1969, has been 388 houses, of which 220 were in West Bank and 168 in Gaza Strip.

The new and more severe policy now in effect for the past month or so, has been called "neighborhood punishment" and includes the houses of those who are aware of an act of terror and remain passive while it takes place - i.e. do not interfere with the perpetrator nor call the Israeli authorities. In reply to a question concerning the moral justification of such punishment, Mr. Dayan replied that it must be judged as a situation where the terrorist is waiting in ambush in the doorway of a shop to throw a grenade from there at a vehicle of the Israel army, with the knowledge of and shelter provided by the shopkeeper. The moral question is whether the shopkeeper, who did not actually throw the grenade, should be free from punishment. The practical question is that if the shopkeeper is not duly punished all the shops will become jungle which will serve as a hide-out for Fatah terrorists and enable them to throw grenades at will.



Dayan says, "I am aware of the fact that by the liberty they enjoy to arrange their lives independently and by the freedom they have to send their children to universities in Cairo and Damascus, they are actually given the opportunity to get organized for enemy activity against us...But we have to arrive at a co-existence with them. That is why I am against closing the bridges and locking them in. Since the other side is not ready to sign peace treaties with us yet, we are the ones who have to build the blueprints for that kind of co-existence which will have to be. They must be able to send their children to universities in Arab countries like we are free to send ours to America and France...Maybe this is a more difficult way than conquering Amman or Cairo or Damascus, but it is more realistic."

Most important of all is the self-restraint of Israel. There is no mob violence against Arabs - either in the West Bank or in old Israel. It is simply not permitted. The other day, in Acre, when a car full of explosives, driven by two Israeli Arabs, blew up, hundreds of police and soldiers immediately moved in to prevent a crowd of Jewish youth from breaking into the Arab quarter to do violence. Some stones were thrown, gangs swirled through the streets for a few hours, some Jewish kids were arrested for beating up Arabs - and gradually it all subsided when the people saw the police meant business. The New York Times headline (24 November) was beautiful - "Israeli Police Bar Attacks on Arabs."

The most dramatic aspect of this self-restraint is that there has not been a single death sentence passed on any terrorist, even those known to have caused death. Mrs. Meir said proudly (28 November) that Israeli policies in the areas are still the most liberal ever pursued by any army in a territory it occupied. "We must not forget that two and a half years after the war, despite all the acts perpetrated in the areas, there is not and I hope there will not be a single death sentence carried out, even in cases where terrorists have been caught in the act. I do not know if there are any parallels anywhere else in the world."

Thus, the conclusion would appear to be that terrorism is part of the long war with which Israel must learn to live; that it cannot be completely eliminated; that the best attitude toward it is to keep cool, and not be tempted to depart from the essentially liberal policy of Arab self-administration, open bridges, no death sentences and no mob violence.

#### ECONOMICS OF THE WAR

1. The present rate of defense expenditure is \$3 million per day - over \$1 billion per year.
2. The defense costs will consume more than 40% of the total budget - and more than 80% of taxation income; which leaves less than 20% for all social welfare services.



3. Defense expenditures in foreign currency for 1970 will be around \$550 million.
4. Defense expenditures are about 25% of the total GNP.
5. There will be a deficit in the dollar account with the United States in fiscal 1970 of almost \$100 million. This means that dollar purchases in the United States will be greater than dollar flow to Israel from all sources.
6. Dollar reserves in Israel are dropping dangerously. The total is already down to \$450 million - and will continue to go down and down next year. Israel is importing at the rate of \$200 million per month. Her reserve at this point can barely cover two months worth of imports.
7. Every child born in Israel today has a mortgage on his head of approximately \$700. This represents the accumulated debt of the government, mostly for defense expenditures.
8. Perhaps the simplest way to sum it all up is to say that defense costs in 1970 will be more than twice as much as defense costs during 1967, including the 6-Day War itself.

IMMIGRATION, ABSORPTION, HOUSING,  
AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION

It was estimated in September 1969 (and that estimate may already be low in view of certain events which have transpired since) that the non-military expenditures including social service, as well as immigration and absorption costs, would approximate \$750 million for 1970; of which about \$500 million would be in non-governmental areas of traditional philanthropic responsibility as follows:

	<u>\$ million</u>
Immigration, transportation, absorption, social welfare services	135
Immigrant health services, maintained at 1968 levels	60
Education (non-compulsory; pre-kindergarten, secondary, vocational)	75
Institutions of Higher Learning	55
Youth care and training	10
Absorption in Agricultural settlements (excluding occupied Areas)	40
Immigrant Housing	<u>125</u>
TOTAL	\$500 million



This calculation was based on an estimated immigration for 1970 of 40-50,000 persons. Recent events have caused a revision upward to 60,000 - and the money figures, therefore, will be tens of millions of dollars higher.

The Jewish Agency reception center at Lydda airport has been closed - for it is now inadequate to handle the daily arrivals. Instead the immigrants are taken directly from plane or ship to one of 14 absorption centers located in various parts of the country, and are processed there by Government and Agency officials. Transit visas are exchanged for an Israeli citizenship identification card; arrangements are made with the Jewish Agency for housing; IL 50 cash loans are given to each individual; free sick fund insurance for 6 months; bedding and furniture vouchers are issued - and the job is quickly done.

There is a real housing crisis. The efforts to expedite construction of immigrant housing admittedly is running into difficulties. Minister Mordecai Bentov recently stated, "The position with regard to supply of housing for new immigrants is becoming graver and graver." He said that attempts to restrict public building and regulate construction so that workers and raw materials could be diverted to immigrant buildings have not been very effective as yet.

The situation has been summarized as follows:

1. A total of 20,000 housing units would be required for the mass influx of 1970. This would be obtained as follows:
  - a. 8000 conventional apartments are under construction for 1970.
  - b. 7000 units will be purchased from private contractors.
  - c. 5000 pre-fabs will be erected.
2. After a great deal of public controversy, it was nevertheless decided to order 1000 aluminum one-story 2-family structures, as temporary housing. Many people were opposed because they wanted no return to the old maabarot of the 1950s, no new "instant slums." While these buildings, are admittedly not permanent, housing experts have admitted, nevertheless they do have a life-span of 15 years, they are comfortable and not ugly, and they can be erected quickly to ease the crisis somewhat.
3. There are four additional interim solutions which will be used:
  - a. sending immigrants to kibbutzim, wherever space is available and all parties agree.
  - b. using empty flats in far-away development towns, at least temporarily, where immigrants don't usually want to go, because jobs are scarce.



- c. making newly married couples wait for an apartment.
- d. making large families in over-crowded flats, especially in the slums who had been promised bigger quarters, also wait.

These latter two solutions cause real hardships to veteran members of the population - in favor of the newcomers. But the policy decision remains - that everything possible must be done to give a home to the newest immigrant.

- 4. In order to serve the immigrants and the existing population in 1971, 45,000 housing starts must be made in 1970 - and building costs have increased 40% since the war.

It is clear that there will be many months, perhaps a whole year of difficulties with this housing problem. The Jewish Agency is trying its best to increase bed capacity in the 14 absorption centers, in ulpanim and in hostels for all those who remain in these institutions for 6 months to study Hebrew. The total number of places is being built up to 7500 - which means 13,000, during two 6-month terms. There will still be much individual hardship and maladjustment until once again housing has caught up with the number of arrivals - yet, in a certain sense, what a happy difficulty this is, based upon the rescue and homecoming of so many. Construction will eventually catch up, if the money holds out.

As for employment, Israel today is a country where almost every able-bodied immigrant quickly finds a job. True, many who come with no skill whatsoever, and with literacy problems, often find sub-marginal work which places their income below the poverty line. About one-fourth of Israel's families are below that line, defined at about \$100 per month, and do require social welfare assistance. But on the other end of the vocational ladder, there are today over 2000 job openings for university-trained personnel, according to the Director of the Absorption Unit of the Ministry of Labor. During the year of 1969 about 2500 immigrants with professional academic qualifications will have arrived in Israel, and in addition the various universities and professional schools will have graduated 4000. Even with this, there is still a shortage and many jobs go begging.

Unemployment among immigrant professionals is less than 5%, and most of those are persons with degrees in humanities, economics or law. On the other hand those with technical training such as engineers, natural scientists, architects and doctors are snapped up immediately, even while they are still studying Hebrew at the absorption centers. Re-training courses are given for those whose qualifications are not in demand; and in other individual cases on-the-job training is provided.



### RUSSIAN JEWRY

In the midst of this increased immigration ferment, an old hope has suddenly re-asserted itself in new form. "Soviet Jews have become more daring and militant in their efforts to secure the self-realization denied them in the Soviet Union", says the editorial in the Jerusalem Post (20 Nov. 1969). This refers to a series of letters and appeals which have been made public, and even debated openly in the United Nations, from Jews in Russia who wish to emigrate to Israel.

On 10 November a long letter signed by eighteen families in Georgia, and addressed to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, was released by Ambassador Yosef Tekoah to whom the letter was sent for transmission. These people, not afraid to sign their names and addresses, wrote a terribly moving, touching plea asking for permission to go to Israel. They explained that it was not racial or even religious discrimination in Russia which forced them to leave. Rather it was the national memory of the Jewish people which tugged them to Jerusalem.

They wrote: "Although the dust of Jews is dispersed throughout the world, their memory is alive.

"Their blood is in our veins, our tears are their tears.

"The prophecy has come true: Israel has arisen from the ashes. We have not forgotten Jerusalem and it needs our hands.

"There are eighteen of us who have signed this letter. But whoever thinks there are only eighteen is mistaken. There could have been many more signatures.

"They say that there are only twelve million Jews in the world. But whoever thinks there are only twelve million is mistaken. Because with those who pray for Israel are hundreds of millions, of those who did not live long enough, of those who have been tortured to death, of those who are no longer here. They walk with us in the same ranks, the unvanquished and the ever living, those who have transmitted to us their traditions of struggle and of faith.

"This is why we want to go to Israel.

"We shall wait for months and for years, if necessary for our entire life, but we shall not renounce our faith and our hope.

"We believe: our prayers have reached God.

"We know: our appeals will reach men.

"Because we do not ask for much - let us go to the land of our ancestors."



Tekoah asked U Thant to use his good offices to help the signatories - and thus the plight of Soviet Jewry is now officially brought to the United Nations by Israel for the first time.

Hard on the heels of this letter came the publication of another - this time an open letter addressed to Kosygin from a Moscow Jewish woman Tina Brodetskaya who wrote:

"My desire to go to Israel is caused by national feelings alone, and not by hostility towards the Soviet Union.

"During the Second World War my father was killed at the front. I followed Soviet troops to Germany with my mother - an army physician. I saw German concentration camps and crates with soap inscribed "Jewish fat". I decided there was only one road for me - to live for my people.

"In 1957 I was sentenced to prison for Zionism. My stay in prison did not change my convictions. I don't want to assimilate. My desire to live in Israel is unshakable.

"I have already applied my letters to the leaders of the Soviet Government, but in answer I would receive a postcard with the request to telephone. My phone calls were answered by unknown persons, saying that the right of departure has been refused to me. I am forced to apply to you, Aleksei Nikolayevich Kosygin, in an open letter. There is no other way out for me.

Respectfully yours,"

Following this, there was a special debate in the Knesset on 19 November, attended by President Shazar, in which Premier Golda Meir demanded openly, as an elementary human right, that all Soviet Jews who wish to leave to settle in Israel be allowed to do so. She said the USSR must realize it has failed, after a half century of effort, to silence the Jewish voice and cut them off from the rest of the Jewish world. Therefore, because Russia's leaders are realistic people, they should have the courage to admit their failure and let the Jews go.

After the Knesset debate, there was a mass rally of 20,000 student demonstrators in Tel Aviv expressing solidarity with Soviet Jewry. Again the Prime Minister spoke to the crowd, which had gathered from all the universities in the country, saying: "We know full well what a mighty power stands between us and the Jews of the Soviet Union, but we also know that the Jewish spirit cannot be subdued. Our schools and fields will yet be filled with the young Jews of Russia."

How significant all this must be for her - what memories and hopes it must evoke. She herself came from Russia - more than seven decades ago - then served in Russia as first Ambassador - more than two decades ago. And



now at the height of her career and power, she speaks for the Jews of Russia, calling them home, and when she visualizes the fields full of them, she undoubtedly thinks of herself again as a young girl - and what idealism she brought to Israel and what she gave it, of herself, and what it would mean for Israel to be strengthened and enriched by myriads such as she.

A third document reached the United Nations just two weeks ago (25 November 1969), from a widow who claimed that her son, a writer, was expelled from the writers union because he applied for emigration to Israel, and the two of them are now living on her pension of 49 rubles per month - approximately \$50. When he tried to get his job back, he was told to "repent". Her letter to the United Nations ends thusly:

"Dear Sirs, I am an old woman and for over ten years I have been bedridden with a serious illness. I have no possibility of following my son. But I apply to you with the most insistent request that a mother can make: help my son to leave this country. There is such a thing as conscience in this world and someone must hear our pain: we have given this country everything we had. I have lost my husband here, the father of my children, a person whose entire life had been given to Russia. Is this sacrifice not enough? Must my son become a new victim, just as terrible and senseless? Who needs this?

"I cannot and do not want to believe that the Soviet Government needs this. But my voice and my appeals do not reach the Soviet Government through your great international organization.

"Dear Sirs: I want to believe that you will add your authoritative voice to the voice of a mother.

"Please let me know the results of my appeal.

Yours respectfully,

Elizaveta Isaakovna Kapshitzer"

One thing is clear. The whole question of the fate and future of Soviet Jewry - rights to emigrate, to express identity, to organize, to seek self-expression internally - is now very much on the open agenda of world public opinion. Out of all this renewed activity only good can come for those Jews - for they are no longer so silent - and therefore the world cannot be either.

And so the next great move in the historic drama of Jewish Migration is perhaps gestating slowly and laboriously. It is like the heavy steady surging of the seas below the frozen Polar ice. Nothing can be seen or even felt until some break occurs, and then the water pours and pounds in all its demonic fury. Thus maybe the tidal wave of hundreds and thousands, perhaps even millions of Russian Jews will come crashing on Israel's shores in a historic rush toward home.



