



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-915: Joshua O. Haberman Papers, 1926-2017.

Series A: Sermons and Prayers, 1940-2016.

Subseries 1: High Holidays, 1941-2016, undated.

Box

4

Folder

3

Sermons and notes, 1981.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

Rosh Hash Shana Approaches

(See Small Medium)

Theme: We are called upon to speak for
 world of Jews

Get Meneris Waterloo incident
get yourself a big
map What was Jewish
would like in 1852

Refer to ① WAC anniversary year
 early poverty
 dependence of all American Synag for help from broad
 - money from England & Austria
 - debts from Germany - early fears & insecurity
 "Our Charter"

② yet - as soon as possible - Washington
 Jersey - exp. WAC leaders - saw
 themselves as spokesmen for Jewish rights & Jewry
 hence everywhere

③ Now our wealth status power has grown
 & so has our responsibility

The question of National vs Ethnic Interest

Speeches mandating for Israel Our future is
 there though ^{only} 2% of Jews,
 40% of all Jewish children in Israel

Sister Mithias In a place where there
are women better a man

use quote from Esther: Who knows if but for this
 that you have been brought to this
 Refer to Nehemiah - Duke of Xaxos - Chem weis ^{point}

As of tonight we are ascending ^{year's}
~~We have entered~~ the spiritual summit with its twin peaks, Rosh H. and
10 days hence, Y. H.

The term Rosh Hashbona does not appear in the Bible. Instead, this
day is referred to as יוֹם הַזִּכְרוֹן the Day of Remembrance.
It is a psychologically valid name for ~~the celebration of new~~
~~beginnings~~ because Year's Celebration.

~~Epitaph~~ Birthdays & anniversaries are generally ~~to~~ ^{celebrations of} not ~~celebrate~~ future
projections but festivity ~~of~~ ^{of} remembrance. On a typical birthday celebration,
we look over ~~an~~ ^{old} photo album ^{slides} ~~and~~ ^{indulge in nostalgia} family members or intimate friends
~~put on for us~~ ^{treat} This-is-you Life Sheet. ^{the practical} ^{its serious} ^{value}

~~value of these~~ ~~treating us to~~ ~~a total view~~ ~~from~~ ~~both~~ ~~pictures~~
on to various highpoints ~~at~~ ~~different~~ ~~stages~~ ~~of~~ ~~our~~ ~~life~~.

~~there is a practical value for this~~ ~~Remembrance of Things Past~~

As we review the road we have travelled ^{inwardly} we ~~reassess~~
success & failure ^{old & new interests, relationships, friendships} and such reassessments help us ~~gain~~ ~~new~~
~~insight~~ ~~clarify~~ ~~future~~ ~~goals~~. ^{our remembrance becomes} ~~A~~ ~~vision~~ ~~confrontation~~ ~~with~~
~~our's past~~ is a solid basis for new resolutions, new directions,
and major changes in life.

~~celebrate~~ This is a special year of remembrance for ^{W.H.C.} ~~our~~ ~~people~~. We shall
— the 130th year of our Existence next April 1982.
I wish that by some sort of magic I could have you
see and feel what it was like to be a Jew in 1852
so that you might see and understand more clearly how
a Jew ought to act in 1982

1852 - ^{pitifully} How few were our people in this ^{the nation's} ~~new~~ ~~west~~
— ~~the entire country~~ ~~the~~ ~~entire~~ ~~continent~~ ~~Capital~~:
a handful of families who could easily have been accommodated
in one Temple library.

They were all new-comers, most of them ^{recent} immigrants from Europe with one or 2 perhaps ~~perhaps~~ ^{perhaps} 2 ~~Jewish~~ ^{recent} ~~first generation~~ Americans, who had moved to Washington from ~~some other city~~ - In 1852 in ~~the~~ ^{there was} Europe from which they had fled, ~~not~~ ^{not} a single country ~~with the sole~~ except ~~that of~~ France, which recognized Jews as equal citizens, ~~and~~ ^{other} Switzerland, the only ^{other} Democracy in the world at that time would not even permit a Jew to cross its borders. Only 7 years earlier, the free city of Basel saw fit to expell its tiny ~~little Jewish~~ ^{little Jewish} community of some 30 Jews who had somehow managed to infiltrate.

Among the ^{approximately} 21 Jews who met in a private house on Penn Ave at 21st Str. on April 25, 1852 to form the WTC there must have been quite a few who had come from parts of Germany ~~and cities like~~ Frankfurt where Jews ~~could not~~ ^{still} were restricted in their right to marry, forbidden to own more than one house and excluded from virtually every decent profession. ~~and~~ In Rome Jews were still confined like sub-humans behind ghetto walls. As late as 6 years after ~~this meeting~~ of the founders of WTC had met a Catholic Priest in Bologna, ^{Italy} could with impunity, kidnap a Jewish child, Edgardo Mortara, and for 2 decades ~~be~~ ^{backed by the full power of the Pope and his} raise the child as a Catholic ~~in secret~~ ^{in secret} ~~hideout~~ ^{hideout} ~~transform him into a priest~~ ^{transform him into a priest} ~~as a Catholic~~ ^{as a Catholic} ~~against~~ ^{against} the best vying pleas of the parents ~~even with~~ ^{even with} the backing of ~~and~~ the personal intervention of several kings falling on the deaf ears of the Pope and his Council.

1852 was no easy year to be a Jew. Can you imagine the amazement, bordering on disbelief of our founders when that very year a fellow Jew was elected Senator in one of the great states South of the Union - Jewish P. Benjamin of Louis. and

Would this freedom & equality for Jews last?

have enough of this

At first, ~~the powers of WTTU~~ our founding fathers did not ~~believe~~ that this radical difference in the treatment and status of Jews in the USA was here to stay and so ~~they were to allow their fears~~ they were afraid to go public with ~~the organization~~ a few in a group in Washington. ~~At times though there was no legal obstacle in the District of Columbia law to synagogue the~~

without the most powerful legal backing. In spite of the fact that the general law of the District raised no obstacle to ~~the constitution~~

~~of a Synagogue~~ our founders sought to obtain ^{a special} act of Congress ^{signed by President Franklin Pierce (June 2 1856)} ~~specifically to provide an unprecedented legal charter for WTTU~~ the unprecedented charter

which you will see on display in our lobby, specifically authorizing the creation of our Congregation.

^{as president} They elected the main instrumental in getting this charter for us Captain ^{Jesse} Phillips Levy whose portrait hangs in our library.

Captain Levy - the youngest of 10 children ^{a descendant} ~~from a selected~~ of the distinguished Phillips family - ~~Philadelphia Jew~~ ^{born back to} of Philadelphia Revolutionary times, was a new breed of Jew

At adventures, ~~help of the~~ orphaned at 9, a cabin boy on the high sea at 16, ^{was} Jesse Levy became a hero in the American Mexican War, appointed by General Winfield Scott Capt of the Port of Vera Cruz and became an Admiral of the Mexican Navy before he took office as Pres. of WTTU

Not for one moment did Capt. Levy hesitate to use what opportunity ~~offered~~ or connect. he had to influence the political process for the benefit of his fellow Jews.

When the US State Dept had negotiated a very lucrative Trade treaty with Switzerland ~~and~~ Capt. Levy became a leader in American Jewry's first political ^{battle to influence foreign policy} ~~in favor of~~ ^{for the protection & security} ~~beliefs of Jews~~ ~~the security and interests of fellow Jews abroad.~~

~~His opposition against the Swiss treaty, enlisted~~
~~him~~ ~~to~~ ~~become~~ ~~the~~ ~~powerful~~ ~~South~~ ~~the~~ ~~fact~~ ~~that~~
This treaty for the ~~protection~~ export of American Cotton, tobacco & Rice was very much ^{in the interest} ^{and strongly favored by the US State Dept} after the USA (especially the powerful South) did not stop Capt Levy from ~~opposing~~ ^{opposing} it in the name of ~~Jewish rights~~ his people's dignity & human rights. ~~He enlisted~~
~~them~~ ~~are~~ ~~in~~ ~~escapable~~

(Parallels with ^{our} ~~American Jewry's~~ current Campaign against the F-15 & AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia - ^{no one questions} ~~its long term~~ ~~the~~ ~~commercial~~ ~~benefits~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~deal~~ ~~whose~~ ~~long~~ ~~term~~ ~~benefit~~ ~~is~~ ~~assumed~~ ~~for~~ ~~Saudi~~ ~~Arabia~~ ~~But~~ ~~Levy~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~stead~~ ~~of~~ ~~our~~ ~~brother's~~ ~~is~~ ~~all~~ ~~more~~ ~~precious~~ ~~than~~ ~~oil~~ ~~and~~ ~~So~~ ~~we~~ ~~Speak~~ ~~up~~ ~~and~~ ~~are~~ ~~starting~~ ~~up~~ ~~a~~ ~~national~~ ~~campaign~~ ~~against~~ ~~the~~ ~~sale~~ ~~in~~ ~~which~~ ~~we~~ ~~point~~ ~~out~~ ~~the~~ ~~long~~ ~~term~~ ~~risks~~ ~~for~~ ~~America~~ ~~&~~ ~~Israel~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~proposed~~ ~~deal~~ ~~with~~ ~~a~~ ~~poor~~ ~~unstable~~ ~~or~~ ~~unreliable~~ ~~as~~ ~~we~~ ~~believe~~ ~~Saudi~~ ~~Arabia~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ,

What happened with our huge deposits of ^{military technology} ~~weapons~~ including the most sophisticated in our arsenal in Iran could happen any day in Saudi Arabia. If ^{used by its part could be transferred to another} ~~used by a radical~~ ~~regime~~ ~~that~~ ~~regime~~ the ~~State~~ ~~Arms~~ & F-15's fall into the hands of a radical & aggressive regime they would be a ~~grave~~ ^{deadly} menace to Israel ~~and~~ ^{at the same time} ~~our best guarded~~ ^{delivered} secrets to ~~the~~ ^{our} enemies of America. ^{With access to the capacity of} ~~identifying every plane~~ ^{most} ~~of~~ ^{our} ~~the~~ ^{most} ~~secret~~ ^{secretly} ~~guarded~~ ^{identifying every plane}

We believe that Pres. & Secy of State that are ill advised ~~we are opposing~~ ~~President~~ in pushing this deal - and feel ~~impaired~~ ^{feel} ~~to do~~ ^{to do} all we can to prevent it.

^{in an atmosphere as vast as between} ~~could prevent~~ ^{that} ~~only~~ ^{Warsaw & Paris} ~~is~~ ^{an unfriendly Arab regime} ~~likely~~ ^{that might be essential for survival} ~~to~~ ^{one of the most} ~~bring~~ ^{excruciating} ~~us~~ ^{state} ~~to~~ ^{state} ~~the~~ ^{state} ~~effect~~ ^{state} ~~of~~ ^{state} ~~conscience~~ ^{state} ~~and~~ ^{state} ~~concern~~ ^{state} ~~to~~ ^{state} ~~which~~ ^{state} ~~American~~ ^{state} ~~has~~ ^{state} ~~been~~ ^{state} ~~subject~~ ^{state} ~~in~~ ^{state} ~~all~~ ^{state} ~~their~~ ^{state} ~~history~~ ^{state}.

~~we~~ ^{we} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~now~~ ^{now} ~~being~~ ^{being} ~~put~~ ^{put}.

Senators Charles McClellan of Maryland

Presid. Regan & Secy of State that ^{laid out the prestige on the line} ~~have~~ ^{they've} ~~committed~~ ^{committed} the vast powers of the administration to pushing the deal thru Congress. We are forced to choose between ~~passage of~~ ^{passage of} 2 considerations: On the one hand is the ~~2~~ ² ~~dominant~~ ^{dominant} ~~view~~ ^{view} of this sale ~~is~~ ^{is} that ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~advantages~~ ^{advantages} ~~outstrip~~ ^{outstrip} all ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~possible~~ ^{possible} risks - a view ~~hotly~~ ^{hotly} ~~contested~~ ^{contested} by ~~a~~ ^a ~~wide~~ ^{wide} ~~cross~~ ^{cross} ~~section~~ ^{section} a number of military & political experts. On the other hand is the complete consensus of Israelis that it helps ~~deadly~~ ^{deadly} ~~perils~~ ^{perils} to the State of Israel.

Forced to choose between our presently friendly (Saudi Arabia) oil supplier and the blood of our people we choose the latter.

For this we have been taken to task by Senator Charles McNair of Ind. In his recent ^{25 page} article in Foreign Affairs - on which he claims to have worked a year, the Senator with due reference to the Jews criticized ~~the~~ organized ethnic interest groups which "sometimes press causes that delegate from the national interest!"

The Senator's insinuation that American Jews are ~~possibly~~ less devoted to the national interest than others or might reject what is best for America in favor of what ~~is~~ is good for the Jews must not go unanswered.

~~Now~~
We owe it to our fellow citizens lest we be misled; we owe it to our enemies, lest they gloat over this unexpected reinforcement of their anti-Jewish suspicion ~~and~~; we owe it to ourselves to respond firmly ~~lest we be silenced by~~ lest we forfeit our most precious right as Americans - - free speech and free assembly - the right to speak and act as part of the political process.

Who has the right to define America's national interest?

If Mr. McNair holds a certain view as to what is best for America - is a contrary view necessarily bad for America?

As a voter in Md I receive ~~regularly~~ from
 Mr. Mathias's office great amounts in which ~~of~~ my
~~views~~ opinions are solicited on various foreign &
 domestic issues? Am I to reply only
 what the Cosyp. Senator would like to hear?
 Am I to

Generally speaking Every Senator's experience is supposed
 to consider the ~~various~~ viewpoints of all
 interested persons & groups so that he may better
 represent his electorate. If I don't speak up
 for my special interest — who will?

The National interest is no fixed
 objective fact but a constantly fluctuating
~~subject~~ consensus which can only be
 determined ~~when~~ ^{after} all sincerely held opinions
 are communicated to our Senators ^{in person, and} ^{by} legis/ator.

~~If lobbying freely by anyone~~

Why should ethnic lobbying be any less legitimate
 than the lobbying activities of the ~~after~~ ~~various~~ Labor, the
 Chamber of Commerce, the AMA the American
 Organization & the ~~var~~ the Pro. and Anti. sect.ists
 and all the other ^{secular} ~~special~~ religious bodies
 that make up the random spectrum of ^{different} political
 interests in a vital pluralistic democracy?

As to the wisdom of political action or inaction,
we would answer with
~~there can be no doubt~~ & paraphrase of Edmund Burke's
famous adage

"Bad officials are elected by ^{Citizens} those who
don't vote."

Bad policies are shaped by ^{Citizens} those who don't speak up.

~~We Jews are only 3% of the nation. It is ludicrous to
^{of the Senat. Members} suggest that American Jews are mounting ~~such~~
excessive pressure ^{campaign} on Congress.~~

~~The most we could ever accomplish is to draw
~~the~~ the attention of the remaining 97% of
America's public opinion. We should to all
~~and off our views~~ sides of a controversial
issue, to give our input of information & moral
judgment. ~~To be ludicrous~~ we certainly do
~~not~~ have the power to gain endorsement or rejection
contrary to the wishes of 97% of the American people.~~

If our fellow Americans see merit in our views,
they will be endorsed as in the public interest - if not
our views will be rejected.

The Senator's job is to listen to all sides include
his own conscience & then decide but not discourage

9
public debate with ~~the~~ ^{allegations} of ethnic disloyalty
to the larger good of America.

In 1852 a handful of Jews in Washington
who ~~were still not sure of their~~ had hardly gotten used
to their full citizenship rights — decided to
act as proud Jews & proud Americans.

They used what little power they had to influence
American policy to help their oppressed brethren abroad.

we know of
Today, Washington ~~is~~ one of the great other page
Committees ~~and~~ the 6 million Jews
of America have no reason whatever
to be inhibited in ~~their~~ own political self
expression. *(cont. p. 10.)

^{powerful order of German}
In 1917 the ^{persecuted} Socialists, Rosa Luxemburg
was asked by a friend to speak up for the laws
~~the~~ people who were then being massacred
~~the~~ in pogroms in Russia & Poland.

Rosa Luxemburg replied: Why do you come to me
with you special Jewish sorrows?
I feel just as sorry for the wretched Indian
victims in Putumayo and the Negroes in Africa.
I cannot find a special corner in my heart
for the Jews. (Lapine p. 435
Judd Teller p. 164)

2 years later Rosa Luxemburg was arrested & assassinated
by ~~the same~~ German officers — ^{indeed} ~~she~~ perished!

Capt. James P. Levy's ^{defense of our}
~~his~~ commitment to ~~the~~ brethren abroad
was ~~continued~~ vigorously maintained
by another great Pres. of W.H.C.
Simon Wolf who responded
to the persecution of Romanism Jews
with a national protest campaign
and . . .

If Simon Wolf had ever been ~~charged~~ accused
of putting his own ethnic interest above
that of the USA, he paid absolutely no attention to it.
None did ~~his~~ ^{his} Jewish ~~and~~ fellow citizen. On the contrary,
His lifelong public advocacy of Jewish causes
only earned him greater respect as a national
leader in the Republ. Party, ^{of the advisers} ~~the~~ Conf. Suite
of Pres. dents
and ~~and~~ how strange to relate, in his old age
^{exactly 100 years ago} an appointment as US ambassador
to Egypt!

After 50 years of Communist - Socialist betrayal & oppression
 of Jews and 5 years of the Nazi
 Holocaust which destroyed one third of our people
 including 1 million children — these
 Jews who survived and want to serve
~~great cause~~ humanity should begin with its
 most ~~endangered~~ ^{endangered} species — the Jewish people
 and especially the little State of Israel

(*) If there is ^{even} the slightest moment of hesitation
 in coming to the defence of your people's
 survival needs, remember Mordecai's
 words to Esther when he asked ^{that she} ~~to~~ use her ~~power~~
 influence to save her people

"Think not in your mind that you will escape
 any more than all the Jews.
 If you keep silent ~~now~~ at this time, relief and
 deliverance will arise to the Jews from another
 place, but you and your family will perish.
 Who knows whether you have not come to royal
 estate for such a time as this?" (Esther 4.14)
 If you keep silent at this time, you will perish" but relief ~~will~~ ^{will} arise to the Jews...

Roh Hasl - Birthday of World

A birthday is more than a party with gifts & family & friends
that day

It is Review
Reassessment
Reenchant

We provide a strong incentive for this by
putting together a "This is your life"
and collage of old photos & slides
to help celebrate
to review his life from birth to this moment.

Such exercises in memory often lead to new
insight, ^{new} realizations & major changes in life.

^{when} Remembrance ~~not its own~~ helps us see the road
we have travelled so far — it is correct ~~illumine~~
our future directions.

This year is WHC's 130th and as we look
back on this span of time not ~~just~~ ^{just} to have an occasion
for celebrations because of the mere passage of time
But ~~to take stock~~ to make comparisons between
then & now — to take stock of the road we've travelled,
to recount gains & losses — pleasures & possible points of improvement.

This kind of review will give us a much needed perspective on the events of our day, of the problems ~~presented~~ which face us and future directions we may wish to take.

The year 1852 when thoughtful of

Who were they?

What were their concerns? Their hopes & fears?

They were not members of that small circle of Spanish-Irish grandees, ^{they were} ~~not in the class of a few~~ ^{merchants and} ~~settled in Newport RI & Savannah GA~~ ⁱⁿ they were poor & few of very modest circumstances - pebbles

They had come from Europe where only one country France offered Jews the dignity of equality

They also even in England Jews were ~~discriminated~~ ^{oppressed} with discriminatory regulations, ~~to the extent of most~~ ^{barred from} ~~unsuccessful~~ ^{government positions} & excluded from nearly all learned professions. In ~~France~~ ^{some} countries except Germany & Central Europe the home of our pioneer settlers, Jews were not even allowed to marry beyond a certain fixed percentage & ~~discriminated~~ ^{segregated} & often confined to ghettos or segregated as a

rich class in society.

The Jew so feared the gentile world that even ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ his free land he would not, at first trust the non-Jewish majority. Therefore Charter ~~to protect~~ ^{really not}

In point of law ^{of race} & public person events Jews were guaranteed equality very early in history but law did not accurately reflect the people's sentiment. ^{through the status of Jews in America was more liberal & things went on for some perfect} But such prejudice was nearly universal in Jewish behavior. ^{in a letter he sent to Dr. M. Noa 11/8} ~~by 44 years before the founding of the U.S.~~ ^{in which he explained "the universal spirit" (Reynick p. 3)} necessary - but sought anyway for extra protection. This prejudice was still very much alive but by 1852 at risk of offending a WH.

1852 - In that decade - Chortare Case ^{Sub. de Luch}
They rounded Jews how for they still ⁱⁿ
were from enjoyment of the most elementary human rights.

Reading
p. 7-11

(See Reynick p. 46) Workman Case led to first national Jewish organization in 1858
Board of Delegates of American Israelites 1st organized
first Magistrate of America Jew to intercede on behalf of their oppressed brethren across the sea

Never narrow minded, Jews rallied in N.Y. in a city wide ^{Jewish} campaign for Irish relief for Potato Famine victims in 1846 (Reynick - p. 49/50)

1852 was the year when 2 of the great shapers of the American mind died: Henry Clay & Webster. It was a year when the Republic founded ~~with~~ some 75 years earlier was disintegrating into 2 hostile ~~cont~~ parts - yet they left all the turmoil. ~~It was~~ American Jews were not singled out for hatred.

In fact in that year of 1852 — a notable Jew
for John P. Benz — was elected
Senator in Louisiana.

That year the total number of Jews in Wash would have
to be counted in the dozens.

Capt James P. Levy (Nardlyer p. 5)

Simon Wolf

Champions of
their people

Modest Schule

total cost \$8,000 (Nardlyer p. 14)

AWACS

Iran

Argentina - Timberman

Vilnius Synagogue

Controversy of Russian Emigration

Mayer Barry

The Right to Lobby
& Duty "11"



R-H Seaman : From Pope to Presid -

Richardson: There is an old Hebrew saying ~~problems~~ ^{problems} which affect only
the people of Israel ~~are locally and are not world~~ ^{are not a}
problem. But problems which affect the whole world - these are really
problems.
It is hard to be a Jew. But when it
is hard to stay alive

~~The year~~

Theme

Only in trying to help ourselves we are going to be
able to help others

This very moment - the start of a New Year
is comparable to

This very moment is the historical drama of a New Year
is about to begin is comparable to the ~~moment~~
~~of uncertainty & expectation~~ ^{expectant}
but uncertain mood of the audience in a theatre
when the house lights have been turned off - ~~and in the~~
~~darkness~~ ^{pulls} as the curtain ^{pulls} opens and
the stage is ~~revealed~~ ^{only} visible about
to be revealed as the play begins.

What kind of year will it be?

Will it be as tumultuous as was the year which ~~has just~~ ended ~~this evening~~?

~~What did we not~~ It was a year of profound
Stoicism ^{dominated by} from the attempted assassination of President
Reagan ~~to that of Pope John Paul II~~

It was a year in which waves of violence
swept over the entire Middle East
~~whose oil is the very life blood of the world's industry~~
Afghanistan, Iran, ^{Iraq} Lebanon ~~at the~~
with the shooting down of ^{by American fighters} jets, ~~the world~~
~~hand on the trigger~~ a grave sign of
the area's explosiveness.

Our ~~own~~ ~~for~~ ~~Israel~~ has ~~to~~ ~~turn~~
~~into~~ ~~and~~ ~~for~~ ~~her~~ ~~survival~~
20% of our people — and 40% of all Jewish children
in world live in Israel. We identify
with Israel in peril & anxiety.

A time to think of life as a whole

How do you know ^{that} if you are (fully up to) the "purpose" of your life?
None of us really, know what our purpose is

Ask: What are some of the things you'd like to do or accomplish
before you die? ^{Have you forgotten any of them?} Are you advancing toward those?



This is a xerox - I have the other
copy. I have to be in at 9:30 A.M.
on Sunday for the Becker wedding....
I'll try to polish it off then.

Pat

(Or even Saturday afternoon after
the rehearsal.)



Zionist Organization of America

JACOB and LIBBY GOODMAN ZOA HOUSE • 4 EAST 34th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 481-1500

August 10, 1981

Office of the President

Mr. Meyer Berger
South Sixth & Bingham Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15203

Dear Mickey:

I have received your letter soliciting funds for an organization called "New Agenda." I subsequently received a second letter from you, this time in reference to Israel's recent actions in Lebanon. I will respond to both of your communications simultaneously.

With respect, I must decline your invitation to support this group, although, as you said in your letter, you are "deeply impressed by the intense dedication and strength of purpose of that organization." Permit me to explain why it's not possible to give you a favorable response.

The organization states clearly that it is a place for those "who define themselves as left of center politically." This alone precludes my support. Frankly, I find it rather cynical that American Jews, enjoying the fruits of the American economic system, choose to support the political left philosophy. It is for this reason that I am comfortable as National President of the Zionist Organization of America. We are strong exponents of the American way of life, and because we are advocates of our nation's free enterprise system, I believe we appeal to a broad base of the American Jewish community.

This group indicates that it is concerned with the "falling away of Jewish involvement in the cause of peace." It urges support to help "avoid a nuclear holocaust." Nobody would disagree with the need to avoid a world-wide conflagration. But I have serious reservations that "Agenda" can serve this purpose.

