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### **MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.**

Series II: Subject Files, 1956-1993, undated.

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19

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236

Denver Institute of Jewish Studies, correspondence and  
magazine articles, 1972.



# LECTURER CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING

122

## JWB LECTURE BUREAU

15 East 26th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

Telephone: (212) 532-4949

### IMPORTANT NOTICE

PLEASE FILL IN ALL OMITTED DETAILS AND RETURN BOTH COPIES TO THE BUREAU SIGNED. WE SHALL THEN SIGN ONE COPY AND RETURN IT TO YOU. THIS CONFIRMATION IS NOT VALID UNTIL YOU RECEIVE OUR SIGNED COPY.

LECTURER OR ARTIST Daniel Silver

DATE August 7, 1972

TO APPEAR ON Wednesday, October 4, 1972

HOUR OF APPEARANCE please advise hour

AUSPICES Congregation Rodef Shalom

AGE RANGE OF AUDIENCE

PERSON IN CHARGE Rabbi Bernard Eisenman

(BUS. PHONE) 322-0150 or 388-3472

(HOME PHONE)

INVOICE TO BE SENT TO same, c/o Congregation

ESTIMATED  
SIZE OF AUDIENCE

PLACE OF MEETING Congregation Rodef Shalom

PROGRAM SHARED WITH

ADDRESS 450 South Kearney

CITY Denver, Col. 80222

NATURE OF MEETING

LENGTH OF PRESENTATION  
REQUESTED

SUBJECT OR PROGRAM Please advise topic

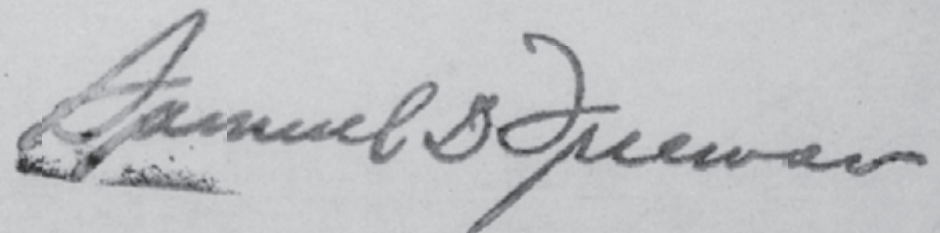
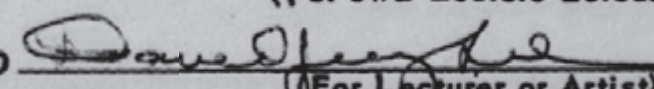
TERMS \$400.00 plus expenses from Cleveland Less 15 PER CENT COMMISSION  
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- (1) AIR TRAVEL FOR TRIPS OF MORE THAN 200 MILES, SANCTIONED BY BUREAU UNLESS SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITED BY SPONSORING ORGANIZATION.
- (2) LECTURER OR ARTIST WILL NOTIFY THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EXPECTED HOUR OF HIS ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE AT LEAST ONE WEEK IN ADVANCE OF THE DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENT. HE WILL MAKE HIS OWN HOTEL RESERVATION OR HE MAY ASK TO HAVE RESERVATIONS MADE FOR HIM.
- (3) NO OTHER APPEARANCES IN THE COMMUNITY ARE TO BE SCHEDULED BY THE LECTURER OR ARTIST WITHOUT THE PRIOR PERMISSION OF THE ORGANIZATION WHICH IS SPONSORING THIS ENGAGEMENT.
- (4) ANY OTHER ENROUTE ENGAGEMENTS RELATED TO THIS DATE ARE TO BE CLEARED WITH THE BUREAU, SO THAT A SHARING OF TRAVEL EXPENSES CAN BE ARRANGED.
- (5) PAYMENT: CHECK FOR FEE AND EXPENSES PAYABLE TO THE JWB LECTURE BUREAU, IS TO BE HANDED TO THE LECTURER OR ARTIST ON THE DAY OF APPEARANCE. ON ALL CANADIAN ENGAGEMENTS, PAYMENT IS TO BE MADE IN AMERICAN DOLLARS WITHOUT ANY DEDUCTIONS.

### INSTRUCTIONS:

*Please send us revised bio and some  
glossy pictures*

SIGNED \_\_\_\_\_  
(For JWB Lecture Bureau)SIGNED   
(For Lecturer or Artist)





# CONGREGATION RODEF SHALOM

RABBI BERNARD EISENMAN

STUDY: RODEF SHALOM  
322-0150 388-3472  
450 S. KEARNEY

RESIDENCE: [REDACTED]  
DENVER, COLORADO  
80222  
355-3472  
483 SO. NIAGARA

August 21st, 1972

Rabbi Jeremy Silver  
The Temple  
University Circle at Silver Park  
Cleveland, Ohio  
44106

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Thank you for your kind letter. We are truly looking forward to meeting you and hearing you at the Convocation exercises of the Denver Institute of Adult Jewish Studies. The Institute is a cooperative communal endeavor on the part of the synagogues, Rabbinical Council of Denver and other communal agencies to foster Adult Jewish Study. There are approximately 400 students in the Institute of all ages and Judaic persuasions.

The Convocation to be held at Temple Emanuel on Oct. 4th at 7:30 P.M. opens the academic semester. The topic of discourse is usually left to the speaker. Generally issues that affect the Jew in American milieu and the dilemmas of assimilation are of course interesting. The question of a viable meaningful Judaism or lay issues of controversy to studies of historic philosophic lectures have been undertaken by former Convocation speakers.