With the deepest joy in our hearts will we welcome that day - and provide whatever it takes to embrace the wave and make it ours.

At the same time, whenever we speak or think of Russian Jewry, we must always be alert to that other aspect of the problem - equal rights inside the Soviet Union for Jewish religious, cultural, linguistic and communal self-expression. Over and over have the responsible Jewish organizations documented the case, explained it to the United States government, presented it to Russian officials, sought ways to bring it to public attention without being shrill or demagogic. Over and over has it been demonstrated that the Jews in the Soviet Union are called a nationality, individuals are so labelled in their passports, and yet the concomitant attributes of nationality are not permitted - neither a newspaper, nor press, nor literary journals, nor federation of communities, nor rabbinical seminary, nor membership in international Jewish organizations, nor any tool or instrument, in Yiddish or Hebrew, which a nationality should legitimately be entitled to, and which scores of other nationalities in Russia do enjoy, to express national sentiments and aspirations.

Thus - as we hope and pray for the migration, the reunification of families, the freedom to choose to live in Israel - so too do we seek for the freedom of Jewish self-expression inside the Soviet Union.

#### JDC - JEWS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Our warm feeling for the Jews of Russia is not unique. It is simply a part of that totality of concern which unites all Jews in one tightly linked brotherhood. More than fifty years ago the concern was formalized in the creation of a remarkable organization with a global outlook and a mandate to extend relief to any and all Jews anywhere on this planet who needed it. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee has done just that with efficiency and affection through wars and revolution, droughts and floods, earthquakes and fires, the Nazi period, the DP era and the various mass migrations as the Jews of the world have passed through the cataclysms of this century.

Quietly and modestly, working with a small professional elite of many skills, the JDC has fought hunger and disease in far-off continents and remote countries: taught children in dozens of languages and fed them at the same time; soothed the aged; trained the unskilled by subsidizing the programs of ORT; and sustained religious tradition. Large-scale programs are set up, local Jewish personnel recruited to help carry them out, American and Israeli experts brought in to advise - and then as time passes and problems are solved, some programs are dismantled and new ones inaugurated according to need. The whole outlook is flexible and professional.



For 1970, about \$24 million will be required to assist almost one-third of a million people. This money will be spent in four main areas:

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1. General relief in cash, in kind, and in feeding   | 30% |
| 2. Care of the aged and sick   | 25% |
| 3. Educational, cultural and religious activities  | 25% |
| 4. Miscellaneous services, such as children's homes, summer camps, loan funds, sheltered workshops | 20% |

Geographically, the funds will be apportioned approximately as follows:

	\$million
1. Israel	7
2. Western Europe	3
3. Eastern Europe almost	2
4. Relief in transit	3
5. Arab and Moslem Countries	4
6. ORT	2 1/2
7. All miscellaneous programs, one-time grants, and operating costs	2 1/2
	<u>24 million</u>

Looking into the years ahead, there are four discernible trends regarding distribution of expenditures:

1. Decrease in Western Europe, as the local Jewish communities grow stronger.
2. Increase in Eastern Europe, if channels for assistance remain open.
3. Significant increase in Israel, in response to expanding requirements for handicapped newcomers and others.
4. Decrease in Moslem countries, as emigration continues.

All these generalizations and statistics tend to obscure the human beings involved. The whole program can best be understood by picturing individuals. Think of an Egyptian Jew, who has been jailed in Cairo then helped to get out, and is now in Paris gradually overcoming his feelings of terror, but is penniless and must come each week to a small office to draw a few francs of relief money from JDC.



Think of a Rumanian Jew living in the Carpathian Mountains, waiting for an exit visa to get out, meanwhile enduring a freezing winter, needing a warm coat and wood for fuel, which he can receive from the local synagogue through funds provided by JDC. Think of a Polish Jew, expelled in this present anti-Semitic period, sitting in Rome waiting for a visa to Canada which is being processed for him by UHS and during the months of waiting, eating his daily meals at the expense of the JDC. Think of a Czech or Hungarian or German Jew, broken and tormented by Hitler, now living out his last years, in the beautiful peace of a flower-strewn village for the aged in Israel, with even pocket money provided for his dignity by the JDC. Think of all this in terms of men who have suffered much, women who are worn and tired, children for whom a good future can blot out early memories of hardships and anguish.

This work shall go on, responding to one crisis or another, meeting the ongoing needs, so long as Jews anywhere call for help.

## AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES CONCLUSION

The path ahead is quite clear. No one can predict specific events as they will occur, but general trends are set. There will be no peace but war. The Jewish people in Israel will be fighting on many fronts. There will be war along the Canal and terrorism along the Jordan. There will be political tension, possible world disapproval and struggle along the East River. There will be huge economic strain, danger of collapse, shrinking of reserves, and terrific ingenuity required, to avoid running out of money and credit. There will be human agony as every nerve and muscle of an overworked population is stretched to capacity performance.

At the same time there will be the continuous superhuman effort to maintain the high pace of immigrant absorption. For in our queer stubborn appraisal of the meaning of our existence, we will feel that we have lost the war if we close the door on a single immigrant. The immigration, in a sense, is also a war we dare not lose, for if we lose it only once, we have lost self-esteem and *raison d'etre*. Fighting the military war, taking the casualties, spending the treasure, becomes meaningful and makes sense, so long as the sovereignty so painfully won is utilized to give the precious gift of freedom to every Jew who comes.

To those who ask for the word of hope - this is exactly it. There will be another year of war ahead - but during that year 60,000 men, women and children will be rescued. There will be senseless waste of money on war in the year ahead - but there will also be fruitful creation of homes and farms and schools. There is no alternative to the war - and there is no other way to peace except by holding on in strength - but there is also creative building during this same period, so time is not being wasted. One year from now, when we meet again, the war may still be on, but the Jewish people in Israel



and throughout the world will be one year stronger and healthier if we all do our share properly. Let each year go on this way, and slowly the road toward peace will open, for the other side will surely realize they must adjust, and we meanwhile will have continued to build each year so that land and people grow.

The Jewish people outside Israel is joined in this struggle totally and irrevocably. Vast sums are required. Much more than was ever contributed before. Much more than was given in the year of the Six Day War. One-quarter of a billion dollars - 250 million dollars - must be raised in 1970. Forget all previous standards. There are no yardsticks by which to measure. A treasure must be poured forth, if a people is to be saved. Our philanthropic dollars will be used as always to pay for the great immigrant absorption programs, including health and welfare and higher education and housing and farming and youth care and much, much more. These hundreds of millions of dollars must be spent by us, the free Jews of the outside world, for inside Israel, beleaguered on all borders, her citizens are busy with many other matters. Tens of thousands of new souls will be brought to Israel in the year ahead and become fulfilled, if we pay for it. We must and will.

Duty and courage were always fierce and fiery words. They moved Moses and David and Ezra and the Maccabees. And they move the sons of Israel today. But vision and perseverance were perhaps even more important words - because they gave sustenance for the long, long endurance required to face a future with confidence.

Isaiah said (9:9):

"Bricks are fallen, but we will build with hewn stones;

"Sycamores are cut down, but cedars will we put in their place".

Malachi said (1:4):

"We are beaten down, but we will return and build the waste places".

And so we have - and so we do - and so we always will - look to the future. This is our genius. We coined the concept of Messiah - which simply signifies the setting of far future goals, with faith in their attainment.

It is all a matter of faith - something to believe in - a higher hope and a wider destiny to draw us forward. How happy are we children of Israel that our God and ancestors imposed a vision which demanded of us and consumed and drove us, so there was no time to doubt or waver.

Remember the moratorium march in Washington last month? One keen reporter (Pete Hamill) ended his account with these words: "At 5:52 PM on 15 November, the last chorus ended and the sixties were over. They had begun in hope, and when the crowd drifted away, there was no feeling left except remorse and loss and waste. The country had failed these children, and you could promise them nothing any more except a dark and fearful future".



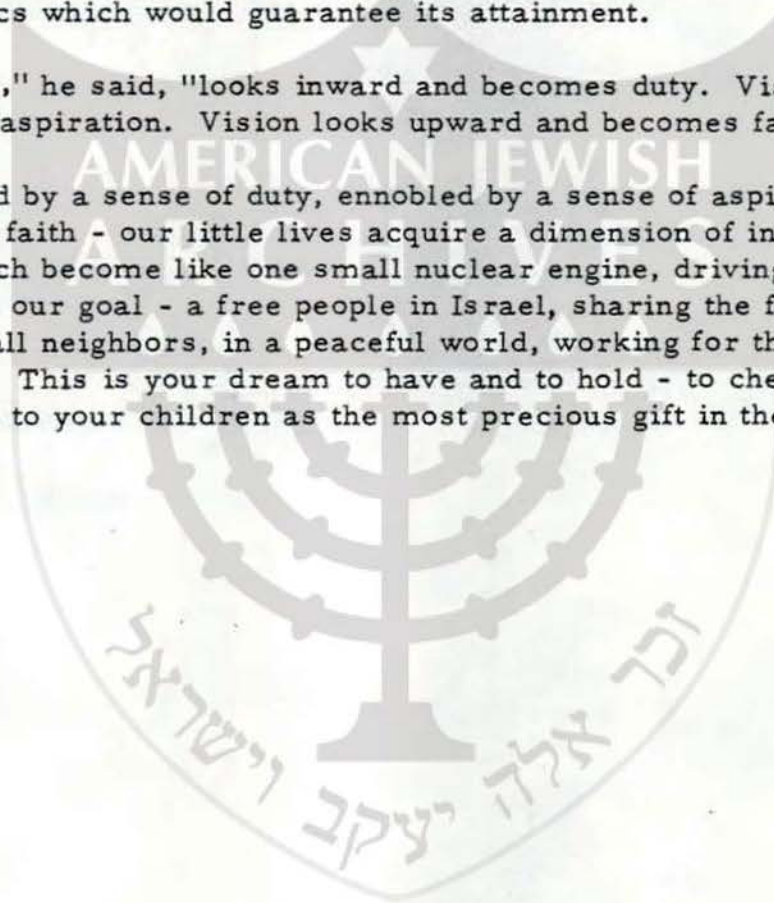
What promise lies before our children, the children of Israel? Do we send them out into the dark, promising nothing? No, rather, there is the promise of a bright and glorious future - one filled with hard fighting, blood, death and sacrifice, as always, but with tremendous purpose and destiny and hope.

Our vision beckons always: The nation-state Israel, warm, safe, prosperous, once again illuminating life with a spiritual sense, directing man toward the glorious age of a perfect society on earth, with peace and justice for all. When we say it, the words are not banal - for the world knows we mean it.

Stephen Wise showed how the possession of the 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 acquire a dimension of incredible strength, so that we each become like one small nuclear engine, driving with enormous power toward our goal - a free people in Israel, sharing the fruits of a good society with all neighbors, in a peaceful world, working for the betterment of all humanity. This is your dream to have and to hold - to cherish and make real - to give to your children as the most precious gift in the world.









# 'Let us go to the land of our ancestors'

Text of letters from 18 Jewish families in the Soviet Union, in which they ask for help in

Translated from Russian:

To the Honourable Joseph Tekoa  
Representative of Israel at the United  
Nations Organisation

We hereby attach copy of a letter to the U.N. Commission for the Rights of Man. We ask you to take immediate measures to obtain in the shortest possible period of time a permit for our emigration to Israel.

We also ask you to take measures to distribute the attached letter among the members of the U.N. and also to have it published in the press, mentioning the full list of the signatories, with their given and family names and, if necessary, their addresses.

Because the time of fear is over — the time for action has come.

Because if not I myself, then who?  
And if not today, then when?

★ ★ ★

To the Commission for the Rights of  
Man, United Nations Organisation  
New York, U.S.A.

**WE**, 18 religious Jewish families of Georgia, ask you to help us emigrate to Israel. Each of us, summoned by a relative in Israel, had received the necessary questionnaires from the proper organs of the U.S.S.R. and had filled them out. Each had received an oral assurance that there would be no obstacles to his emigration. Each of us, awaiting a permit from day to day, has sold his property and has resigned from his job. However, long months have passed — and for some even years — and the emigration has not yet been permitted. We have sent hundreds of letters and telegrams — they disappeared like teardrops in desert sands. We hear, orally, one-syllabled refusals, we see no written answers, nobody explains anything, our fate concerns nobody.

But we are waiting, because we believe.

We, the 18 religious families of Georgia, consider it necessary to explain why we want to go to Israel.

Everyone knows how justly the national policy in the U.S.S.R. is carried out, the theoretic foundations for which had been formulated by the founder of the State, V.I. Lenin. For ages there have been no Jewish pogroms in the country, there is no pale of settlement and no *numerus clausus*. Jews can walk the streets without fearing for their lives, they can settle wherever they like, occupy any post — even up to the post of a Minister — as can be seen from the example of V. Dymshits, the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

In the Supreme Soviet there is even a Jewish deputy — A. Chakovsky, the editor-in-chief of the "Literaturnaya Gazeta."

Therefore, it is not racial discrimination that forces us to leave the country. Perhaps, then, it is religious discrimination? But, in this country, synagogues are allowed and we are not forbidden to pray at home either. However, our prayers are with Israel, because it is said: "Let my right hand shrivel up if I forget thee, Jerusalem," because we, religious Jews, consider that there is no Jew without faith, as there is no faith without tradition. Of what, then, consists our faith and our traditions?

For a long time the Roman legions made a siege of Jerusalem. But, in spite of the well-known horrors of the blockade — hunger, lack of water, sickness and much else — the Jews did not renounce their faith and did not give up. However, even human forces have their limit. The barbarians finally burst into the Holy City. Thus, thousands of years ago, the Holy Temple was destroyed, and together with it, the Jewish state. But the nation remained. Although those Jews who could bear arms did not give themselves up to the enemy and killed one another, there remained the bleeding wounded and there remained the old men, the women and the children.

And whoever could not leave, was killed on the spot. And whoever could, went into the desert and whoever survived reached other countries in order to believe, to pray and to wait. From then on they had to search for a living in other people's lands, among people who hated them. Pelted with insults, splashed by the dirt of slander, scorned and oppressed, they earned their bread by their blood and their sweat and they brought up their children.