"Agenda" claims to be a "Jewish organization" which differs from others which consists of people who "happen to be Jews." Are they qualified to determine who is an "authentic Jew?"

The material from "Agenda" states that it appeals to those who are "unrepresented" in Jewish life. I suggest that there is an abundance of Jewish organizations, from right to left, available to all who wish to partake in a responsible and constructive way in order to make Jewish life more meaningful.

I recall your by-line article, "A Differing Jewish View", which appeared a number of months ago in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. You spoke of a "small explosion" as a result of the establishment of the "New Jewish Agenda" which was organized to present positions "which differ from those of the Jewish establishment." In this article you indicated that a group of international Jewish leaders "such as Rabbi Alexander Schindler...support the New Agenda." Frankly, this piqued my curiosity. Subsequently Rabbi Schindler was asked his reaction to the reference you made to him. In a letter dated February 4, 1981, Rabbi Schindler responded as follows:

"I did not attend the "Agenda" meeting about which Berger wrote. I did not authorize Berger to speak for me and I really don't know what the reference was in his article. It appears at variance with everything I believe."

The same article reflected your negative views of the Likud Party, and particularly your disdain for Prime Minister Begin. I was particularly distressed by your reference to the Israeli army as a "harsh occupying force." I wondered why, although you may not agree with Israel's settlement policy, you would find it necessary to repeat in print the precise words used by Israel's enemies.

I was reminded of this when I saw you recently on the ABC Television "Nightline" program. Evidently, you were selected to represent those viewers who were distressed by Israel's actions in Lebanon. It appears that "Agenda", as did the Breira organization, when it existed, advocates the right to have "open discussion", which really means public criticism of Israel. Perhaps this influenced you to make those comments with which I must, respectfully, take strong exception.

In my view, the American Jewish community offers many platforms for open discussion. I have yet to determine what constructive result has ever been achieved by being critical of Israel in The New York Times or in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. I felt this way, more than ever before, when I heard you express strong critical views of Israeli policy on a program seen by millions of Americans, both Jewish and Christian, many of whom don't understand the issues and are easily influenced. I wondered how we could ever again reach these people and make them think well of Israel and the Jewish people. Negative images have immediate impact, and the damage inflicted may never really be erased.

I could not help but contrast the use of the opportunity you were given with that of our mutual friend, Senator Henry Jackson, who also appeared on national television the week that Israel took action against the PLO in Beirut. Senator Jackson may have had reservations regarding recent developments, but as a sincere friend of Israel, one could only bless him for the astute and constructive way he responded to questions. He refused to become party to criticizing Israel or its leaders and by so doing, I felt that he exercised a magnificent sense of responsibility.

In your letter to me of July 30, 1981, you raise three specific questions regarding the Beirut bombing: (1) Was it justified; (2) Did it trigger serious counterproductive political fallout; (3) Should it be openly discussed beyond the Jewish community. To support your personal views you enclosed a copy of an editorial by Dr. Martin Peretz, the editor of the New Republic. I will attempt to respond briefly, although I have much to say regarding all three questions:

- (1) Only the state of Israel can determine if the action in Lebanon was "justified." Some of us are convinced that when all the facts are revealed and reason sets in, Israel's decision will be seen as necessary and proper. Others, with no claim to military expertise, proceeded to indulge themselves, at the risk of being harmful to Israel; they were not even willing to wait for all the facts to surface, nor to give Israel the benefit of the doubt. In your letter to me you suggest that the subject be discussed "without rancor and accusations." I agree with you regarding this premise, but I respectfully suggest that this should have been considered before you went on national television.
- (2) We have yet to determine what will be the "political fallout" in the long haul. I would suggest, however, that this problem would have been kept to a minimum if American "friends" of Israel were not guilty of taking public action that

could only fortify Israel's enemies and create confusion among Israel's friends, especially in Congress. If there will be a serious political problem, the public critics of Israel can take credit for contributing to this situation.

Peretz speaks of the "embarrassment of the timing" of the Beirut raid in view of the imminent release to Israel of F-16 fighter planes. Would this "embarrassment" have been less acute if Israel took action after it received those planes? As a matter of fact, has Israel's actions in its defense ever been applauded by the world community? Let us not lose sight of past experience and history.

It is interesting that while Egyptian President Sadat condemned Israel, he placed equal blame on the Palestinians and Syria, "which has thousands of soldiers in Lebanon for contributing to the inflammatory atmosphere that triggered Israel's wrath." (New York Times, August 2, 1981.)

When you had the opportunity to speak before millions of Americans did you mention the awesome statistics that 70,000 had been killed in Lebanon, 300,000 wounded and 300,000 homeless due to the actions of the PLO and Syria, supported by the Soviet Union? This is the kind of information the American public should be given. Is it not regrettable, that voices of "morality" quickly condemn Israel, but remain silent to Israel's pleas urging the world to save the people of Lebanon.

- (3) Should there be "open discussion beyond the Jewish community"? The comment made some time ago by Professor Alfred Gottschalk, President of the Hebrew Union College, is apropos. In an article published in the Jerusalem Post he said:

"I believe I belong to the too-long silent majority of American Jews, who, while from time to time may be critical of Israel, have often given up the immediate gratification which public ventilation of criticism seems to afford, for the larger welfare of Israel. In any extent, the vast majority of us did not and do not feel the need to express our criticism in the pages of The New York Times."

Perhaps I can sum up my views of this subject by simply expressing my feeling that the enemies of Israel have an abundance of voices. From the United Nations to the editorial pages, from the columns of writers to various elements in the Administration, there is no lack of public criticism of Israel. The Arab propaganda machine is hard at work, oiled and effective, ready to take full advantage of such criticism, especially that emanating from Jews.

What all of us must understand is that the unprecedented attack on a Jewish Prime Minister has ramifications far beyond that of an attack on an individual personality. An attack on Jews anywhere is an attack on Jews everywhere. But an attack on Jews by other Jews is a luxury none of us can afford. It was Abba Eban who explained the significance of what I am attempting to convey to you when he said:

"The intensity of the campaign against Israel was very paradoxical after the signing of the Peace Treaty with Egypt. In my opinion, in the criticism of Israel today, there is an anti-Jewish world campaign."

In your letter you write, "it is not possible to contain the debate within the Jewish community." I suggest that responsible leaders need no "containment" for they know that public debate serves no good purpose.

Mickey, I know that you are a good friend of the State of Israel. I also know that you are an esteemed, valuable and important leader in our Pittsburgh Jewish community who would not knowingly do harm to the Jewish people under any circumstances. While we may not agree on various political and philosophical concepts, we are both Jews, sincerely and seriously committed to the welfare of all our people.

Although Editor Peretz speaks cynically of Begin as a "child of the Holocaust" who may provoke Reagan by his "Masada strategy," let us always remember that Israel, as was Masada, is surrounded by enemies sworn to its destruction. The people of Israel, unlike the Jews of Masada, refuse to commit suicide. Thus, Israel will not lose its "moral compass" as long as the Jews of the Diaspora do not permit themselves to be victimized, propagandized, and demoralized.

Mickey, I do not ask that your voice be stifled. I do appeal to you, as one leader to another, as one concerned Jew to another: Let us express our views and thoughts to each other -- let us not add to the arsenal of Israel's enemies.

With all good wishes.

Cordially yours,



Ivan J. Novick
President

IJN:ve



Rosh Hash

The National Interest and

The Jewish Interest

Exordium

Ann Rophie's Jews Without Memory



The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
ORVIL F. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, *Publisher*

A. M. ROSENTHAL, *Executive Editor*
SEYMOUR TOPPING, *Managing Editor*
ARTHUR GELB, *Deputy Managing Editor*
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, *Assistant Managing Editor*
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, *Assistant Managing Editor*

MAX FRANKEL, *Editorial Page Editor*
JACK ROSENTHAL, *Deputy Editorial Page Editor*
CHARLOTTE CURTIS, *Associate Editor*

TOM WICKER, *Associate Editor*

JOHN D. POMFRET, *Exec. V.P., General Manager*
JOHN MORTIMER, *Sr. V.P., Asst. to General Manager*
J. A. RIGGS, JR., *Sr. V.P., Operations*
DONALD A. NIZEN, *V.P., Consumer Marketing*
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, *V.P., Controller*
LANCE R. PRIMIS, *V.P., Advertising*

The Awacs Deal Is No Bargain

The Reagan Administration, which prides itself on driving hard bargains abroad, has now formally proposed what looks like a sweetheart deal with the Saudis. They would get Awacs radar planes as part of an \$8.5 billion package brimming with the most advanced arms. What would America get in return? On present evidence, too little. It's good that Congress has until Oct. 30 to examine the fine print, for unless Mr. Reagan can make a better case for it, this deal is no bargain.

The deal, to begin with, involves much more than electronic spy planes. The five Awacs planes would complement F-15 fighters America has already agreed to supply. And these would be given extended range and armed with Sidewinder missiles.

All that muscle is relevant to one supposed benefit of the deal: it would deter possible attack on vital Saudi oilfields. By whom? Southern Yemen or Ethiopia, the Administration says. But these backward Soviet clients pose a meager threat indeed, hardly enough to justify selling such advanced arms to one side in the volatile Middle East.

Is there, then, some other security benefit? Well, it is hinted in Washington, Saudi air power could deter a Soviet advance into the Persian Gulf. Yet if there were any such thrust, everyone knows America would respond directly. Besides, the Saudis shrug off the Soviet peril and say they need to deter a quite different adversary — Israel.

There is yet another supposed benefit of the sale: it would ingratiate America with the House of Saud. But why is that necessary? True, the Saudis have been a restraining force within OPEC — but that suits their own interests. Their moderation has already been rewarded with the flock of F-15's. If Con-

gress vetoes the new arms deal, would the Saudis turn to the godless East for their defense needs? Not even the Administration claims that.

For this tricky arms deal to become attractive, more is required from the Saudis. If they are to get the most advanced weapons system, they should also be active peacemaking partners in the Middle East. The prize sought by successive Administrations is open acknowledgment of Israel's right to exist. Yet even now, the Saudis' Prince Fahd outlines a "peace" plan that again asks the impossible and again scorns the attainable; a compromise settlement rooted in the Camp David accords.

That may be double talk meant to mollify Arab radicals. The Saudis did, after all, work quietly with the United States and Israel in bringing about a cease-fire in Lebanon. Still, Israelis can be excused for fearing otherwise should the Saudis acquire a real offensive capacity.

Could American weapons be used against Israel? The Administration has not yet showed this to be impossible. It says no, but knows perfectly well that arms sale promises can be as insubstantial as the rings of Saturn. Israel, too, was bound by a weapons pledge — and yet loosed American-built planes on Baghdad and Beirut.

For that matter, how much are American promises worth? Just three years ago, Congress approved selling 62 F-15's to Saudi Arabia on the express condition that their offensive range would not be extended. Now the Administration wants to untie that string.

Neither Ronald Reagan nor Jimmy Carter have seriously pressed for Saudi concessions when their leverage was strongest — before delivering sophisticated weapons. Until and unless it is shown that the new Saudi package really is a bargain, Congress ought to say no.

The New York Times

—NEW YORK, FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1981—

Copyright © 1981 The New York Times

Saudi Says Israel Is Chief Threat, Not the Russians

Yamani Voices Certainty U.S. Will Deliver Awacs

By DOUGLAS MARTIN

Saudi Arabia's Minister of Oil said yesterday that his country considered Israel a more immediate threat than the Soviet Union.

Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani told a standing-room-only audience at the Plaza Hotel that Saudi Arabia faced two threats: "international Communism and Israel."

He said that the first threat bolstered Saudi ties with the United States but that Israel was "a threat to that friendship."

"The second is far more tangible and more in evidence than the first one, and an actual danger is obviously worse than a potential danger," he said.

In a visit to Saudi Arabia earlier this month, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. tried to persuade the Saudis that Israel and Saudi Arabia should put aside their differences and be part of a "strategic consensus" against a perceived threat from the Soviet Union.

Sheik Yamani's speech, sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association, was attended by oil executives, analysts and others with connections to the petroleum industry.

Laughter at Anti-Israel Joke

Some of the Petroleum Minister's anti-Israel remarks were greeted with applause. There was general laughter when he related a joke with an anti-Israel message.

It involved a Bedouin who had lost his son in the desert. The Bedouin vowed to God that if the son was saved, he would sell his camel, worth 1,000 riyals, to his fellow villagers for only 1 riyal.

The son was found and the Bedouin could not evade his vow but he attached a condition to the sale.

"He tied a little mouse to his camel's tail and declared he would sell the camel for 1 riyal and the mouse for 1,000 riyals, and that the two must be sold in one indivisible transaction," Sheik Yamani said.

"The camel is the U.S.A. and the mouse is Israel. The price tag attached to the mouse in our case was much more prohibitive than in the legendary Bedouin's case."

Sheik Yamani, describing his speech as a "heart-to-heart talk," said Saudi Arabia's friendship with the United States was "tinged with some bitterness."

Accordingly, he made an effort to describe the feelings of various classes of Saudis, all of whom he depicted as opposed to Israel to at least some degree.

He said Saudis who are ignorant of the

Saudi Says Israel, Not Soviet, Is Nation's Main Threat

Continued From Page A1

United States political system concluded "quite simply that it is America's hatred for Moslems that makes it help Israel seize their lands and expel the Palestinian nation."

More educated Saudis, he said, are "aware of the extent of the powers of the Zionist lobby and the Jewish community."

Sheik Yamani's remarks came at a time when Israel was protesting a decision by the Reagan Administration to sell

Awacs electronic surveillance planes to the Saudis. Israel has criticized the sale on the ground that it fears the planes may be used against it in any war.

Sheik Confident on Awacs

In a question-and-answer session, Sheik Yamani said he was certain the decision would not be reversed, adding that the only reason the Israelis were "making an issue of it" was so "they can milk more from the United States."

Further, he described the Israelis as potential aggressors.

"They don't want anyone to monitor their movements," he said. "They want to be aggressive and they want to attack, and they will be deprived of this."

Sheik Yamani made a complex argument of why his country considered Israel more dangerous than the Soviet Union, saying United States' aid to Israel was destabilizing to the region and thus enhancing the Soviet Union's position.

"We also believe that Russia stands to gain from the present situation and that Israeli policies, particularly those of the current Government, are at one with

Russian policies," he said.

"When the United States, due to internal political pressures, refrains from performing its duty in bringing peace to the area, it thereby serves the Russian interests, to the detriment of its own interests and perhaps those of Israel itself."

The Oil Minister used his speech to press Saudi Arabia's efforts to induce the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to lower prices, as a precondition for the long-term pricing plan for which the kingdom has been fighting.

But he took a softer line than earlier this week when he insisted that other OPEC countries lower their basic price from the present \$36 level to the Saudi price of \$32.

The Oil Minister said yesterday the price for OPEC oil must "definitely be lower than \$36" but he did not specify how much lower.

Libyan Leader to Visit Soviet

MOSCOW, April 23 (Reuters) — Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi will make a two-day visit to the Soviet Union beginning Monday, the Soviet press agency Tass said today. Colonel Qaddafi, the Libyan leader, was invited by the Communist Party's Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, or Parliament, with a view to strengthening and developing friendly relations, Tass said.

Continued on Page A7, Column 1

NEWS

FOR RELEASE

Immediately
August 31, 1981

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
OF GREATER WASHINGTON
1522 K STREET, N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005 • (202) 347-4628

Contact Michael Berenbaum (347-4628)

COUNCIL RESPONSE TO CHANCELLOR KREISKY CHARGE

THAT ISRAELI POLICY TO BLAME FOR VIENNA SYNAGOGUE ATTACK

Bert Silver, President of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington, today responded to Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky's statement which blamed Israeli policy for the August 29 attack on the Israelite Temple in Vienna, Austria. In a letter to Austrian Ambassador Schober, Mr. Silver called "outrageous and morally revolting" Kreisky's charge that "the implacable policy of the Israelis regarding the Palestinians is to blame for the excesses" of terrorist attacks.

Mr. Silver asked the Ambassador if it is "not enough that God's sanctuary has been violated, or that men and women who set out to pray on a sabbath morning and to celebrate a bar mitzvah met with a terrorist attack unleashing death and destruction? Surely the Chancellor dares not blame the victim for his victimization, transforming the responsibility for the barbarous and anti-civilized act from its perpetrators to the Israelis. Indeed the Chancellor has separated Jews from citizens of Austria, holding the former responsible for their own victimization. Does his callousness know no bounds? Does he not have any sense of decency? of sorrow? of shame? We trust that he is not speaking for the Austrian people when he voices these sentiments, but merely defending a policy now publicly proven as flawed.

"Not only is he factually wrong, for the 'excesses' originated and were sanctioned in the 1964 P.L.O. covenant, but moreover he is morally wrong. As the Chancellor of Austria, he is responsible for the safety of all Austrians including the Jews. He is charged to mind the security of all citizens, indeed of all people within its borders."

Mr. Silver stated that Chancellor Kreisky "owes an apology to all civilized men and women for giving voice to sentiments which condone barbarism and which encourage the most fundamental violations, not only of the safety and security of Jews alone, but all human rights."

Vienna Police Make 6 More Arrests in Synagogue Attack

VIENNA, Aug. 30 (AP) — Authorities investigating a bloody grenade attack on a synagogue here made six more arrests today and said they found banners and leaflets of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the apartment of one of the alleged attackers arrested yesterday.

But PLO officials in Beirut condemned the assault and denied responsibility while the Israeli government and Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky accused each other of following policies that foster terrorism.

A police spokesman said the six persons arrested today were discovered in an apartment rented for at least two months by one of the men grabbed by officers outside the synagogue.

Two people were killed yesterday and about 20 were injured by bullets, shrapnel and broken glass outside the Israelite Temple in downtown Vienna.

At a news conference today, police officials said they found a PLO flag, pictures of PLO leader Yasser Arafat and a collection of pamphlets and newspaper articles about the organization in a search of the apartment of one of two men, both identified as Arabs, who were apprehended within minutes of the attack.

The PLO said in a statement in Beirut that it "condemns, denounces and fully rejects" the attack and said it "reasserts its respect for all places of worship of all religions."

The Israeli government dismissed the PLO's claim of innocence and criticized the Austrian government, the first in Western Europe to grant full recognition to the PLO.

"The PLO obviously is responsible for this murderous action," government spokesman Aryeh Naor told reporters in Jerusalem.

An Israeli Foreign Ministry statement, referring also to the recent assassination of an Austrian supporter of Israel and a bomb attack on the Israeli Embassy in Vienna, said, "It is no coincidence that the series of attacks are taking place in a country which has cultivated its ties with the PLO."

Kreisky, in an interview with Austrian Radio, blamed unidentified forces trying to sabotage Palestinian interests. "I am firmly convinced that the attackers had nothing to do with the PLO," he said.

He charged that "the implacable policy of the Israelis regarding the Palestinians is to blame for the excesses" of terrorist attacks.

Police said two men were waiting in a narrow cobblestone street outside the synagogue for about 200 people to leave a bar mitzvah, the ceremony celebrating a Jewish boy's 13th birthday.

After tossing grenades at the front steps of the gray, five-story building, the men opened fire with automatic pistols and fled on foot, shooting in all directions and tossing two more grenades at the policemen on their heels, witnesses said.

Police officers said the two people killed, a 25-year-old woman and a 68-year-old man, were shot down at least two blocks from the synagogue.

Officers

BERT SILVER
President
NATHAN LEWIN
1st Vice President
DR. JACK S. COHEN
2nd Vice President
HELENE KARPA
Secretary
STEPHEN N. GELL
Treasurer

Executive Board

DAVID ALTSHULER
MAURICE D. ATKIN
IRA BARTFIELD
SYLVIA BLAJWAS
GARY BONNETT
TOBY BOYMEL
LEE J. BURSTYN
JORDAN J. CHOPER
DAVID S. DAVIDSON
LUNA E. DIAMOND
MEYER EISENBERG
HERBERT A. FIERST
NORMAN I. GELMAN
NORMAN GOLDSTEIN
ZEV HENDEL
DR. ELAINE K. HOLLANDER
SHOSHANA KUGLER
RABBI BERTRAM A. LEFF
HELEN S. LEWIS
TSVI LIEBER
JUDAH LIFSCHITZ
FROMA LIPPMANN
FLORENCE GERSUK LIPSKY
JACOB C. LISH
PAUL MASON
JEFFREY MENICK
RICHARD MUELLER
NITA ORNOFF
DR. JERRY OSTERWEIL
CELIA PAVIS
BABETTE H. PITT
RABBI TZVI H. PORATH
BERNARD REICH
CARL ROBERTS
ISRAEL ROTKIN
WILLIAM B. SAUNDERS
DR. FRED SCHULMAN
MAURY SELDIN
BETTY K. SHAPIRO
DANIEL H. SHEAR
LEONORE SIEGELMAN
LOIS SLOTT
DR. MARTIN W. SPICKLER
SAUL I. STERN
GERD M. STRAUSS
LESTER TEPPER
ELSIE TROMBKA
MARCIA E. WEINBERG
MARY ANN WINTER
BEN WOSTEIN

Co-Chairmen

Jewish Youth Assembly

GIL PREUSS
HANNA SCHNEIDER

Past Presidents

DR. HARVEY H. AMMERMAN
ALBERT E. ARENT
PHYLLIS FRANK
AARON GOLDMAN
LOUIS C. GROSSBERG
JUDGE WILLIAM C. LEVY
RICHARD K. LYON
BERNARD S. WHITE
SEYMOUR D. WOLF

Executive Director

DR. MICHAEL BERENBAUM

Professional Staff

MARLENE GORIN
SELMA HOLZMAN
JONATHAN M. ROBERTSON
SAMUEL H. SISLEN

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
1522 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005 • (202) 347-4628
OF GREATER WASHINGTON

August 31, 1981

His Excellency Karl Herbert Schober
Ambassador of Austria
Austrian Embassy
2343 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

When I heard of the attack on the synagogue in Vienna, I immediately sat down to draft a letter to you and to your government. On behalf of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington, I wanted to express our profound sense of outrage and anger at the crime that had been perpetrated on your soil and our shared sense of grief at the death and injury to those worshipping and guarding the Israelite Temple in Vienna. Yet even prior to concluding that letter, I heard on the radio and read in the newspapers the outrageous and morally revolting charge by Chancellor Kreisky that "the implacable policy of the Israelis regarding the Palestinians is to blame for the excesses" of terrorist attacks.

I know from past discussions between you and the Council that, while we might disagree over policy matters, there is shared commitment to deeply held humanitarian concerns. Therefore, Mr. Ambassador, I ask, is it not enough that God's sanctuary has been violated, or that men and women who set out to pray on a sabbath morning and to celebrate a bar mitzvah met with a terrorist attack unleashing death and destruction? Surely the Chancellor dares not blame the victim for his victimization, transforming the responsibility for the barbarous and anti-civilized act from its perpetrators to the Israelis. Indeed the Chancellor has separated Jews from citizens of Austria, holding the former responsible for their own victimization. Does his callousness know no bounds? Does he not have any sense of decency? of sorrow? of shame? We trust that he is not speaking for the Austrian people when he voices these sentiments, but merely defending a policy now publicly proven as flawed.

(over)

The central, representative body of 200 affiliated Jewish organizations in the District of Columbia, Maryland and Virginia,
devoted to community relations, information and action.

MEMBER AGENCY OF THE NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
BENEFICIARY OF THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL FEDERATION OF GREATER WASHINGTON

Not only is he factually wrong, for the "excesses" originated and were sanctioned in the 1964 P.L.O. covenant, but moreover he is morally wrong. As the Chancellor of Austria, he is responsible for the safety of all Austrians including the Jews. He is charged to mind the security of all citizens, indeed of all people within its borders.

Mr. Ambassador, the Chancellor owes an apology to all civilized men and women for giving voice to sentiments which condone barbarism and which encourage the most fundamental violations, not only of the safety and security of Jews alone, but all human rights.

You must share this sense of universal outrage with the Chancellor.

Sincerely yours,

Bert Silver

Bert Silver

BS/jk



Totalitarianism : "90% of everything in print is either
by Mao or about him" - p.76 report from
the Nixon visit in 1972 (Alistair Cooke "The Americans")

Summary : An error, accord. to Machiavelli, ibid p.77



The Jewish & The National Interest

With 40% of all Jewish
children born in Israel -

The Survival of Israel
means Survival of Jews
& the destruction of Israel

means the beginning of
the end of Jewish people
What is not Jewish
~~the Jew~~ } Interest

is what's good for
America, automatically

Good for Jew?

It depends on who defines
America's interest.

It is not a given
objective fact but

a vision on ideal
subject to change

Components & philosophy

E.G.: The national interest
as perceived by 2 leaders

of the kkk or neo
nazi party would
be a racial state
without minority rights,
it would call for end
of immigr. & expulsion
of Blacks, Jews etc
Oppression

The national interest of
an imperial America
would be 2 melting pot
- intelligent difference

quite the opposite
of the nat. and
interest of a pluralistic
society with a broadly
international, cosmopolitan
outlook

WHL's history like all
others except for its
lack of ship in defense
of Jewish interest.

The Compatibility of
Jewish & National Interest
does not preclude us of an
occasional conflict of
interest.