If you have a number of topics to propose, I'd be glad to hear from you.

Looking forward to hearing from you and meeting you soon.

Very truly yours,

*Bernard Eisenman*

Bernard Eisenman  
Rabbi

Dean - Denver Institute of  
Adult Jewish Studies

BE:ebd



August 11, 1972

Rabbi Bernard Eisenman  
Congregation Rodef Shelom  
450 South Kearney  
Denver, Colorado 80222

Dear Rabbi Eisenman:

I am looking forward to my visit with you in Denver.

I wonder if you would drop me a line indicating something about the evening and the kind of lecture you would want from me.

With all good wishes

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp





# CONGREGATION RODEF SHALOM

RABBI BERNARD EISENMAN

STUDY: RODEF SHALOM  
322-0150 388-3472  
450 S. KEARNEY

RESIDENCE: [REDACTED]  
DENVER, COLORADO  
8C222  
355-3472  
483 SO. NIAGARA

August, 24, 1972

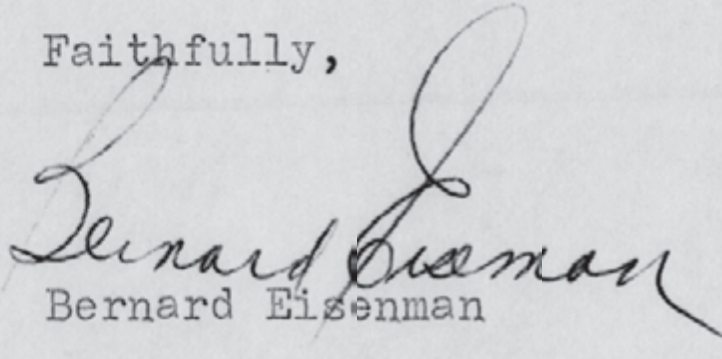
Rabbi Jeremy Silver  
The Temple  
University Circle at Silver Park  
Cleveland, Ohio  
44106

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I would appreciate so very much if you would send to me a glossy photo and a biography of yourself. Our public relations people would like to begin advertising your lecture. If at all possible, please send these just as soon as humanly possible, our brochure for the Institute will be released on September 6th.

Best wishes for a very Happy New Year, I remain

Faithfully,

  
Bernard Eisenman

Rabbi

Dean, DIAJS

BE:ebd



STANTON D. ROSENBAUM  
1518 UNITED BANK CENTER  
DENVER, COLORADO 80202

September 12, 1972

Rabbi Daniel Silver  
The Temple  
University Circle and Silver Park  
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

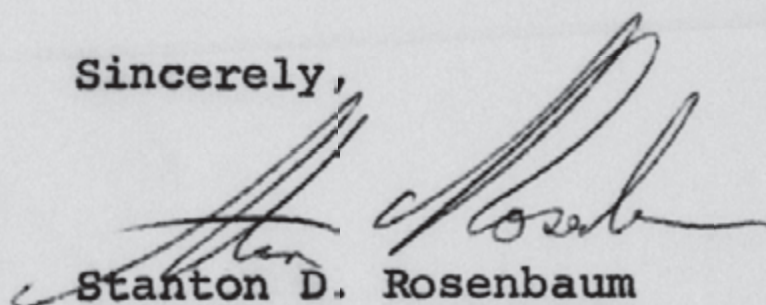
Dear Rabbi Silver:

I was delighted to learn that you have accepted the invitation to be the keynote speaker at the Denver Adult Jewish Institute in October. I will look forward to meeting you and trust and hope that you will bring Adele with you so that at long last she can see that I was right when I told her this was no longer full of cowboys and Indians.

Seriously, I do hope Adele will accompany you and that both of you would do us the favor of saving an evening, if possible, when we could have dinner and show you Denver.

Looking forward to meeting you and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,



Stanton D. Rosenbaum

SDR:ed

*P.S. - Tell Adele that Jonine  
Dinner also hopes she'll be out and  
we'll all talk about the good old days in  
Alabama.*



September 19, 1972

Mr. Stanton D. Rosenbaum  
1518 United Bank Center  
Denver, Colorado 80202

Dear Stan:

Adele and I were delighted to hear from you. As a matter of fact, we hope to grab a few days in the mountains before the meeting Thursday, October 6. We will be arriving in Denver on Saturday, September 30 at 6:40 P. M., United Flight #717 and we would love to spend some time with you that evening. We leave early the next morning for Aspen. If this is not possible I hope we can work something out when we come back down on Thursday.

Adele was delighted to hear from you and we look forward to being together. With all good wishes for the New Year I remain

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



## JWB LECTURE BUREAU

7453

## LECTURER'S BOOKING REMINDER AND REPORT

15 East 26th Street, New York, N. Y. 10010

Telephone: (212) LExington 2-4949

TO Daniel Silver

DATE September 20, 1972

TO APPEAR ON Wednesday, October 4, 1972

HOUR OF APPEARANCE PLEASE ADVISE

AUSPICES Congregation Rodef Sholom  
Rabbi Bernard Eisenman

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PERSON IN CHARGE ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~(Bus. Phone) 322-0150 or 388-3472  
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CITY Denver

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ZIP CODE 80222

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LENGTH OF PRESENTATION  
REQUESTED

TERMS \$400.00 plus expenses

Hotel Reservations at \_\_\_\_\_ Double \_\_\_\_\_ Single \_\_\_\_\_

TRANSPORTATION TO MEETINGTRANSPORTATION FROM MEETING

Leave

Leave

Arrive

Arrive

AIR TRAVEL FOR TRIPS OF MORE THAN 200 MILES, SANCTIONED BY BUREAU UNLESS SPECIFICALLY  
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Other Remarks

PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING REPORT AND RETURN THIS MEMORANDUM TO THE BUREAU.