Their hands were calloused, their souls were bleeding. But the main thing was, the nation did not perish — and what a nation. The Jews have given the world religion and revolutionaries, philosophers and scholars, rich men and sages, geniuses with the heart of a child and with the eyes of old men. There is no branch of knowledge, no branch of literature and art to which Jews hadn't given their contribution. There is no country that has given shelter to the Jews that they hadn't thanked by their work. And what did the Jews get in exchange?

When all lived bearably, the Jews in

fear awaited other times. And when things became bad for all, the Jews knew: their mortal hour had come and then they either hid or fled from the country.

And whoever fled, began everything from the beginning.

And whoever could not flee, perished. And whoever hid himself well, awaited other times.

Who hadn't oppressed the Jews? In their persecution all united.

Whenever untalented generals lost a war, at once it was among the Jews that the culprits for the defeat were looked for. Whenever a political adventurer failed to fulfil the heap of promises he had made, the reason for this was immediately found — the Jews. They perished in the dungeons of the Inquisition in Spain and in the Fascist concentration camps in Germany. The anti-Semites brandished, like a bugaboo, the Dreyfus Affair in enlightened France and the Bellis Affair in illiterate Russia.

And the Jews had to bear it all.

At the same time they could have lived peacefully — like others, they only had to pass over to another faith. Some did so — everywhere there are people of little courage. But millions and millions preferred the life of martyrs, and often even death, to renunciation.

And even if they roamed over the earth without a shelter — God had place for all.

And although their dust is dispersed throughout the world, their memory is alive.

Their blood is in our veins, our tears are their tears.

The prophecy has come true: Israel has arisen from the ashes. We have not forgotten Jerusalem and it needs our hands.

There are 18 of us, of those who have signed this letter. But whoever thinks that there are only 18 of us, is mistaken. There could have been many more signatures.

They say that there are only 12 million Jews in the world. But whoever thinks that there are only 12 million of us, is mistaken. Because with those who pray for Israel are hundreds of millions, of those who did not live long enough, of those who have been tortured to death, of those who are no longer here. They walk with us in the same ranks, the unvanquished and the ever living, those who have transmitted to us their traditions of struggle and of faith.

This is why we want to go to Israel... History has placed a great mission



tors'

## emigrating to Israel.

on the United Nations — to think about people and to help them. Therefore we demand that the U.N. Commission for the Rights of Man should take all the measures that it can and, in the shortest possible time, should obtain from the Government of the U.S.S.R. the permit for our emigration. It is incomprehensible that, at the end of the 20th century, it should be possible to forbid people to live wherever they wish. It is strange how one can forget the widely broadcast appeals concerning the right of nations for self-determination and, naturally, the rights of men, out of whom nations are composed.

We shall wait for months and for years, if necessary for our entire life, but we shall not renounce our faith and our hope.

We believe: our prayers have reached God.

We know: our appeals will reach men.

Because we do not ask for much — let us go to the land of our ancestors:

### Signatures:

1. Elashvili, Shabata Mikhaleovich, Kutaisi, Dzharparidze 53.
2. Elashvili, Mikhail Shabatovich, Kutaisi, Dzharparidze 33.
3. Elashvili, Izrael Mikhaleovich, Kutaisi, Kirov 31
4. Elashvili Yakov Aronovich, Kutaisi, Mayakovsky 15
5. Khikhashvili, Mordekha Isakovich, Kutaisi, Makharadze 19
6. Chikvashvili, Mikhail Samuilovich, Kutaisi, Khakhanashvili 88
7. Chikvashvili, Moshe Samuilovich, Kutaisi, Tsereteli 32
8. Beberashvili, Mikhail Rubenovich, Kutaisi, Klara-Tsetkina 9
9. Elashvili, Yakov Israilovich, Kutaisi, Tsereteli 54
10. Mikhelashvili, Haim Aronovich, Poti, Tskhakaya 57
11. Mikhelashvili, Albert Haimovich, Poti, Tskhakaya 5U
12. Mikhelashvili, Aron Haimovich, Poti, Dzharparidze 18
13. Tetrushvili, Haim Davidovich, Kutaisi, Dzharparidze 42
14. Tsitsashvili, Isro Zakharovich, Kutaisi, Shaumiana 1, Lane No. 5
15. Tsitsashvili, Efrem Isroovich, Kutaisi, Shaumiana 1, Lane No. 6
16. Yakobishvili, Bension Sholovich, Tbilisi, 4, (Poste Restante), (lived on Bornova St. 91)
17. Batoniashvili, Mikhail Rafaelovich, Kutaisi, Dzharparidze 53
18. Tetrushvili, Mikhail Shalomovich, Kulash, Stalin No.114

22 Av.  
August 6, 1969

November 20, 1969

# But one road — to live for my people

## Says Moscow Jewish woman in open letter to Kosygin

### OPEN LETTER

To the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., A.N. Kosygin  
From: Tina Brodetakaya, Moscow G-235, 1 Mosfilmovskiy Pereulok 5, Corpus 14, Apt. 133.



Tina Brodetakaya

I APPLY to you in an open letter because in reply to my repeated applications to the Soviet authorities with the request to permit me to emigrate to my relatives in Israel, I have been receiving refusals. In accordance with the accepted order, these refusals are given orally, by telephone, without any statements concerning the reasons for the refusal or concerning the identity of the persons who had made these decisions.

My desire to go to Israel is caused by national feelings alone, and not by hostility towards the Soviet Union.

During the Second World War, my father, who had volunteered for the front, was killed. Many of my close relatives were also killed. In my early childhood, together with my mother — an army physician — I followed the Soviet troops from the Ukraine to Berlin. I saw German concentration camps, embalmed heads of Jewish commissars and crates with soap inscribed: "From Jewish fat." I had to realize why such things happened to the Jews. Later I understood that the defencelessness of the Jews was caused by the absence of a Jewish State, and that the fate of Jews really mattered only to the Jewish State.

I decided that there was only one road for me — to live for my people. In my student years I sought to awaken national feelings in Jews. In 1957, I was sentenced to prison for Zionism. My stay in prison did not change my convictions. I still consider Israel as my national homeland.

I consider that under conditions that make it impossible to express one's national essence and to educate the growing generation in a national spirit, the Jewish people in the U.S.S.R. is totally doomed to forcible assimilation. I don't want to assimilate. My desire to live in Israel is unshakeable. I, therefore, demand the satisfaction of my natural right to decide my fate for myself and to be allowed to go to Israel.

I have already applied by letters to the leaders of the Soviet Government, but in answer I would receive a postcard with the request to telephone. My phone calls were answered by unknown persons, saying that the right of departure has been refused to me. I am forced to apply to you, Aleksei Nikolayevich, in an open letter. There is no other way out for me.

Respectfully yours,  
(signed) Tina Brodetakaya  
October 1969



November 27, 1969

# PLEA TO U.N. TO HELP SON LEAVE RUSSIA FOR ISRAEL

By a Special Correspondent

NEW YORK. — A letter from a Jewish woman in Moscow pleading for help in persuading the Soviet authorities to allow her son to leave for Israel has been received at the U.N. here.

Following is the text of the letter:

To the 24th General Assembly of the United Nations Organization,  
From: Kapshitser, Elizaveta Isaakovna,  
U.S.S.R., Moscow 6-96  
2nd Filevskaya St., No. 7/19, Apt. 27  
Tel. 144-49-04.

Statement about Violation of the Rights of Man.

Dear Sirs,

A year has already passed since I applied to the U.N. Commission for the Rights of Man, through the director of the Moscow Information Centre of the U.N., Mr. Chechetkin, but I have received no reply until now. It only remains for me to suppose that Mr. Chechetkin has not transmitted my complaint.

This forces me to apply to you with a new letter. Please excuse me if, in some places, in my complaint I am going to repeat what I had written in 1968. But I have no certainty that you have received it. It is only because of very difficult circumstances that I feel obliged to turn to you again.

It is already two years since my son, Vitold Kapshitser — a writer — has been thrown out of the society surrounding him and has been deprived of all means of livelihood. My son and I are forced to exist on my pension, which is 49 rubles. In this letter I shall try to explain for what sins we have been punished so severely.

## Gives up citizenship

My son had never been distinguished by nationalism. On the contrary, he had received a true international education. But he did not think it possible to pass over the insulting attitude towards his people. He could not pass by the injustices and the cruelties and could not reconcile himself to the degradation of man. He always considered national enmity as the greatest of ills.

In 1966 my son decided to write a book connected with the history of the Jewish people, so as to attain mutual understanding between peoples and nations. He was, however, denied the possibility of carrying

out this work. However, my son could not reconcile himself with a situation in which one nation is raised in every way and all its actions are proclaimed holy, while another, a small people, is debased in every way.

Therefore in 1967 he applied to the Government of Israel with a request to admit him as a repatriate. In answer to this request he received an invitation to come to Israel. The Soviet authorities agreed to examine my son's application for an exit permit only on condition that he should give up Soviet citizenship. He was, therefore, forced to apply to the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. stating that he was giving up his Soviet citizenship. He sent this statement on May 31, 1967 but till today has received no official written answer, although he has been told orally that his request to give up Soviet citizenship has been denied. At the same time, because of his making this statement, he has been expelled from the Committee of Writers of the literary fund of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet trade union, which has deprived him of a possibility of working and of earning a living.

In answer to his request to give him employment, it was demanded from him to "repent." But what should he repent of? Is devotion to one's own people a crime? Are the feelings of human and national dignity forbidden feelings? Has a man no right to defend himself and his people from insults? My son has drunk to the full his cup of suffering and of degradation. Around him for many years there existed an atmosphere of militant anti-Semitism, as a result of which his family disintegrated. Even in his early youth he was expelled from school because he refused to recognize his father as an "enemy of the people." Later he was persecuted by the organs of the state security, was prevented from working and it was demanded from him that he should "frankly confess" that he had allegedly written an "anti-Communist manifesto."

I am a mother. You, sir, know what this means. You will easily understand how much suffering it costs me to see my son thrown out of life, existing on these pitiful crumbs that I can with difficulty provide for him and, at the same time, to wait every day and every night for vio-

lence to be done to him. And still, I can't tell him: "Go and confess, betray your people and yourself."

I applied to the Soviet authorities, I told them: "your society, your country have denied my son, then give him the right of free departure, give him the possibility of beginning his life anew."

## Block departure

In April 1969, my son again received from the Israeli Foreign Ministry an invitation for permanent residence. The Soviet authorities, however, under various pretexts, refuse to let him go. I cannot understand why they need him. For two years he has been pushed aside from any participation in the life of society, he knows no state secrets, he has no intention and no possibility of harming the Soviet state in any way. Can the reason really be just cruelty in principle? And we had always believed in the highly humane principles of the Soviet society.

Dear sir, I am an old woman, and for over 10 years I have been bed-ridden with a serious illness. I have no possibility of following my son. But I apply to you with the most insistent request that a mother can make: help my son to leave this country. I know that it is only the Soviet Government that has the power to solve this request. But there is such a thing as conscience in this world and someone must hear our pain: we have given this country everything we had. I have lost my husband here, the father of my children, a person whose entire life had been given to Russia. Is this sacrifice not enough? Must my son become a new victim, just as terrible and senseless? Who needs this?

I cannot and do not want to believe that the Soviet Government needs this. But my voice and my appeals do not reach the Soviet Government through your great international organization.

Dear sir: I want to believe that you will add your authoritative voice to the voice of a mother.

Please let me know the results of my appeal.

Yours respectfully

(signed) E. KAPSHITSER

September 24, 1969.



"THE MEANING OF JUDAISM IN A COSMIC SENSE"

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

AMERICAN JEWISH  
TO THE  
ARCHIVES

NEW YORK U.J.A. FEDERATION  
INVITATIONAL MISSION

JERUSALEM ISRAEL  
12 OCTOBER 1979





א'י' שרר א'י' בקר יאר עש': א'י'א פמ'מ א'האנ' א'י' ל'מא;  
א'י' א'י'מ ג'י'מ פ'מ'מ' מ'א'מ'א א'ע' ע'ע', א'ע'מ ג'י'מ פ'מ'מ' מ'מ'  
מ'א'מ'א א'ע' ע'ע'; א'י'מ'ק א'א'י'מ א'מ י'מ פ'מ'מ' א'ק'ע' א'מ, כ' מ'  
ע'מ מ'מ' מ'א'מ'א, א'ע' כ'מ א'א'י'מ א'מ'מ'.

"AND IT WAS EVENING, AND IT WAS MORNING, THE SIXTH DAY; AND THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH AND ALL THEIR HOSTS WERE COMPLETED; AND THE LORD FINISHED BY THE SEVENTH DAY ALL THE WORK WHICH HE HAD DONE, AND HE RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY FROM ALL THE WORK HE HAD DONE, AND HE SANCTIFIED THE SEVENTH DAY, FOR ON IT HE RESTED FROM ALL HIS WORK, WHICH THE LORD HAD CREATED AND DONE."

SO SAY WE EVERY SABBATH EVE BEFORE WE BLESS THE WINE, AND IN THUS HALLOWING THE SABBATH, WE ARE REALLY HALLOWING THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, WHICH ULTIMATELY PLACED YOU AND ME ON THIS EARTH. CREATION -- HOW DID IT HAPPEN? THERE ARE STORIES IN THE BOOK OF GENESIS WHICH OUR FATHERS SANG AROUND THE CAMPFIRES IN THE WIND-WHIPPED JUDEAN DESERT AND THE SOFT SAMARIAN MOUNTAINS, IN THE WILDERNESS OF SINAI AND THE ROLLING HILLS OF MOAB; THE SHEPHERDS SANG AND THE WARRIORS AND THE WEAVERS AND THE TILLERS, AS THEY TOLD THE ANCIENT POEMS AND SAGAS WHICH HAD COME DOWN THROUGH ALL THE CENTURIES FROM THEIR FATHERS WHO BROUGHT THE STORIES OF HOW THE ONE AND ONLY GOD -- EL SHADDAI, ADONAY TSEVAOT -- HAD CREATED THE EARTH AND MAN AND BEASTS AND FLOWERS OUT OF THE CHAOS OF NOTHINGNESS. THESE HEBREWS OF OLD WERE GIANTS OF MIND AND SOUL, FOR THEY WRESTLED WITH THE FACT OF THEIR



EXISTENCE, AND CAME TO PERCEIVE, AS NO OTHER CONTEMPORARY DID, THAT THE FORCE WHICH CREATED THEM WAS NOT IN A STONE OR A TREE, NOT IN THUNDER OR THE SUN, NOT IN FIRE OR THE WIND, NOT IN A BULL OR A CAT, BUT RATHER IN A UNITY OF ALL FORCES AND ALL POWERS WHICH WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR LIFE AND NATURE. THIS UNITY THEY CALLED GOD, NOT GODS, AND THEN SPENT A THOUSAND YEARS TRYING TO DEFINE THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THAT GOD AND TO THEIR FELLOW HUMANS. THE HEBREW SAGA OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD FULFILLED MAN'S NEED TO UNDERSTAND HIMSELF AND HIS ENVIRONMENT.