The only person who has
no conflict of interest
is the infant whose
total concentration on its
stomach permits not other
any. death is interference
with desire to be fed.
The rule is that the
more primitive we

a person, to face
Conflicts of interest
The more ^{sophisticated} mature, the
more Conflicts of interest.

I have not one but
several Conflicts of interest
being that - My narrow
and self interest &
interest of wife & family
of which I'm duly rewarded
by Maxine every day...
but that's not all - I also
find at times both

Over-rulled by my
professional interest

A primitive America
was isolationist & spared
Conflicts of interest which
are a daily fact of life of
a more mature & sophisticated.

America which must balance
its purely national interest
with the interest of the world

Israel has conflict between
her own national interest
& that of world Jewry etc

The needs of Soviet
Jews are likely to increase
danger of conflict there
with Soviet power.

Rose Luxemburg's
refusal to let Jewish
interest prevail
(see Howard Sacher's
book)

WHC reference
→ B. Nordlinger

3 Names: 183 188 p. 14
1812 p. 27, 37

Simon Wolf - Ambassador
Egypt apptd 1881 by Garfield p. 44
Wolf's national & intern. leadership
role

Ash Ambassador Garbel
to open Scholar Series

Slichot. 1981 →

THE HIDDEN SELF
(FIRST STEP)

by

JOH

My father of blessed memory, told me what it was like to observe SLICHT in a typical Jewish community in E. Europe at the turn of century.

It was a strange & eerie feeling to be aroused for prayer after midnight! In some years the roads were already covered with the first snow of the fall season.

The Shammes would frudge his way from house to house & w. a wooden mallet ("the klopfer") knock 3 times at every door & chant "Get up Jews - it's time to observe Sliches!"

My father's earliest memory was a Slicht night when he was still too small to walk - ~~and so he~~ had to be carried to the Synag. on my grand-father's shoulders...

~~With that mallet and w. that~~

What is our object in this Service? What are we really doing tonight?

It is our people knocking at God's door - hesitatingly and hopefully as once upon each of us seeks to come near his Maker.

It is the first step in the great spiritual drama we call the High Holy Days.

Precisely, what is this first step?

The world of art is presently fascinated by the unique style of the Israeli artist Yaacov Agam.

We are proud to have an Agam tapestry and a smaller Agam lithograph in Ring Hall.

What is the most characteristic feature of an Agam work?

Nothing is what it seems to be. The image is constantly changing, according to the angle of your vision.

Agam offered a philosophic explanation for his peculiar style: It suggests the Jewish view of reality. "Life is not static but "a constant becoming" what you presently see is part of a greater reality — and "the most important things in life are not visible"

So is that deepest mystery — next to God — which we call personality.

It, too, is not static but a constant becoming.

It is also part of a greater reality — and the most important thing in our personality is not visible.

Each of us is like an Agam picture. People observing us from different angles, or positions, gain different perceptions of our personality.

Your family sees in you certain personality traits which remain hidden to strangers. Strangers, friends, business or professional associates each see something else in you — And all of them, ~~all your~~ family, friends & strangers only see different parts of the external ^{public} image which you project. The Private - internal ~~reality~~ ^{reality} of your personality — is your hidden image which no one knows, except you (and God)

~~MARK~~ MARK TWAIN in one of his serious comments made the same point: "EVERYONE IS A MOON AND HAS A DARKSIDE WHICH HE NEVER SHOWS TO ANYBODY" (Notebook 1935)

WHICH BRINGS US TO THE SPECIAL PURPOSE OF
TONIGHT.

WE MUST BEGIN THE HIGH HOLY DAY - SEASON WITH
THAT, RARE BUT NECESSARY EXPLANATION OF OURSELVES:

THE VIEW FROM WITHIN

We must come to grips with our hidden self
and become conscious of our true goals
true motives
true love & hate
true feelings

Suppressed resentments & desires - -
the boiling cauldron of the inner life
which surfaces ^{only} on occasional outbursts
but ^{always} truly determines the quality of our life.

And what happens when you see the true picture
- the way you appear to the probing eye of
your conscience?

Art historians, with the help of special X-ray cameras
have discovered that some of the great masterpieces
of art are not always the original creations of the artist.
Often what you see is the 2nd or 3rd revision of images - one

pointed over the other.

This is the challenge of the coming High Holidays

Each of us is not only a creature but also a creator. If you find faults & shortcomings in yourself - you can revise - and improve - your image.

God has given us the wonderful gift of ^{spiritual} double vision

With one eye we can see what we are

and with the other - ~~what we~~ ought to be

No plan for social betterment, no model for a new society, occurring
to the liberal or conservative vision, will ever rise above the level of disaster
This is the supreme achievement you should strive for ^{of its individual members.}

on Rosh H. & Y. K: the recovery of clear inner vision

for an accurate self assessment, to see ^{kind of person} what you really are

and the moral courage to become the person

you ought to be. May God give you strength

to do so. Amen

THE HIDDEN SELF
(FIRST STEP)

SELICHOT 1981

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

My father, of blessed memory, told me what it was like to observe SLICHOT in a typical Jewish community in Eastern Europe at the turn of the century.

It was a strange and eerie feeling to be aroused for prayer after midnight. In some years, the roads were already covered with the first snow of the fall season.

The Shammes would trudge his way from house to house and with a wooden mallet (the "klopper") knock three times at every door and chant, "Get up Jews - it's time to davven Sliches!"

My father's earliest memory was a slichot night when he was still too small to walk. And so he had to be carried to the synagogue on my grandfather's shoulders. . .

What is our object in this service? What are we really doing tonight?

It is our people knocking at God's door - hesitatingly and hopefully as once again each of us seeks to come near his Maker.

It is the first step in the great spiritual drama we call the High Holy Days.

Precisely, what is this first step?

The world of art is presently fascinated by the unique style of the Israeli artist, Yaacov Agam. We are proud to have an Agam tapestry and a smaller Agam lithograph in Ring Hall.

What is the most characteristic feature of an Agam work? Nothing is what it seems to be. The image is constantly changing, according to the angle of your vision.

Agam offered a philosophic explanation for his peculiar style. It suggests the Jewish view of reality. "Life is not static but a 'constant becoming.' What you presently see is part of a greater reality - and the most important things in life are not visible."

So is that deepest mystery -- next to God -- which we call personality.

It, too, is not static but a constant becoming.

It is also part of a greater reality -- and the most important thing in our personality is not visible.

Each of us is like an Agam picture. People observing us from different angles, or positions, gain different perceptions of our personality.

Your family sees you in certain personality traits which remain hidden to strangers. Strangers, friends, business or professional associates, each see something else in you. And all of them, -- family, friends, strangers -- only see different

parts of the external public image which you project. The private internal reality of your personality is your hidden image which no one knows except you (and God).

Mark Twain, in one of his serious comments, made the same point: "Everyone is a moon and has a dark side which he never shows to anybody." (Notebook, 1935)

Which brings us to the special purpose of tonight.

We must begin the High Holy Day season with that rare but necessary exploration of ourselves:

THE VIEW FROM WITHIN

We must come to grips with our hidden self and become conscious of our true goals, true motives, true love and hate, true feelings.

Suppressed resentments and desires -- the boiling cauldron of the inner life which surfaces only in occasional outbursts but always truly determines the quality of our life.

And what happens when you see the true picture -- the way you appear to the probing eye of your conscience?

Art historians, with the help of special X-ray cameras, have discovered that some of the great masterpieces of art are not always the original creations of the artist. Often what you see is the second or third revision of images -- one painted over the other.

This is the challenge of the coming High Holy Days. Each of us is not only a creature but also a creator. If you find faults and shortcomings in yourself -- you can revise -- and improve -- your image.

God has given us the wonderful gift of spiritual double vision. With one eye we can see what we are and with the other --- what we ought to be. No plan for social betterment, no model for a new society, according to the liberal or conservative vision, will ever rise above the level of the character of its individual members.

This is the supreme achievement you should strive for on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur: the recovery of clear inner vision for an accurate self assessment, to see what kind of person you really are and the moral courage to become the person you ought to be.

May God give you strength to do so.

A M E N

THE NATIONAL AND THE JEWISH INTEREST

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

EVE OF ROSH HASHANAH
SEPTEMBER 28, 1981

This Rosh Hashanah is not only the anniversary of the creation of the universe, but a special anniversary for us here at home. Tonight we are beginning the 130th anniversary year of the creation of the Washington Hebrew Congregation. We greet with pride a number of families here tonight whose affiliation with us has been maintained over five generations -- and whose family history is part of our Congregation's history. We also welcome among us Washington Hebrew Congregation's newest members and pray that their descendents may extend their loyalty to this Congregation and to our people for generations to come.

I wish that by some sort of magic I could transport you back to the year 1852 and have you see and feel what it was like to be a Jew 130 years ago.

1852 -- how pitifully few we were at that time. The whole Jewish community of Washington -- little over 100 souls -- could easily have been accommodated in our Temple library! They had no seating problem on the High Holy Days in those days!

They were all newcomers, most of them recent immigrants from Europe, except for one or two families, perhaps, who were second generation Americans. In 1852, not a single country in Europe, outside of France, recognized Jews as equal citizens. Switzerland, the other OTHER democracy, next to the USA at that time, would not even permit a Jew to cross its borders.

In Germany, Jews were still restricted in their right to marry, forbidden to own more than one house and excluded from virtually every decent profession.

In Rome, Jews were still confined, like sub-humans, behind ghetto walls. As late as six years after the founding of WHC, a Catholic priest in Bologna, Italy, could still, with impunity, kidnap a Jewish child, Edgar Mortara. For two decades he raised the child as a Catholic in a secret hideout, finally turning him into a priest. To no avail were the tears and pleas of the parents, Dr. and Mrs. Mortara. To no avail was the intervention of several kings. The Pope and his church stood by the priest who had abducted Edgar Mortara. Jews had no human rights!

1852 was no easy year to be a Jew. Can you imagine the amazement of our founders when that very same year, a fellow-Jew was elected Senator in one of the great states of the Union, Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, a friend of the first President of our Congregation.

Who was this first President of WHC?

Captain Levy, the youngest of ten children, a descendant of the distinguished Phillips family of Philadelphia, was a new breed of Jew. Orphaned at the age of nine, a cabin boy on the high seas at 16, a hero in the American-Mexican War, appointed captain of the port of Vera Cruz, an admiral of the Peruvian navy, before he took office as president of WHC. His was an act hard to follow. If you had asked Capt. Levy whether he felt more loyal to America or his own Jewish people - he would have answered: I love them both, like my mother and my father.

Not for one moment did Captain Levy hesitate to use what opportunity or connection he had in order to help his fellow Jews in foreign lands! When the U. S. State Department negotiated a lucrative trade treaty with Switzerland, our Captain Levy became a leader in the battle to revise or cancel the treaty because of Switzerland's discrimination against Jews. Under this treaty, American cotton, tobacco and rice were to be exported to Switzerland. The fact that this treaty was clearly in the interest of the USA (especially the powerful South) -- did not stop Capt. Levy from agitating against it in the name of his people's dignity and human rights.

There are inescapable parallels with our current campaign against the sale of F-15 "enhancements" and AWACS to Saudi Arabia, an eight and a half billion dollar deal. If I focus on this issue tonight, it is not only because I especially delight in

a strategic political controversy on Rosh Hashanah, but because the way we handle this issue fundamentally affects Israel, her relations with the US and our own status as American Jews. It is a test of our strength and of our ability and will to use the legitimate power we have in this great Democracy.

President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig have laid their prestige on the line. They have committed the vast powers of the administration to pushing this deal through Congress.

We Jews are forced to choose between two viewpoints: On the one hand is the administration's view that this sale gives the USA economic, political and strategic advantages. I'm sure you have read over and over again the specific points in this argument: that the Saudis are the most moderate Arabs, that they have 268 billion dollars to invest, that they are keeping oil prices down for us and seek American friendship..

You are probably also familiar with the opposing viewpoint: that what happened in Iran could easily happen in Saudi Arabia -- and it almost did, two years ago, when Saudi insurgents seized the Great Mosque of Mecca - that it would be very damaging to American security if the AWACS fell into the hands of a radical and unfriendly Arab regime.

Supporters of Saudi Arabia are playing on the supposed unpopularity of Menachem Begin by referring to the entire issue as a Begin-Reagan contest. This is sheer demagoguery. The issue is not a personality clash between two leaders of state. The

real issue is a conflict between two policies on which the US is itself deeply divided: one pro-Arab and the other pro-Israel. Israel's vital security is threatened when another nation, still at war with her, is to receive the world's most sophisticated weapon system. You may not be aware of the fact that during the Yom Kippur War in 1973, Saudi Arabia sent 6,000 soldiers into combat against Israel on the Golan Heights. Israel, as our long-time ally, has a right to protest America's massive military buildup of Saudi Arabia, a nation with which, legally, she is at war.

Tied in with this proposed sale of military hardware to Saudi Arabia is another issue: It is a test case by which the Reagan administration will be measuring the strength of Jewish and public support for Israel.

Also, we must see the current agitation on behalf of Saudi Arabia within the larger context of a ferocious anti-Israel and anti-Begin campaign.

We, ourselves, cannot endorse every word and every action of Prime Minister Menachem Begin or Israel, for that matter, not even of our own government. The bombing of Beirut caused us great anguish. But we are aghast at the totally unbalanced vilification of Begin in the media. TIME MAGAZINE characterized him as deceptive, fanatical, self-righteous and vengeful. NEWSWEEK had a cover portrait of Begin inside a Star of David made up of

rifles with the headline, "Begin Obstacle to Peace?" A well-known columnist and TV personality in the Washington area called Begin "another Hitler."

The whole world roared in outrage at the reported death of 400 Lebanese (a figure now revised downward to 200) -- and most of them were PLO terrorists! In the perspective of our Jewish sense of justice and compassion, even 50 or 5 or even one innocent civilian casualty would be too much. But, was it not in the context of war? Have not the Arab parties involved refused every offer of peace and to this day will not recognize the existence of the State of Israel?

Consider, also, the latest double standard of world opinion -- Anwar Sadat's massive purge of all dissidents. He throws thousands of them into the jails of Cairo without trial and due process. He expels Western reporters. He rigs an election and gets 99.5% of the vote. Not a word of criticism is to be heard. Why do they spot so quickly the mote in Begin's eye but cannot see the beam in the eyes of Arab dictators? Where are our human rights champions?

Can you imagine the howls of protest and condemnation Begin would get from our media if he rounded up and arrested 2,000 Palestinians on the West Bank, or dealt with his critics in the style of Sadat? This is inequity! This is injustice!

Not only ties of common blood, but plain and simple justice compel us to stand by Israel in these difficult days.

For this we are being taken to task by Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland. In his recent 25-page article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the senator, with clear reference to the Jews, criticized ethnic interest groups which, he says, "sometimes press causes that derogate from the national interest." In plain words, we are being charged with dual loyalty. We are being suspected of indifference to the national interest.

The senator's insinuation that American Jews are not sufficiently devoted to the national interest must not go unanswered.

Who has the exclusive right to define America's national interest?

If Senator Mathias holds a certain view as to what is best for America -- is a contrary view necessarily bad for America?

As a voter in Maryland, I receive from Senator Mathias questionnaires soliciting my opinions on many foreign and domestic issues. Am I to reply only what the distinguished senator would like to hear?

The national interest is not a fixed objective fact, but is always in the making. It is the composite of all opinions and of all special concerns. Protestants, Catholics, Jews, minorities -- the whole nation is a composite of special interest groups whose wishes must be fairly represented by our elected Congressmen and Senators. If I don't communicate my special interest -- who will?

Why should ethnic lobbying be any less legitimate than the lobbying of labor, the Chamber of Commerce, the pro-and anti-abortionists and all the other secular and religious bodies that make up the spectrum of different economic and political interests in a vital, pluralistic democracy?

As to the wisdom of political action, we would paraphrase Edmund Burke's famous adage, "...bad officials are elected by citizens who don't vote." -- "...bad policies are shaped by citizens who don't speak up."

It has been reported that various spokesmen for the administration have telephoned Congressmen and Senators to solicit their vote for the AWAC deal, with the plea "...don't let the Jews dictate foreign policy."

This crude appeal to antisemitism, thank God, has been singularly ineffective. Congress and the Senate are swinging around in opposition to AWACS for Saudi Arabia -- and so is public opinion -- not because Jews are so passionately loved or feared, but because there is a growing bi-partisan majority consensus that the AWAC deal is not in the best interest of America.

So far in American history, the advocacy of special Jewish concerns has been well received and Jewish lobbying has been generally successful. The reason is simple. Contrary to Senator Mathias' opinion, the American people perceive Jewish

causes to be in harmony with America's core ideals of fair play and freedom. They see no conflict between Israel's security needs and the national interest of the United States.

Do not hesitate to express your concern with your Congressman, Senator, the Secretary of State and President Reagan over the proposed deal with Saudi Arabia. The administration is already wavering and considering a compromise. Your final push may be decisive.

Finally, the AWAC controversy has a deep impact on our status in America. It has raised the following fundamental questions:

- * How free and self-assertive do we want to be?
- * Should we voluntarily retreat from the arena of public debate?
- * Should we circumscribe and curtail our rightful share in national decision-making?
- * Should we suppress our own vital Jewish interest?
- * Should we let ourselves be intimidated, muffle our voices and resume the contemptible ghetto mentality of "hush-hush?"

If I, as a refugee from Hitler's native land, could offer any advice to our people, it is: There is no reward for being meek and submissive. Six million of our people unfortunately did not learn this lesson in time. Stand firm. We are not

insignificant. We are entitled to influence.

The one lesson our tragic historical experience in other lands has taught us is that if you have power, use it -- or lose it! It is not strength but weakness that is held in contempt.

We owe it to America and we owe it to ourselves to speak up firmly and fearlessly lest we surrender our most precious right as Americans, free speech and free assembly.

Let no one, Congressman, Senator or even the President, inhibit our political self-expression in America. And let us not be thin-skinned if they use their right of free speech to attack us. That's the way it goes. Sometimes, we have to fight and when we win -- it will be over. At least it has been that way in America. We need not fear a pogrom, or all sorts of dreadful repercussions, win or lose, in this fight.

This Rosh Hashanah reminds us that we are the heirs of an ancient people; that here in America we, too, have found a "land of the free and the home of the brave;" that in this anniversary year we shall not be less proud and assertive of our rights than were the founders of this Congregation in 1852, 130 years ago.

Our destiny is inseparable from that of our people.

One of our members wrote a prayer from which the following lines speak to this moment:

"This day is a day
To blend one's
Being with a past
Which has become the present.
We are not here alone,
We are with our history,
With a trend of thought --
A pattern of tradition --
Which has been bequeathed to us.
We are not entities unto ourselves.
Our fulfillment must come from our
Ability to continue....."

(Faith Goldstein)



AMEN

3d - and God willing -
final draft.

THE NATIONAL AND THE JEWISH INTEREST

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

EVE OF ROSH HASHANAH
SEPTEMBER 28, 1981

How beautiful it is to celebrate together the birthday of the universe which is what Rosh Hashanah is all about. Despite heavy clouds on the horizon of the future, we have good reason for joy and gratitude. We are grateful that the world God created is still there, ~~not yet~~ ~~incinerated~~ by the dreaded nuclear holocaust for which all super-powers are preparing. We are alive, we are free and we still have many opportunities to set the world right. ~~Therefore,~~ We are hopeful.

Birthdays are festivities of remembrance. As we review the road we have travelled, we inwardly re-assess success and failure, ~~and~~ ~~Such~~ Such re-assessments help us clarify future goals. Our remembrance becomes a solid base for new resolutions, new directions and changes in our way of life.

This Rosh Hashanah is not only the anniversary of the creation of the universe, but a special anniversary for us here at home. We are beginning tonight the 130th anniversary year of the creation of Washington Hebrew Congregation. I wish that

by some sort of magic I could have you see and feel what it was like to be a Jew 130 years ago, ~~let us say the year 1852 when our first organizing meeting was held. Looking back on those days will, I believe, suggest to us how a Jew ought to act in 1982.~~

1852 -- how pitifully few were our people then in the nation's capital: the whole Jewish community could easily have been accommodated in our Temple library!

They were all newcomers, most of them recent immigrants from Europe. One or two families, perhaps, second generation Americans. In 1852, not a single country ^{in Europe} recognized Jews as equal citizens, ~~in Europe~~, except France. Switzerland, the only other democracy in the world at that time, would not even permit a Jew to cross its borders.

Among the approximately 21 Jews who met here in Washington in a private house on Pennsylvania Avenue at 21st Street on April 25, 1852, ^{most} ~~quite a few~~ had come from ~~various parts of~~ Germany. There, Jews were still restricted in their right to marry, forbidden to own more than one house and excluded from virtually every decent profession.

In Rome, Jews were still confined, like sub-humans, behind ghetto walls. As late as six years after the founders of WHC had met to organize themselves as a congregation, a Catholic priest

in Bologna, Italy, could, with impunity, kidnap a Jewish child, Edgar Mortara, and for two decades raise the child as a Catholic in a secret hideout, finally turning him into a priest. To no avail ~~throughout all these years~~ were the ^{tears and the} heartrending pleas of the parents, Dr. and Mrs. Mortara. ^{To no avail was} ~~Even~~ the intervention of several kings, ~~fell on deaf ears as~~ The Pope and his church stood by the priest who had abducted Edgar Mortara.

1852 was no easy year to be a Jew. Can you imagine the amazement, ~~bordering on disbelief~~, of our founders when that very ^{same} year, a fellow-Jew was elected Senator in one of the great states of the Union, Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana.

At first, our founding fathers did not have enough confidence that this radical difference in the treatment and status of Jews in the United States was here to stay and so they were afraid to go public with a Jewish congregation without the most powerful legal backing. In spite of the fact that the general law of the District raised no obstacles to a synagogue, our founders saw fit to obtain a special act of Congress, signed by President Franklin Pierce (June 2, 1856). This unique charter, which you can see on display in our lobby, specifically authorizes the creation of our Congregation.

~~The man who was instrumental in getting this charter for us, Capt. Jonas Phillips Levy,~~ ^{was elected Pres. dent of WHC} ~~his~~ whose portrait hangs in our Library.

Who Was The first President of WHC?

Capt. Levy, the youngest of ten children, a descendant of the distinguished Phillips family of Philadelphia, ~~which goes back to revolutionary times~~, was a new breed of Jew. Orphaned at the age of nine, a cabin boy on the high seas at 16, Jonas Levy became a hero in the American-Mexican War, ~~was appointed by~~ General Winfield Scott, ^{appointed him} captain of the port of Vera Cruz, ~~and~~ ^{He} became an admiral of the Peruvian navy before he took office as president of WHC. His was an act hard to follow.

Not for one moment did Captain Levy hesitate to use what opportunity or connection he had in order to ~~influence the help~~ ^{influence the help} ~~political process for the benefit of his fellow Jews,~~ ^{in foreign lands.} When the U.S. State Department ~~had~~ negotiated a ~~very~~ lucrative trade treaty with Switzerland, our Capt. Levy became a leader ^{in the} ~~in American Jewry's~~ first political battle ^{to revise or cancel the treaty because of Switzerland's} ~~to influence foreign policy for the protection~~ ~~and security of fellow Jews abroad.~~ ^{discrimination against Jews & Under} The fact that this treaty, ~~for~~ ^{was to be exported to Switzerland.} ~~the export of~~ American cotton, tobacco and rice ~~was very much in~~ ^{was very much in} ~~the interest of the USA (especially the powerful South) and was~~ ^{The fact that this treaty was clearly in} ~~strongly favored by the U.S. State Department~~ -- did not stop Capt. Levy from agitating against it in the name of his people's dignity and human rights.

There are inescapable parallels with our current campaign against the sale of F-15s and AWACS to Saudi Arabia. ~~No one~~ ^{"enhancements"} ~~questions the short term commercial benefits of this eight and a half billion dollar deal whose fringe benefit is an assured fuel supply for our country. But, there are long term risks.~~ ^{we see} What happened with our huge depots of military technology in

What happened in

as it almost did,

Iran could easily happen any day in Saudi Arabia, its government,

which was almost overthrown two years ago, when insurgents seized

the great Mosque of Mecca, could be overturned tomorrow. If the

AWACS and F-15's fell into the hands of a radical and aggressive Arab

regime, they would be a deadly menace to Israel and, at the same

time, ~~deliver~~ ^{reveal} some of our most closely guarded military secrets to

the enemies of America. With AWACS having the capacity of

identifying every place in an air space as vast as that between

Warsaw and Paris, an unfriendly Arab regime could prevent any

future Israeli air strike that might be essential to her survival.

This brings us to one of the most excruciating tests of conscience and courage to which American Jews are now being put.

President Reagan and Secretary of State, Haig, have laid their

prestige on the line. They have committed the vast powers of the

administration to pushing this deal through Congress. ^P We Jews are

forced to choose between two considerations. On the one hand is

the administration's view that the ~~advantages~~ ^{deal prevails USA economic political & strategic} ~~outstrip all possible~~

~~risks~~ ^{>advantages}, a view hotly contested by a number of military and political

experts. On the other hand is the ~~complete~~ consensus of Israelis

that the sale of the AWACS and F-15 planes holds deadly perils to

the State of Israel. ^P

Forced to choose between support for our friendly Saudi

Arabian oil supplier and the blood of our people, American Jews

^{must} are standing by their people.