Number present at meeting \_\_\_\_\_

Evaluation of Community Reaction \_\_\_\_\_

Recommendations for improvement of arrangements \_\_\_\_\_

## PLEASE CHECK &amp; RETURN

- Payment received in full ..... ☐
- Received fee only ..... ☐
- Received expenses only ..... ☐
- No payment received ..... ☐



October 10, 1972

Mrs. Louis Halpern  
The Denver Hilton  
1550 Court Place  
Denver, Colorado 80202

Dear Mrs. Halpern:

I want to thank you again for your double header concern for us, the fruit and the cheese and your graceful hospitality. We will remember the Denver Hilton with warmth and you in friendship. Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



October 11, 1972

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Griesinger  
Old Mill Road  
Gates Mills, Ohio 44040

Dear Bobby and Frank:

We were met in Colorado by your very warm and helpful managers and by some beautiful weather. The aspens were out in full glory and we trekked the mountainsides. The days did everything for you that we hoped. We came back refreshed and I am extremely grateful to you for lending us your apartment. Many many thanks. Adele and I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



October 11, 1972

Mr. Stanton D. Rosenbaum  
1418 United Bank Center  
Denver, Colorado 80202

Dear Stan:

Jonathan Livingston Seagull is number one on my bedside list. Please thank Jeannie for it. It was truly a pleasure to meet you both and a delight to be in your debt. Excellent meals and warm hospitality await you in Cleveland.

Stan, how would you like a mission? As I told you I am President of the National Foundation for Jewish Culture. Denver has made minimum contributions to the Foundation and none to the various national cultural agencies which we have brought together at Joint Cultural Appeal.

Would you be willing to come on our Board and work with us? The meetings are at most twice a year. The Foundation is a child of the Federations of our country. It has all the proper credentials and your interest in our behalf will also allow you to mix in actively in all the educational and cultural concerns of Denver. You will be bearing the national message. There is obviously a selfish reason for making this request. It will give us a chance to meet more than once every ten to fifteen years. We hold our annual meeting in conjunction with the General Assembly of the Council of Federations and Welfare Funds and usually one other meeting in New York or Cleveland.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



October 11, 1972

Rabbi Bernard Eisenman  
Congregation Rodef Shelom  
450 South Kearney  
Denver, Colorado 80222

Dear Bernie:

It was a pleasure visiting with you and speaking at the  
Adult Institute.

My expenses were \$186.00 for the air fare, \$30.00 for  
hotel and \$25.00 for incidentals, transportation, parking  
etc.

I enjoyed our brief visit and good luck with your kadushin  
revision.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp





# CONGREGATION RODEF SHALOM

RABBI BERNARD EISENMAN

STUDY: RODEF SHALOM  
322-0150 388-3472  
450 S. KEARNEY

RESIDENCE: [REDACTED]  
DENVER, COLORADO  
80222  
355-3472  
483 SO. NIAGARA

October 15 1972

Dear Rabbi Silver;

Thank you for the wonderful convocation lecture  
which opened the Denver Institute of Jewish  
Studies.

Enclosed please find checks for your lecture  
and travel expenses.

Thank you,

*Bernie*  
Bernard Eisenman  
Rabbi  
Dean Denver Institute  
of Jewish Studies.





October 20, 1972

Rabbi Bernard Eisenman  
Congregation Rodef Shalom  
450 S. Kearney  
Denver, Colorado

Dear Bernie:

This will acknowledge receipt of the check for the honorarium for my visit to Denver. It was a pleasure being with you and I wish your program all success.

I hope our paths will again cross in the not-too-distant future.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



D E N V E R

Background Summar of  
Relationship to NFJC

After much prodding by CJFWF leaders to provide \$7,500 over a three-year period to help NFJC get started, Denver made a single grant of \$1,000 in 1960 and then made no further allocation until 1968 when it allocated \$200. This amount was repeated in 1969. When the Lump Sum program was inaugurated, Denver did not respond but it did increase its allocation to the NFJC to \$500 in 1970 and has repeated this amount in 1971 and 1972. (We usually receive the allocation in January of the year following the campaign from which the funds are distributed.) Denver makes no allocation to any national cultural agency other than NFJC. In response to persistent urging, the Executive suggested that we nominate Moses M. Katz to the NFJC Board. Mr. Katz never replied to our communications; never attended an NFJC meeting, and since 1971 all mail to him has been returned by the Post Office.

Community Leaders

Since the death of Adolph Kiesler in the early 1960s there has been no one from Denver who participates on a sustained basis in national Jewish affairs. Mandel Berenbaum, an attorney, has been on the CJF Board for several years but rarely puts in an appearance. The Executive, Nathan Rosenberg, now close to retirement, does not participate much in CJF meetings or in professional conferences. He has failed to develop lay leaders who develop contacts with Jewish communal leaders in other cities and discover what other Jewish communities are doing. There is a general feeling in the Jewish community organization field that Denver is a "closed", provincial, unenlightened community. It has no local CRC but is served by a regional ADL office. B'nai B'rith is the dominant national Jewish organization.