THERE IS ANOTHER STORY OF CREATION WHICH TELLS OF A HUGE EXPLOSION 20 BILLION YEARS AGO THAT SENT GASSES SWIRLING THROUGH EMPTINESS, ENERGY DRIVING ATOMS TO AND FRO IN THE BLACKNESS, DUST CLINGING TO MOTE OF DUST, MAGNETISM AND GRAVITY PULLING THROUGH THE SPACES WITHOUT END, FOREVER AND EVER, OVER BILLIONS AND BILLIONS OF YEARS UNTIL GALAXIES AND CONSTELLATIONS AND STAR SYSTEMS SLOWLY FORMED. BECAUSE OF THE INCREDIBLE DISTANCES OF TIME AND SPACE, THERE IS NO WAY OF KNOWING AS YET WHETHER WE ARE ALONE IN THE UNIVERSE -- BUT IT IS ALREADY REASONABLY CLEAR THAT WE ARE ALONE IN OUR LITTLE CORNER. THIS TINY PLANET HAS BEEN SPEEDING, TRAPPED IN ITS ORBIT FOR MORE THAN 4 BILLION YEARS, AND DURING MOST OF THIS TIME, THE SPACESHIP WE CALL EARTH WAS FORMING ITSELF, CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE AND WATER AND CONTINENTS AND MINERALS AND FINALLY LIFE. ONLY A FEW HOURS AGO THE DINOSAURS CAME AND WENT (THEY DIED OUT ABOUT 60 MILLION YEARS AGO) -- AND ONLY A FEW SECONDS AGO A MAN-LIKE CREATURE APPEARED (ABOUT  $\frac{1}{2}$  MILLION YEARS AGO) -- AND ONLY A MILLISECOND AGO, FULLY-DEVELOPED MAN INVENTED WRITING (JUST 5,000 YEARS AGO) AND HISTORY BEGAN. THE HUMAN BEING FINALLY BECAME IMMORTAL, BECAUSE AT LAST HE COULD PRESERVE KNOWLEDGE BY WRITING IT DOWN AND IT WOULD ENDURE BEYOND



HIS DEATH, PASSED ON TO NOURISH FUTURE GENERATIONS. AMONG THE VERY FIRST HISTORIC MEN WERE THE HEBREW TRIBES -- AND OF ALL MEN WHO STOOD AT THE BEGINNING, WE ARE THE OLDEST SURVIVORS. ALL OTHERS HAVE PERISHED OR METAMORPHOSED.

IN THIS INSIGNIFICANT SPECK OF SPACE CALLED THE SOLAR SYSTEM TUCKED INTO THE EDGE OF A MINOR GALAXY CALLED THE MILKY WAY, THERE ENDLESSLY SPINS THIS TINY PLANET, 800 TIMES SMALLER THAN SATURN, 1,000 TIMES SMALLER THAN JUPITER, THE ONLY PLANET POSSESSED OF LIFE. WE ARE ALONE, AT LEAST UNTIL WE REACH OTHER STAR SYSTEMS, AND IN OUR LONELINESS ON THIS SPACESHIP EARTH, WE THINK OF THE MIRACLE OF DUST AND GASSES AND CHEMICALS CULMINATING IN MAN. IT IS ABSOLUTELY INCREDIBLE TO REALIZE THAT AFTER MAN PASSED THROUGH ALL HIS MILLIONS OF YEARS OF EVOLUTIONARY STAGES OF PRE-HISTORY AND FINALLY REACHED THE HISTORIC PRESENT, OF ALL THE TRIBES AND NATIONS WHO WERE FORMED AND STRUGGLED AND DISSOLVED, WE, THE HEBREWS ARE THE OLDEST, IN TERMS OF BEING DIRECT DESCENDANTS OF OUR ANCESTORS, SPEAKING THE SAME LANGUAGE, LIVING IN THE SAME LAND. WHO ARE WE? WHERE DO WE FIT IN THE SCHEME OF PURPOSE?

WHERE ARE WE -- HEBREWS, JEWS, ISRAELITES -- GOING?

NOT LONG AGO, LAND WAS COVERED WITH ICE, BUT FINALLY THE LONG AGE OF ICE EASED ITS GRIP -- BEGAN TO RETREAT NORTHWARD -- AND WARMING WINDS SWEEPED ACROSS SOUTHWESTERN ASIA, CARRYING SEEDS OF WILD WHEAT AND BARLEY. SMALL BANDS OF HUNTERS ROAMED THE STEPPES AND HILLS STALKING DEER, GAZELLES, WILD SHEEP AND GOATS -- SEARCHING FOR WHATEVER SUSTENANCE NATURE COULD PROVIDE. THEY DIFFERED LITTLE FROM THEIR HOMINOID PREDECESSORS WHO HAD WANDERED OVER PARTS OF AFRICA AND ASIA FOR TWO OR THREE MILLION YEARS. THE TIME WAS JUST YESTERDAY, ABOUT 10,000 B.C. AND AS



THE ICE RETREATED ONE OF THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES WAS ABOUT TO OCCUR. MAN WAS ABOUT TO CHANGE FROM A FOOD-GATHERER TO FOOD-PRODUCER; FROM HUNTER TO FARMER; FROM NOMAD TO SETTLER. BUILDING SETTLEMENTS, STAYING IN ONE PLACE, WAITING FOR THE CROPS TO MATURE WOULD LIBERATE HIM FROM ETERNAL WANDERING AND OPEN THE FUTURE OF CIVILIZATION. THE FIRST SETTLERS WERE CALLED NATUFIANS AND THEIR HOME WAS IN THE CAVES OF THE CARMEL RANGE, SOUTH OF HAIFA. "ABEL WAS A KEEPER OF SHEEP AND CAIN A TILLER OF THE GROUND," SAYS THE BIBLE. NEITHER ONE WAS A WANDERING HUNTER. BY 8,000 B.C. BESIDE A SPRING NEAR THE DEAD SEA, THE FIRST TOWN TOOK ROOT. STONE WALLS AND A TOWER 30 FT. HIGH PROTECTED A POPULATION OF ABOUT 2,500 SOULS IN THIS TOWN CALLED JERICHO -- JUST A FEW MILES FROM HERE -- THE OLDEST CONTINUOUS INHABITED SITE ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

FOOD WAS GROWN BEYOND THE NEEDS OF THE MOMENT AND STORED FOR THE FUTURE. THUS MAN COULD TURN AND LOOK AT THE WORLD AROUND HIM, BEGIN TO FASHION TOOLS, THEN ARTIFACTS, THEN COOKING UTENSILS AND CLOTHING AND BUILDINGS AND ORNAMENTS AND RELIGIOUS OBJECTS -- AND THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION WAS BEGUN.

BY THE YEAR 5,000 B.C. THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION HAD SPREAD EASTWARD TO THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES VALLEY AND THERE ANOTHER GREAT INNOVATION SHAPED THE FUTURE: WATER WAS DIRECTED FROM THE NATURAL CHANNELS OF THE WIDE RIVERS INTO A VAST IRRIGATION NETWORK WHICH GAVE RISE TO THE FIRST GREAT EMPIRE OF HUMAN HISTORY -- SUMER. ITS FERTILE SOIL BORE GREAT CITIES, UR, FROM WHICH ABRAHAM'S FAMILY SPRANG, AND BABYLON AND MANY OTHER POPULOUS CITY-STATES THAT FORMED THE WORLD'S OLDEST CIVILIZATION.

TOWNS PROLIFERATED, THE IRRIGATION SYSTEM SPREAD, KINGS EMERGED, TRADE ROUTES OPENED, SHIPS RANGED UP THE RIVERS, WOOL WAS WOVEN, FRUITS AND VEGETABLES WERE TRADED; POTTERY WAS FIRED; WARS WERE FOUGHT EVERY SPRING.



IN ANOTHER RIVER VALLEY TO THE WEST, THE NILE, THE SAME PATTERN WAS EMERGING -- AND MEN SWARMED OUT OF THE DRY SAHARA INTO THE LUSHNESS OF THE NILE VALLEY TO BECOME THE FORERUNNERS OF THE FANTASTIC EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES SOON TO BE BORN.

FOR TWO MILLENIA, DURING THE PERIODS KNOWN AS NEOLITHIC AND CHALCHOLITHIC, THE TWO RIVER VALLEY CIVILIZATIONS GREW AND FLOURISHED, BUT HAD LITTLE CONTACT OR INFLUENCE, ONE UPON ANOTHER.

SUDDENLY, AROUND THE YEAR 3,000 B.C., THE SINGLE MOST EXPLOSIVE FACT IN MAN'S HISTORY OCCURRED, AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT AS THE TAMING OF FIRE -- PERHAPS MORE SO: THE INVENTION OF A SYSTEM OF WRITING BY WHICH TO RECORD EVENTS, TRANSACTIONS, PLANS. THIS IS THE TRUE BEGINNING OF HUMAN ACHIEVEMENT AND IT TOOK PLACE ONLY 5,000 YEARS AGO. (IS IT CONCEIVABLE? FOR HALF A MILLION YEARS A HUMANOID FIGURE IN NATURE'S EVOLUTIONARY SCALE HAD ROAMED THE EARTH, AND ONLY 5,000 YEARS AGO DID HE LEARN TO PUT HIS THOUGHTS DOWN IN SYMBOLS SO THAT HE COULD COMMUNICATE ACCUMULATED KNOWLEDGE BEYOND HIS OWN MORTALITY.)

THE EVENT OCCURRED SIMULTANEOUSLY IN SUMERIA AND IN EGYPT. IN SUMERIA IT WAS A CUNEIFORM SCRIPT -- I.E., TRIANGULAR WEDGE-SHAPED SIGNS IMPRINTED INTO SOFT CLAY TABLETS, OR CARVED INTO STONE, AND A NUMERICAL SYSTEM BASED ON 60 WHICH PERSISTS UNTIL TODAY IN OUR SYSTEM OF SECONDS AND MINUTES. IN EGYPT IT WAS PICTURES, CALLED HIEROGLYPHS, DRAWN ON PAPYRUS, OR CARVED INTO STONE. WHAT A FANTASTIC COINCIDENCE THAT MAN'S LEAP FORWARD SHOULD TAKE PLACE FROM THESE TWO WIDELY SEPARATE CRADLES OF CIVILIZATION AT EXACTLY THE SAME TIME. THE INVENTION OF AN ALPHABET WAS TO WAIT ANOTHER 1500 YEARS, WHEN THE PHOENICIANS CREATED A SERIES OF LETTERS, REPLICATED LATER IN THE HEBREW AND GREEK ALPHABETS, WHICH FORMED WORDS -- THUS REPLACING THE CLUMSY WEDGES AND PICTURES, TRANSFORMING WRITING INTO A SIMPLIFIED AND UNIVERSALLY AVAILABLE SKILL.



THINK OF HOW NEAR WE HUMANS ARE TO OUR HISTORIC BEGINNINGS. EVERY CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENT OF MODERN MAN HAS BEEN CONCEIVED AND EXECUTED AND TRANSMITTED IN THIS MERE BLINK OF FIVE MILLENIA -- ALL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES, GOVERNMENT AND LAW, ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING, EMPIRES AND ARMIES, CITIES AND MACHINES, POEMS AND RELIGIONS -- ALL, ALL ARE ONLY 5,000 YEARS OLD. IF WE HAVE ACHIEVED SO MIGHTILY, THIS NEAR TO OUR BEGINNINGS, HOW FAR ARE WE FROM OUR TRUE POTENTIALITIES? WHAT WILL MAN HAVE DONE 5,000 YEARS FROM NOW? WHAT PROFOUND CONQUESTS OF TIME AND AND SPACE AND MIND AND BODY WILL HAVE TAKEN HIM TO WHAT ABSOLUTELY INCONCEIVABLE HEIGHTS OF CREATIVITY?

THE RETREAT OF THE ICE WAS ONLY 12 MILLENIA AGO, AND OF THE 5,000 YEARS THAT MAN MAY BE SAID TO HAVE A WRITTEN HISTORY, THE HEBREW TRIBES HAVE BEEN ON THE STAGE FOR ALMOST FOUR THOUSAND. THE OTHER ORIGINAL PLAYERS HAVE LONG SINCE DISAPPEARED. THIRTY EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES ARE RECORDED, THEN THE PHAROAHS SLOWLY DWINDLED IN POWER AND SIGNIFICANCE. THE SUMERIANS AND AKKADIANS AND BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS HAVE LONG SINCE BLOWN TO DUST. WE ARE STILL HERE. WHAT MAGIC LIES IN US? WHAT SECRET SUSTAINS US? WHO ARE WE? WHY ARE WE HERE? IS IT PURE ACCIDENT-- OR WERE WE CHOSEN FOR SOME PURPOSE?