The issue in this proposed sale of military hardware to Saudi Arabia goes beyond a security problem. It is a test case by which the Reagan administration will be gauging the strength of Jewish and public support for Israel. As the crisis reaches its climax within the next few weeks, we shall be able to judge who is on which side, who are and who are not the true friends of Israel -- and how real is the commitment of President Reagan, the administration and Congress to the State of Israel.

Also, we must see the current agitation on behalf of Saudi Arabia within the larger context of a ferocious anti-Israel and anti-Begin campaign. Who is behind it? Is it a powerful bloc within our military-industrial complex? Is it a portion of the financial community who are enamored by the oil rich Arab states and don't mind sacrificing Israel for all sorts of favors from the Arab world?

We ourselves cannot endorse every word and every action of Prime Minister Menachem Begin. The bombing of Beirut caused us great anguish. But, we are aghast at the totally unbalanced vilification of Begin in the media. TIME MAGAZINE characterized him as deceptive, fanatical,

self-righteous and vengeful. A well-known columnist and TV personality in the Washington area called Begin "another Hitler."

The whole world roared in outrage at the reported death of 400 Lebanese civilians (a figure now revised downward to 200) -- and most of them were PLO terrorists! In the perspective of our Jewish sense of justice and compassion even 50 or 5 or one innocent civilian casualty would be too much. But, can we forget that the incident took place in the context of war? That the Arab parties involved have refused every offer of peace negotiations and will not even recognize the existence of the State of Israel?

Also, how strange it is that the very same voices so quick to condemn Israel for its attack on Beirut have remained silent at the slaughter of some 70,000 Lebanese civilians for which the PLO and Syria are directly responsible?

Or, consider the latest double standard of world opinion -- Anwar Sadat's massive purge of all dissidents. He throws thousands of them into the jails of Cairo without trial and due process. Not a word of criticism is to be heard. Can you imagine the howls of protest and condemnation Begin would get in the media if he rounded up and arrested 2,000 Palestinians on the West Bank?

Not only ties of common blood, but plain and simple justice compel us to stand by Israel in these difficult days.

For this we ~~have~~^{are} been taken to task by Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland. In his recent 25-page article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ~~on which he claims to have worked a full year,~~ the senator, with clear reference to the Jews, criticized ~~organized~~ ethnic interest groups which, he says, "sometimes press causes that derogate from ~~the~~ national interest."

The senator's insinuation that American Jews ~~are less~~^{are not sufficiently devoted} ~~devoted to the national interest than others or might reject what~~^{to the national interest,} ~~is best for America in favor of what is good for the Jews,~~ must not go unanswered.

We owe it to our fellow citizens lest we be misjudged; we owe it to our enemies lest they gloat over this unexpected reinforcement of their anti-Jewish suspicions; and we owe it to ourselves, to respond firmly and strongly lest we forfeit our most precious right as Americans -- free speech and free assembly -- the right to speak and act as part of the political process.

Who has the right to define America's national interest?

If Mr. Mathias holds a certain view as to what is best for America -- is a contrary view necessarily bad for America?

As a voter in Maryland, I receive from Mr. Mathias ^{office} questionnaires ^{soliciting} ~~in which~~ my opinions ~~are solicited~~ on many foreign and domestic issues. Am I to reply only what the distinguished senator would like to hear?

The national interest is not a fixed objective fact, but is always in the making. It is the composite of all opinions and of all special concerns which can only be determined after all sincerely held viewpoints are communicated to our senatorial and congressional legislators. If I don't speak up for my special interest, -- who will?

Why should ethnic lobbying be any less legitimate than the lobbying activities of labor, the Chamber of Commerce, the pro and anti-abortionists and all the other secular and religious bodies that make up the spectrum of different economic and political interests in a vital, pluralistic democracy?

As to the wisdom of political action, we would paraphrase Edmund Burke's famous adage, "Bad officials are elected by citizens who don't vote." -- *"Bad policies are shaped by citizens who do not speak up."*

Capt Levy and

In 1852, a handful of Jews in Washington ~~who had hardly~~
~~gotten used to their full citizenship rights, decided to act~~
~~as proud Jews and proud Americans.~~ They used what little power
they had to influence American policy ^{on behalf of} ~~to help~~ their oppressed
brethren abroad.

The example of Capt. Jonas P. Levy's ~~solidarity with~~
~~his people when in need and trouble~~ was followed by another
great president of WHC, Simon Wolf, who, we are told, "enjoyed
the esteem and confidence of every President from Lincoln to
Roosevelt." *P* Simon Wolf persuaded President Grant to send a
mission to Rumania to help the persecuted Jews. *P* He was the
initiator of the Kishineff Conferences throughout America to
pressure the President and Congress to abrogate America's
treaties with Russia because of its relentless oppression of
Jews. *P*

Allegations of putting the Jewish interest above the
national interest would not have stopped him. Nor would his
Christian fellow citizens have paid much attention to it.
On the contrary, his

Lifelong public advocacy of Jewish causes only earned him greater respect as a national leader in the Republican party, adviser and confidante of presidents and, -- how strange to relate, -- Simon Wolf received a presidential appointment as U. S. Ambassador to Egypt, exactly 100 years ago!

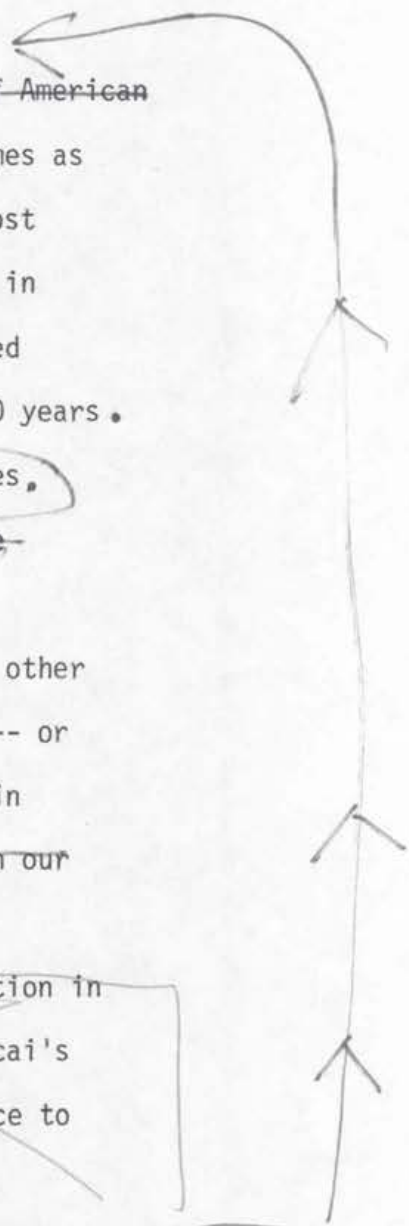
~~Meanwhile, the number, the status and importance of American Jewry has vastly grown. Today, American Jews are 20 times as numerous as in 1852, and we are regarded as one of the most affluent, best educated and politically effective group in the USA. To the extent that antisemitism can be measured statistically, it has been in steady decline the last 20 years.~~

~~and is presently at its lowest point in the United States, according to the latest scientific opinion poll. We are respected as much as any success group in America.~~

The one lesson our tragic historical experience in other lands has taught us is that if you have power, use it, -- or lose it. It is not strength but weakness that is held in contempt. ~~We have no reason whatever to be inhibited in our political self expression in America.~~

~~If there were even the slightest moment of hesitation in our rising to the defense of our people, remember Mordecai's words to Esther, when he asked that she use her influence to save the Jews:~~

in American history
There is a simple reason why the advocacy of special Jewish concerns has been well received and why Jewish lobbying has been successful. It is because the public, contrary to Senator Melman's opinion, perceives Jewish causes ^{to be} in harmony with America's core ideals of fair play & freedom & therefore in harmony with the national interest!



When Persian Jews were in trouble, Mordecai asked his niece, Queen Esther to intervene:

"Think not in your mind that you will escape any more than all the Jews. If you keep silent at this time, relief and deliverance will arise to the Jews from another place, but you and your family will perish."

"Who knows whether you have not come to royal estate for such a time as this?" (Esther 4.14)

~~Handwritten note:~~ "If you keep silent at this time, you will 'perish.'" (Esther 4.14) P

In 1917, the powerful leader of Germany's Socialist Party, the Jewess, Rosa Luxemburg, was asked by a friend to speak up for the Jews who were then being massacred in pogroms in Russia and Poland. Rosa Luxemburg replied:

both by Communist and anti-Communist armies.

"Why do you come to me with your special Jewish sorrows? I feel just as sorry for the wretched Indian victims in Puta-Mayo and the Negroes in Africa. . . I cannot find a special corner in

Jewish history records the fate of a ~~great~~ brilliant and powerful Jewish woman ~~of maintenance~~ who might have become a modern Esther but rejected the role. P

in my heart for the ghetto." (Walter Laqueur, "A History of Zionism," page 435. Judd Teller, "Scapegoat of Revolutions," page 164)

Two years later, Rosa Luxemburg was arrested and assassinated by German officers. ~~Indeed, she perished!~~ "If you keep silent, . . . you will perish."

Today, ~~The~~ needs of our people cry out to us, American Jews, ~~who~~ ^{we} providentially have come into full freedom, prosperity and considerable influence. ~~We~~ must help and act now. ~~Do~~ not wait.

*We are the Queen
Ester of this
Century.*

Share your ^{concern} ~~views~~ with your congressman, senator, the Secretary of State and President Reagan ~~and express your concern for the security~~

~~of Israel and~~ ~~the United States over the~~ proposed sale of ~~F-15 fighter planes and the AWACS~~ ^{and F-15 enhancements} to Saudi

Arabia. ^P Let no one - Congressman, Senator or even the President - inhibit your political self-expression in America. ^P

Our destiny is inseparable from that of our people and from Israel.

One of our members wrote a prayer from which the following lines speak ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{and need} mood of this moment:

"This day is a day
To blend one's
Being with a past
Which has become the present.
We are not here alone,
We are with our history,
With a trend of thought --
A pattern of tradition --
Which has been bequeathed to us.

-14-

We are not entities unto ourselves.
Our fulfillment must come from our
Ability to continue. . ."

(Faith Goldstein)

MEN



THE NATIONAL AND THE JEWISH INTEREST

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

EVE OF ROSH HASHANAH
SEPTEMBER 28, 1981

How beautiful it is to celebrate together the birthday of the universe which is what Rosh Hashanah is all about. Despite heavy clouds on the horizon of the future, we have good reason for joy and gratitude. We are grateful that the world God created is still there. We are alive, we are free and we still have many opportunities to set the world right. We are hopeful.

Birthdays are festivities of remembrance. As we review the road we have travelled, we inwardly re-assess success and failure. Such re-assessments help us clarify future goals. Our remembrance becomes a solid base for new resolutions, new directions and changes in our way of life.

This Rosh Hashanah is not only the anniversary of the creation of the universe, but a special anniversary for us here at home. We are beginning tonight the 130th anniversary year of the creation of Washington Hebrew Congregation. I wish that by some sort of magic I could have you see and feel what it was like to be a Jew 130 years ago.

1852 -- how pitifully few were our people then in the nation's capital: the whole Jewish community could easily have been accommodated in our Temple library! They had no seating problem on the High Holy days in those days!

Refer to long history which is also family history

of little over 100 souls

They were all newcomers, most of them recent immigrants from Europe, ^{except for} One or two families, perhaps, ^{who were} second generation Americans. In 1852, not a single country in Europe, ^{outside of France} recognized Jews as equal citizens, ~~except France~~. Switzerland, the only other democracy, ^{next to the USA,} ~~in the world~~ at that time, would not even permit a Jew to cross its borders.

Among the approximately 21 Jews who met ~~here in Washington~~ in a private house on Pennsylvania Avenue at 21st Street on April 25, 1852, ^{to organize the 1st Wash. Jt. Jewish Congregation} most had come from Germany. There, Jews were still restricted in their right to marry, forbidden to own more than one house and excluded from virtually every decent profession.

In Rome, Jews were still confined, like sub-humans, behind ghetto walls. As late as six years after the ^{founding} ~~founders~~ of WHC ~~had met to organize themselves as a congregation~~, a Catholic priest in Bologna, Italy, could, with impunity, kidnap a Jewish child, Edgar Mortara, ^{still} and ^{he} for two decades raise the child as a Catholic in a secret hideout, finally turning him into a priest. To no avail were the tears and the pleas of the parents, Dr. and Mrs. Mortara. To no avail was the intervention of several kings. The Pope and his church stood by the priest who had abducted Edgar Mortara. *Jews had no human rights!*

1852 was no easy year to be a Jew. Can you imagine the amazement of our founders when that very same year, a fellow-Jew was elected Senator in one of the great states of the Union, Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, ^{a friend of the 1st Presid. of our Congregation}

Who was the first President of WHC?

Captain Levy, the youngest of ten children, a descendant of the distinguished Phillips family of Philadelphia, was a new breed of Jew. Orphaned at the age of nine, a cabin boy on the high seas at 16, Jonas Levy became a hero in the American-Mexican War. General Winfield Scott appointed him captain of the port of Vera Cruz. He became an admiral of the Peruvian navy before he took office as president of WHC. His was an act hard to follow.

Not for one moment did Captain Levy hesitate to use what opportunity or connection he had in order to help his fellow Jews in foreign lands. When the U. S. State Department negotiated a lucrative trade treaty with Switzerland, our Capt. Levy became a leader in the battle to revise or cancel the treaty because of Switzerland's discrimination against Jews. Under this treaty, American cotton, tobacco and rice were to be exported to Switzerland. The fact that this treaty was clearly in the interest of the USA (especially the powerful South) -- did not stop Capt. Levy from agitating against it in the name of his people's dignity and human rights.

There are inescapable parallels with our current campaign against the sale of F-15 "enhancements" and AWACS to Saudi Arabia, *an 8 1/2 billion deal*
President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig have laid their prestige on the line. They have committed the vast powers of the administration to pushing this deal through Congress.

If I ~~was~~ focus on this issue tonight, it is not because I especially deligit in a strategic political controversy on Rosh Hashanah, but because the ^{way the handle this} issue fundamentally affects our self-image, our pride and our status as American Jews.

powerful bloc within our military-industrial complex? Is it a portion of the financial community who are enamored by the oil rich Arab states and don't mind sacrificing Israel for all sorts of favors from the Arab world?

We ourselves cannot endorse every word and every action of Prime Minister Menachem Begin. The bombing of Beirut caused us great anguish. But we are aghast at the totally unbalanced vilification of Begin in the media. TIME MAGAZINE characterized him as deceptive, fanatical, self-righteous and vengeful. A well-known columnist and TV personality in the Washington area called Begin "another Hitler."

"Newsweek" had a cover portrait of Begin inside a Star of David made up of rifles, with the headline "Begin obstacle to peace."

The whole world roared in outrage at the reported death of 400 Lebanese ~~civilians~~ (a figure now revised downward to 200) -- and most of them were PLO terrorists! In the perspective of our Jewish sense of justice and compassion, even 50 or 5 or one innocent civilian casualty would be too much. But, can we forget that the incident took place in the context of war? That the Arab parties involved have refused every offer of peace negotiations and will not even ^{now} recognize the existence of the State of Israel?

Also, how strange it is that the very same voices so quick to condemn Israel for its attack on Beirut have remained silent at the slaughter of some 70,000 Lebanese civilians for which the PLO and Syria are directly responsible?

^{also}
Oh, Consider the latest double standard of world opinion --

Anwar Sadat's massive purge of all dissidents. He throws thousands of them into the jails of Cairo without trial and due process. ^{He expels Western reporters, He rigs an election and gets 99.5% of the vote.} Not a word of criticism is to be heard. Can you imagine the howls of protest and condemnation Begin would get ^{from our} ~~in the~~ media if he rounded up and arrested 2,000 Palestinians on the West Bank, ^{or dealt with his critics in the style of Sadat?}

Not only ties of common blood, but plain and simple justice compel us to stand by Israel in these difficult days.

For this we are being taken to task by Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland. In his recent 25-page article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the senator, with clear reference to the Jews, criticized ethnic interest groups which, he says, "sometimes press causes

that derogate from the national interest." ^{In plain words, we are being charged with dual loyalty. We are being suspected of indifference to the national interest.}

The senator's insinuation that American Jews are not sufficiently devoted to the national interest must not go unanswered.

We owe it to our fellow citizens lest we be misjudged; we owe it to our enemies lest they gloat over this unexpected reinforcement of their anti-Jewish suspicions; and we owe it to ourselves, to respond firmly and strongly lest we forfeit our most precious right as Americans -- free speech and free assembly -- the right to speak and act as part of the political process.

^{exclusive}
Who has the right to define America's national interest?

If Mr. Mathias holds a certain view as to what is best for America -- is a contrary view necessarily bad for America?

As a voter in Maryland, I receive from Mr. Mathias questionnaires soliciting my opinions on many foreign and domestic issues. Am I to reply only what the distinguished senator would like to hear?

The national interest is not a fixed objective fact, but is always in the making. It is the composite of all

opinions and of all special concerns, *Protestants, Catholics, Jews, etc., Unionists, women, labor, management,* which can only be *the whole nation is a composite of special interest groups whose wishes must be* determined after all sincerely held viewpoints are communicated

fairly represented by our elected Congressmen and Senators. ~~to our senatorial and congressional legislators.~~ If I don't communicate speak up for my special interest, -- who will?

Why should ethnic lobbying by any less legitimate than the lobbying activities of labor, the Chamber of Commerce, the pro and anti-abortionists and all the other secular and religious bodies that make up the spectrum of different economic and political interests in a vital, pluralistic democracy?

As to the wisdom of political action, we would paraphrase Edmund Burke's famous adage, "Bad officials are elected by citizens who don't vote." -- "Bad policies are shaped by citizens who do not speak up."

my heart for the ghetto." (Walter Laqueur, "A History of Zionism," page 435. Judd Teller, "Scapegoat of Revolutions," page 164)

Two years later, Rosa Luxemburg was arrested and assassinated by German officers. . . . "If you keep silent, . . . you will perish."

The needs of our people cry out to us, ~~American Jews~~.
Providentially, we ^{American Jews} have come into full freedom, prosperity and influence. We are the Queen Esther of this century. We must help and act now. Share your concern with your congressman, senator, the Secretary of State and President Reagan over the proposed sale of AWACS and ~~F-15~~ enhancements to Saudi Arabia.

Let no one - congressman, senator, or even the President -- inhibit your political self-expression in America.

Our destiny is inseparable from that of our people ~~and from Israel.~~

One of our members wrote a prayer from which the following lines speak to this moment:

"This day is a day
To blend one's
Being with a past
Which has become the present.
We are not here alone,
We are with our history,
With a trend of thought --
A pattern of tradition --

The Administration is already wavering and considering a compromise. You must push may be decisive!

Overshadowing the whole AWACS debate is a much bigger issue.

How free and self-assertive do we want to be?
Should we voluntarily retreat from the arena of public debate?
Should we circumscribe and curtail our rightful share in decision making?
Should we suppress our vital interests?
Should we let ourselves be intimidated, muffle our voices and resume the contumacious phlegmatic mentality of Hush Hush?
Our pride and self-respect is at stake

The Kosh Hoshmand demands that we are the heirs of an ancient people, that here in America, we too have found a land of the free and the home of the brave, that in this anniversary year of 1981/2 we shall not be less proud and assertive of our rights than the founders of this Republic in 1776

We owe it to America & we owe it to ourselves to speak up firmly & openly for most precious rights as Americans - free speech & free assembly.

Which has been bequeathed to us.
We are not entities unto ourselves.
Our fulfillment must come from our
Ability to continue. . ."

(Faith Goldstein)

A M E N



INSERTION

Post

Add password end of
tape after the

Sentence ending with

"Ghetto Mentality of Hush-Hush."

If I, as a refugee from Hitler's native land
could offer any advice to our people, it is:

Don't let them intimidate us.
Hit them harder!

The one lesson our tragic historical experience in other
lands has taught us is that if you have ^{of our means} power, use it, -- or
lose it. It is not strength but weakness that is held in
contempt.

Then continue rest of tape

THE NATIONAL AND THE JEWISH INTEREST

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

EVE OF ROSH HASHANAH
SEPTEMBER 28, 1981

*Pst
Please reread
this page*

How beautiful it is to celebrate together the birthday of the universe which is what Rosh Hashanah is all about. Despite heavy clouds on the horizon of the future, we have good reason for joy and gratitude. We are grateful that the world God created is still there. We are alive, we are free. We are hopeful.

Birthdays are festivities of remembrance. As we review the road we have travelled, we inwardly re-assess success and failure. Such re-assessments help us clarify future goals. Our remembrance becomes a solid base for new resolutions, new directions and changes in our way of life.

This Rosh Hashanah is not only the anniversary of the creation of the universe, but a special anniversary for us here at home. Tonight we are beginning the 130th anniversary year of the creation of the Washington Hebrew Congregation. I wish that by some sort of magic I could transport you back to the year 1852 and have you see and feel what it was like to be a Jew 130 years ago.

1852 -- how pitifully few were ~~our people then in the nation's capital~~ ^{Washington} the whole Jewish community of little over 100 souls could easily have been accommodated in our Temple library! They had no seating problem on the High Holy Days in those days!

There are a number of families here tonight whose affiliation with us has been maintained over 5 generations - and whose family history is part of our Congregation's history. We also welcome among us WHC's newest members and pray that their descendants may extend their loyalty to this Congregation's people for generations to come.

at that time.

If ~~as~~ a refugee from Hitler's native land, ~~we~~ have any advise to offer
to ^{any} people it is: Don't let ~~our~~ ^{them} enemies intimidate us. Hit them harder!

-9-

Today, American Jews are 20 times as numerous as in 1852.
We are one of the most affluent, best educated and politically
participatory group in the USA. To the extent that antisemitism
can be measured statistically, it has been in steady decline the
last 20 years. According to the last scientific opinion poll
(Yankelovich), it is at its lowest point in the United States.

When Persian Jews were in trouble, Mordecai asked his niece, Queen Esther, to intervene:

"Who knows whether you have not come to royal estate for such a time as this?"

"If you keep silent at this time. . .you will perish."

(Esther, 4.14)

Jewish history records the fate of a brilliant and powerful Jewish woman who might have become a modern Esther but rejected the role. In 1917, Rosa Luxemburg, a leader of Germany's Socialist Party, was asked to speak up for Russian Jews who were then being massacred both by Communist and anti-Communist armies. Rosa Luxemburg replied:

"Why do you come to me with your special Jewish sorrows? I feel just as sorry for the wretched Indian victims in Puta-Mayo and the Negroes in Africa. . .I cannot find a special corner in

Who was this first President of WHC?

Captain Levy, the youngest of ten children, a descendant of the distinguished Phillips family of Philadelphia, was a new breed of Jew. Orphaned at the age of nine, a cabin boy on the high seas at 16, Jonas Levy became a hero in the American-Mexican War. General Winfield Scott appointed him captain of the port of Vera Cruz. He became an admiral of the Peruvian navy before he took office as president of WHC. His was an act hard to follow.

Not for one moment did Captain Levy hesitate to use what opportunity or connection he had in order to help his fellow Jews in foreign lands. When the U. S. State Department negotiated a lucrative trade treaty with Switzerland, our Captain Levy became a leader in the battle to revise or cancel the treaty because of Switzerland's discrimination against Jews. Under this treaty, American cotton, tobacco and rice were to be exported to Switzerland. The fact that this treaty was clearly in the interest of the USA (especially the powerful Tough) -- did not stop Capt. Levy from agitating against it in the name of his people's dignity and human rights.

There are inescapable parallels with our current campaign against the sale of F-15 "enhancements" and AWACS to Saudi Arabia, an eight and a half billion dollar deal. If I focus on this issue tonight, it is not because I especially delight in a strategic

political controversy on Rosh Hashanah, but because the way we handle this issue fundamentally affects our self-image, our pride and our status as American Jews.

President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig have laid their prestige on the line. They have committed the vast powers of the administration to pushing this deal through Congress.

We Jews are forced to choose between two viewpoints: On the one hand is the administration's view that the deal gives the USA economic, political and strategic advantages. I'm sure you have read over and over again the specific points in this argument: that the Saudis are the most moderate Arabs, that they have 268 billion dollars to invest, that they are keeping oil prices down for us and seek American friendship.

You are probably also familiar with the opposing viewpoint: that what happened in Iran could easily happen in Saudi Arabia. It almost did, two years ago, when Saudi insurgents seized the Great Mosque of Mecca. That it would be very damaging to American security if the AWACS fell into the hands of a radical and unfriendly Arab regime. However, you may not be aware of the fact that Saudis are far from moderate as far as Israel is concerned. In 1973, they sent 6,000 soldiers into combat against Israel on the Golan Heights. They are officially at war with Israel.

I'm sure you have read over and over again the specific points in this argument, - that the Saudis are the most moderate Arabs, that they have 268 billion dollars to invest, that they are keeping oil prices down for us and seek American friendship. You are probably also familiar with the opposing view point: That

We Jews are forced to choose between two considerations.

On the one hand is the administration's view that the deal gives the USA economical, political and strategic advantages, a view hotly contested by a number of military and political experts.