Fund Raising

In 1969 the Denver Fund raised approximately \$1,500,000. By 1971 this had increased to \$2,384,000. It is estimated that the 1972 campaign will raise \$4,717,000. It has been reported that there have been two "windfall" gifts this year of \$1 million each.

Contacts:

Mandel Berenbaum, CJFWF Board Member; former President,  
Allied Jewish Community Council  
1700 Broadway. 825-7106

Moses M. Katz, Former Board Member, NFJC  
1200 Humboldt 623-0434

Nathan Rosenberg, Exec. Vice Pres., Allied Jewish Community Council  
400 Kittredge Bldg. 266-3107

John Kamlet, President, Allied Jewish Community Council  
11505 E. Colfax Unpublished telephone number  
Aurora, Colo. 88010

Amount Requested: \$6,160. Communities of comparable population and fund raising:  
Milwaukee - \$6,000  
Rochester - \$10,000



ITHACA  
5731 EAST ~~THUR~~  
MRS MAX RUTHIN

Unrecorded!



TO: REVEREND MR. J. J. ROSEN  
CHURCH OF CHRISTIANITY



# The Lesson of Forest Hills

*Roger Starr*

THE conflict triggered by the attempt to build a low-income public-housing project in the Forest Hills section of New York has raised a great many difficult and unpleasant issues. Underlying all of them, however, is the general question of "scatter-site housing"—the policy, that is, of deliberately placing low-income housing in middle-income neighborhoods. Considering how much resistance this policy can stimulate, and how much bitterness follows each demonstration of resistance, there has been astonishingly little effort to examine the ideas behind it. On the contrary, the value of scatter-site housing has simply been taken as self-evident by many liberals, by many officials of the federal government, and by many members of Congress. So much has this been the case that one is hard-put to find a clearly stated rationale for the policy that can be examined and considered on its merits. Nevertheless, the absence of such a rationale has not prevented the Department of Housing and Urban Development from placing the power of the federal government behind scatter-site housing by effectively forbidding the disbursement of any further federal subsidies for housing in areas in which black or poor people already live.

In general, the advocates of scatter-site housing seem to believe that sprinkling low-income families in relatively expensive neighborhoods will make a significant contribution to the advancement of the poor (and particularly the non-white poor) in American cities. If, by definition, scatter-site housing cannot be numerically significant, its significance must be symbolic: it must demonstrate that higher-income families stand ready spontaneously to embrace these newcomers, or that city officials will force their acceptance. The wrath of Forest Hills soured the symbol, and in the turbulent aftermath it should have become clear that the city's elected officials cannot paste smiles of welcome on the faces of their belligerent constituents. Nor are they likely to try, easily

preferring to abort any similar proposal that might provoke a similarly surly response.

But by no means do all proponents of scatter-site housing regard the difficulties over Forest Hills as conclusive. Some seek to explain these difficulties by attributing them to the size of this particular project. Forest Hills, involving three high-rise buildings and 840 families, may indeed be too big, but there is little evidence that a smaller project would have engendered less vigorous opposition. Thus a project approved for the Lindenwood area of Queens has now been killed by local opposition even though it was to hold little more than half the people of the Forest Hills project, in buildings only about one-third as high.

Others have attributed the trouble in Forest Hills to bigotry which, they argue, deserves little or no consideration. It would be hard to maintain convincingly that there are no bigots in Forest Hills, but racial bigotry cannot be the reason why a black middle-class group living in the Baisley Park neighborhood of Queens objected strongly to a 200-unit scatter-site project planned for that area in the same year as the Forest Hills project. In fact, the Baisley Park opposition, with the support of the same New York State NAACP chapter which has been very outspoken in castigating the present opponents of Forest Hills, succeeded in having the project withdrawn from consideration even before it came to a public hearing. At a private meeting in the office of the then Borough President of Queens, I heard people who claimed to be representatives of the Baisley Park neighborhood saying almost exactly the same things which the alleged representatives of the Forest Hills residents now say. They told the Borough President that the project was to be put in their neighborhood because the Mayor didn't care about their views, felt they were powerless, and was quite prepared to sacrifice them and their homes and their property values to his political ambitions.

Still another argument is that scatter-site housing would have been entirely successful in Forest Hills if there had been more "involvement" of the "community" from the beginning. Yet one of the specific irritants arose from too much, not too little, local consultation. As a portent of

ROGER STARR, whose contributions to COMMENTARY include "What's Left?" (August 1971), "The Aristocrat in Local Politics" (January 1971), and "John V. Lindsay: A Political Portrait" (February 1970), is executive director of the Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York, Inc.



architectural wonders to come, the original design of the project was widely shown in the area after the plan had been approved. When this design turned out to be too expensive for federal subsidization, the consultation itself was taken as proof of an intent to deceive the local people.

**I**F IT has always been hard to find a clearly stated rationale in writing for scatter-site housing, one could get at some of the reasons behind the policy in conversation with the New York City officials who were responsible for the original development of the program in 1966. These officials held the view that a neighborhood which contains people with a wide variation of incomes is *better* than an economically homogeneous neighborhood; and they further believed—as apparently federal housing officials have also come to do—that government has the right and the duty to foster the development of such heterogeneous neighborhoods.