THE SECRET OF OUR SURVIVAL LIES IN THE SENSE OF SELECTION. REVELATION AND CHOSEN-NESS ARE THE HALLMARKS OF OUR DESTINY. EITHER GOD CHOSE US OR WE CHOSE HIM. PERHAPS THAT IS SAYING THE SAME THING. AND IF THE CONCEPT OF GOD IS AN UNCOMFORTABLE ONE FOR POST-HIROSHIMA AND POST-AUSCHWITZ MAN, THEN TRANSLATE IT INTO THE PHRASE "HISTORICAL DESTINY". IF YOU CANNOT BELIEVE THAT WE WERE CHOSEN BY GOD, THEN PERHAPS YOU CAN BELIEVE THAT THE HEBREWS, BY THEIR OWN FLASH OF GENIUS INSIGHT, CHOSE TO BELIEVE IN A MORAL UNIVERSE, AND BY THIS INSIGHT WERE SUPERIOR TO ALL



OTHERS WHO ACCEPTED BLIND DETERMINISM AS THE FATE OF MAN. ANCIENT MAN WAS AFRAID OF HIS GODS AND TRIED TO PLACATE THEM WITH ALL MANNER OF SACRIFICES AND GIFTS. ONLY HEBREW MAN SPOKE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE, MORAL CONDUCT, ETHICAL IMPERATIVE. THE HIGHEST DUTY WAS TO BE CONCERNED WITH THE WELFARE OF ONE'S FELLOW HUMAN, EVEN MORE SO THAN ONE'S OBLIGATIONS TO THE LORD.

WHEN THE PROPHET ISAIAH POSED THE QUESTION -- WHAT SORT OF WORSHIP DOES GOD REALLY WANT? - HE OFFERED GOD'S OWN ANSWER -- "THIS IS THE SACRIFICE THAT I DESIRE: THAT YOU LOOSE THE FETTERS OF INJUSTICE, BREAK EVERY YOKE AND SET FREE THOSE THAT ARE CRUSHED...THAT YOU SHARE YOUR FOOD WITH THE STARVING AND BRING THE HOMELESS POOR INTO YOUR OWN HOMES, COVER THE NAKED AND NOT IGNORE THE NEEDS OF YOUR OWN KIN." THE PASSAGE IS SO BASIC TO THE JEWISH RELIGION THAT IT IS READ ON THE HOLIEST DAY OF THE YEAR -- YOM KIPPUR.

THUS, THE HEBREW PEOPLE, LIVING AT A TIME OF BRUTALITY, SAVAGERY, TORTURE, LIVING AT A TIME WHEN HUGE EMPIRES WERE FORGED ON PILES OF CORPSES, LIVING AT A TIME WHEN THE GODS WERE INDIFFERENT TO MAN'S FATE, CAME TO UNDERSTAND THE UNIVERSE QUITE DIFFERENTLY AND DEFINED IT AS A PLACE WHERE MAN'S GREATEST GOOD WAS TO ACHIEVE A SENSE OF MORAL RIGHTEOUSNESS, AND THAT MAN COULD DO SO. BELIEF IN MAN'S GOODNESS, HIS ABILITY TO OVERCOME THE EVIL SIDE OF HIS NATURE, IS CARDINAL IN HEBREW THOUGHT.

THIS IDEA BURNED IN ABRAHAM, WHO LEFT THE RIVER VALLEY OF HIS BIRTH, CAME ACROSS THE CLEANSING DESERT, BROKE WITH HIS PAST BY BREAKING HIS FATHER'S HOUSEHOLD IDOLS, AND TURNED TO THE NEW LAND WHICH WOULD BE THE HOLY GROUND OF HIS PEOPLE DOWN TO THIS VERY DAY. THE TIME WAS 1,750 B.C.E. FOR FIVE HUNDRED YEARS HE AND HIS SONS AND THEIR SONS STRUGGLED TO SHAPE THEIR IDEAS AND VALUES, FALLING INTO SLAVERY IN EGYPT,



THE EGYPT OF DARK TOMBS BURIED DEEP INTO HEAVY MAUSOLEUMS OF STONE CALLED PYRAMIDS, UNTIL THEY SUDDENLY SPRANG FORTH INTO FREEDOM, LED BY MOSES TO THAT BLINDING ENCOUNTER AT THE MOUNTAIN WHICH SHAPED THEM INTO THE GOD-INTOXICATED NATION WHICH WAS DESTINED TO TEACH MORALITY TO THE WORLD.

WHEN THE COMMANDMENTS OF MORALITY WERE ENGRAVED ON THE STONES IN THAT 13TH CENTURY B.C.E., WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE REST OF THE WORLD? MONGOLS FROM SIBERIA, THE ANCESTORS OF THE INDIANS, WERE EXTERMINATING BISON IN THE WESTERN PLAINS OF AMERICA AND DRESSING IN THEIR SKINS; PICTS AND DRUIDS ON THE ENGLISH ISLAND WERE PAINTING THEMSELVES BLUE AND BUILDING STONE FORMATIONS TO WORSHIP THE SUN; GERMANIC TRIBES IN NORTHERN EUROPE HUDDLED IN CAVES; ROMAN AND GREEK CULTURE WAS NOT TO BE BORN FOR YET HUNDREDS OF YEARS; THE CHINESE HAD INVENTED PAPER BUT CONFUCIUS WASN'T TO BE BORN FOR ANOTHER 800 YEARS. MOSES AND THE HEBREWS WERE ALSO A ROUGH-LOOKING, ROUGH-SPEAKING TRIBE, BUT THEY WERE INFUSED WITH AN INCREDIBLE SENSE OF RIGHT AND WRONG, AND BELIEVED THAT THEIR ACTUAL PHYSICAL SUCCESS OR FAILURE, IN CROPS, IN WAR, IN WEALTH AND IN HEALTH WOULD DEPEND ON OBEYING GOD'S WORD WHICH DEMANDED JUSTICE TO BE DONE BY ALL MEN TO ALL MEN. THE HEBREWS INVENTED MORALITY -- AND THUS PROPOSED AN ETHICAL UNIVERSE IN WHICH THE POOREST AND MEANEST MAN COULD HOPE TO LIVE OUT HIS LIFE UNAFRAID. IT WAS AN INCREDIBLE BURST OF GENIUS -- REPRESENTING DOWN TO THIS DAY THE RAISON D'ETRE OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE. JUSTICE, JUSTICE SHALT THOU PURSUE, SAID ISAIAH. -- AND IF YOU WERE ASKED TO SUM UP JUDAISM IN ONLY ONE WORD, THAT'S THE WORD: JUSTICE.

OUT THERE IN THE BURNING SINAI DESERT, THE NATION WAS BORN AND IN TURN GAVE BIRTH. THE BIBLE SAYS THAT MORE THAN 600,000 MEN OVER THE AGE OF 21 WENT FORTH FROM EGYPT IN THE EXODUS, TOGETHER WITH THEIR FAMILIES AND THEIR FLOCKS. THIS WOULD HAVE MEANT AN OBVIOUSLY IMPOSSIBLE HORDE OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE. BEN GURION, WHO STUDIED THE BIBLE ALMOST



25% COTTON FIBRE

EVERY DAY OF HIS LIFE, AND WHO KNEW THE OASES OF THE DESERT INTIMATELY, BELIEVED THAT THE TRUE NUMBER WAS 600 MEN -- WHICH MEANT THE TOTAL POPULATION WAS ONLY A FEW THOUSAND. THAT MAKES MORE SENSE. WATER WAS SIMPLY NOT AVAILABLE FOR MORE. WHAT A MIRACLE THAT WE ARE HERE TODAY FROM SUCH A TINY BEGINNING.

WHEN MOSES DIED AFTER THE 40 YEARS OF WANDERING, JOSHUA TOOK THE HANDFUL OF WARRIORS, CROSSED THE JORDAN, CONQUERED JERICHO IN 1200 B.C.E. (TROY FELL TO THE GREEKS THE SAME YEAR) AND THE TWELVE TRIBES BEGAN TO SUBDUE THE REST OF THE PROMISED LAND AND SETTLE IN . THE PHYSICAL STRUGGLE CONTINUED FOR 200 YEARS, AS DID ALSO THE RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MONOTHEISM THEY HAD LEARNED FROM MOSES AND THE IDOL WORSHIP OF THE CANAANITES AMONG WHOM THEY WERE SETTLING. IT WAS A FIERCE STRUGGLE. GRADUALLY THE PHYSICAL VICTORY WAS WON, AND UNDER THE KINGS DAVID AND SOLOMON, ISRAEL REACHED HER GREATEST TERRITORIAL GLORY (ALTHOUGH STILL ONLY A SPECK ON THE MAP BETWEEN THE MAMMOTH EMPIRES OF EGYPT AND ASSYRIA ON BOTH SIDES OF HER). ALSO GRADUALLY THE SPIRITUAL VICTORY WAS WON, AS THE GREAT PROPHETS ISAIAH AND AMOS AND MICAH ESTABLISHED THE ETHICS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CODES WHICH PREVAILED OVER THE ORGIES AND IMMORALITIES OF THE MANY CANAANITE BAALIM ON THE HIGH PLACES.

THE TEMPLE WAS BUILT, THE MONARCHY FLOURISHED, CIVIL WAR DIVIDED THE KINGDOM, THE TORAH WAS WRITTEN, A VISION WAS ESTABLISHED -- AND THEN THE WHOLE EDIFICE CRASHED UNDER AN ASSYRIAN ATTACK WHICH TOOK TEN TRIBES OFF INTO A LOST CAPTIVITY AND A LITTLE MORE THAN A 100 YEARS LATER, A BABYLONIAN ATTACK WHICH DESTROYED THE FIRST TEMPLE, IN 586 B.C.E.

WITH HELP FROM THE PERSIAN KING CYRUS, AND MOTIVATED BY THE SURVIVALIST INSTINCT WHICH IS THE HALLMARK OF OUR PEOPLE, A FEW HUNDRED STRAGGLED BACK TO REBUILD THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM AND THE TEMPLE. IT WAS HARD --



TOOK A LONG TIME -- STONE UPON STONE. THEN A CONQUEST BY THE GREEK SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT LAID THE JEWS LOW AGAIN; RESCUE CAME FOR A SPELL IN THE FORM OF THE MACCABEEAN HEROES WHO SUCCESSFULLY DEFIED THE GREEKS; AND FINALLY SUBJUGATION ONCE AGAIN, TOTAL, COMPLETE THIS TIME TO THE UNBEATABLE POWER OF THE ROMAN LEGIONS, WHO DESTROYED THE SECOND TEMPLE, IN 70 C.E., BURNED THE CITY TO THE GROUND AND SOWED IT WITH SALT SO THAT IT SHOULD NEVER RISE AGAIN.

THE WANDERING JEW WENT FORTH INTO THE WORLD AGAIN IN A WIDESPREAD DISPERSION WHICH WAS TO LAST ALMOST 2,000 YEARS, RIGHT DOWN TO OUR OWN CENTURY. BROKEN, IMPOVERISHED, DISHEARTENED, CARRYING NO BAGGAGE EXCEPT THE BIBLE AND THE BOOKS OF THE LAW, CALLED MISHNA, THEY SCATTERED AS FAR WESTWARD ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN AS GIBRALTAR, NORTHWARD UP INTO ASIA MINOR, AND EASTWARD TO BABYLONIA. THE GREATEST COMMUNITY DEVELOPED THERE, AND FOR ALMOST A MILLENIUM THE CENTER OF GRAVITY OF THE JEWISH WORLD LAY IN TWO ACADEMIES IN WHAT IS TODAY IRAQ, WHERE THE TALMUD WAS GRADUALLY WRITTEN DOWN, THOUSANDS OF PAGES DURING HUNDREDS OF YEARS.

AS THE BABYLONIAN COMMUNITY BEGAN TO DWINDLE IN POWER AND SIGNIFICANCE AROUND THE YEAR 900, THE CENTER OF JEWISH LIFE SHIFTED THOUSANDS OF MILES WESTWARD TO SPAIN, AND FOR THE NEXT 500 YEARS WE ENJOYED A GOLDEN AGE IN WHICH POETRY, MEDICINE, PHILOSOPHY AND MATHEMATICS FLOURISHED. IT WAS A BRILLIANT ERA, YET IT CAME TO AN END, FOR WE WERE CAUGHT IN THE FIERCE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM. WHEN THE FINAL BATTLE WAS FOUGHT IN GRANADA IN 1492, KING FERDINAND AND QUEEN ISABELLA DROVE THE MOSLEMS OFF THE SPANISH PENINSULA, BACK INTO NORTH AFRICA FROM WHENCE THEY HAD COME, AND TWO MONTHS LATER EXPELLED THE JEWS AS WELL. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, SAILING TO THE NEW WORLD IN AUGUST OF THAT YEAR, NOTED IN HIS DIARY THE WEEPING AND WAILING COMING FROM THE JEWISH REFUGEE BOATS IN THE HARBOR OF CADIZ.



WE SCATTERED AGAIN, THIS TIME LIKE POPCORN, TO MANY DIFFERENT PLACES: MOROCCO, HOLLAND, ITALY, TURKEY, BUT ONCE AGAIN IN THE MYSTERIOUS PATTERN OF OUR HISTORY, BY WHICH A LARGE COMMUNITY BEGAN TO FORM IN ANOTHER PLACE WHILE ELSEWHERE A PREVIOUS COMMUNITY WAS DISINTEGRATING, A NEW FUTURE WAS DEVELOPING IN POLAND AND RUSSIA. AND HERE AGAIN FOR THE NEXT HUNDREDS OF YEARS WE THRIVED, IN PHYSICAL POVERTY AND PERSECUTION, YET IN A SPIRITUAL SPLENDOR OF SORTS, SHIVERING IN THE COLD WINDS OF ADVERSITY, YET WARMED BY THE GLOW OF THE SYNAGOGUE AND THE STUDY-CHAMBER AND THE SABBATH CANDLES AND THE TIGHTLY HUDDLED FAMILY LIFE.