On the other hand is the consensus of Israelis that the sale of the AWACS and F-15 planes ^{endangers} holds deadly perils to the State of Israel.

What happened in Iran could easily happen in Saudi Arabia, as it almost did, two years ago, when ^{Saudi} insurgents seized the great Mosque of Mecca. If the AWACS and F-15's fell into the hands of a radical ^{anti-American} and aggressive Arab regime, they would be a deadly menace to Israel and, at the same time, reveal some of our most closely guarded military secrets ^{would be exposed} to the enemies of America.

But the issue in this proposed sale of military hardware to Saudi Arabia goes beyond a security problem. It is a test case by which the Reagan administration will be gauging the strength of Jewish and public support for Israel. As the crisis reaches its climax within the next few ^{days} weeks, we shall be able to judge who is on which side, ~~who are and who are not the true friends of Israel~~ -- and how real is the commitment of President Reagan, the administration and Congress to the State of Israel.

Also, we must see the current agitation on behalf of Saudi Arabia within the larger context of a ferocious anti-Israel and anti-Begin campaign. ~~Who is behind it? Is it a~~

You may not be aware of the fact that Saudis are far from moderate as far as Israel is concerned. In 1973 they sent 6000 soldiers into combat against Israel on the Golan Heights. They are officially ~~at~~ war with Israel.

It is sheer demagoguery to simplify the issue as a Begin-Peres contest. Israel's vital security is threatened when a nation still at war with her is to receive the world's most

Sophisticated weapons.

As a long time ally of the USA, Israel has a right to protect America's massive military build-up of Saudi Arabia.

It is sheer demagoguery to simplify the issue as a Begin-Reagan contest. Israel's vital security is threatened when ^{another} a nation, still at war with her, is to receive the world's ~~most~~ sophisticated weapons. In this situation, Israel has every reason to be anxious and, as a long-time ally of the USA, she has a right to protest America's massive military buildup of Saudi Arabia.

But, the deeper issue in this proposed sale of military hardware to Saudi Arabia goes far beyond a security problem for either the United States or Israel. It is a test case by which the Reagan administration will be measuring the strength of Jewish and public support for Israel. As the crisis reaches its climax within the next few days, we shall be able to judge who is on which side, -- and how real is the commitment of the President, the administration and Congress to the State of Israel.

Also, we must see the current agitation on behalf of Saudi Arabia within the larger context of a ferocious anti-Israel and anti-Begin campaign.

We, ourselves, cannot endorse every word and every action of Prime Minister Menachem Begin. The bombing of Beirut caused us great anguish. But we are aghast at the totally unbalanced vilification of Begin in the media. TIME MAGAZINE characterized him as deceptive, fanatical, self-righteous and vengeful. NEWSWEEK had a cover-portrait of Begin inside a Star of David made up of rifles, with the headline "Begin Obstacle to Peace?" A well-known columnist and TV personality in the Washington area called Begin "another Hitler."

The whole world roared in outrage at the reported death of 400 Lebanese (a figure now revised downward to 200) -- and most of them were PLO terrorists! In the perspective of our Jewish sense of justice and compassion, even 50 or 5 or one innocent civilian casualty would be too much. But, can we forget that the incident took place in the context of war? That the Arab parties involved have refused every offer of peace negotiations and even now will not recognize the existence of the State of Israel?

Also, how strange it is that the very same voices so quick to condemn Israel for its attack on Beirut have remained silent at the slaughter of some 70,000 Lebanese civilians for which the PLO and Syria are directly responsible?

Consider, also, the latest double standard of world opinion -- Anwar Sadat's massive purge of all dissidents. He throws thousands of them into the jails of Cairo without trial and due process. He expels Western reporters. He rigs an election and gets 99.5% of the vote. Not a word of criticism is to be heard.

Can you imagine the howls of protest and condemnation Begin would get from our media if he rounded up and arrested 2,000 Palestinians on the West Bank, or dealt with his critics in the style of Sadat?

Not only ties of common blood, but plain and simple justice compel us to stand by Israel in these difficult days.

For this we are being taken to task by Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland. In his recent 25-page article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the senator, with clear reference to the Jews, criticized ethnic interest groups which, he says, "sometimes press causes that derogate from the national interest." In plain words, we are being charged with dual loyalty. We are being suspected of indifference to the national interest.

The senator's insinuation that American Jews are not sufficiently devoted to the national interest must not go unanswered.

Who has the exclusive right to define America's national interest?

If Mr. Mathias holds a certain view as to what is best for America -- is a contrary view necessarily bad for America?

As a voter in Maryland, I receive from Mr. Mathias questionnaires soliciting my opinions on many foreign and domestic issues. Am I to reply only what the distinguished senator would like to hear?

The national interest is not a fixed objective fact, but is always in the making. It is the composite of all opinions and of all special concerns. Protestants, Catholics, Jews, minorities, -- the whole nation is a composite of special interest groups whose wishes must be fairly represented by our elected Congressmen and Senators. If I don't communicate my special interest, -- who will?

Why should ethnic lobbying be any less legitimate than the lobbying activities of labor, the Chamber of Commerce, the pro- and anti-abortionists and all the other secular and religious bodies that make up the spectrum of different economic and political interests in a vital, pluralistic democracy?

As to the wisdom of political action, we would paraphrase Edmund Burke's famous adage, "Bad officials are elected by citizens who don't vote." -- "Bad policies are shaped by citizens who don't speak up."

In 1852, Captain Levy and a handful of Jews in Washington used what little power they had to influence American policy on behalf of their oppressed brethren abroad.

The example of Jonas P. Levy was followed by another great President of WHC, Simon Wolf, who initiated a nationwide campaign to pressure the President and Congress to abrogate America's treaties with Czarist Russia because of its relentless oppression of Jews.

His lifelong public advocacy of Jewish causes only earned him greater respect as a national leader in the Republican Party and -- how strange to relate -- Simon Wolf received a presidential appointment as U. S. Ambassador to Egypt exactly 100 years ago!

In 1852, Capt. Levy and a handful of Jews in Washington used what little power they had to influence American policy on behalf of their oppressed brethren abroad.

OK

The example of Capt. Jonas P. Levy was followed by another great president of WHC, Simon Wolf, who, ~~we are told,~~ ^{initiated} "enjoyed the esteem and confidence of every President from Lincoln to Roosevelt."

nation-wide campaign

Simon Wolf persuaded President Grant to send a mission to Rumania to help the persecuted Jews.

He was the initiator of the Kishineff Conferences throughout America to pressure the President and Congress to abrogate America's treaties with ^{Czarist} Russia because of its relentless oppression of Jews.

OK

Lifelong public advocacy of Jewish causes only earned him greater respect as a national leader in the Republican Party, ~~adviser and confidante of presidents and,~~ -- how strange to relate, -- ~~Simon Wolf received a presidential appointment as U. S. Ambassador to Egypt exactly 100 years ago!~~

OK

^{So far} There is a simple reason why, in American history, the advocacy of special Jewish concerns has been well received and why Jewish lobbying has been successful. ^{generally} It is because the public, contrary to Senator Mathias' opinion, perceives Jewish causes to be in harmony with America's core ideals of fair play and freedom and therefore in harmony with the national interest!



ban on...
speeches for...
the... must

~~Congress, having to public opinion, is swinging around in opposition to the Jews' dictatorial... A... appeal to anti-Semitism.~~
It has been reported that ^{to vote to advocate} a former President of the US who ~~never~~ won a presidential election has been calling Senators with the plea "not to let the Jews dictate foreign policy." In spite of this crude appeal to anti-Semitism Congress, ~~having to public opinion~~ is swinging around in opposition to ^{not because Jews are so passionately loved or feared but because there is} the Jews' dictatorial...
Awards for South Africa, and is public opinion.

So far in American history, the advocacy of special Jewish concerns has been well received and Jewish lobbying has been generally successful. The reason is simple: It is because the public, contrary to Senator Mathias' opinion, perceive Jewish causes to be in harmony with America's core ideals of fair play and freedom, and therefore in harmony with the national interest.

It has been reported that various spokesmen for the administration have telephoned Congressmen and Senators to solicit their vote for the AWAC deal, with the plea "...not to let the Jews dictate foreign policy." This crude appeal to antisemitism has been singularly ineffective. Congress and the Senate are swinging around in opposition to AWACS for Saudi Arabia -- and so is public opinion -- not because Jews are so passionately loved or feared, but because there is a growing bi-partisan majority consensus that the AWAC deal is not in the best interest of America.

The needs of our people cry out to us. Providentially, we American Jews have come into full freedom, prosperity and influence. We are the Queen Esther of this century. We must help and act now. Do not hesitate to express your concern with your Congressman, Senator, the Secretary of State and President Reagan over the proposed deal with Saudi Arabia. The administration is already wavering and considering a compromise. Your final push may be decisive.

Overshadowing the entire controversy is a much bigger issue for us:

How free and self-assertive do we want to be?

Should we voluntarily retreat from the arena of public debate?

Should we circumscribe and curtail our rightful share in national decision making?

Should we suppress our own vital interest?

Should we let ourselves be intimidated, muffle our voices and resume the contemptible ghetto mentality of "hush-hush?"

If I, as a refugee from Hitler's native land, could offer any advice to our people, it is:

Don't let them intimidate us.

Hit them harder!

The one lesson our tragic historical experience in other lands has taught us is that if you have a fair measure of power, use it, -- or lose it. It is not strength but weakness that is held in contempt.

We owe it to America and we owe it to ourselves to speak up firmly and fearlessly lest we surrender our most precious right as Americans, free speech and free assembly.

Let no one, Congressman, Senator, or even the President inhibit our political self-expression in America.

Our status, our pride, and our self respect are at stake.

This Rosh Hashanah reminds us that we are the heirs of an ancient people; that here in America we, too, have found a "land of the free and the home of the brave;" that in this anniversary year we shall not be less proud and assertive of our rights than were the founders of this Congregation in 1852, 130 years ago.

Our destiny is inseparable from that of our people.

One of our members wrote a prayer from which the following lines speak to this moment:

"This day is a day
To blend one's
Being with a past
Which has become the present.
We are not here alone,
We are with our history,
With a trend of thought --
A pattern of tradition --
Which has been bequeathed to us.
We are not entities unto ourselves.
Our fulfillment must come from our
Ability to continue. . . ."
(Faith Goldstein)

AMEN

THE NATIONAL AND THE JEWISH INTEREST

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

EVE OF ROSH HASHANAH
September 28, 1981

As of tonight, we are ascending the year's spiritual summit with its twin peaks, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

~~The Term Rosh Hashanah does not appear~~ ^{In} the Bible. ~~Instead,~~ this day is referred to as Yom Hazikaron, the Day of Remembrance. It is a psychologically ^{fitting} ~~valid name~~ for a New Year's celebration. Birthdays and anniversaries are ~~generally not~~ ^{for the most part,} ~~celebrations of future projections but~~ festivities of remembrance. ~~At a typical birthday celebration, we look over old photo albums and slides; we indulge in nostalgia and, if the birthday is a very special one, it is likely that family members or intimate friends will treat us to a "this-is-your-life" skit. Its good humor does not diminish its serious value. As we review the road we have travelled, we inwardly re-assess success and failure, old and new interests, relationships, friendships, and such reassessments help us clarify future goals. Our remembrance becomes a solid base for new resolutions, new directions and major changes in life.~~

This is one of those special years of remembrance for WHC. We shall be celebrating this year the 130th anniversary of the creation of Washington Hebrew Congregation. I wish that

With shock and dismay we heard the news of the sudden passing of His Holiness John Paul I. Although we all bow to God's will with unfaltering faith, my people and I are saddened beyond words that the promise of his beneficent reign could not be fulfilled. I should like to extend to you and to the faithful of your Community our sympathy. May God bring consolation to all who mourn.

The festive joy of a New Year is always mixed with a measure of anxiety over the uncertainties of the future. It may have been for a time such as this that King David composed the 86th Psalm which ends with the words: *הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַר לָנוּ וְיִשְׁמַר לָנוּ*

"SHOW ME A TOKEN FOR GOOD." (Psalm 86.17)

If our goals in any given year seem too far out to reach, we must at least see a sign that we are on the way or that somewhere there is a way. The small sign of progress, the mere token of what we want in life, goes a long way in sustaining our hopes and stimulating our efforts.

This year, not only prophets but plain people the world over, can see a token for good such as we have not seen in years, or even decades. The Camp David Summit has made our habitual pessimists look sick. In order to fully appreciate the historic significance of the Summit Conference, we need to see it in the context and perspective of the last five years.

Five years ago, almost to the day, while Jews all over the world were assembled in their synagogues, the entire military might of Egypt moved into the Sinai desert south of Israel. At the same time, the Syrian army to the north swept through the Golan Heights in a gigantic pincer movement which was to destroy Israel in one mighty knockout blow. Altogether, the Arabs threw 4,000 tanks and the combined manpower of 1 million troops into the battle. The tank battles fought in 1973 were the largest ever waged in history, surpassing those under the command of General Patton or General Montgomery in World War II.

Only a miracle of courage and self sacrifice saved the State on that memorable Yom Kippur day, as we so well recall. A few hundred young Israeli reservists dug into the sand of the Sinai desert, fought to the last man delaying the Egyptian assault just long enough for Israel to reorganize her forces and snatch victory out of defeat. The human and economic losses of the Yom Kippur war were staggering. Gloom overtook the nation as they contrasted their own limited resources and almost total international isolation with the inexhaustible wealth and manpower of the enemy.

The famous cartoonist, Bill Mauldin, created a cartoon which captured the essence of Israel's situation among hostile neighbors. The cartoon represented the young state of Israel in the form of a youth who sits alone by the light of a campfire while, in the darkness beyond, a pack of wolves may be seen waiting only for the fire to die out so that they might pounce upon their victim. All that keeps

the wolves away is the fire.

The fire is a historic phenomenon that must be counted among the great wonders of the world. It is the undying love and loyalty Jews have for each other. As the poet, Masefield, said,

"..Love is a flame to set the will on fire."

We never wavered in our support for our people. While the cannons were still firing, tens of thousands of Jewish youth from every country, including some of our own Congregation, volunteered 6 months to one year of labor in Israel's depleted settlements. Once again, Jewish physicians flew over to staff emergency hospitals. We and other congregations donated record breaking amounts of blood for the many thousands of wounded Israelis. American Jewry gave sacrificially to help Israel rebuild her shattered life. The unbreakable unity of our people. our mutual helpfulness -- this was

the fire that kept the wolves away in 1973, *and throughout 19 centuries of dispersion when oppressed Jewish communities anywhere depended on their more fortunate brothers for their survival.*

Nevertheless, from 1973 to 1978, an all pervasive morale

crisis sapped the spirit of Israel. The 30th anniversary of the State brought to mind not only fabulous achievements but also 30 years of death and destruction, of terror punctuated by four major wars. Would it ever end?

Typical of the despairing mood prior to the Camp David Summit meeting is the following story which made the rounds until about three weeks ago:

1. Hope for the World

President Jimmy Carter, the Soviet Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Gromyko, and Menachem Begin met in heaven and each was given permission to ask one question of the Lord. Jimmy Carter turned to the good Lord and said,

"Could you tell me whether we will ever solve the problem of race relations in the United States?"

God answered, "Yes, my son, but ^{not} in your lifetime."

Next, Gromyko turned to God and said,

"Could you tell me whether my country and America will ever trust each other?"

"Yes," answered God, "but not in your lifetime."

Now Menachem BBegin had his turn and so he said,

"My question is, will there ever be peace between Israel and the Arabs?"

To which God replied, "Not in MY lifetime!"

Until two weeks ago, peace in the Middle East appeared to be hopeless. Our people were resigned to perpetual peril on the brink of survival. ~~Now,~~ ^{thank God} Now, peace for Israel and the Middle East is not only probable in our lifetime but even in this New Year of 5739.

When Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat embraced each other in the presence of Jimmy Carter at the end of their historic TV report to the nation and to the world, it was as though a new light had broken through the stormy sky. Suddenly Israel, sorrow laden with the ghosts of the holocaust and 30 years of bloodshed, is called by

Isaiah's radiant vision,

קוֹרְאֵי הַלַּיְלָה, כִּי אֵלֶיךָ יָשׁוּבִים

"ARISE, SHINE, FOR THY LIGHT HAS COME." (Is. 60.1)

This New Year should be a time of jubilation, of thanksgiving, of hope. For the last 30 years we built Israel, holding in one hand the building trowel and in the other, the sword. Our people did not build in order to better fight, but were ready to fight in order to be free to build.

Now, for the first time in 30 years, Israel will be able to build with both hands! If you buy Israel bonds this year, and I hope you'll do so at our Israel Bond Dinner next Sunday night, you may do it with far greater confidence in Israel's future. What unimaginable achievements now become possible! What new dreams become realizable, even the dream of a more perfect society as foreseen by the prophets,

"ARISE, O ISRAEL, SHINE, FOR THY LIGHT HAS COME"

We see in Camp David a new light of far reaching significance for all other world problems. If Israelis and Arabs can come to terms, then no international problem now on the world's agenda is beyond the scope of reason and good will. Soviet-American detente, nuclear disarmament, even the human rights struggle in Southern Africa and Latin America and ~~the Soviet Union~~ ^{behind the Iron Curtain} appear to be less hopeless in the light of Camp David.

This momentous international event should have a point of relevance to our own strictly private and personal lives. Rosh Hashanah is the time of a new look. Jewish law, in its most benign "sexist" aspect, recommends the purchase of new clothes

- a law well observed!

by the women of Israel as proper preparation for the festival. In a deeper sense, this is a time not only for looking at our best, but for looking at the best within us all. Now, think of the person who offended you, who hurt you. Think of a family member or former friend for whom you lost respect or love. If you say "...He'll never change!," -- shame on you! Life is change. George Bernard Shaw once said,

"The most sensible person I know is my tailor because every time I order a new suit, he takes a new measure of me."

You and I are not the same today we were yesterday. In every renewed encounter we need to see the other person in a new light. Old grudges and prejudices, like cataracts, block our vision. If Begin and Sadat could embrace each other, reconciliation between embittered family members and alienated friends should not be impossible. *Insert ①*

Pull yourself together

"ARISE, SHINE, ..." See your life, see yourself and all your personal relationships in a new light. Don't shut out hope. A New Year means a new chance for a new life.

2. Hope for American Jewry

A new light has also fallen upon our own congregation. The opening of our new Bindeman suburban center has given our congregation an auspicious start in the New Year. It is as though the architect had also heeded Isaiah's call, "ARISE, SHINE...."

Insert ①

The most important lesson to take home from Camp David is that you succeed ^{only} when the will to succeed is there.

Apply this to all human relations issues, to all your problems:

Usually, the conditions for success are there; only the will is lacking.

An admirer once asked the pianist Paderewski:

"Is it true that you still practice every day?"

"Yes," said the pianist, "At least 8 hours a day."

"You must have a world of patience," --said the other.

"I have no more patience than the next fellow," said Paderewski, —

"I just use mine."

~~We~~ need ability! ~~We~~ need ^{the} means! But, above all, ~~we~~ need ^{the} will.

We need talents,

to use them.

With light streaming through the building from all sides, visitors become lyrical trying to put their impressions into words. Its spacious halls and rooms are alive with color and convey a joyful elegance.

What is the larger significance of this momentous expansion of our congregational facilities? How will it affect the self image of our children? ~~I believe~~ they will internalize the dignity of our beautiful new building. ~~I think it will~~ ^{it} boost their pride, self confidence and sense of privilege as Jews.?

Before this year ends, we shall also upgrade our facilities here at Macomb Street, so that this imposing main center of our Congregation not suffer by comparison with its newest branch. *In the immediate future,* Improvement and expansion, I believe, will be the key words of all of our Jewish institutions in America nationwide.

If Camp David leads to peace and stability in Israel, and if world Jewry is released from the grip of war crises, we shall be able to concentrate our attention at last on our own needs here at home. We shall address ourselves to problems we neglected and opportunities we have missed. For example, is it not time to do something, on a scale not yet attempted, to repair the damage done to the Jewish family? Could we not better prepare our people for the covenant of marriage to prevent the tragedy of broken homes? Might we not develop new community ties for our single youth and adult population whose loneliness of heart turns the so-called "best" into their bitterest years? Must we not bridge the gap between us and the ever-growing number of new exiles from society, known as the elderly?

New beautiful real estate is not enough. We must get inside our temples and religious schools for programs as inspiring as our architecture. How can we make Jewish education more effective? How relate the wisdom of Judaism to daily living?

As we relax from the long struggle for Jewish survival, we shall turn our full attention to what it is that we are surviving for: our values, our culture, our beliefs, *our way of life.*

Never before in all of our history have we had so large, so able and so loyal a Jewish community as our 6 million American Jews. [The long years, even the centuries, of Jewish weeping and moaning are drawing to a close. [The time of lamentation is ending.] We proved the strength of our peoplehood, our ability to unite and preserve our identity and religious heritage during the long ages of storm and stress. Shall we cherish our Judaism and our people as much in the warm and sunny climate of full freedom, equality and plenty in this new era? What makes us better Jews, -- the lash of ^{the} oppression, or liberty's opportunity?

Your response can turn our future into another Golden Age, the flowering of the American Jew, in learning, in religious awakening and in notable achievements in all walks of life. Henceforth, the challenge is not only to give but to live as Jews.

Conclusion

In the afternoon of July 4, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was issued, a patriotic woman rushed over to Benjamin Franklin, pressed his hand, and said, "Thank you Mr. Franklin for giving us this great nation."

Franklin answered wisely,

"Yes, we have given you a great nation, if you can keep it!"

We Jews have been given a great way of life, Judaism -- if we can keep it! *if we shall know it, if we shall observe it, if we shall live it.*

AMEN



They were all newcomers, most of them recent immigrants from Europe, except for one or two families, perhaps, who were second generation Americans. In 1852, not a single country in Europe, outside of France, recognized Jews as equal citizens. Switzerland, the only OTHER democracy, next to the USA at that time, would not even permit a Jew to cross its borders.

Out Among the approximately 21 Jews who met in a private house on Pennsylvania Avenue at 21st Street on April 25, 1852, to organize the first Washington Jewish Congregation, most had come

In ~~from~~ Germany, ~~There,~~ Jews were still restricted in their right to marry, forbidden to own more than one house and excluded from virtually every decent profession.

In Rome, Jews were still confined, like sub-humans, behind ghetto walls. As late as six years after the founding of WHC, a Catholic priest in Bologna, Italy, could still, with impunity, kidnap a Jewish child, Edgar Mortara. For two decades he raised the child as a Catholic in a secret hideout, finally turning him into a priest. To no avail were the tears and the pleas of the parents, Dr. and Mrs. Mortara. To no avail was the intervention of several kings. The Pope and his church stood by the priest who had abducted Edgar Mortara. Jews had no human rights!

1852 was no easy year to be a Jew. Can you imagine the amazement of our founders when that very same year, a fellow-Jew was elected Senator in one of the great states of the Union, Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, a friend of the first President of our Congregation.

Who was this first President of WHC?

Captain Levy, the youngest of ten children, a descendant of the distinguished Phillips family of Philadelphia, was a new breed of Jew. Orphaned at the age of nine, a cabin boy on the high seas at 16, a hero in the American-Mexican War, appointed captain of the port of Vera Cruz, an admiral of the Peruvian navy, before he took office as president of WHC. His was an act hard to

follow. If you had asked Capt. Levy whether he felt more loyal to America or his own Jewish people - he would have answered: I love them both, like my mother and my father.

Not for one moment did Captain Levy hesitate to use what opportunity or connection he had in order to help his fellow Jews in foreign lands! When the U. S. State Department negotiated a lucrative trade treaty with Switzerland, our Captain Levy became a leader in the battle to revise or cancel the treaty because of Switzerland's discrimination against Jews. Under this treaty, American cotton, tobacco and rice were to be exported to Switzerland. The fact that this treaty was clearly in the interest of the USA (especially the powerful South) -- did not stop Capt. Levy from agitating against it in the name of his people's dignity and human rights.

There are inescapable parallels with our current campaign against the sale of F-15 "enhancements" and AWACS to Saudi Arabia, an eight and a half billion dollar deal. If I focus on this issue tonight, it is not because I especially delight in a strategic

political controversy on Rosh Hashanah, but because the way we handle this issue fundamentally affects ^{Israel, her relations with the US} ~~our self-image, our pride~~ and our ^{own} status as American Jews. ^{It is a test of our strength and of our ability and will to use the legitimate power we have in this Great Democracy.} President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig have laid

their prestige on the line. They have committed the vast powers of the administration to pushing this deal through Congress.

We Jews are forced to choose between two viewpoints: On the one hand is the administration's view that this ^{sale} ~~deal~~ gives the USA economic, political and strategic advantages. I'm sure you have read over and over again the specific points in this argument: that the Saudis are the most moderate Arabs, that they have 268 billion dollars to invest, that they are keeping oil prices down for us and seek American friendship.

You are probably also familiar with the opposing viewpoint: that what happened in Iran could easily happen in Saudi Arabia ~~and~~ ^{and} it almost did, two years ago, when Saudi insurgents seized the Great Mosque of Mecca. That it would be very damaging to American security if the AWACS fell into the hands of a radical and unfriendly Arab regime. ~~However,~~ you may not be aware of

the fact that Saudis are far from moderate as far as Israel is concerned. In 1973, they sent 6,000 soldiers into combat against Israel on the Golan Heights. They are officially at war with Israel.