The enthusiasm of New York's officials for scatter-site housing did not rest simply on the effects they expected it to have on the mostly non-white poor people who would be moved into more prosperous neighborhoods inhabited mostly by whites. They believed that scattering low-rent units in middle-class areas would also have a healthy effect on the middle-class residents of those areas who would perforce become more tolerant and more worldly—more, in short, like residents of the West Side of Manhattan, from which the key figures in the Lindsay administration's early housing program themselves largely came.

The West Side of Manhattan, lying roughly between 59th and 125th Streets, and between Central Park and the Hudson River, becomes crucial to any discussion of housing integration not only because the impulse to scatter-site housing started there, but because it actually reflects, perhaps uniquely among American neighborhoods, a consistent pattern of juxtaposition of high-rent and low-rent housing. Only one city block separates the luxurious apartment houses of Central Park West from the tenements of Columbus Avenue; only a few steps separate those same tenements from the stone row houses that were built on the side streets for exclusive occupancy by the single families who could afford them. The elevated railway that once ran up Columbus Avenue blighted the avenue for any but low-income families. But for the more prosperous, there was Central Park West and Riverside Drive and West End Avenue, as well as the side streets—all made practical by excellent up- and down-town public transportation. This basic pattern of land use persisted, even after the side-street houses were converted into rooming houses or tiny apartments and filled with Puerto Ricans and blacks in the years following the end of the Second World War.

As a result of these demographic changes, the

central shopping thoroughfare of the West Side, upper Broadway, offers the observer a uniquely human mixture that might be characterized as a realization of the dream of American pluralism. The shoppers include blacks, Puerto Ricans, and whites of differing ethnic origin; the stores, restaurants, and cafés run the gamut of all the many groups whose members now inhabit the West Side. Economically, too, the West Side is heterogeneous. Its major urban-renewal project, which sought to replace the Columbus Avenue tenements with modern apartment houses and to enable the side-street row houses to revert to single-family occupancy, included more than 2,500 low-rent public-housing units in its final plans. At least that many poor families had been living in the area before the renewal started.

To enjoy the apparently happy juxtaposition of so many different ethnic and socioeconomic groups, however, it is well to remain on the cluttered sidewalks of Broadway. For the exciting but on the whole harmonious vista of Broadway is not sustained in the rest of the area. The West Side, historically, produced a bumper crop of private schools so that the row-house and elevator-apartment families could mitigate with social distance their physical propinquity to their poorer neighbors. The split between private-school families and public-school families still continues; the public schools, with rare exceptions, attract few of the higher-income children. The febrile political life of the West Side confirms the suspicion that the human mix of varied income groups disturbs as many as it pleases; there is undiminished tension between the leaders of the low-income groups, or at least those who claim leadership, and the higher-income groups, generally over the question of how much low-income housing will, in the final analysis, be permitted in the urban-renewal area.

No matter how entertaining, then, one may find the spectacle of Broadway, it remains difficult to point to one concrete social result of the intermingling of diverse income groups, one sign of effective social action, which would not otherwise have taken place. Whether the upper-income residents are more tolerant than their counterparts in economically homogeneous neighborhoods is doubtful. And at the other end, it is almost impossible to find one measurable difference between the pride, energy, political awareness, or social mobility of the low-income residents of the West Side and the low-income residents of the Lower East Side, or Harlem, or Brownsville in Brooklyn.

DESPITE all this, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has promulgated guidelines based on the assumption that the case for locating low-income housing in middle-income neighborhoods has been made and proved.

Since the establishment of the public-housing



program in 1937, the federal government has opted to put public housing on inexpensive land, thus generally reinforcing the way in which members of different social classes "naturally" distribute themselves in the cities. The government did this without ever considering the existence of social class. It simply limited the amount of money that could be spent on each apartment in a public-housing development. Although no words explicitly mandating this policy appeared in the public-housing law after 1948, the intent of the law was obvious. Dwellings had to be economical in "construction and administration" if they were to be subsidized; and the administrators extended this statutory language by establishing a dollar limit (which could, however, occasionally be waived) on the total cost of development, including land.

If not for the intensifying national concern with racial equality, the federal housing agencies would probably have continued to avert their gaze from the realities of social class in the United States. But race could not be ignored. In the immediate postwar years, the FHA discouraged mortgage bankers from making loans in interracial neighborhoods because, as an insurer, FHA worried that mortgages in interracial communities were intrinsically unsafe. After great pressure had been applied by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, FHA appraisers and officials decided they could safely ignore race. Non-discrimination in housing became for the first time official federal policy. When non-discrimination failed to bring many racially-integrated neighborhoods into existence, some commentators blamed the income difference between the median white and the median black family. The 1970 census indicates drastic reduction in this difference, but recent federal housing policy has increasingly been based on an implied contrary theory to the effect that racial differences in income will be everlasting.

On the assumption that the goal of housing policy should be racial integration, and given the theory of permanent income difference between the races, the conclusion drawn by the federal government was irresistible—government policy must seek to obliterate the significance of income to housing location. On this syllogistic base, mandating an attack on the class structure of American cities, the federal government founded the scatter-site housing policy embodied in the new HUD guidelines.

The HUD list contains eight separate categories on which a housing proposal may be rated as *superior*, *adequate*, or *poor*; a rating of *superior* gets priority over a rating of *adequate* in the award of federal subsidies, while a rating of *poor* in any category disqualifies the proposal from any subsidy at all.