THE EVENTS OF THE CENTURIES WERE MARKED BY INCREDIBLE PERSECUTIONS FROM WITHOUT AND AN IRON RESISTANCE FROM WITHIN. MOSLEM FANATICS RAM-PAGED ACROSS THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF NORTH AFRICA IN THE FLUSH OF THEIR MISSIONIZING ZEAL IN THE 8TH AND 9TH CENTURIES; CRUSADERS IN HEAVY ARMOR BURNED JEWS ALIVE IN THEIR SYNAGOGUES IN THE RHINE RIVER VALLEY IN THE 12TH CENTURY; SPANISH INQUISITION BISHOPS CARRYING THE CROSS TORTURED MARRANO JEWS IN TOWN SQUARES IN THE 13 CENTURY; DRUNKEN RUSSIAN COSSACKS ON HUGE HORSES SLASHED THEIR WHISTLING SABERS INTO SOFT FLESH DURING POGROMS OF THE 16TH AND 17TH; ON AND ON WENT THE ENDLESS MINDLESS COLD-BLOODED PIOUS SLAUGHTER. YET ON AND ON WENT THE JEWISH PEOPLE, STUBBORNLY REFUSING TO DIE. THE HISTORIAN ARNOLD TOYNBEE WHO SAID WE HAD DIED A LONG TIME AGO, AND THAT WE ARE TODAY ONLY A "FOSSIL OF AN ANCIENT SYRIAN CIVILIZATION" OBVIOUSLY NEVER READ OUR HISTORY. WE TOOK THE BLOWS STOLIDLY, POURED COPIOUS BLOOD, MOVED ON FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY, ALWAYS RETAINING PRIDE IN OUR TRADITION, FAITH IN OURSELVES, AND TEACHING OUR HERITAGE TO EACH NEW GENERATION OF CHILDREN AS SOMETHING WORTH PRESERVING NO MATTER THE PRICE. THE TWIN WEAPONS OF OUR SURVIVAL WERE EMIGRATION AND EDUCATION.

A PEOPLE DIES AS A RESULT OF CONQUEST FROM WITHOUT OR WEARINESS



FROM WITHIN -- A LACK OF FAITH -- A LOSS OF BELIEF IN ITS DESTINY. ROME FELL, NOT TO THE SUPERIOR WEAPONS OF THE GERMAN INVADERS FROM THE NORTH -- BUT BECAUSE ROME HAD GROWN WEARY, DECADENT, CORRUPT, CYNICAL AND HAD LOST FAITH IN ITSELF. CONVERSELY, WE JEWS WERE ALWAYS CONQUERED FROM THE OUTSIDE BY SUPERIOR FORCE OF ARMS, BUT THIS NEVER CAUSED OUR DEFEAT, SINCE WE RETAINED THE INNER CONVICTION OF OUR CHOSEN DESTINY -- TO SURVIVE AND GIVE LIVING TESTIMONY TO OUR FAITH IN MAN AND HIS MORAL UNIVERSE. HOW OBSTINATE TO BELIEVE IN MAN, WHEN MEN OF ALL NATIONS AND IDEOLOGIES WERE BUSY HACKING US TO PIECES. THIS IS THE BRILLIANCE OF OUR EXISTENCE.

THE FINAL MIGRATIONS HAVE BEEN THOSE OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES. ONCE AGAIN WITH THAT MYSTERIOUS FORESHADOWING OF HISTORY WHICH HAS OCCURRED SO OFTEN OUR GRANDFATHERS BEGAN TO MOVE FROM EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE, IN THE MIDDLE AND LATER 19TH CENTURY, TOWARD AMERICA IN THEIR MILLIONS AND TOWARD PALESTINE IN THEIR FEW THOUSANDS, ALMOST AS THOUGH THEY SENSED THAT NEW CENTERS WOULD HAVE TO BE BUILT UP TO REPLACE THOSE WHICH WOULD LATER BE DESTROYED. IT WAS NOT A CONSCIOUS, PLANNED OPERATION BUT RATHER AN INSTINCTIVE YEARNING TOWARD SAFETY AND SURVIVAL.

BY THE TIME THE HOLOCAUST DESCENDED WITH ITS SEARING FIRE AND CHOKING GAS TO BURN OUT THE SIX MILLION IN POLAND AND RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA AND ALMOST ALL OF EUROPE, AMERICA AND PALESTINE HAD ARISEN AS NEW STRONGHOLDS.

WE JEWS BURNED IN THE HEAT OF A THOUSAND OVENS -- AND THE WORLD WAS COLD. WE GAGGED IN THE GAS OF A THOUSAND CHAMBERS -- AND THE WORLD WAS SILENT. A MILLION BULLETS THUDDING INTO INERT FLESH UNTIL IT WAS NO NOVELTY AND A THOUSAND BULL-DOZERS HEAVED THE FROZEN, STARVED AND MANGLED BODIES INTO GAPING HOLES IN THE EXHAUSTED EARTH. THE SOIL



COULD NOT SHRIEK IN PROTEST. IT COULD ONLY ACCEPT AND SWALLOW THE AWFUL REFUSE. THE SMOKE DISSOLVED IN THE SKY. THE ASHES WERE SCATTERED ON THE WINDS. THE BONES DISAPPEARED -- AND WHEN THE WHOLE HIDEOUS MESS WAS OVER -- MANKIND WAS INDICTED FOREVER. THE MARK OF CAIN WAS BURNED INTO THE BROW, NOT ONLY OF JACK-BOOTED NAZIS WHO WERE THE ACTIVE CRIMINALS, BUT OF EVERY SINGLE HUMAN BEING ON EARTH WHO HAD FAILED TO PROTEST.

NOTHING LIKE THIS HAS EVER HAPPENED BEFORE IN THE ENTIRE RECORDED HISTORY OF THE HUMAN RACE. THE HUMAN ANIMAL IS A FIGHTING ANIMAL -- WORSE THAN ABSOLUTELY ANY OTHER -- AND THE RIVERS OF BLOOD SPILT IN WARS OVER LAND OR GOLD OR RELIGION OR TRADE, SPILT THROUGH TORTURE AND INQUISITION AND GLADIATORIAL COMBAT, SPILT THROUGH HATRED AND GREED AND FEAR AND PRIDE, HAVE BEEN FAR GREATER THAN ALL THE RIVERS OF WATER ON ALL THE CONTINENTS. BUT, NEVER IN ALL THE FANTASTIC EPISODES WHICH HAVE MARKED MAN'S INCREDIBLE EAGERNESS TO HARM HIS BROTHER, HAS THERE BEEN ONE TO MATCH THE MURDER OF THE JEWS IN THE MID-20TH CENTURY.

ONE HOPES THIS MAY BE THE END OF THE WANDERINGS. THE PESSIMISTS SAY THAT THERE IS NO SAFETY ANYWHERE. EVEN THE PRECIOUS DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA WILL ONE DAY SHATTER, AND WE JEWS WILL BE ETERNALLY DOOMED TO WANDER. OTHERS, MYSELF AMONG THEM, FEEL THAT THE SUCCESSFUL RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE THIRD JEWISH COMMONWEALTH IN THE FORM OF THE MODERN STATE OF ISRAEL, AND THE TIGHT LINKS WHICH THAT STATE HAS WITH THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND AMERICAN JEWS HAVE RADICALLY ALTERED THE COURSE OF HISTORY. IF THE STATE OF ISRAEL GROWS LARGER AND STRONGER AND SAFER; IF THE TIES BETWEEN AMERICAN JEWRY AND ISRAEL GROW DEEPER IN EVERY WAY; IF THE GOVERNMENTS OF AMERICA AND ISRAEL REMAIN COMMITTED TO A HIGHER DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY IN A WORLD WHERE THE NUMBER OF DEMOCRACIES GROWS SMALLER EACH YEAR, SO THAT THESE TWO NATIONS, AT LEAST, APPRECIATE



EACH OTHER MORE AND MORE, THEN PERHAPS THE AGES OF PERSECUTION AND MIGRATIONS ARE INDEED FINISHED AND THE WANDERING JEW WILL COME TO REST.

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ALL OUR HISTORY, WE HAVE TWO POWERFUL CENTERS OF JEWISH LIFE, NOT ONE. BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY, IN A SHORT 20 YEARS, THE JEWISH POPULATIONS OF ISRAEL AND THE U.S. WILL BE EQUAL AT ABOUT 5½ MILLION; OR PERHAPS THE ISRAELI WILL BE LARGER, DEPENDING ON THE INROADS OF ASSIMILATION IN AMERICA. AT ANY RATE, EACH WILL BE STRONG ENOUGH TO ADD SUPPORT TO THE OTHER. EVEN TODAY, IT IS NOT A ONE-WAY STREET. AMERICAN AND DIASPORA JEWS GIVE MATERIAL SUPPORT -- BUT ISRAEL GIVES BACK PRIDE TO EVERY JEW IN THE WORLD. LATER, ISRAEL MAY BE ABLE TO GIVE EVEN MORE THAN PRIDE, SHOULD IT EVER BE NECESSARY, JUST AS SHE GIVES CITIZENSHIP TODAY TO JEWS STILL INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION.

WE STARTED WITH ABRAHAM, ALMOST 4,000 YEARS AGO ON THE BANK OF THE EUPHRATES AND HAVE ARRIVED TODAY AT THE BANK OF THE HUDSON AND THE MISSISSIPPI, THE SEINE AND THE VOLGA, AND, ABOVE ALL, THE JORDAN. YOU, EACH ONE OF YOU, HAS BEEN PART OF THIS VAST TREK. THIS UNBELIEVABLE PAGEANT IS YOURS. KNOW FROM WHENCE YOU HAVE COME; KNOW BEFORE WHOM YOU STAND; THEN YOU WILL KNOW WHERE YOU ARE GOING.

WE SURVIVED, AND THIS IN ITSELF IS A GREAT VIRTUE, BUT MERE SURVIVAL IS THE MARK OF MANY SPECIES. WHAT WAS ACHIEVED; WHAT WAS OUTSTANDING, DURING OUR SURVIVAL FOR WHICH WE FOUGHT SO TENACIOUSLY; WHAT VALIDATES OUR CLAIM TO UNIQUENESS? THE RECORD YEILDS AN AWESOME AFFIRMATION:

1. WE INVENTED MONOTHEISM, LEADING MANKIND OUT OF ITS PRIMITIVISM.
2. WE SPAWNED TWO OTHER GREAT RELIGIONS, WITHDRAWING, PERHAPS INCORRECTLY, FROM MISSIONIZING OUR OWN, AND YET OFFERING ALTERNATIVE MODELS TO HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS.
3. WE INVESTED A CERTAIN LAND WITH HOLINESS -- AND SO ISRAEL IS CALLED TODAY, THE HOLY LAND TO ALL THREE GREAT FAITHS.



4. WE CREATED A HOLY BOOK IN A HOLY LANGUAGE -- AND BOTH ARE ALIVE TODAY, A CENTRAL SOURCE OF INSPIRATION TO MUCH OF THE HUMAN RACE.
5. WE LINKED ETHICS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR TO GOD -- AND THUS CREATED THE MORAL FORCE UPON WHICH THE WESTERN WORLD IS FOUNDED. TRUE, THE GREEKS GAVE ART AND PHILOSOPHY -- THE ROMANS GAVE ROADS AND GOVERNMENTAL ADMINISTRATION -- BUT OF ALL THE CONTRIBUTIONS, JUSTICE AND MORALITY ARE THE HIGHEST.
6. WE CONCEIVED THE IDEA THAT ALL MEN ARE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW, WHICH IS THE BASIS OF THE POLITICAL DEMOCRACY OF THE WEST TODAY. NOT EVEN THE KING WAS ABOVE THE LAW, THUNDERED THE PROPHET NATHAN TO KING DAVID, ORDERING HIM TO RULE THE PEOPLE WITH A COPY OF THE TORAH ON HIS LAP.
7. WE BECAME THE CIVILIZING PARENT OF THE WESTERN WORLD, FOR WHICH WE EARNED ITS DEEP HATRED; JUST AS FREUD TAUGHT THAT CHILDREN HATE THEIR PARENTS WHO TRY TO CURB THE NATURAL ANIMAL-LIKE INSTINCTS OF THE VERY YOUNG BY TELLING THEM WHAT THEY MAY AND MUST NOT DO. THERE IS AN EXCRUCIATING BALANCE OF LOVE AND REBELLION BETWEEN CHILD AND PARENT. THE SAME IS THE CASE BETWEEN THE JEW WHO REPRESENTS SUPER-EGO, CONSCIENCE, AND THE OTHERS WHOSE ID AND EGO WISHES TO FLOURISH UNIMPEDED. EVERY MAN LIVES IN TENSION WITH HIS CONSCIENCE -- I.E., HIS JEW.

ON THIS POINT, THERE ARE TWO OBSERVATIONS TO BE MADE, WHICH, IF PROPERLY UNDERSTOOD, EXPLAIN MUCH OF THE WORLD'S CONDUCT TOWARD US, AND OBLIQUELY GIVE US AN INSIGHT INTO OUR REAL ROLE.

A METHODIST MINISTER, STANLEY HIGH, AN EDITOR OF READERS' DIGEST, ONCE SAID TO ME THAT THE REASON WE JEWS WERE PERSECUTED WAS NOT BECAUSE



WE HAD ALLEDGEDLY KILLED CHRIST, BUT RATHER BECAUSE WE HAD GIVEN BIRTH TO HIM. WHAT A FLASH OF TRUTH! BY GIVING BIRTH TO CHRIST WE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE IMPOSITION OF MORAL STANDARDS UPON AN OTHERWISE AMORAL SOCIETY RESULTING FROM THE SPREAD OF HIS ESSENTIALLY JEWISH TEACHINGS THROUGH THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD OF THE FIRST FEW CENTURIES. CHRIST (I.E., WE) SAID THAT MURDER WAS WRONG, SLAVERY WAS WRONG, EXPLOITATION OF THE POOR AND THE ORPHAN AND THE WIDOW WAS WRONG, WORSHIP OF CAESAR WAS WRONG. AND SO DOWN THE CENTURIES THE CIVILIZING PRESSURES WERE RESISTED BY PEOPLE WHO PREFERRED TO LIVE BY BARBARIC STANDARDS AND DEEPLY HATED, IN A PSYCHOANALYTIC SENSE, THE FATHER FIGURE WHO IMPOSED MORAL CONDUCT.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION STEMS FROM A PERCEPTION OF ADOLF HITLER'S MOTIVATIONS. TO BUILD HIS THOUSAND YEAR REICH, AND TO BASE IT ON THE TEUTONIC GODS OF ODIN AND WOTAN, SO ADMIRERD IN THE WAGNERIAN OPERAS HE SO ADORED -- TO MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR HIS FORM OF BARBARISM -- HE WAS OBLIGED TO WIPE OUT CHRISTIANITY, BUT IN ORDER TO DO SO, HAD TO DESTROY JUDAISM FIRST. WE ARE THE GERMINAL SEED FROM WHICH ALL GOODNESS FLOWS AND THEREFORE WE HAD TO BE DESCRIBED AS THE ENEMY OF ALL TRUE GERMANIC VALUES. THE JEWISH CHRIST TAUGHT THAT THE MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH, BUT THIS WAS EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE OF GERMANIC NIETSCHEAN DOCTRINE THAT THE SUPERMAN SHALL RULE. THE JEWISH CHRIST TAUGHT THAT MAN SHOULD TURN HIS OTHER CHEEK -- (GENTLE JESUS, MEEK & MILD, -- READ THE WORDS OF THE HYMN) -- AND HITLER HAD TO UPROOT THIS IN ORDER TO REPLACE IT WITH THE DOCTRINE THAT POWER BELONGS TO THE STRONG. THE JEWISH BIBLE TAUGHT THAT A MAN SHOULD HONOR HIS FATHER AND MOTHER, BUT HITLER TAUGHT HIS YOUTH TO SPY ON THEIR PARENTS AND REPORT THEM TO THE GESTAPO FOR ANY DISLOYALTY.