Supporters of SAudi Arabia are playing on the supposed unpopularity of Menachem Begin by referring to the entire issue as a Begin-Reagan contest. This is sheer demagoguery. *The issue is not a personality clash between 2 leaders of state. on which the US is itself deeply divided* The real issue is a conflict between two policies: one pro-Arab and the other **pro-Israel**. Israel's vital security is threatened when another nation, still at war with her, is to receive the world's most sophisticated weapons *system.* You may not be aware of the fact that during the Yom Kippur War in 1973, Saudi Arabia sent 6,000 soldiers into combat against Israel on the Golan Heights. Israel, as our long-time ally, has a right to protest America's massive military buildup of Saudi Arabia. *Saudi Arabia is a nation with which, legally, she is at war. Saudi Arabia is a nation with which, legally, she is at war.*

Tied in with this proposed sale of military hardware to Saudi Arabia is another issue: It is a test case by which the Reagan administration will be measuring the strength of Jewish and public support for Israel.

Also, we must see the current agitation on behalf of Saudi Arabia within the larger context of a ferocious anti-Israel and anti-Begin campaign.

We, ourselves, cannot endorse every word and every action of Prime Minister Menachem Begin *or Israel for that matter, not even of our own government.* The bombing of Beirut caused us great anguish. But we are aghast at the totally unbalanced vilification of Begin in the media. TIME MAGAZINE characterized him as deceptive, fanatical, self-righteous and vengeful. NEWSWEEK had a cover portrait of Begin inside a Star of David made up of rifles, with the headline, "Begin Obstacle to Peace?" A well-known columnist and TV personality in the Washington area called Begin "another Hitler."

The whole world roared in outrage at the reported death of 400 Lebanese (a figure now revised downward to 200) -- and most of them were PLO terrorists! In the perspective of our Jewish sense of justice and compassion, even 50 or 5 or ^{even} one innocent civilian casualty would be too much. But, ~~can we~~ ^{was it not} forget that the ~~incident took place~~ in the context of war?

Have not ~~That~~ the Arab parties involved ~~have~~ ^{to this day} refused every offer of peace ~~negotiations~~ and ~~even now~~ will not recognize the existence of the State of Israel?

and Also, how strange it is that the very same voices so quick to condemn Israel ~~for its attack on Beirut~~ have remained silent at the slaughter of some 70,000 Lebanese civilians for which the PLO and Syria ~~were~~ directly responsible?

Consider, also, the latest double standard of world opinion -- Anwar Sadat's massive purge of all dissidents. He throws thousands of them into the jails of Cairo without trial and due process. He expels Western reporters. He rigs an election and gets 99.5% of the vote. Not a word of criticism is to be heard.

Where are our human rights champions? Can you imagine the howls of protest and condemnation Begin would get from our media if he rounded up and arrested 2,000 Palestinians on the West Bank, or dealt with his critics in the style of Sadat? *This is inequity! This is injustice!*

Not only ties of common blood, but plain and simple justice compel us to stand by Israel in these difficult days.

Why do they spot so quickly the mote in Begin's eye but cannot see the beam in the eyes of Arab dictators?

ada

For this we are being taken to task by Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland. In his recent 25-page article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the senator, with clear reference to the Jews, criticized ethnic interest groups which, he says, "sometimes press causes that derogate from the national interest." In plain words, we are being charged with dual loyalty. We are being suspected of indifference to the national interest.

The senator's insinuation that American Jews are not sufficiently devoted to the national interest must not go unanswered.

Who has the exclusive right to define America's national interest? //

If ~~Sen.~~ Mathias holds a certain view as to what is best for America -- is a contrary view necessarily bad for America?

As a voter in Maryland, I receive from ~~Sen.~~ Mathias questionnaires soliciting my opinions on many foreign and domestic issues. Am I to reply only what the distinguished senator would like to hear?

The national interest is not a fixed objective fact, but is always in the making. It is the composite of all opinions and of all special concerns. Protestants, Catholics, Jews, minorities, -- the whole nation is a composite of special interest groups whose wishes must be fairly represented by our elected Congressmen and Senators. If I don't communicate my special interest, -- who will?

Why should ethnic lobbying be any less legitimate than the lobbying ~~activities~~ of labor, the Chamber of Commerce, the pro- and anti-abortionists and all the other secular and religious bodies that make up the spectrum of different economic and political interests in a vital, pluralistic democracy?

As to the wisdom of political action, we would paraphrase Edmund Burke's famous adage, "Bad officials are elected by citizens who don't vote." -- "Bad policies are shaped by citizens who don't speak up."

In 1852, Captain Levy and a handful of Jews in Washington used what little power they had to influence American policy on behalf of their oppressed brethren abroad.

The example of Jonas P. Levy was followed by another great President of WHC, Simon Wolf, who initiated a nationwide campaign to pressure the President and Congress to abrogate America's treaties with Czarist Russia because of its relentless oppression of Jews.

His lifelong public advocacy of Jewish causes only earned him greater respect as a national leader in the Republican Party and -- how strange to relate -- Simon Wolf received a presidential appointment as U. S. Ambassador to Egypt exactly 100 years ago!

It has been reported that various spokesmen for the administration have telephoned Congressmen and Senators to solicit their vote for the AWAC deal, with the plea "...^{don't} let the Jews dictate foreign policy." *Thank God* This crude appeal to antisemitism has been singularly ineffective. Congress and the Senate are swinging around in opposition to AWACS for Saudi Arabia -- and so is public opinion -- -- not because Jews are so passionately loved or feared, but because there is a growing bi-partisan majority consensus that the AWAC deal is not in the best interest of America.

So far in American history, the advocacy of special Jewish concerns has been well received and Jewish lobbying has been generally successful. The reason is simple: Contrary to Senator Mathias' opinion, the American people perceive Jewish causes to be in harmony with America's core ideals of fair play and freedom. They see no conflict between Israel's security needs and the national interest of the United States.

Do not hesitate to express your concern with your Congressman, Senator, the Secretary of State and President Reagan over the proposed deal with Saudi Arabia. The administration is already wavering and considering a compromise. Your final push may be decisive.

Finally, the AWAC controversy has a deep impact on our status in America. It has raised the following fundamental questions:

How free and self-assertive do we want to be?

Should we voluntarily retreat from the arena of public debate?

Should we circumscribe and curtail our rightful share in national decision making?

Should we suppress our own vital ^{Jewish} interest?

Should we let ourselves be intimidated, muffle our voices and resume the contemptible ghetto mentality of "hush-hush?"

If I, as a refugee from Hitler's native land, could offer any advice to our people, it is: ^{There is no reward for being meek and submissive.} Stand firm. We are not insignificant. ~~We have influence.~~ We are entitled to influence.

6 million of our people unfortunately did not learn this lesson in time

The one lesson our tragic historical experience in other lands has taught us, is that if you have power, use it -- or lose it. It is not strength but weakness that is held in contempt.

We owe it to America and we owe it to ourselves to speak up firmly and fearlessly lest we surrender our most precious right as Americans, free speech and free assembly.

Let no one, Congressman, Senator, or even the President inhibit our political self expression in America.

Our status, our pride, and our self respect are at stake.

And let us not be thin-skinned if they use their right of free speech to attack us. That's the way it goes. Sometimes, we have to fight, and when we win - it will be over. At least it has been that way in America. We need not fear ~~oppression~~, or all sorts of dreadful repercussions, win or lose, in this fight.

This Rosh Hashanah reminds us that we are the heirs of an ancient people; that here in America we, too, have found a "land of the free and the home of the brave;" that in this anniversary year we shall not be less proud and assertive of our rights than were the founders of this Congregation in 1852, 130 years ago.

Our destiny is inseparable from that of our people.

One of our members wrote a prayer from which the following lines speak to this moment:

"This day is a day
To blend one's
Being with a past
Which has become the present.
We are not here alone,
We are with our history,
With a trend of thought --
A pattern of tradition --
Which has been bequeathed to us.
We are not entities unto ourselves.
Our fulfillment must come from our
Ability to continue. . . ."
(Faith Goldstein)

Handwritten note:
copy
(E. typed)

AMEN

THE NATIONAL AND THE JEWISH INTEREST

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

EVE OF ROSH HASHANAH
September 28, 1981

As of tonight, we are ascending the year's spiritual summit with its twin peaks, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

The Term Rosh Hashanah does not appear in the Bible. Instead, this day is referred to as Yom Hazikaron, the Day of Remembrance. It is a psychologically valid name for a New Year's celebration. Birthdays and anniversaries are generally not celebrations of future projections but festivities of remembrance. At a typical birthday celebration, we look over old photo albums and slides; we indulge in nostalgia and, if the birthday is a special one, it is likely that family members or intimate friends will treat us to a "this-is-your-life" skit. Its good humor does not diminish its serious value. As we review the road we have travelled, we inwardly re-assess success and failure, old and new interests, relationships, friendships, and such reassessments help us clarify future goals. Our remembrance becomes a solid base for new resolutions, new directions and major changes in life.

This is one of those special years of remembrance for WHC. We shall be celebrating this year the 130th anniversary of the creation of Washington Hebrew Congregation. I wish that

by some sort of magic I could have you see and feel what it was like to be a Jew 130 years ago, let us say the year 1852 when our first organizing meeting was held. Looking back on those days will, I believe, suggest to us how a Jew ought to act in 1982.

1852 -- how pitifully few were our people in this, the nation's capital: a handful of families who could easily have been accommodated in our Temple library!

They were all newcomers, most of them recent immigrants from Europe with one or two families, perhaps, second generation Americans. In 1852, in Europe from which they had fled, there was not a single country except France which recognized Jews as equal citizens, Switzerland, the only other democracy in the world at that time, would not even permit a Jew to cross its borders. Only seven years earlier, the free city of Basel saw fit to expel its tiny community of some 30 Jews who had somehow managed to infiltrate.

Among the approximately 21 Jews who met here in Washington in a private house on Pennsylvania Avenue at 21st Street on April 25, 1852, there must have been quite a few who had recently come from various parts of Germany where Jews were still restricted in their right to marry, forbidden to own more than one house and excluded from virtually every decent profession.

In Rome, Jews were still confined, like sub-humans, behind ghetto walls. As late as six years after the founders of WHC had met to organize themselves as a congregation, a Catholic priest

in Bologna, Italy, could with impunity kidnap a Jewish child, Edgar Mortara, and for two decades raise the child as a Catholic in a secret hideout, finally turning him into a priest. To no avail throughout all these years were the heartrending pleas of the parents, Dr. and Mrs. Mortara. Even the intervention of several kings fell on deaf ears as the Pope and his church stood by the priest who had abducted Edgar Mortara.

1852 was no easy year to be a Jew. Can you imagine the amazement, bordering on disbelief, of our founders when that very year a fellow-Jew was elected Senator in one of the great states of the Union, Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana.

At first, our founding fathers did not have enough confidence that this radical difference in the treatment and status of Jews in the United States was here to stay and so they were afraid to go public with a Jewish congregation in Washington, without the most powerful legal backing. In spite of the fact that the general law of the District raised no obstacles to a synagogue, our founders saw fit to obtain a special act of Congress, signed by President Franklin Pierce (June 2, 1856). This unique charter, which you can see on display in our lobby, specifically authorizes the creation of our Congregation.

Our founders elected as President the man who was instrumental in getting this charter for us, Capt. Jonas Phillips Levy, whose portrait hangs in our Library.

Capt. Levy, the youngest of ten children, a descendant of the distinguished Phillips family of Philadelphia, which goes back to revolutionary times, was a new breed of Jew. Orphaned at the age of nine, a cabin boy on the high seas at 16, Jonas Levy became a hero in the American-Mexican War, was appointed by General Winfield Scott, captain of the port of Vera Cruz, and became an admiral of the Peruvian navy before he took office as president of WHC. His was an act hard to follow.

Not for one moment did Captain Levy hesitate to use what opportunity or connection he had in order to influence the political process for the benefit of his fellow Jews. When the U.S.State Department had negotiated a very lucrative trade treaty with Switzerland, our Capt. Levy became a leader in American Jewry's first political battle to influence foreign policy for the protection and security of fellow Jews abroad. The fact that this treaty for the export of American cotton, tobacco and rice was very much in the interest of the USA (especially the powerful South) and was strongly favored by the U.S.State Department -- did not stop Capt. Levy from agitating against it in the name of his people's dignity and human rights.

There are inescapable parallels with our current campaign against the sale of F-15's and AWACS to Saudi Arabia. No one questions the short term commercial benefits of this eight and a half billion dollar deal whose fringe benefit is an assured fuel supply for our country. But, there are long term risks. What happened with our huge depots of military technology in

Iran could easily happen any day in Saudi Arabia. Its government, which was almost overthrown two years ago when insurgents seized the great Mosque of Mecca, could be overturned tomorrow. If the AWACS and F-15's fell into the hands of a radical and aggressive regime, they would be a deadly menace to Israel and, at the same time, deliver some of our most closely guarded military secrets to the enemies of America. With AWACS having the capacity of identifying every plane in an air space as vast as that between Warsaw and Paris, an unfriendly Arab regime could prevent any future Israeli air strike that might be essential to her survival.

This brings us to one of the most excruciating tests of conscience and courage to which American Jews are now being put. President Reagan and Secretary of State, Haig, have laid their prestige on the line. They have committed the vast powers of the administration to pushing this deal through Congress. We Jews are forced to choose between two considerations. On the one hand is the administration's view that the advantages outstrip all possible risks, a view hotly contested by a number of military and political experts. On the other hand is the complete consensus of Israelis that the sale of the AWACS and F-15 planes holds deadly perils to the State of Israel.

Forced to choose between support for our friendly Saudi Arabian oil supplier and the blood of our people, American Jews are standing by their people.

For this we have been taken to task by Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland. In his recent 25-page article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, on which he claims to have worked a full year, the senator, with clear reference to the Jews, criticized organized ethnic interest groups which, he says, "sometimes press causes that derogate from the national interest."

The senator's insinuation that American Jews are less devoted to the national interest than others or might reject what is best for America in favor of what is good for the Jews, must not go unanswered.

We owe it to our fellow citizens lest we be misjudged; we owe it to our enemies lest they gloat over this unexpected reinforcement of their anti-Jewish suspicions; and we owe it to ourselves to respond firmly and strongly lest we forfeit our most precious right as Americans -- free speech and free assembly -- the right to speak and act as part of the political process.

Who has the right to define America's national interest?

If Mr. Mathias holds a certain view as to what is best for America -- is a contrary view necessarily bad for America?

As a voter in Maryland, I receive from Mr. Mathias' office questionnaires in which my opinions are solicited on many foreign and domestic issues. Am I to reply only what the distinguished senator would like to hear?

Every senator and congressman is supposed to consider the viewpoints of all interested persons and groups so that he may better represent his electorate. If I don't speak up for my special interest, -- who will?

The national interest is not a fixed objective fact, but is always in the making. It is the composite of all opinions and of all special concerns which can only be determined after all sincerely held viewpoints are communicated to our senatorial and congressional legislators.

Why should ethnic lobbying be any less legitimate than the lobbying activities of labor, the Chamber of Commerce, the American Medical Association, the consumers' organizations, the pro and anti abortionists and all the other secular and religious bodies that make up the rainbow spectrum of different economic and political interests in a vital, pluralistic democracy?

As to the wisdom of political action or inaction, we would answer with a paraphrase of Edmund Burke's famous adage: "Bad officials are elected by citizens who don't vote."

If this is true, then we may also say that "bad policies are shaped by citizens who don't speak up."

If our fellow Americans see merit in our views, our position will be endorsed as being in the public interest. If not, our position will be rejected. Senator Mathias' job, if we may remind him, is to listen to all sides including his own conscience and then decide his vote. He will be rendering himself

and the nation a ^{dis-} service if he discouraged public debate with baseless allegations of ethnic disloyalty to the larger good of America.

In 1852, a handful of Jews in Washington who had hardly gotten used to their full citizenship rights, decided to act as proud Jews and proud Americans. They used what little power they had to influence American policy to help their oppressed brethren abroad.

The example of Capt. Jonas P. Levy's solidarity with his people when in need and trouble was followed a few decades later by another great president of WHC, Simon Wolf, who had far greater influence and used it more often than Capt. Levy. Wolf, we are told, "enjoyed the esteem and confidence of every President from Lincoln to Roosevelt." He was a power in the Republican Party. Simon Wolf sponsored a mission to Rumania which he had persuaded President Grant to send out to help the persecuted Jews of that Balkan country. He was the initiator of the Kishineff Conferences throughout the nation which tried to pressure the President and Congress to abrogate America's treaties with Russia because of its relentless persecution of Jews.

If Simon Wolf had ever been accused of putting his own ethnic interest above that of the United States, such allegations would not have stopped him. Nor would his Christian fellow citizens have paid much attention to him. On the contrary, his

lifelong public advocacy of Jewish causes only earned him greater respect as a national leader in the Republican Party, as advisor and confidante of presidents and, how strange to relate, in his old age, exactly 100 years ago, Simon Wolf received a presidential appointment as U. S. Ambassador to Egypt.

Meanwhile, the number, the strength and the status of American Jewry have greatly improved. We have no reason whatever to be inhibited in our political self expression. But, if there were even the slightest moment of hesitation in rising to the defense of our people, remember Mordecai's words to Esther when he asked that she use her influence to save her people:

"Think not in your mind that you will escape any more than all the Jews. If you keep silent at this time, relief and deliverance will arise to the Jews from another place, but you and your family will perish.

"Who knows whether you have not come to royal estate for such a time as this?" (Esther 4.14)

If you keep silent at this time, you will "perish". . .

In 1917, the powerful leader of Germany's Socialist Party, the Jewess, Rosa Luxemburg, was asked by a friend to speak up for the Jews who were then being massacred in pogroms in Russia and Poland. Rosa Luxemburg replied:

"Why do you come to me with your special Jewish sorrows? I feel just as sorry for the wretched Indian victims in Puta-Mayo and the Negroes in Africa. . . I cannot find a special corner in

in my heart for the ghetto." (Walter Laqueur, "A History of Zionism," page 435. Judd Teller, "Scapegoat of Revolutions," page 164)

Two years later, Rosa Luxemburg was arrested and assassinated by German officers. Indeed, she perished!

Today, the needs of our people cry out to us, American Jews, who providentially have come into full freedom, prosperity and considerable influence. We must help and act now. Do not wait. Share your views with your congressman, senator, the Secretary of State and President Reagan and express your concern for the security of Israel and the United States over the proposed sale of F-15 fighter planes and the AWACS to Saudi Arabia.

Our destiny is inseparable from that of our people and from Israel.

One of our members wrote a prayer from which the following lines speak ^{to} the mood of this moment:

"This day is a day
To blend one's
Being with a past
Which has become the present.
We are not here alone,
We are with our history
With a trend of thought --
A pattern of tradition --
Which has been bequeathed to us.

We are not entities unto ourselves.

Our fulfillment must come from our

Ability to continue. . ."

(Faith Goldstein)

MEN



THE NATIONAL AND THE JEWISH INTEREST

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

EVE OF ROSH HASHANAH
SEPTEMBER 28, 1981

How beautiful it is to celebrate together the birthday of the universe which is what Rosh Hashanah is all about. Despite heavy clouds on the horizon of the future, we have good reason for joy and gratitude. We are grateful that the world God created is still there. We are alive, we are free. We are hopeful.

Birthdays are festivities of remembrance. As we review the road we have travelled, we inwardly re-assess success and failure. Such re-assessments help us clarify future goals. Our remembrance becomes a solid base for new resolutions, new directions and changes in our way of life.

This Rosh Hashanah is not only the anniversary of the creation of the universe, but a special anniversary for us here at home. Tonight we are beginning the 130th anniversary year of the creation of the Washington Hebrew Congregation. I wish that by some sort of magic I could transport you back to the year 1852 and have you see and feel what it was like to be a Jew 130 years ago.

1852 -- how pitifully few were ^{we at that time!} our people then in the nation's capital: ^{Washington,} the whole Jewish community of little over 100 souls, could easily have been accommodated in our Temple library! They had no seating problem on the High Holy Days in those days!

There are a number of families here tonight whose affiliation with us has been maintained over 5 generations - and whose family history is part of our congregation's history. We also welcome among us WHC's newest members and pray that their descendants may extend their loyalty to this synagogue to our people for generations to come.

So far in American history, the advocacy of special Jewish concerns has been well received and Jewish lobbying has been generally successful. The reason is simple: ~~it is because the public,~~ ^{The American people} Contrary to Senator Mathias' opinion, perceive Jewish causes to be in harmony with America's core ideals of fair play and freedom, ~~and therefore in harmony with~~ ^{They see no conflict between Israel's security needs and} the national interest ^{of the US}.

It has been reported that various spokesmen for the administration have telephoned Congressmen and Senators to solicit their vote for the AWAC deal, with the plea "...not to let the Jews dictate foreign policy." This crude appeal to antisemitism has been singularly ineffective. Congress and the Senate are swinging around in opposition to AWACS for Saudi Arabia -- and so is public opinion -- not because Jews are so passionately loved or feared, but because there is a growing bi-partisan majority consensus that the AWAC deal is not in the best interest of America.

The needs of our people cry out to us. Providentially, we American Jews have come into full freedom, prosperity and influence. We are the Queen Esther of this century. We must help and act now. Do not hesitate to express your concern with your Congressman, Senator, the Secretary of State and President Reagan over the proposed deal with Saudi Arabia. The administration is already wavering and considering a compromise. Your final push may be decisive.

Supporters of Saudi Arabia are playing on the supposed unpopularity of Menachem Begin by referring to the entire issues as a Begin-Regan contest

-5-

~~This is sheer demagoguery, to simplify the issue as a~~
~~between 2 policies: one pro-Arab and the other anti-Israel.~~
~~Begin-Regan contest.~~ Israel's vital security is threatened

^{another} when a nation, still at war with her, is to receive the world's most sophisticated weapons. ~~In this situation,~~ Israel ~~has every reason to be anxious and,~~ as ^{our} long-time ally of the USA, she has a right to protest America's massive military buildup of Saudi Arabia.

~~But, the deeper issue in this proposed sale of military hardware to Saudi Arabia goes far beyond a security problem~~
~~for either the United States or Israel.~~ It is a test case

by which the Reagan administration will be measuring the strength of Jewish and public support for Israel. ~~As the crisis reaches its climax within the next few days, we shall be able to judge who is on which side, -- and how real is the commitment of the President, the administration and Congress to the State of Israel.~~

Also, we must see the current agitation on behalf of Saudi Arabia within the larger context of a ferocious anti-Israel and anti-Begin campaign.

We, ourselves, cannot endorse every word and every action of Prime Minister Menachem Begin. The bombing of Beirut caused us great anguish. But we are aghast at the totally unbalanced vilification of Begin in the media. TIME MAGAZINE characterized him as deceptive, fanatical, self-righteous and vengeful.

NEWSWEEK had a cover-portrait of Begin inside a Star of David made up of rifles, with the headline "Begin Obstacle to Peace?" A well-known columnist and TV personality in the Washington area called Begin "another Hitler."

You may not be aware of the fact that during the Yom Kippur War in 1973, Saudi Arabia sent 6000 soldiers into combat against Israel on the Golan Heights.

Finally, the AWAC controversy has a deep impact on our status in America. It has raised the following fundamental questions:

-10-

~~Overshadowing the entire controversy ^{are these questions} is a much bigger issue for us:~~

How free and self-assertive do we want to be?

Should we voluntarily retreat from the arena of public debate?

Should we circumscribe and curtail our rightful share in national decision making?

Should we suppress our own vital interest?

Should we let ourselves be intimidated, muffle our voices and resume the contemptible ghetto mentality of "hush-hush?"

If I, as a refugee from Hitler's native land, could offer any advice to our people, it is: Stand firm. We are not insignificant.
We have influence.
~~Don't let them intimidate us.~~ We are entitled to influence.

~~Hit them harder!~~

The one lesson our tragic historical experience in other lands has taught us, is, that if you have (a fair measure of) power, use it, -- or lose it. It is not strength but weakness that is held in contempt.

We owe it to America and we owe it to ourselves to speak up firmly and fearlessly lest we surrender our most precious right as Americans, free speech and free assembly.

Let no one, Congressman, Senator, or even the President inhibit our political self-expression in America.

Our status, our pride, and our self respect are at stake.

CONFESSIONS OF A MARGINAL JEW
With Reference to Anne Roiphe's
"Generation Without Memory"

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

KOL NIDRE NIGHT
October 7, 1981

If you had asked any competent Jewish teacher, rabbi or priest, at any time during the last 2,500 years, what Yom Kippur is all about, you would have gotten the same answer: We are here for the purpose of repentance, atonement, forgiveness, -- so that we might achieve reconciliation in two directions:

ב'י אפיקום / אפיקום Reconciliation with God

ב'י אפיקום / אפיקום Reconciliation with our fellow men.

Today, that answer is no longer sufficient. There is need today for reconciliation *ב'י אפיקום / אפיקום* between man and himself. Indeed, we must come to terms with ourselves, before we can straighten out our relationship with anyone else.