Only two of these categories—the second and third—concern us here. Category Two, entitled

"Minority Housing Opportunities," permits officials to rate as *superior* only those proposals which would open up areas for "minority-group" residence in which there are few or no members of such groups now living. The wording of the criterion specifically excludes from a *superior* rating any project which would stand in an existing racially-mixed area except if the area were part of an officially planned redevelopment, and it could be proved that "sufficient, comparable opportunities exist for housing for minority families, in the income range to be served by the proposed project, outside the area of minority concentration." Obviously, if there were such housing opportunities already available elsewhere, it would be unnecessary to rebuild the slum in the first place.

Otherwise the best a project in a racially-mixed area can hope for is a rating of *adequate*, and then only if it can be shown that "the project will not cause a significant increase in the proportion of minority to non-minority residents in the area." As a footnote, the guidelines require that these stipulations must be "accompanied by documented findings based upon relevant racial, socioeconomic, and other data and information." This means that if any sponsor—a government agency, a nonprofit group, a profit-motivated builder, whatever—wishes to erect a government-subsidized apartment house in a racially-mixed area, the sponsor can get approval only after demonstrating that the racial distribution of the new tenants will be in the same proportion as the racial distribution already obtaining in the area. If the government believes anyone can promise this without installing a quota system for tenant selection, it has failed to explain how.

AS FOR a project in an area of minority-group concentration, it can be considered *adequate* only if it is necessary "to meet overriding housing needs." An explanatory note points out that a need resulting from exclusionary practices elsewhere does satisfy the criterion. This last seems fair enough, given the premises. It does not seem fair, however, that a proposal for subsidized new housing to be built in an area, say, of black concentration must be disapproved even if, demonstrably, the people living in that area want to remain there and also want an opportunity to improve the quality of their housing. Is improving housing quality to be considered an "overriding housing need"? The federal government tells every minority group in the nation that its members are free to live wherever they want, yet under this rule, if they want to live in the neighborhoods in which they are already living, they had better be able to show that they are camping on the sidewalk.

Thus, by an irony which is becoming familiar in other fields of government activity as well,



measures aimed at expanding the freedom of non-whites are actually having the effect of limiting that freedom. In this case, government policy allows non-whites the choice of living in predominantly non-white areas—a choice which many might wish to make and should certainly have the right to make—only at the sacrifice of any chance to get better housing. A judgment has been rendered to the effect that a neighborhood composed predominantly of non-whites is not good enough to deserve federal support, whatever may be the wishes of its members.

Furthermore—and here we have another irony emerging from Washington's integrationist activism—the implied promise, that the federal government will supply adequate housing for non-whites in predominantly white sections, is itself illusory. Although the federal government has the power to prevent housing from being built, it has no power to force the construction of housing in a local area over the expressed will of the government of that area. Thus, the suspicion arises that one reason for the development of the new guidelines of site selection may be the desire of the present Housing administration—following, no doubt, policy established in the White House or the Budget Bureau—to avoid paying out subsidies for new housing. The federal pocketbook will be protected on both flanks. Local governments will not wish to build in areas that are not already occupied by non-whites, and the federal guidelines will forbid them to build anywhere else, on sites which are mixed or occupied predominantly by minorities. There being nowhere else to build, nothing will be built.

As CATEGORY TWO of the HUD guidelines seeks to promote racial integration, Category Three seeks to promote socioeconomic integration. This category, "Improved Location for low(er) Income Families," starts bravely with a few general assertions amounting to a pledge by the government to provide "low(er) income" households with a wide choice of locations. Incidentally, that e.e. cummings-like word "low(er)" serves to remind the reader that government guidelines apply not merely to public housing for low-income families, but also to other forms of subsidized housing which is offered to families with somewhat higher incomes. In the peculiar language that takes shape on the electric typewriters of government, "lower" means "less low than low." Low-income housing is for people whose income is as low as possible, and who therefore are eligible for public housing. Lower-income housing, however, is for families whose income is generally below the median level, which includes many whose income is still too high for low-income public housing.

Once we have scrambled over this curious linguistic barrier, we come to the two final objectives: that subsidized housing should be served

with all the facilities and utilities that unsubsidized housing is served with; and that subsidized housing should be "reasonably accessible" to job opportunities. These, in a simpler day, would have been the two primary requirements for selecting housing location. Now, however, they have become subsidiary to the objective of separating some subsidized housing from other subsidized housing, of dividing some low-income people from other low-income people. Here again, as with racial integration, a realistic appraisal of the government's actual powers in this field leaves one wondering what choice it is really in a position to offer. Since it cannot *require* housing to be built in a particular location, its refusal to permit federally-subsidized housing to be located "in a section characterized as one of subsidized housing," may well mean that federally-subsidized housing will not be built anywhere at all. Surely this provision will prevent the systematic upgrading of low-income neighborhoods, even if they are favorably located with respect to jobs and transportation.

Obviously, no one would want to locate a single subsidized project by itself in the midst of a decayed low-income neighborhood. Once the neighborhood is decayed and no longer economically self-sustaining, only federal subsidies can possibly resuscitate its housing. But the federal guidelines, placing their primary emphasis on integrating low-income families into unsubsidized middle-class neighborhoods, would rule out placing subsidized buildings—not only public housing, but any kind of subsidized buildings—in sufficient proximity to protect each other from the decayed surroundings.