THERE IS TRUTH, OF COURSE, IN THE COMMON ANALYSIS THAT HITLER NEEDED A SCAPEGOAT TO OFFER TO THE FRUSTRATED DEFEATED GERMAN PEOPLE, AND THAT THE MANY-CENTURIES OLD ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY MADE THE JEWS AN EASY MARK. BESIDES THEY WERE PROMINENT, VISIBLE, AND A TEMPTING PREY TO BE LOOTED. BUT WHY BURN THEIR BOOKS AND THEIR SYNAGOGUES? THE ANSWER LIES IN HITLER'S OFT-STATED DOCTRINE THAT THE JEWS WERE LIKE RATS WHO CARRIED A PLAGUE CALLED THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION AND MUST THEREFORE BE EXTERMINATED. THUS IN A WEIRD PERVERTED WAY HERE WAS TESTIMONY ONCE AGAIN TO THE TRANSCENDENTAL ROLE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE AS A FORCE FOR MORAL GOODNESS. HIS INSANE NEED TO WIPE US OUT WAS EVEN STRONGER THAN HIS DESIRE TO WIN THE WAR, AND HE ULTIMATELY LOST BOTH. THE WESTERN DEMOCRATIC WORLD BEAT BACK HIS ASSAULT AND THE JEWISH WORLD EMERGED, ALBEIT GRAVELY WOUNDED, RENEWED AND REINVIGORATED TODAY THROUGH ITS CREATION OF THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF ISRAEL.

SO, THE STORY HAS UNFOLDED. THIS PEOPLE HAS SURVIVED -- A MOST ANCIENT PEOPLE -- A GENIUS PEOPLE -- A CREATIVE, ARTISTIC PEOPLE -- A PEOPLE SEEKING TO UNDERSTAND THE UNIVERSE, EVEN UNTO EINSTEIN, AND TO TOUCH GOD, AS DID YEHUDA. HALEVI.

YOU ARE THIS PEOPLE. YOU ARE AN UPPER MIDDLE-CLASS JEW FROM NEW YORK, OR MARRIED TO ONE. YOU PLAY BRIDGE AND BACKGAMMON, TENNIS AND THE STOCK MARKET. YOU SEE ALL THE PLAYS AND READ ALL THE BOOKS. YOU ARE WIDELY TRAVELLED AND SUPER-SOPHISTICATED, YOU ARE BLASE NEW YORKERS OF THE 20TH CENTURY -- AND YET YOU ARE 40 CENTURIES OLD.

YOU ARE A SHEPHERD IN ABRAHAM'S TRIBE.

YOU ARE A HEBREW SOLDIER IN DAVID'S ARMY.

YOU ARE A REFUGEE WEEPING BY THE WATERS OF BABYLON.

YOU ARE A POET IN SPAIN'S GOLDEN AGE.

YOU ARE A SELLER OF HERRING IN A POLISH SHTETL.

YOU ARE A NOBEL PRIZE WINNER IN MATHEMATICS OR MEDICINE.



YOU ARE ANNE FRANK WHOM THE NAZIS MURDERED.  
YOU ARE A FREE HEBREW SABRA IN ISRAEL TODAY.

YOU ARE THIS PEOPLE AND YOU HAVE A DEEP UNAVOIDABLE RESPONSIBILITY TO IT. YOU ARE LEADERS AND CANNOT SHIRK YOUR DUTY. NAY, YOU MUST ACCEPT IT PROUDLY AND HAPPILY.

YOU ARE THIS PEOPLE AND YOU MUST PROTECT IT WITH ALL YOUR MIGHT AND POWER. YOU MUST TEACH ITS VALUES TO YOUR CHILDREN. YOU MUST LEARN ITS LANGUAGE -- HEBREW. YOU MUST BUILD ITS LAND-- ISRAEL. YOU MUST EXPAND ITS COMMUNITIES -- NEW YORK. YOU MUST RESCUE ITS SONS IN DANGER -- RUSSIANS OR ANY OTHER.

AND YOU MUST DO ALL THIS OUT OF THE KNOWLEDGE THAT YOUR SONS IN THE FUTURE WILL JUDGE YOUR DEVOTION TO THE TRADITION OF THE PAST BY THE QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF YOUR DEEDS, NOT YOUR WORDS. YOU WILL PROTECT YOUR HERITAGE AND IT WILL PROTECT YOU. THE VALUE OF JUDAISM TO YOU IS THAT IT GIVES YOU AN IDENTITY -- AND PROVIDES A MEANING TO YOUR LIFE, BECAUSE IT LINKS YOU TO AN IDEAL GREATER THAN YOURSELF. THE VALUE OF JUDAISM TO THE WORLD IS THAT OF THE GREATEST CIVILIZING MORAL FORCE MAN HAS EVER KNOWN. THUS YOU ARE PART OF SOMETHING WHICH GIVES VALUE TO YOU AND TO THE WHOLE WORLD. WHAT MORE CAN ANY ONE MAN OR PEOPLE DESIRE?

YOU ARE ALL OF THIS. YOU ARE NOBLE -- OBLIGATED -- ELEVATED -- COMMANDED TO STRUGGLE AND TO SUFFER -- ABOVE ALL, TO WITNESS. THROUGH YOU THIS PEOPLE WILL LIVE FOREVER -- AS LONG AS THIS PLANET SPINS -- AND SOON WILL SHOOT OFF INTO SPACE TO FIND OTHER MEN TO WHO TO TEACH OUR MESSAGE. YOU ARE TOUCHED WITH ETERNAL GREATNESS -- AS A MADMAN IS TOUCHED BY HIS DREAM -- AND THROUGH YOU, GOD, TORAH, & ISRAEL WILL BE ETERNAL.

MAY YOU LIVE FOREVER.



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## Book Reviews

*American Assimilation or Jewish Revival?* By Steven M. Cohen.  
Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988. Pp. xii + 140.

Professor Steven M. Cohen's work is a most valuable contribution to the perennial debate concerning the future of Jewish life in America. He himself best captures the issues at hand in his opening page:

Observers of American Jewish life divide into two camps on the question of whether American Jewry is assimilating. Those who may be called "assimilationists" perceive and project large-scale erosion of Jewish life as they understand it. ... Those who may be called "transformationists" are decidedly more sanguine about the prospects for Jewish continuity in the United States.

We are all too aware of the pessimistic perspective of assimilationists: American Jewry is on the decline, with intermarriage and assimilation on the rise. The farther away from our traditional roots we get, the more "watered-down" our Judaism will be. Some Jews will remain observant, but they will be increasingly isolated from the vast majority. It is this view that Cohen roundly rejects. In actuality, this book is a brilliant polemic for what Cohen calls "moderate transformation." Analyzing the 1981 Greater New York Jewish Population Study, Cohen shows how others have misread the data by assigning the wrong baseline to American Jewry or by using only one standard, Jewish observance, as a measure of Jewishness. Cohen argues for a social structural approach which seeks to identify cohesiveness among Jews and is intentionally non-judgmental about the quality of Jewish cultural life. He demonstrates that the identical data used by assimilationists actually reveal a much more sanguine picture of American Jewish life. Rather than showing a steady decline, the data in fact indicate a large middle level of semi-committed Jews.

In several well-documented chapters, Cohen carefully reviews the data on intermarriage, generational changes, observance and education, bringing fresh insights to the material. There are detailed analyses, complete with charts and statistics that are, at times, difficult to follow. Cohen compensates for this by clearly summarizing and evaluating his findings in each section. It is a very fair book. Cohen presents the assimilationist view even though he rejects it, and he does not shy away from exploring the drawbacks of his own approach. We cannot know for certain what the future will hold, but this compact volume gives much food for thought concerning the current state of Jewish life in America.

For instance, Cohen argues that participation in Jewish life is heavily influenced by social context and the life cycle. "Observant" couples tend



#### BOOK REVIEWS

to live in urban areas and to have young children, while the overwhelming majority of "inactive" Jews tend to be either singles or couples who have not yet had children. Cohen convincingly argues that as these "inactive" Jews move through the life cycle there is good reason to assume that they will increase their level of involvement. His data demonstrate that among those younger respondents who already have school-age children

observance levels exceeded those of the parents. ... The evidence does not support a theory predicting uniform decline in ritual practice from one generation to the next. Rather it suggests intergenerational flux (pp. 80-81).

On the other hand, the increased observance of these younger Jews consists for the most part of Passover Seder attendance, Chanuka candle lighting, and fasting on Yom Kippur — observances that, as Marshall Sklare has noted, are more easily retained by American Jews at least in part because they are performed infrequently. While Cohen properly warns against measuring the success of American Jewish life today by the yardstick of previous generations, his non-judgmental approach leaves us with no way to evaluate the quality of Jewish life today.

Cohen also tackles the thorny issue of intermarriage. He argues that "intermarriage has had only minor effects on the size of Greater New York's Jewish population and on its average level of involvement in Jewish life" (p. 41). His proofs are several. First is the increase in conversionary marriages, where the level of involvement in Jewish life is roughly the same as for in-marriages. Second, the data show that the consequences of intermarriage are greatest for peripheral Jews who already demonstrate a low level of involvement. Third, many intermarrieds still perform "the most widespread forms of Jewish activity," like the Passover Seder and Chanuka candles. Yet, here Cohen goes a bit too far. He suggests that intermarriage may actually lead to a net gain in the number of "affirming Jewish households," since it increases the number of potential Jewish households beyond what would arise from in-marriage. Surely, it is not mere numbers that will "transform" Jewish life. Again, the lack of a way to measure the quality of Jewish life poses a serious drawback. Cohen himself grapples with this limitation, noting that his study does not address issues in the "realm of consciousness." In other words, conversion, education, and observance may be on the increase, but the data do not reveal the meaning that Jews attach to these activities. Only by exploring this more subtle level of Jewishness will scholars be able truly to evaluate Cohen's theory of transformationism.

The big question, as Cohen notes, is that "if things are so 'good' from the Jewish survivalist's point of view, then why is the prevailing imagery so gloomy as to the culture's prospects for survival?" For this, too, he has several answers. First, the survivalist ideology gets us to act, even if we are being too alarmist in so doing. Second, American Jewry is indeed



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changing, and this transformation may appear to some as a decline. Finally, professionals, he argues, have good reason to look pessimistically at American Jewry: it points up the need for their expertise.

Most of us would love to believe Cohen's optimistic view of American Jewish life. It would make our lot that much easier. We could stop worrying about the future and enjoy this unique phenomenon known as American Judaism. There is surely historical precedent for viewing the plethora of Jewish books, art, music, and adult-education programs as evidence that American Jewry stands on the threshold of a revival. While it is common to speak of the Golden Age of Spain when recalling precedents for periods of Jewish creativity fueled by symbiosis with a majority culture, a more recent and relevant example is the cultural, religious, and intellectual revival of American Jewry in the late 19th-century. The religious institutions of the three major denominations were founded. The YMHAs, Jewish Publication Society, National Council for Jewish Women, Jewish Chautauqua Society, American Jewish Historical Society, and *Jewish Encyclopedia* all came into being during this period.

These developments were not only the result of this revival, but in many ways, they helped stimulate it. Reading English-language Jewish publications or studying with the Jewish Chautauqua Society helped American Jews believe that they were capable of cultural creativity and no longer dependent on European Jewry for spiritual and intellectual nourishment. This led them, in turn, to do more. In essence, this is what happened early in the 20th century when men like Kaufmann Kohler and Solomon Schechter proclaimed the United States as *the* center of Jewish learning. This view was a bit premature, but, coming from such great scholars and leaders, such a pronouncement helped American Jewry take the extra steps necessary to transform this vision into reality.

Perhaps Cohen's book will have the same positive effect that the public statements of Schechter and Kohler had in their day: it may not only describe this cultural transformation but may also strengthen it. After all, Cohen demonstrates throughout his book the power of statistics to influence public policy and group thinking. His work may actually increase the self-esteem of American Jewry by showing that we are not so bad off — educationally, culturally, demographically — as the "assimilationists" would have us believe. In this way, even if Cohen may not yet be totally correct in his conclusions, he may in fact be a crucial catalyst in transforming his views into reality. *Halevai!*

Shuly Rubin Schwartz

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# You Can Learn to Read Hebrew in One Day

**NOAH GOLINKIN**

**W**hile *Standing on One Foot* is the title of the textbook. The name comes, of course, from the famous challenge put to the great sage, Hillel: A man agreed to become Jewish if Hillel could teach him the entire Torah "while standing on one foot."

Granted the title of the textbook is a slight exaggeration. I can't teach you to read Hebrew "while standing on one foot," but I can do it in a day, even if you can't read a single word—or think you can't.

I devised this method of teaching Hebrew after a decade of experience with the Hebrew Literacy Campaign. In 1978, I created that program to teach adults Hebrew, not simply because I'm passionately in love with Hebrew—which I am—but because I believe the ability to read Hebrew is the key to the survival of the Jewish people.

A long chain of miracles of biblical proportions culminated in the rebirth of the modern state of Israel. The rebirth of Hebrew as a *spoken* language is part of that chain of miracles and one of the marvels of our time. In Israel today, garbage collectors and atomic scientists alike use Hebrew comfortably in all their daily pursuits.