We always had sinners who erred and transgressed as we no doubt have them today. But, with this difference: in the past, our sinners at least knew exactly what was right and what was wrong. Today, many of us are in doubt about everything, fractured souls, inwardly divided, ambivalent and confused. Many of us suffer from an identity crisis. Uncertain as to

who we are or want to be, wondering what is our authentic self, -- we are not sure what is right and what is wrong.

The self doubts we have often spring from a confused sense of belonging. Lines have become blurred. Relationships are more tenuous and tentative: marriage, the family, religious belonging and ethnic identity -- all of these basic relationships are less clear cut than they used to be.

Where we need to be whole-hearted -- we are half-hearted!

Where we need to be committed, -- we are hanging loose!

The condition I have been describing is well known as "alienation" and often discussed in contemporary philosophy and psychology. It is a severance from one's roots, a tendency to drift off by oneself and belong nowhere. The condition of alienation is almost always coupled with an identity crisis. For us Jews, the most common type of identity crisis has been produced by the historic process of assimilation and we experience it in various degrees of severity.

I would like to consider with you tonight the highly instructive case of an alienated Jewess who published a deeply moving, I should say, a searing autobiography this year, -- and very much in the confessional mood of this day. It suggests the way back home for a large number of American Jews.

On December 21, 1978, the talented, still young and attractive writer, Anne Roiphe, author of several novels, wrote a piece in the NEW YORK TIMES which ^{raised} many Christian eyebrows and made many Jews wince. Entitled, "Christmas Comes to a Jewish Home," the article was a defiantly honest statement of a radical assimilationist Jew. Being an agnostic and humanist, she had rejected every Jewish religious belief and practice: no Shabbat, no seder at home, no holidays, no ritual at all. But, Anne Roiphe confessed that, with strange inconsistency, she went all out in the home celebration of Christmas, with tree and all the trimmings, including the reading aloud of Dickens' story of Scrooge, like an annual family ritual.

She acknowledged a faint sense of guilt about all this whenever she remembered her grandfather who associated bloody persecutions with Christianity. Yet, in explanation, she pointed to her background in the gilded ghetto of New York's East Side which had lost its religious energy. Her parents were twice a year visitors to the fashionable Park Avenue Synagogue.

A flood of outraged letters to the editor took Anne Roiphe by surprise. One particularly angry letter proposed that her story in the NEW YORK TIMES should be re-titled, "A Nothing Celebrates Christmas."

Three years later, Anne Roiphe has done enough studying to negate that nothingness and on deeper reflection and

reconsideration of the article she had published earlier in the NEW YORK TIMES. she now realizes that she was far more Jewish than she had given herself credit for.

In her newly published book, "Generation Without Memory," Anne Roiphe has come a long way from her self-~~abandonment~~ abandonment to ~~total~~ total assimilation three years ago. In fact, her new book is a retraction of the most provocative statement which had expressed the spirit of her Christmas article of 1978: "I prefer the stranger's way."

"Generation Without Memory" is a brilliantly insightful, deeply personal, even intimate confession, the itinerary of an errant soul, who hopefully is on the way of finding herself and struggling hard to return to her roots and to her people.

I believe that the book, which is sub-titled "A Jewish Journey in Christian America," might well be re-titled "The REturn of a Marginal Jew."

Anne Roiphe's return to the fold, typical of many others who strayed and returned, came about in three stages.

1. The Misery of Assimilaton

Stage one is the gradual realization that all-out assimilation is not liberation but a torment. What is worse, it doesn't work, not even for apostates in the second and third generation. The most tragic illustrations came to us from

baptized German Jews and their children who, cut off from their own people and rejected by the gentile majority, were left altogether without any inner defense.

By some diabolic form of psychological self-punishment, it seems to be a law that the more you try to divest yourself of your Jewishness, the more obsessive becomes your self consciousness as a Jew.

"I am on a Madison Avenue bus with my mother. . .," Anne Roiphe tells us.

"See that Jewish lady over there?" my mother asks.

"Which one?" I ask.

"The Jewish lady," she repeats.

"I stare a few seconds more at the row of women."

"How can you tell she's Jewish?" I ask.

"Can't you?" My mother seems amazed.

(Page 136)

The assimilationist who is close to the margin of belonging and eyes possibilities of passing into the majority group, just can't relax without first determining, for better or for worse, who else is or is not Jewish. It seems to be the first question on his mind when meeting people socially. Inwardly tensed up, he watches this or that subtle sign which might identify the other person as Jew or gentile.

With this almost morbid curiosity about the Jewishness of others goes a super-sensitivity about being identified as such by the non-Jew. My heart shed a tear for Anne Roiphe as she

revealed a childhood incident at camp. She was 12 years old and at a girls' camp in Maine. Virtually all the campers were Jewish. One morning, the whole camp ~~is~~ summoned to a meeting after the raising of the flag on the flagpole. The kids are all excited about an overnight camping trip to some of the mountains and lakes of Maine. After miscellaneous announcements, the Jewish ^{head-}councillor or director, "Aunt" Caroline, asked all the councillors to please leave the meeting. Let me now give you Anne Roiphe's own account.

"This was an unusual procedure. When the last of them had gone into their bunks or up to the main house, she told us that Jewish people tended to be very loud and aggressively noisy and that the people of Maine would hear us and make remarks about Jews and so we should try to be very quiet and dignified when going through towns or stopping in public places where natives might hear us. "You must not give them reason to dislike you. You must control your loud, Jewish voices."

(Page 129)

I wonder how many more Jewish children have been exposed to this psychological child abuse. Our heart must bleed for those thousands or tens of thousands of children under the care of insecure and self-hating Jewish teachers or parents who twist their souls at a tender age with profound inferiority feelings which are hard to shake off, even in maturity.

The files of psychologists are full of the case histories of Jews who arrive at a neurotic self-hate at the end of a road which, typically, begins with a lengthy journey through the wilderness of ignorance. Famished and starved in childhood of all inspirational, joyful Jewish experiences, shivering out in the cold of separation from a warm, close and supportive Jewish community life, total strangers to Judaism's lofty ethics and philosophy that would give meaning to life, --- these marginal Jews walk about as spiritual zombies, wastelands on legs. In time, their self image is composed only of negatives projected upon their minds by the undercurrent of antisemitic suspicion and contempt. The anatomy of Jewish self-hate runs the same cycle over and over again, from ignorance to inferiority feeling, to self hatred.

The first sure symptom of this Jewish sickness of soul is the anxiety to hide one's Jewishness like a stigma, and the embarrassment at fellow Jews who openly expose themselves as Jews. How well Philip Roth satirized the type in his short story, "Eli, The Fanatic", about the fashionable New Jersey suburb whose Jews try to move heaven and earth to keep a yeshiva out of their neighborhood so that gentiles should not see those different looking Jews with black beards and earlocks.

Eric Hoffer once remarked profoundly that "The hardest thing to hide is something that is not there." No one is more

frantic in trying to cover up his Jewishness than the Jew who knows nothing about it.

There's only one cure for the agony of the marginal Jew and that is to become authentic, knowledgeable, functional and competent in his own tradition and culture until the outside is like the inside and being Jewish is as natural as being human or male or female.

In her book, Anne Roiphe, wisened by several years of self-analysis, re-examines more closely the motivation for her celebration of Christmas and concludes candidly:

"Christmas is a kind of checking point where one can stop and view oneself on the assimilation route. . ." (Page 206)

It may, at first, be just a stop-gap for the culturally deprived Jewish family who doesn't want to be left out in the cold and hasn't got the Jewish know-how for Jewish celebrations such as Hanukkah.

However, Anne Roiphe realizes the inevitable impact of such Christmas celebrations on the children:

"While I still say I'm Jewish, the Jewishness of my children has been so washed out as to have reached near invisibility. If I am some mongrel creature, they will have been deracinated altogether." (p.208)

2. Disenchantment With the Non-Jewish World

The second stage in Anne Roiphe's return to her own people is the culture shock which has affected every thinking Jew of our generation: the Holocaust! There must be something radically wrong ^{with} the civilization that does it. Why, then, rush to be part of it? Should we not distance ourselves from it rather than assimilate to it?

As a college girl, and later, as a young professional woman and feminist, she had tried to escape from what she perceived to be the narrow, tribalistic Jewish community. She fled from her people, yearning to be part of the larger, modern, progressive civilization.

Now, she is wondering how worthwhile is that great majority culture into which she had flung herself with such enthusiasm. She writes:

"The fact of the Holocaust, its massiveness, its irrational terror, its reduction ~~of~~ human life to excrement, calls into the question the validity, the viability, of this very Western civilization we were rushing head over heels to join." (Page 173)

The same trend of thought has brought back into our fold hundreds of thousands of bright, idealistic Jewish universalists who have been thoroughly disenchanted with fantasies of a humanity ready to embrace them.

If only a similar realization had cooled the assimilationist passion of the pre-Hitler generation of European Jews, millions of them might still be alive today.

They had been so intoxicated with slogans of the universal brotherhood of man, to be achieved under the League of Nations, or in some Socialist paradise, that they literally kicked themselves out of the Jewish community, -- not realizing that no other community would have them. With their heads in Messianic clouds, they turned thumbs down on the Zionist project of Jewish liberation and would have no part in Jewish self-help. That was too narrow and selfish for them. With grandiose generosity, they argued that the Jewish problem had to wait until the larger problem of general humanity could be solved.

Typical was the case of Rosa Luxemburg, a most influential leader of radical German Socialists in Germany. The Jews of revolutionary Russia, caught between the hammer and the anvil, were being massacred by both Communist and anti-Communist forces. Rosa Luxemburg was asked by a friend to use her influence with Russian Communists to save the Jews. Her reply, a classic of assimilationist aloofness, was almost suicidal in its unconcern for her own people:

"Why do you come to me with your special Jewish sorrows?
I feel just as sorry for the wretched Indian victims in Puta-Mayo

and the Negroes in Africa. I cannot find a particular corner in my heart for the ghetto." (Walter Laqueur, "A History of Zionism," page 435; Judd Teller, "Scapegoat of Revolutions, page 164.)

Soon after, she was assassinated by right-wing German extremists who did not want the Jewess, Rosa Luxemburg, as a leader of the new Germany.

Like so many other sensitive and brilliant Jews, Anne Roiphe hears the death rattle under the facade of so-called modern, scientific progressivism:

"But after the Holocaust, how can any one feel that modernization is altogether a good thing? How can one admire technique severed from morality?" (Page 173)

"The events of the 20th Century have blasted our hopes for the salvation of mankind through science. Freud's hope for science has proved to be just another illusion. The atomic bomb, the crematoria, did as much to destroy our faith in progress as the false messiah did to destroy the messianic hope of the Jews of the 17th century." (Page 36)

And so, a rather disillusioned Anne Roiphe is now knocking on the doors of Judaism to find out if, maybe, we have a prescription for this spiritually and morally ailing generation -- which brings us to the third stage of her rehabilitaiton as a Jew.

3. On Trying to be A Jew Once More

In the third stage of Anne Roiphe's come-back as a Jew, the question is no longer whether to return, -- but how?

A family health crisis surprises her with the discovery that she had religious needs of her own. A mysterious swelling of her young daughter's knee throws her into a state of great anxiety. Suddenly she finds herself praying to the God whom her agnosticism had denied all along. Could she have a need for personal religion, for ritual, for the synagogue? (Page 68 to 69).

She now raises profound questions:

"Living with the knowledge that the birth of a child or one's own death is an end in itself, not part of a process with meaning and history, is sad. . .Why begin, why continue? Where and how to take courage?

"How diminished is the private self when one has amputated the support of ancient tribe and its communal destiny? It is true that I, ex-Bohemian, beatnick, Leftist, also need ceremonies to mark the marriages of my children, to mark the burials, initiations, transitions, to shape the seasons of the year, to grant a specific time to rest and appreciate those around us." (Page 212)

A mere glimpse at Judaism's profound literature and tradition now convinces her that it has everything she was looking for:

"Taken all together, the (Jewish) nationhood is a landscape of incredible grandeur, and the culture itself, the more one knows of it, well, the more it shines with radiance."(Page 213)

She's now full of regrets:

"I now regret my ignorance of the languages; I regret my ignorance of the customs. I regret the meagerness of the knowledge that I have." (page 213)

She completes her confession with this remarkable statement:

~~"I can see that we have made an error. . .The patina of the ages and the sense of connection to past and future that are lacking in our lives are serious losses. . .I believe on balance that the well-being and happiness of my family would have been better supported within the wealth of the Jewish past."~~ (page 214)

Ironically, the first rabbi she tried to see for counsel and help ~~in the process of her rehabilitation as a Jew,~~ a Liberal rabbi in New York, foolishly rebuffed her:

"Are you the lady who wrote the article on having a Christmas tree a year ago?" he asks.

"I am." ---

"Well,"he says, "I don't appreciate you. I don't want to talk to you." (page 125)

Undeterred, she looks around some more and finds an Orthodox rabbinic family who welcome her with patience and

sympathy for her predicament, invite her to their home and begin to show her the way. Still, Anne Roiphe feels that she would be better placed in Reform and she describes, on the last few pages of her book, the kind of Temple she is looking for.

If Anne Roiphe were to come to us, we would certainly not rebuff her. We would invite her, as we invite all others who seek re-attachment to Judaism,

To study the Bible with us in our Bible class -

To learn how to pray in our special Prayer and Spiritual Growth Group -

To pick up basic Hebrew and the rudiments of Torah in our adult Bar and Bat Mitzvah program -

To gain a bird's eye view of Judaism's beliefs, history and practices in our Basic Judaism course -

To learn the rituals and celebrations of the Jewish tradition and the Jewish home in our Holiday Workshops -

To look more deeply into the profound ethical insights of Judaism in our Jewish Law Seminar -

To expand their Jewish intellectual horizons in the Scholar Series -

And the most direct way of re-Judaizing oneself: to help reconstitute the Jewish people in its response to God at our weekly Sabbath services.

Conclusion

Many of us will identify with Anne Roiphe's spiritual pilgrimage from the psychic misery of assimilation to disenchantment with Western civilization to the re-awakening of religious need and the desire for re-attachment to Judaism.

If you still belong among those Jews whom Abraham Heschel characterized as "messengers who have forgotten their message," make this ^{the} year to find out what Judaism's message is for you and for the world.

If I may paraphrase a well-known commercial:

Your Temple is ready -- if you are.



CONFESSIONS OF A MARGINAL JEW
With Reference to Anne Roiphe's
"Generation Without Memory"

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

KOL NIDRE NIGHT
October 7, 1981

Exactly eight years ago, on Yom Kippur, we were stunned by Egypt's sudden attack on Israel. This Yom Kippur, we are shocked once more -- this time at the slaying of the man who launched the Yom Kippur War eight years ago.

Anwar Sadat's death will be lamented the most by his former enemies, the Israelis. He will be remembered, not so much as a man of war, but as an architect of peace -- the first Arab head of state to become Israel's partner in peace making.

We are frightened by the aggravated instability of the Middle East. Even more frightening is the tidal wave of international terror which, in half a year's time, engulfed three of the world's most prominent leaders. President Reagan and Pope John Paul II, thank God, survived. Sadat has succumbed. Which other heads of state are next in line for assassination? Will the peace go, now that Sadat is gone?

Very difficult and dangerous days lie ahead. Bruno Bettelheim, in his latest book entitled, "Surviving," ~~sums~~ sums up the lesson of his life as a survivor of wars, revolutions and extermination camps:

"Self respect and being wholly integrated are the only psychological buttresses which can prop us up and give us the strength to keep going in a world that threatens us at all times with destruction."

Unfortunatly, we have many Jews today who don't have these inner resources to fall back on. They can't give nor receive strength from our solidarity and unity as Jews because they have become marginal members of our people. Their massive assimilation has plunged them into an identity crisis. Severed from their religious and cultural roots, they drift off by themselves and belong nowhere.

I would like to consider with you tonight the case of an alienated Jewess who published a deeply moving, I should say a searing, autobiography this year, -- and very much in the confessional mood of this day. It points the way back home for a large number of American Jews.

On Decmeber 21, 1978, the talented and attractive Anne Roiphe, author of several novels, wrote a piece in the NEW YORK TIMES which raised many Christian eyebrows and made many Jews wince. Entitled, Christmas Comes to a Jewish Home, the article was defiantly honest. An agnostic and humanist, she had rejected every Jewish religious belief and pratice: No Shabbat, no seder at home, no holidays, no ritual at all.

But, with strange inconsistency, she went all out in the home celebration of Christmas, with tree and all the trimmings, including the reading aloud of Dickens' story of Scrooge, like an annual family ritual.

In explanation, she pointed to her background in the gilded ghetto of New York's East Side where her religion had reached the vanishing point, with nothing more than twice-a-year visits to the fashionable Park Avenue Synagogue.

A flood of outraged letters to the editor took Anne Roiphe by surprise. One proposed that her story in the NEW YORK TIMES should be re-titled, "A Nothing Celebrates Christmas."

Now, three years later, Anne Roiphe has done enough studying to negate that nothingness. She now understands that she was far more Jewish than she had given herself credit for.

In her new book, "Generation Without Memory," Anne Roiphe has come a long way from her self-abandonment to assimilation.

The book is a retraction of the statement which had expressed the spirit of her Christmas article of 1978:

"I prefer the stranger's way."

"Generation Without Memory" is a brilliantly insightful itinerary of an errant soul, who is struggling hard to return to her roots and to her people.

Her return to the fold came about in three stages.

1. The Misery of Assimilation

Stage one is the gradual realization that all-out assimilation is not liberation but a torment. What is worse, it doesn't work, not even for apostates in the second and third generation. The most tragic illustrations came to us from baptized German Jews and their children who, cut off from their own people and rejected by the gentile majority, were left altogether without any inner defense.

By some diabolic form of psychological self-punishment, the more you try to divest yourself of Jewishness, the more obsessive becomes your self consciousness as a Jew:

"I am on a Madison Avenue bus with my mother. . .," Anne Roiphe tells us.

"See that Jewish lady over there?" my mother asks.

"Which one?" I ask.

"The Jewish lady," she repeats.

"I stare a few seconds more at the row of women."

"How can you tell she's Jewish?" I ask.

"Can't you?" My mother seems amazed.
(Page 136)

The assimilationist who eyes possibilities of passing into the majority group just can't relax without first determining, for better or for worse, who else is or is not Jewish.

With this goes a super-sensitivity about being found out as a Jew by the non-Jew. My heart shed a tear for Anne Roiphe as she revealed a childhood incident at camp. She was 12 years and at a girls' camp in Maine. Virtually all the campers were Jewish. One morning, the whole camp is summoned to a meeting. The kids are all excited about an overnight camping trip to some of the mountains and lakes of Maine. After miscellaneous announcements, the Jewish director, "Aunt" Caroline, asks all the councillors to please leave the meeting. Let me now give you Anne Roiphe's own account.

"She told us that Jewish people tended to be very loud and aggressively noisy and that the people of Maine would hear us and make remarks about Jews and so we should try to be very quiet and dignified when going through towns or stopping in public places where natives might hear us. 'You must not give them reason to dislike you. You must control your loud,

Jewish voices.'" (Page 129)

The point is: Jewishness is something bad, a birth-defect, a stigma - Hide it; don't let on you're Jewish. I wonder how many more Jewish children have been exposed

to such psychological child abuse,

under the care of insecure and self-hating

Jewish teachers, or parents, who twist their souls at a

tender age with profound inferiority feelings which are hard to shake off, even in maturity.

The files of psychologists are full of the case histories of Jews who arrive at a neurotic self-hate at the end of a road which, typically, begins with a lengthy journey through the wilderness of ignorance. Famished and starved in childhood of all inspirational, joyful Jewish experiences, shivering out in the cold of separation from a warm, close and supportive Jewish community life, strangers to Judaism's lofty ethics and philosophy that would give meaning to life, -- these marginal Jews walk about as spiritual zombies, wastelands on legs. Their self-image usually reflects the antisemitic stereotypes of the majority -- and they hate themselves.

To quote the well-known Jewish theologian, Woodie Allen, "I have only one regret in life; I am not some one else!"

How well Philip Roth satirized the type in his short story, "Eli, the Fanatic," about the fashionable New Jersey suburb whose Jews try to move heaven and earth to keep a yeshiva out of their neighborhood so that gentiles should not see those different looking Jews with black beards and ear-locks.

Eric Hoffer once remarked profoundly that "The hardest thing to hide is something that is not there." No one is more

frantic in trying to cover up his Jewishness than the Jew who knows nothing about it.

There's only one cure for the agony of the marginal Jew and that is to become authentic, knowledgeable, functional and competent in his own tradition and culture until the outside is like the inside and being Jewish as natural as being human or male or female.

As Matthew Arnold put it:

Resolve to be thyself, and
know that he
Who finds himself, loses
his misery.

2. Disenchantment With the Non-Jewish World

The second stage in Anne Roiphe's return to her own people is the culture shock which has affected every thinking Jew of our generation: the Holocaust! There must be something radically wrong with the civilization that does it. Why, then, rush to be part of it? Should we not distance ourselves from it rather than assimilate into it?

As a college girl, and later, as a young professional woman and feminist, she had tried to escape from what she perceived to be the narrow, tribalistic Jewish community. She fled from her people, yearning to be part of the larger, modern, progressive civilization.

Now, she is wondering how worthwhile is that great majority culture into which she had flung herself with such enthusiasm. She writes:

"The fact of the Holocaust, its massiveness, its irrational terror, its reduction of human life to excrement, calls into question the validity, the viability, of this very Western civilization we were rushing head over heels to join." (Page 173)

The same trend of thought has brought back into our fold hundreds of thousands of bright, idealistic Jewish universalists who have been thoroughly disenchanted with fantasies of a humanity ready to embrace them.

They had been so intoxicated with slogans of the universal brotherhood of man, under the League of Nations, or the United Nations, or in some Socialist paradise, that they literally kicked themselves out of the Jewish community, -- not realizing that no other community would have them. If only this realization had cooled the assimilationist passion of the pre-Hitler generation of European Jews, millions of them might still be alive today. With their heads in Messianic clouds, they turned thumbs down on the Zionist movement of liberation and would have no part in Jewish self-help. The Jewish problem, they said, had to wait until the "larger" problem of all mankind could be solved.

Typical was Rosa Luxemburg, leader of radical German Socialists in Germany at the end of World War I. Rosa Luxemburg was asked to use her influence with Russian Communists to save the Jews who were then being massacred by both Communist and anti-Communist forces. Her reply, a classic of assimilationist aloofness, was almost suicidal in its unconcern for her own people:

"Why do you come to me with your special Jewish sorrows? I feel just as sorry for the wretched Indian victims in Puta-Mayo and the Negroes in Africa. I cannot find a particular corner in my heart for the ghetto." (Walter Laqueur, "A History of Zionism," page 435; Judd Teller, "Scapegoat of Revolutions," page 164.)

Soon after, she was assassinated by right-wing German extremists who would not tolerate a Jewess as leader of the new Germany.

Anne Roiphe hears the death rattle under the facade of so-called modern, scientific progressivism:

"After the Holocaust, how can any one feel that modernization is altogether a good thing? How can one admire technique severed from morality?" (Page 173)

"The events of the 20th Century have blasted our hopes for the salvation of mankind through science." (page 36)

A disillusioned Anne Roiphe is now knocking on the doors of Judaism to find out if we have a prescription for this spiritually and morally ailing generation -- which brings us to the third stage of her rehabilitation as a Jew.

3. On Trying to be a Jew Once More

The question is no longer whether to return -- but how?

A family health crisis surprises her with religious needs she did not think she had. A mysterious swelling of her daughter's knee throws her into a panic. Suddenly she is praying to God whom her agnosticism had denied all along. Could she have a need for personal religion, for ritual, for the synagogue? (page 68-69)

She now raises profound questions:

"Living with the knowledge that the birth of a child or one's own death is an end in itself, not part of a process with meaning and history, is sad. . . Why begin, why continue? Where and how to take courage? . . .

"I, ex-Bohemian, beatnick, leftist, also need ceremonies."
(Page 212)

A mere glimpse at Judaism's profound literature and tradition now convinces her that it has everything she was looking for:

"Taken all together, the (Jewish) nationhood is a landscape of incredible grandeur, and the culture itself, the more one knows of it, well, the more it shines with radiance." (Page 213)

She's now full of regrets:

"I now regret my ignorance of the languages; I regret my ignorance of the customs. I regret the meagerness of the knowledge that I have." (page 213)

Ironically, the first rabbi she tries to see for counsel and help, a Liberal rabbi in New York, foolishly rebuffs her:

"Are you the lady who wrote the article on having a Christmas tree a year ago?" he asks.

"I am." ---

"Well," he says, "I don't appreciate you. I don't want to talk to you." (page 125)

Undeterred, she looks around and finds an Orthodox rabbinic family who welcome her with patience and sympathy for her predicament, invite her to their home and begin to show her the way. Still, Anne Roiphe feels that she would be better placed in Reform and, on the last few pages of her book, she describes the kind of Temple she is looking for.

It is the happy ending of a story that had a pathetic beginning.

Anne Roiphe's journey is typical of the re-awakening of many Jews to a new sense of identity and purpose. They refuse to be what Heschel characterized:

"Messengers who have forgotten their message."

Conclusion

Miracles don't happen only externally in the world around us. Miracles occur also within us.