IT SHOULD BE easy to bring forth a more constructive set of housing policies than these, leaving aside that gloomiest of all dismal subjects, the *who* and *how* of economic subsidization of housing. As to the end and purpose of housing subsidization, surely this government investment should be measured by the level of housing choice truly made available rather than by the degree of racial and economic integration achieved in the policy directive.

The cornerstone of housing choice must be a program which will make impossible the exclusion of families from access to housing because of their race or nationality. This must be as true in Forest Hills (where exclusionary practices must in part be responsible for the scarcity of black families) as everywhere else. But there is a great difference between effectively banning discrimination and exclusion on the one hand, and numerically mandating racial or economic integration on the other. The former lies within the practical scope of governmental activity. The latter—if it accomplishes anything at all—merely impedes the exercise of personal choice by black or white.



Second, government subsidy programs should be made available for those who need better housing, and cannot obtain it without subsidy, *wherever* these people may want to live, provided that the housing offers suitable access to transportation, education, and job opportunities. These utilitarian criteria come first, because given a flourishing economy, they provide the means by which social classes are, in fact, rearranged and their memberships pooled. The effort to accomplish the same objective by spatial rearrangement mistakes the nature of the problem; and, worse, it fools no one.

Third, government subsidy programs must come to terms with the fact that there are households in the city which, for whatever reasons, are unable to live in a housing development without presenting a serious danger to their neighbors and to the building itself. At present cost levels, and with the present inadequate level of supply, it seems absurd to give these families good housing, which they then grievously damage, while other families who could use the housing fruitfully wait on endless lines. The assurance by Chairman Simeon Golar of the New York City Housing Authority that all prospective tenants of the Forest Hills project would be carefully screened to keep out the destructive was a step in the right direction—and a most unusual one in the present climate. So too is the complex subsidy

formula developed in the housing bill recently passed by the United States Senate which, properly administered and adequately funded, should be of great help in providing new houses for families of limited income. (If a similar program could be developed for existing buildings, the help might even be greater, but that is another story.)

Simply because Forest Hills produced so much bad feeling, the priorities suggested here might be taken as a formula for social peace. It would be nice if, indeed, they worked out that way, but they should not be taken to be non-controversial. If subsidized housing is to be located where job opportunities exist, that housing may well be placed in areas in the city, or outside it, where low-income families will be living for the first time. Possibly—perhaps probably—perhaps inevitably, the opposition to their prospective arrival will be just as hard as that of Forest Hills, and just as clamorous. But the objective is different. While the scatter-site program expresses primarily a symbolic objective, the siting of housing to make economic opportunity available follows traditional American attitudes toward work and human dignity and social mobility. It may, in the end, be harder to mobilize opposition to it simply because, using the value system of the potential opponents themselves, it makes such very good sense.



# Quotas by Any Other Name

Earl Raab

**I**N March 1971, the San Francisco School Board decided to eliminate a number of administrative positions. This meant that the people occupying those positions would have to be "deselected," the delicate term used throughout for demotion. Only 71 jobs were involved, according to one published plan, but, for technical reasons, 125 administrators were actually notified that they were in line for demotion.

The school board formally established several criteria for deselection, including "the racial and ethnic needs" of students, "special sensitivity to unique problems," competence, experience, and previous service. But the superintendent of schools and his staff in fact adopted in its "affirmative action reorganization plan," a somewhat different procedure. Following guidelines handed down by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the San Francisco authorities used nine categories in making their determinations: Negro/Black, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, American Indian, Filipino, Other Non-White, Spanish-Speaking/Spanish Surname, and Other White. In the words of a State Hearing Officer: "... strict seniority would be followed in 'deselecting' administrators who have been classified as 'Other White,' and all those administrators in the other eight designated minority groups would be exempted from such deselection process." In short, and in plain English, only whites—except for Spanish surname/Spanish-speaking whites—would be demoted. And indeed, all 125 administrators put on notice were such "Other Whites."

Many of the underlying issues in a growing number of similar contretemps around the country came to the surface here. We all know the reasons behind affirmative-action programs—that is, programs which attempt to remedy disadvantages suffered by blacks and others because of

past inequities—but on what working principles are such programs to be implemented? How do these principles relate to or shift the system of American values? And, since by sociological accident Jews are so often caught in the middle of affirmative-action programs, how does the entire phenomenon affect the future of Jewish life in America?

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION became an official part of American social philosophy in the middle 1960's. The image of the shackled runner was widely used: Imagine a hundred-yard dash in which one of the two runners has his legs shackled together. He has progressed ten yards, while the unshackled runner has gone fifty yards. At that point the judges decide that the race is unfair. How do they rectify the situation? Do they merely remove the shackles and allow the race to proceed? Then they could say that "equal opportunity" now prevailed. But one of the runners would still be forty yards ahead of the other. Would it not be the better part of justice to allow the previously shackled runner to make up the forty-yard gap, or to start the race all over again? That would be affirmative action toward equality. In September 1965 President Johnson prescribed such action in employment in Executive Order 11246.