In 1890 the great visionary, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, implemented his dream to revive Hebrew as a language of conversation after a silent interval of nearly 2000 years. This year we celebrate the centennial of the birth of that dream and its fulfillment. Chaim Herzog, the president of Israel, has proclaimed 1989–1990 (5750) Hebrew Language Year. Amidst the celebration, let us pause to observe a paradox: While Jews in Israel *speaking* Hebrew, Jews in the United

States have forgotten how to *read* Hebrew.

For many centuries the Jews were the most literate people on earth. The most untutored Jew could read the *siddur* (prayerbook) and the Psalms. When rulers of medieval Europe were unable to read and write their own languages, Jews served as their secretaries doing the reading and writing for the court.

In the 20th century, Jews are still among the most literate people in the world. In the United States, English illiteracy is a problem among many Americans, but Jews are not part of *that* problem. Indeed, Jews often master several languages.

But there is a problem of illiteracy among the Jews of America: *Hebrew* illiteracy. Our one-time badge of honor is now a badge of shame. Jewish Nobel prize winners often cannot read a simple Hebrew prayer without a transliteration. The synagogue has become a community of "transliterated."

That is why, 12 years ago, I originated the Hebrew Literacy Campaign under the sponsorship of the Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs of the Conservative movement.

At that time, adult Hebrew programs in most synagogues lacked focus. Huge congregations had miniscule adult Hebrew classes, and no one asked for more. Interest in the existing classes was low; attrition was high; achievement was microscopic; impact on the life of the congregation, nil.

Classes usually met once a week. People with busy schedules had no choices. Those who couldn't fit into the class time slot were out of luck. With the best intentions in the world adults could wait for years until they "got around to it." This provided a readily



available excuse for many. In addition, classes in these programs were conducted for a whole school year. By the end of the year the class size—small to begin with—dwindled nearly to the vanishing point.

The Hebrew Literacy Campaign brought about a radical change in many Conservative congregations throughout the country. The campaign strategy was to hold identical classes in each participating synagogue every day of the week with students attending short 12-week sessions. It was a fullfledged campaign, just like a United Jewish Appeal campaign. It got top priority within the congregation—with parlor meetings, brainstorming, commitment of the leadership and full publicity.

**When we began** the Hebrew Literacy Campaign in 1978, knowledgeable critics declared the program totally unrealistic. But during the past 12 years, 70,000 adults in the United States and Canada have learned to read Hebrew in these classes—a breakthrough of historic proportions.

During the years 1978-1981, several synagogues throughout the United States and Canada started classes at the same time, the week after Simchat Torah, and proceeded at the same pace following an international curriculum. I remember one student from Los Angeles who came to Washington for a week. "Is there a Hebrew literacy class in Washington?" she asked on arrival. There were many. She attended one without missing a beat.

In Temple of Aaron Congregation, St. Paul, 400 adult students studied Hebrew in a single 12-week course under the guidance of 40 lay teachers. In Beth Sholom Congregation of Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, 350 students; in Temple Emmanuel, Boston, 300 students; in Ahavath Achim Synagogue, Atlanta, 250; in Chizuk Amuno Congregation, Baltimore, 275 students one year and 170 students the next.

Where did we get teachers for so many students? The motto was: "Those who don't know must learn; those who know must teach." Lay people were teaching lay people in startling numbers: sometimes 50 teachers in a single congregation.

Each congregation holds multiple, parallel, daily classes—mornings, afternoons and evenings. Each student finds a class that

suits a busy personal schedule. There are no more excuses. If students miss a class, they can make it up in another session the same week.

The textbook for this program is *Shalom Aleichem*, which I created expressly for the campaign. It uses the popular song "Shalom Aleichem," the opening hymn at many Friday night services, as a pedagogic stepping stone to teach the reading of Hebrew prayers. By the end of the 12th week, the students can read the Friday night service. The enthusiasm of students and teachers alike is energizing. Whoever heard—among American adults—of any enthusiasm for Hebrew?

Graduation usually is a Friday night service conducted by the graduating class. I recall one freezing graduation Friday night in a January when the famous Frank Lloyd Wright sanctuary in Beth Sholom Congregation overflowed like the night of Kol Nidre with students and teachers, their young children, families and friends.

Based on this success story, I was asked by the graduating classes to create a second level to the campaign. Eagerly complying, I wrote the second level textbook called *Ayn Keloheyinu*—the name of a closing hymn of the Shabbat morning service. This textbook deals with the major prayers of the Shabbat morning service, key vocabulary, the structure of each prayer, its message, its history and its liturgy.

This program, too has been enormously successful.

In the fall of 1986 Danny Siegel, a charismatic lecturer who has written many poems about his passionate love of Hebrew, began proclaiming in his lectures that it is possible to learn to read Hebrew in a single day—it is that easy. Numerous audiences responded to Danny's idea with enthusiasm.

To meet this unexpected opportunity, I developed the Hebrew Reading Marathon. To help teach it, I created the textbook *While Standing On One Foot*.

The marathon uses about 180 Hebrew words that most American Jews—although unaware of it—know orally. They use these words routinely as part of their English conversation, without translation or explanation. This functional oral vocabulary becomes the launching pad for reading these and other words and, in the process, mas-



tering the Hebrew alphabet.

The following words are examples of the functional Hebrew vocabulary of most American Jews, even if they can't read them in Hebrew: amen, bar mitzvah, *baruch*, Ben Gurion, *dayenu*, Hadassah, Hava Nagilah, *haggadah*, Hatikvah, *halleluyah*, *horah*, *kaddish*, *kiddush*, Kol Nidre, kosher, *kibbutz*, *l'chayim*, Maccabee, *matzah*, *mitzvah*, *mazal tov*, *menorah*, *mezuzah*, *minyan*, Pesach, Purim, Rosh Hashanah, Shabbat, *shema*, *shofar*, *shalom*, Simchat Torah, *seder*, *sukkah*, *tallit*, Torah, Tel Aviv, Yom Kippur. This is a unique vocabulary of "Jewnglish," Jewish English.

Our students are usually surprised to realize that they have been speaking Hebrew most of their lives: They already have an extensive oral vocabulary that they now need to transform into a reading vocabulary.

## How does the marathon

work? In the textbook, the students read the English definition of the familiar Hebrew word (see illustration at right). After reading the definition, they automatically read the appropriate word in Hebrew printed at the end of the line. The whole-word method leads to recognition and mastery of individual letters.

Each page of the textbook emphasizes a particular Hebrew letter, usually the first letter of each word on that page. Most pages in the book follow the *mem*-page format shown at right.

By the end of the day, the students know, comfortably and confidently, the entire Hebrew alphabet and can read short, simple Hebrew prayers. More important, the fear (one student called it terror) of Hebrew has been eliminated. Hebrew is no longer considered hard or boring. Invariably the members of the class end a long day of cumulative learning with smiling faces.

Marathon students not only learn the Hebrew alphabet; they also gain insight into the making of the language. The marathon becomes a language appreciation course: Hebrew is beautiful; Hebrew is fun.

Is there life after the Marathon? Indeed, there is—much life.

Marathon graduates understand that what they have learned in the marathon is only an introduction to reading. Fluency

**מ** My sound is "m."

Words.

1. I am the parchment scroll on your doorpost, the מְזוּזָה
2. I am the scroll read on Purim, the מְגִלָּה
3. I am the candelabrum lit on Hanukkah, the מְנוֹרָה

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★ Note sounded Sh'va at the beginning of a word   ★ ★ Compare מ with מ (see p.39)

**מ** You'll find me ———

4. in the special "bread" eaten on Pesach מָצָה
5. in the bitter herbs dipped in Haroset מָרוֹר
6. in the name of the sister of Moses מֵרִים
7. in the quorum of ten required for a public Worship Service מִנְיָן

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**מ** You must have seen me before ———

8. in each of the 613 Divine Commandments מִצְוָה
9. in the ritual pool of purification מִקְוָה
10. in "Good Luck" \*\* מִזְל טוֹב
11. in the Star of David מִגֵּן דָּוִד
12. in the main hero of the Hanukkah story, Judah מַכְבִּי
13. in the famous Israeli wine כֶּרֶמֶל

Using Rabbi Golinkin's illustrated textbook, students learn one new letter per page in alphabet sequence.

The *Mem* page (above) shows the Hebrew letter *mem* and tells the students to pronounce it like an English *em*. It also cautions not to confuse the *mem* with the Hebrew letter *tet*, which has a similar appearance.

The students read "I am the parchment scroll on your doorpost, the..." and complete the sentence with "*mezuzah*" printed in Hebrew. Additional examples follow, all of which use a *mem*.

To aid students, the page opposite the *Mem* page provides drawings of the answers. Supplementary word lists follow for study at home.

Besides reading practice, other pages provide insight into the history of the Hebrew language, as well as encouraging words; for example, the great rabbi Akiba was illiterate until he began studying at the age of 40.

requires review, homework, attendance at services and continued attendance in a post-marathon six-week minicourse. Most students eagerly look forward to learning more Hebrew in the follow-up program.

Created three years ago, the Hebrew Reading Marathon is growing at a rapid rate. Several thousand students from Boston to San Diego and from San Antonio to Anchorage have learned the basics of He-

*continued on page 47*



make up your face."

An hour later, a towel around his neck, I was making up his face: graying the hair, accentuating the facial lines and the bags beneath his eyes, adding an unkempt moustache. Then came the uniform, the starched white shirt and tie, the blue pants and jacket, the pair of freshly polished shoes and, finally, the cap.

Only this time, when I led him to the mirror, the cap bore the El Al insignia, a blue Star of David at its center.

Seeing it, he recoiled. "Oh," he said softly, "I understand."

"You're to be one of the El Al crew."

He kept staring into the mirror, clearly shaken. "You have nice uniforms."

"You recognize the star?" I goaded, unable to help myself.

"Ja," he nodded. "Of course."

Eichmann, semiconscious from an injection, was seated in the left forward window seat of first class, with the doctor in the aisle seat beside him. The other six first class seats were immediately occupied by legitimate uniformed crew under orders to pretend to sleep. The lights in the first class section were extinguished, not to be turned on until the plane was airborne.

Uzi and I left the plane and watched it take off.

Once it was airborne I asked Uzi, "Do the crew on board know who he is?"

Uzi glanced at his watch. "They do now."

In fact, we would later learn that the disclosure had prompted one profoundly moving scene. In the excitement that followed the disclosure, one crewman, El Al's chief mechanic, moved off by himself and quietly went to pieces. A Polish-born veteran of the camps, he remained captive to the experience, haunted by the memory of having to stand by helplessly as an SS man dragged his beloved six-year-old brother, screaming and crying, to his death. At last regaining control, he received permission to have a closer look at the prisoner. Eichmann, awake but sightless behind dark goggles, was aware of the shift in the atmosphere. He began fidgeting and moving uncomfortably in his seat. Meanwhile, five feet away, the other man grew visibly calmer with the passing minutes, a victim suddenly turned accuser, beginning to find a measure of peace for the first time in

his adult life.

On my own return a week later, Israel was still in an uproar. The reaction to the capture had far exceeded even my wildest imaginings; there was nothing less than an explosion of national pride. It dominated the headlines, the airwaves, casual conversations. Flags and banners were everywhere. *We had struck back!* ran the unspoken theme. *For the first time since the days of the Old Testament, we had risen in righteous fury!*

The trial lasted more than four months. It was followed by nearly four months of deliberations by the three-judge tribunal. Their verdict was finally delivered on December 10, 1961: Guilty on all counts of crimes against humanity and the Jewish people. Eichmann sat stiffly as the verdict was read, betraying nothing.

Unyielding to the end, he rejected an appeal by a Protestant minister that he repent. Refusing a hood, he spoke his last words in German: "Long live Germany. Long live Argentina. Long live Austria. These are the countries with which I have been most closely associated and I shall not forget them."

"I greet my wife, my family and friends. I had to obey the rules of war and my flag. I am ready."

He was hanged on May 21, 1962, the only man ever executed in the state of Israel. His remains were cremated two hours later on board an Israeli police boat, the ashes scattered over the Mediterranean outside Israeli waters. There would be no grave for Nazis, present or future, to turn into a shrine. ●

## You Can Learn to Read Hebrew in One Day

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brew reading with the marathon method. They come from all denominations: Orthodox, Reform, Conservative and Reconstructionist. They include presidents of congregations and sisterhoods, chairpersons of adult education committees, young parents of our school children and octogenarians.

The skeptic might ask, don't Orthodox congregants know how to read? The answer is, surprisingly, many do not. Lincoln Square Synagogue, New York, and Beth T'filoh Congregation, Baltimore, are among the Orthodox synagogues that have run Hebrew Reading Marathons.

## How to Participate in a Hebrew Reading Program

If you are interested in the 12-week Hebrew Literacy Campaign using the book *Shalom Aleichem*, contact:

Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs  
475 Riverside Drive, Suite 244  
New York, New York 10115  
(212) 749-8100

If you are interested in presenting the one-day Hebrew Reading Marathon using the book *While Standing on One Foot*, contact:

Rabbi Noah Golinkin  
5639 Thunder Hill Road  
Columbia, Maryland 21045  
(301) 964-ALEF

What about Reform congregations? Are they interested in learning to read Hebrew? More Hebrew Reading Marathons have been run by Reform congregations than by any other denomination. A new generation of Reform rabbis has discovered the beauty of Hebrew. The Reform laity are aware of their deficiency. They are ready and eager for remedial efforts.

Wilshire Boulevard Temple in Los Angeles, one of the largest Reform congregations in the country, has run five marathons. In each the Temple's four rabbis conducted parallel sessions. Rabbinic students from the Hebrew Union College campus in Los Angeles are dedicating weekends to running Hebrew marathons in tiny congregations in Arizona and in the vast out-reaches of California and Idaho.

In other congregations the teachers include lay leaders. In Temple De Hirsch Sinai, Seattle, 14 teachers, both professional and lay, taught the Marathon. Shir Ha-ma'alot Harbor Reform Temple, Newport Beach, California, trained 12 teachers, including a few teenagers, who did a superb job.

Many congregations invite me as the originator of the marathon concept to present the first model marathon. Then a chain of marathons run by local talent follows. Hopefully every congregation in the United States will adopt multi-year plans until the matter of Hebrew illiteracy is resolved on a national scale, before the end of this decade.

Let's proclaim the 1990s the Decade of Hebrew Literacy. ●