One of the great miracles is the sudden influx of a new spirit -- the turn around and concentration of will power by which we human beings become literally re-born. The phenomenal "Fiddler on the Roof" captures one such jubilant moment in the life of a shy and timid tailor, Mottel, who, for the longest time, could not summon up the courage to ask Tevye for the hand of his daughter, Tzeitl. He is totally inhibited by what Tevye might think of him. What if Tevye turns him down? The words freeze in Mottel's throat as he thinks of all of the negative reactions others might have toward him.

But, one day it happens. Mottel disregards the opinions of others and speaks his mind. "I'm entitled. ." he says. For once he is himself and what a surprise. ~~Even~~ Tevye is impressed!

Mottel then bursts out in the song, "Wonder of Wonders, Miracle of Miracles," a song that shows the marvelous transformation of the man as his self-image changes:

Of all God's miracles, large and small
The most miraculous one of all
Is that out of a worthless lump of clay
God has made a man today.

This is the miracle every Jew can, himself, perform.

You, so often the object of scorn, contempt

You, the sons and daughters of a small minority.

You, historically oppressed and abused,

You can, by the sheer will to be fully and

completely the Jew God intended you to be,

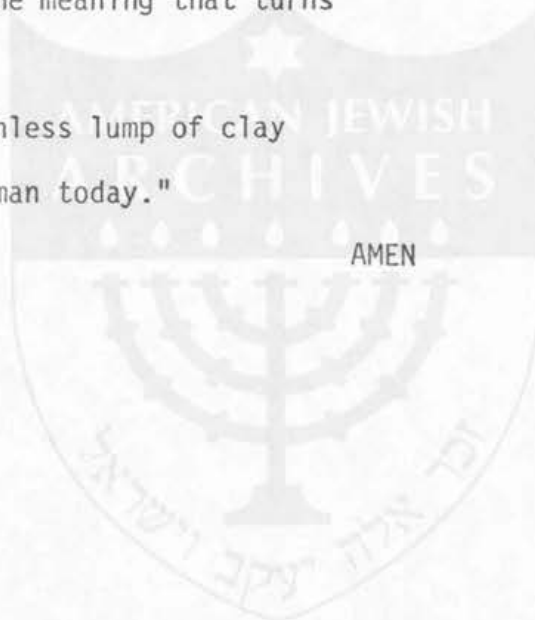
Recover at once the courage, the dignity, the power

and the meaning that turns

"A worthless lump of clay

Into a man today."

AMEN



STANDING AT THE GATE

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation

YIZKOR - YOM KIPPUR
OCTOBER 8, 1981

We are close to the end of our holiest of days. We have been stirred by a sense of the sacred, exalted in glorious music. We feel the accumulated effect of the many hours of prayer and deep reflection which we shared. Never, in the entire year, is there a closer feeling between us and, yet, each of us is now engrossed in his own deeply private memories.

What is it that so unites us?

It is the sharing of a mysterious experience. Those who are absent and most distant, our departed, all of a sudden are very close, very real. Our mind's eye recalls their features, their smiles, their expression of pride, of approval and sometimes disapproval. We remember their caring and giving, their loving and forgiving. We may have lost our departed, but not their companionship.

In so many ways, they are still with us: memories of years of our life that we shared with them; examples which guide us still. We remember sacrifices they made for us; happy hours which remain unforgettable; -- all these and many more recollections refresh their image in our minds. These memories turn to models, to a challenge to meet our problems and tests of

life as well as they did.

Very soon, Yom Kippur, this spiritual summit of the year, will be over. How good it is to linger yet awhile in the spiritual company of our beloved departed before we turn to Neila, the magnificent finale of the day's observance.

The word, 'neila,' literally means "closing." It refers to the closing of the huge golden gates of the Temple in Jerusalem at the moment of sunset on Yom Kippur.

Try to picture this in your mind. A vast multitude of people, thousands and tens of thousands, the sun is setting and sinking. Suddenly a hush falls upon the crowd as those two doors of gold, bathed in the redness of the sunset, slowly begin to move. At that very moment, the congregation breaks forth in the song:

"Open to us, O God, the gates
At the time of the closing of the gates.
The day vanishes; the sun is setting;
Let us enter Thy gates."

Our sages in the Talmud detected a contradiction in the phrase, "Open up to us, O God, the gates at the time of the closing of the gates." Rabbi Abba argued that the gates referred to in this prayer could not possibly be the gates of the Temple since "once closed, the Temple gates cannot be opened again on that same day. Therefore, the gates mentioned in the prayer must be

the heavenly gates of God."

"Open up to us the gates at the time of the closing of the gates," means this:

When all doors on earth close, when every opportunity is gone and all seems lost, there is still a chance with God. The finality which we apply to our material condition here on earth does not apply to the spiritual life. Spiritually, there is always another door open unto us; there's always the possibility for correction, for re-birth. We may close the gates of the Temple, but the heavenly portals of repentance are never closed.

Sensitive, ethical people constantly re-live their past, review their record and re-examine their life. Though an event has passed and the case is, so to speak, closed, our conscience may re-open it. Repentance leads to new life. When our guilt-laden heart cries out:

"Open to us the gates of the past, I cannot live with the action taken; my conscience will not accept it. . ."

Then, under the force of repentance, I may revise the spiritual record of my life. Not what I did, but what I now wish I had done and what I know I should have done and would do if given another chance, counts in the forgiving judgment of God. Even if the condition we produced can no longer be altered,

if we repent what we have done, God gives us credit for our best intentions. Inwardly, there is no limit to our power to change the condition and quality of our being. The sages say: The gate of repentance is always open.

Repentance is not the only key that opens God's gate of spiritual change for us. There is another key that has a similar magic power. It is the key of memory. We say the past cannot be changed. That is not quite so in the realm of relationships. Our departed are gone. This is an unalterable fact -- and yet we can still change our relationship with them as long as we are linked with them through memory. In our remembrance of them, we can change our minds about them and revise the opinion we had of them in earlier years. We have grown older and perhaps more mature; we can understand much better their attitudes, their decisions and their actions which, at one time, may have troubled us. We can now see our relationship with them in a different light.

A father who may have seemed harsh, now, in retrospect, appears to have been wise. A mother whose intense concern was resented as interference, may now be appreciated because she cared so much. We only wish our parents were still with us to guide and love us as only parents can.

We remember a spouse, a husband or wife, whose love still leaves a glow in our hearts. We think of a son or daughter who were the light of our life and in whose death part of us has died. We think of a brother or sister for whom there is no replacement.

Though taken from us long ago, these, our beloved ones, are still present in our hearts as a living influence.

The Midrash, in a beautiful analogy, explains to us the impact of our departed upon us:

"As a living vine is held up by sticks of dead wood, so a living person may be propped up and supported by the memory of his departed."

In a very real sense, we draw support from those who have gone. In life's critical decisions, we instinctively ask: how would they have solved this problem? Their words, their sayings and their wisdom come to mind. One by one, we reach those points in life in which we remember them best for their actions and as we stand now at the point where once they stood, we understand and appreciate them so much better.

And though we wake to weep,
They are beside us still in joy, in pain,
In every crucial hour, they come again
Angelic from above --
Bearing the gifts of blessing and of love
Until the shadowy path they lonely trod
Becomes for us a bridge
That upwards leads to God.

("Immortal," by Florence Coates)

Soon the gates of this Holy Day will be closed but with the magic keys of repentance and memory, we can open new spiritual doors for us, not only this day but every day. A wrong deed should not be buried and forgotten, but dissolved in the moral cleansing of repentance.

A beloved dead should not be buried and forgotten, but become a beneficent spiritual presence through tender memories which enable us to sustain the relationship in love.

Open unto us, O God, the gates

At the time of the closing of the gates.

Even when death shuts the door, new gates of life are opening up. Though all doors be closed, in our sorrow or in our shame, God opens the way for new meaning and for new life.

Turn our sorrow into serenity, O God, and open unto us the gates of consolation even as Thou dost open unto us the gates of repentance and forgiveness.

Open unto us Thy gates, O God
And turn our darkness into light.

AMEN



Note the indignities to which Jews were still exposed before mid-19th century emancipation.

F Kobbler: Jüdische Geschichte. in Brieg
p. 44/5

In 1945 90% of American Jews favored establishment of Jewish State according to Roper Poll (Zionism, by Lapine p. 404)

Rosa Luxemburg's disinterest in Jewish problem in 1917
Ibid. p. 433

See also Sudd Teller, Secret of Revelation - p 164

Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919) Polish revolution. worker, co-founder of Polish & Lithuanian Social Democr. Party; one of the founders (with Karl Liebknecht) of German Communist party - arrested on Jan 5, 1919 and on way to prison assassinated in Jena, Saxony

Jonas P. Levy - Admiral of Permian Navy
Hero of American Mexican War - ^{App't by General Winfield Scott} Capt. of Port of Vera Cruz
youngest of 10 children - b 1807 - orphaned at 9
Among founders of WTC & participation in Swiss Treaty abrogation
Campaign - Regulek - p. 116/117 (see also Nordlinger p. 5)

Swiss Treaty Campaign Schoppes, p. 315-324 & 649 notes 5 & 6

Simon Wolf - appt Ambassador to Egypt by Pres. Garfield 1881 (Nordlinger p. 44)

Sponsor of Mission to Roumania ordered by Pres. Grant to help persec. Jews
Initiator of Kishineff Conference with Theod. Roosevelt - Hay for self Liberty to Jews in Russia

A CALL TO POLITICAL ACTION

by
Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director
AIPAC
to the

National Association of Jewish Legislators Meeting
State Senate Chamber, State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia

July 30, 1981

Burn - V.K. EKK
out

① The Jewish community in the United States is under attack. We are accused of possessing too much power, of having parochial interests and dual loyalties. Some believe that the friends of Israel pressure Congress into making decisions that are contrary to what our critics call the "objective national interest." Our convictions regarding America's moral and strategic necessity in preserving the security of Israel are doubted, as is our premise that the United States and Israel are allies and share common interests.

② And the criticism comes from abroad as it does from inside. Just this morning in the Washington Post, George Ball writes, "... Europeans are disturbed that America, having pre-empted Middle East diplomacy, seems disabled by domestic constraints from effectively promoting peace or restraining Israeli adventurism."

③ Indeed, criticism is aimed at the exercise of our first amendment rights of political association and lobbying. Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland, in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, has challenged ethnic interests groups in the United States. He denies the sacred historical and philosophical traditions of free association and participation so basic to the European and North American systems.

④ Alexander De Tocqueville, considered by scholars and politicians alike, after 150 years, to be the best foreign observer of the democratic process in the United States, said in 1832: "In no country in the world, has the principle of association been more successfully used or applied to a greater multitude of objects than in America ... the right of association appears almost as inalienable as the right of personal liberty. No legislator can attack it without impairing the foundations of society."

⑤ Senator Mathias tries to draw a distinction between ethnicity, "which enriches American life," and organized ethnic interest groups, which "sometimes press causes that derogate from the national interest." He argues that ethnic groups cannot conceptualize an objective national interest, and regrets their involvement in political action.

Criticisms of Jews ① ② ③
Value of Lobbying ④
2 kinds of ethnicity ⑤ ⑥
Miscell "Special Interest groups" ⑦ ⑧ ⑨
Dual Loyalty ⑧ ⑨

What is "national interest"? ⑩ ⑪
Who defines it? ⑫
The Value of Lobbying ⑬ ⑭ ⑮
Impact of Pol. Act. on ⑯ ⑰ ⑱
⑲ ⑳ ㉑ ㉒ ㉓
No conflict of interest ㉔ ㉕ ㉖

22/8

Do special interest groups subvert the national interest?

Are ethnic political interests separate and parochial?

The Senator applies arbitrary definitions and qualifications that are but similitudes and shadows of basic democratic ideals. Are ethnic groups only beneficial to society when they display their costumes, traditions, folklore and language, which may be colorful, but should not get in the way? Are ethnic groups like the children of aristocrats that should be seen and not heard?

6 Ethnic groups are, according to Senator Mathias, not as beneficial when they display "ethnic political activity." He questions the right of political activity that is preceded by the word "ethnic." General political activity is seen in the tradition of De Tocqueville, Mill, and Madison. Black political activity, Greek political activity and Jewish political activity are ipso facto harmful. I believe, however, that political theory so manipulated subverts our creative and unique pluralistic democracy.

All societies contain groups of citizens with specific and diverse interests. Even undemocratic regimes cannot forestall the development of this phenomenon. The Soviet Union's politburo, party apparatus, and government are all subjected to the pressures of special interest groups. But few societies truly resemble ours:

- 7
- X - Interest groups ranging from Mobil Oil and CrisCraft Industries seeking special tax advantages to those promoting the Family Protection Act;
 - A population constantly being mixed and challenged by relatively recent arrivals to the point that immigration policy is the domestic base determining foreign policy;
 - Decision making depending on the consensus of hundreds, if not thousands, of special interest groups, dramatically competing within the governmental sphere itself.

8

9

But the single most disturbing issue raised by our detractors is the charge of ethnic dual loyalty. The implied contention here is that the Jewish community supports out of a purely emotional zeal, void of any logic or pragmatic political sense, its co-religionists in Israel and the Soviet Union, in opposition to the "objective good" of all Americans. The late Hubert Humphrey answered this allegation in a 1976 speech: "We've heard careless, and I think, reckless things about the powerful Jewish Lobby, the Greek Lobby, the Turkish Lobby, the Baltic States Lobby -- you mention it; as if somehow or another, it was against the law in this country to speak up for what you believe in."

Responding to those who cry about dual loyalty and seek to remove certain groups from our democratic midst, I wish to explore three areas:

- 10
1. The concept of a so-called objective national interest,
 2. The imperative for individual, and especially group, political participation, and
 3. The specific importance of ethnic political action.

John Stuart Mill warned against the adoption of a so-called objective national interest which he equated to the "tyranny of the majority." He strongly advised protection "against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them."

11
12
Who determines, defines, and creates a national interest that is objective? Who possesses the answers? Who knows what's good for the United States? General Motors? The Council on Foreign Relations? The oil industry headquartered in Houston? The Trilateral Commission? The Department of State or the Department of Defense? An all-wise all-just body of patriotic aristocrats? Contemporary political scientists, elaborating on Mill's theme, warn us of the concept of the "average American." Which group speaks for the average American? What is an average American? Will a group's views of America's national interest be neglected because of the group's size, skin color, religion or country of origin? Can anyone be excluded from the formation of a true national interest? If so, we would be undermining our democracy and cutting ourselves off from an extremely valuable, if not indispensable source of national creativity and sensitivity.

13
As you well know, government is competing factions, each having their own concepts, ideas and motivations. Members of Congress feel a variety of pressures, depending on region, philosophy, experience, committee assignment, that are different from those of the White House, the Departments, or independent agencies. Within the Congress there are subcommittees and caucuses and personal relationships that compete with each other. And there are alliances between parts of one bureaucracy and a congressional subcommittee that often stand up to the political leadership heading an Administration or the Congress. All are interest groups and are affected by competing interest groups. All attempt to influence and shape national policy. These add up to in-house interest groups.

14
From my own professional experience, I can reaffirm the analytical observations of three generations of noted scholars; Arthur Bentley, David Truman, and Stephen Krasner, that our government is "pluralistic." United States officials debate, formulate, and make decisions: They act and react. Government is not an autonomous actor, appearing on a stage so high above the audience that it is not affected by the applause -- or lack thereof. The government -- in our case the legislative and executive branches -- must play the role of actors immersed in a huge theatre in the round, where the pulse of the audience guides their movements and forces them to react. There is sharing of ideas and moods; and shared manipulations.

15
The government is composed of many interests, so whom does it represent? Its motivations and aspirations must not be above a consensus of associations. I reject the notion of national interest that has not been processed by associational interests. The pro-Israel lobby helps define a moral, fair, and representative national interest in the Near East. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee is not just a domestic lobby, it is a professional foreign policy house composed of experts and supported by serious, thoughtful citizens in all 50 states. Is a State Department consensus really an objective national interest just because it, as a specific interest group, happens to be located within the direct governmental structure?

I am not shortchanging the crucial role of government, but the Constitution sets up a framework where associations can contribute to the formation of consensus, which is both responsible and responsive. The government cannot be an island, isolated from the sea of public opinion. To a certain extent, it is

an efficient and moral computer integrating the components that make up society, continuously processing inputs and outputs, to the point policy is finally agreed to.

- 2 -

16 This leads me to my second point. Political awareness and participation, for the individual and the interest group, are not matters of choice. Political activity is survival, and one does not choose to survive -- it is a feeling that is levied on us by nature. Political involvement is a societal imperative. It is not only a right, it is an obligation. If we are to survive in an open society, it is imperative that we fully take part in the system. Should its foundations crumble from neglect, the freedom that our political structure offers will disappear. If we neglect politics, we invalidate politics and we will have no shelter, no defense, when we finally realize that our case must be heard. We have an obligation that transcends singular issues to maintain a strong posture and stature in the political arena. Just as politics may complicate our lives, so will it defend us with its associational and democratic ideals. Strength stems from involvement in the system, with the system, through the system, and for the system.

But how? De Tocqueville witnessed the power of the political structure of the United States in transforming immigrants into exemplary citizens. This phenomenon is due to people participating actively in the government of society, each according to his capabilities, each in his own sphere.

17 Thucydides aptly and bluntly described the importance of political participation. He noted that "those who are politically apathetic can only survive if they are supported by people who are capable of taking action." The quote continues in an ominous vein: "Those who are politically apathetic are quite valueless in a city which controls an empire, though they would be safe slaves in a city that was controlled by others."

18 When we advance this obligation, we see just how deeply rooted ethnic interest groups are within American society. Professor Truman makes the point clearly: "Society is nothing other than the complex of the groups that compose it." De Tocqueville called the right of association "the most natural privilege of man." Mill lists this right alongside the liberties of thoughts and pursuits.

- So basic is the right to form political interest groups.
- So intrinsic is this right
- So incumbent and obligatory is this right.

Government operations, says Mill, are all the same. They lack variety; they are boring. Individuals and associations, on the other hand, have "varied experiments and endless diversity of experience." The Government must circulate and diffuse. It must take advantage of these varied experiences. For that reason all foreign policy must be rooted in American soil. Any formation of a true national interest not derived from the sum of society's particularistic and specific societal aims will not receive domestic support and cannot, I submit, be sustained.

What about the point of ethnic political activity? How applicable is it to our community? On one level, a most basic level, often taken for granted, Jews as a group are involved. We care passionately about politics. We have to, for history has taught us the price of apathy. Two thousand years of painful experiences have forced us into round-the-clock political activity. Just contemplate this thought: What if the Jews of the Weimar Republic had been passionate participants in politics 50 years ago, as the six million of the United States are today which this audience demonstrates:

19

-- We vote in the highest proportion of any other identifiable group in the United States.

20

-- We generously contribute our time, energy and money to candidates with whom we can identify.

-- We are concerned with issues clear across the spectrum.

-- We are hearty defenders of the process.

-- We ask questions -- and call for policy explanations -- of decision makers at the local, state, and federal levels.

-- We lobby on behalf of policies and programs that intertwine our communal interests with those of the nation.

Gerald Ford, as Vice President, saluted American Jews in 1973, saying that no single group of citizens are more steadfast in standing up for the United States.

21

These actions are manifestations of what journalist Cynthia Ozick calls our "spectacular citizenship." "This portrait of majority Jewish political behavior," says Ozick, "may seem romanticized to skeptics. Nevertheless it has been true from the start. Idealism -- the aspiration to repair an imperfect world -- continues to be a vivid impulse in the American Jewish community, and it is buttressed by wide ranging philanthropy." Hubert Humphrey, too, spoke in this same vein. "There is nothing new about lobbying on behalf of causes in foreign places," he said a year before he died. "It's as American as a hot dog or apple pie, spaghetti, gefilte fish or Polish sausage. We are a nation of immigrants, even into our 200th year."

22a

Are unions, insurance companies, or tobacco groups allowed to lobby, while Jews, Greeks and Poles are to refrain from practicing pluralism? Look at this morning's insider's account in The Atlanta Journal of how the Administration persuaded seven of Georgia's nine Democratic House members to buck their party and, in some cases, "their own best judgment," and vote for the President's tax-cut bill. Businessmen and a White House backing off from a drastic cut in the peanut price support program, it is reported, were used to lobby and bring over wavering Georgians. To emphasize the problem, let me rephrase the questions: Are corporations, trade associations, or country clubs allowed to press their cause to their representatives while Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopalians and Jews are arbitrarily excluded from this most basic of rights?

22b

23
The interests of ethnic political action groups are not antithetical to what is good for Americans at large. Such an attack is nonsense. Jews, the Chrysler Corporation, the National Council of Churches, the Irish, Exxon, various retailers and the real estate industry, whomever, lobby as concerned Americans for other Americans, in order to share their unique insights, knowledge and experience. Let's hear Senator Humphrey again: "It is good for the basic democratic process that people who have convictions about what American policy should be, take time to get their fellow Americans and their public officials to understand what they believe and to urge their support. That's what we mean by free speech in this country."

24
These groups sensitize the nation as a whole to those concerns about which they feel most acutely. Otherwise they would be less well understood. Sidney Hillman, the labor leader who emigrated to the U.S., once replied to a Senator who questioned his Americanism; "Unlike you, Senator, I chose to be an American." Even Senator Mathias admits that if it were not for lobbying by Black citizens, the United States would be less sensitive to South Africa's racial policies. It is the ethnic interest groups, because of their ties, passions and preoccupations, that sensitize the relevant parts of government. It is the ethnic interest groups that remind U.S. officials of the moral considerations in our foreign policy. Such considerations have always, and will always, differentiate us from our enemies. It is ethnic interest groups that ask the government challenging questions and remind the bureaucracy and politicians of past and future commitments. Can less than 3% of the population really force its views on the remaining 97%? Nonsense! Our public actions meet the test of the public interest.

AIPAC is an American organization lobbying as an association of concerned American citizens, sharing with the Congress and the Administration our foreign policy concerns:

- 25
1. That Israel and the United States share a common system of government -- representational democracy.
 2. That we both attempt to determine policy based on the rule of law and our moral principles.
 3. That we share a common biblical heritage.
 4. That the United States is committed to support a homeland for the Jewish people.
 5. That Israel has proven military capabilities and needs.
 6. That Israel is of strategic value to the United States and NATO.
 7. That Israel is a stable government.
 8. That Israel is a proven and reliable ally.

We must not forget that all Americans benefit from the strong and consistently close relationship between Israel and the United States, based on shared values and geopolitics together.

26 Saudi Arabia is an important Arab country, upon whose oil we depend. But do the Saudis lobby for the good of America's national interest? They are a foreign lobby! The hire foreign agents like Fred Dutton to do their bidding. Their support is not rooted in American soil!

27 The House of Saud boycotts American businesses that deal with Israel, thus compromising American values.

The Saudis delve out harsh punishment on countries that broadcast television shows about princesses; disrespecting our precious right of free speech.

The Saudis, while claiming judicial modernity and progressive government, reject justice and democracy.

28 The Saudi royal family, that demands the most sophisticated weapons in the world, is among the most feudal and unstable regimes in the world. Imported technology that was created in the spirit of scientific revolution, is used according to principles of religion that negates the spirit in which this technology was created. This dichotomy is creating confusion and unrest among Saudi Arabia's subjects. A mosque is captured and French soldiers must be secretly flown in to assist in its recapture. Is this stability?

The same Saudis who vehemently oppose America's foundation stone of a stable Middle East peace -- the Camp David accords.

The same Saudis who generously fund the anti-U.S., Soviet supported, terrorist Palestine Liberation Organization that has it as policy to kill Israelis, all Israelis, civilian or military.

The same Saudis who declare Jihad against Israel.

The same Saudis who seek the downfall of America's real Arab ally, Anwar El-Sadat.

29 Mr. Abu Dawood, the President of the Council of Saudi Arabian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, recently threatened the United States explicitly, saying that the AWACS and F-15 enhancement equipment sale is connected to that share of the Saudis projected \$258 billion oil economy development which will wind up in the United States. Are such threats in our national interests? Where are the critics of the Saudi lobby?

Conscious of all of these facts, should Jews only contribute to the United States our ethnicity, as Senator Mathias suggests? Would that be advisable? Should we contribute only our writers, artists, and scientists as took place in Weimar Germany, withholding our political activity -- our very American support for Israel? Is this the objectivity? You and I know that the United States would not benefit from such a situation.

30 It is a privilege -- and a humble responsibility -- to be a good Jew and a good American at the same time. This dualism enriches the United States, indeed is in its best interest, and we shall not, and must not, be deflected or deflect ourselves from living and acting this dualism.

31 Political action is the key to our survival. To neglect such activity would be most devastating to Jewish citizens and to the United States as a whole. For without protecting ourselves, through political action, we will never be secure.

32 Bernard Malamud, in his book the Fixer, poignantly articulated this imperative. "There's no such thing as an unpolitical man, especially a Jew. You can't be one without the other, that's clear enough. You can't sit still and see yourself destroyed."

You in your elected positions are active and assertive; we at AIPAC are also. All of us must reach out to those near and far who are not yet involved and pull them in. We must publicize and push Jewish political action and energize many more in the community. This is our calling. This is the best contribution I know to improving our lot -- and that of America's and Israel's.