As it developed in the 1960's, affirmative action in employment took on a number of working definitions all designed to give members of historically disadvantaged groups an edge in the process of competition: (1) Seeking out qualified applicants among disadvantaged groups; (2) Giving "preferential treatment" to applicants from disadvantaged groups whose qualifications were roughly equal to those of other applicants (this is similar to the older principle of "veterans' preference," recompense for a competitive disability imposed by society in the past); (3) Eliminating cultural bias in determining the nature of relevant qualification; (4) Providing special training and apprenticeship for *qualifiable* applicants to bring them "up to the mark." There

EARL RAAB, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of San Francisco, is the author, with Seymour Martin Lipset, of *The Politics of Unreason*. Mr. Raab's article, "The Deadly Innocences of American Jews," appeared in our December 1970 number.



was, too, a deeper level of affirmative action involved in breaking the long-range chain of generational factors which had come to be seen as impeding the group's ability to compete—factors like family background and the conditions governing motivation in school. To affect these factors was the intent of the anti-poverty program, of the compensatory education programs, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and so forth.

In accord with the general principle of giving an edge to historically disadvantaged groups in the process of competition, the San Francisco school board, two years before the case of the deselected administrators broke out, had resolved "to implement a program of faculty racial and ethnic balance which more closely approximates the racial and ethnic distribution of the total school population so long as such efforts maintain or improve quality of education." Thus there had been an active attempt to find qualified non-white or Hispanic personnel, and to give such personnel preferential treatment in hiring and promotion. There was also a special administrative training course for minority personnel within the district, so that they would be better prepared to compete whenever vacancies occurred. No trouble arose over these policies.

However, a subtle but critical line was crossed beyond affirmative action in the case of the deselected administrators. For here it was no longer a matter of giving members of a disadvantaged group an edge in the process of competition; here it became a matter of eliminating the concept of competition altogether. It was not a matter of affirmative action toward equal opportunity, but a matter of eliminating equal opportunity altogether.

ONE of the marks of the free society is the ascendance of performance over ancestry—or, to put it more comprehensively, the ascendance of achieved status over ascribed status. Aristocracies and racist societies confer status on the basis of heredity. A democratic society begins with the cutting of the ancestral cord. This by itself does not yet make a humanistic society or even a properly democratic one. There is, for example, the not inconsiderable question of distributive justice in rewarding performance. But achieved versus ascribed status is *one* inexorable dividing line between a democratic and an undemocratic society. This is the aspect of democracy which represents the primacy of the individual, and of individual freedom. It has to do with the belief that an individual exists not just to serve a social function, but to stretch his unique spirit and capacities for their own sake: "the right of every man not to have but to be his best." In that sense, it could be said that a principle of ascribed equality—a kind of perverse hereditary theory—would be as insidiously de-

structive of the individual and of individual freedom as a principle of ascribed inequality.

Of course the laws, the rules of the game, have to be roughly the same for everyone if the system is to work ideally. This has not been the case. Further, we have come to learn how heavy the subcultural load is which each individual carries at birth. At its best, a democratic society provides institutional "catch-up" aids for individual self-realization, such as free common schools. There already is the seed-principle of affirmative action. The free common schools have not necessarily always served that purpose. But if they are flawed in practice, the remedy is to make them conform more closely to the system of values they are meant to serve. If on the other hand we want to scrap the system, we should be clear that this is what we are doing and we should be aware of the possible consequences.

The practical consequences for the administration of justice, for example, are clearly demonstrated in the case of the deselected administrators in San Francisco. At a formal hearing, there were these exchanges between the attorney for the deselected administrators, and the representative of the school superintendent. The attorney is asking the questions:

*Question:* Do you know that Armenians, as well as being a minority ethnic group, have had a history of persecution and disadvantage?

*Answer:* No, I never studied that.

*Question:* Did you ever hear of the persecution of the Armenians by the Turks?

*Answer:* Not as I recall.

*Question:* Did you ever hear of the disadvantage which Armenians in California suffered in Fresno and Bakersfield?

*Answer:* I am not aware of it.

*Question:* If the [demoted Armenian] respondent in this case says: "I am an Armenian and I want to be treated as a separate minority," what would you do with his case?

*Answer:* For the purposes of this, I would judge him to be "white" and put him in the "white" because there is no specific Armenian classification. . . .

*Question:* Would you consider that Jewish people were an ethnic group?

*Answer:* Yes.

*Question:* Do you believe that there is a history of persecution and disadvantage which the Jewish people have had?

*Answer:* I have some remote knowledge of this.

*Question:* Now suppose one of the respondents in this case came to you and said: "I am a member of an ethnic minority, one of the Jewish people, and I believe that by reason of our historical disadvantage that we would like to be treated as a separate ethnic group." What would your reply be?

*Answer:* That we have no category for him as a Jew.



In short, no individual Armenian or Jew could be considered for retention in his job. In affirmative-action theory, the racial or ethnic group is used to identify those individuals who should, as a matter of historical justice, be given a compensatory edge in the competition. But the principle of historical justice is supposed to balance individual justice, not to replace it. It is one thing when the employees of a given company are white in massive disproportion and the black population in that community is massively underemployed. But if white Joe Smith and black Jim Jones are currently employed, and one must be fired, should Joe Smith be deprived of his job solely because his ancestors were white? The need for social remedy in the first situation must not be confused with the problem of individual justice in the second. Indeed, the life circumstances of Joe Smith, his parental circumstances, may have been more disadvantaged than those of Jim Jones—however large the statistical odds to the contrary.

Cardozo wrote that "... each case [of injustice] ... implies two things: a wrong done and some assignable person who is wronged." In this case, "historical injustice" means that a wrong committed in the ancestral past has affected some people in the present. Since society imposed that wrong in the past, it has accepted an obligation to undo it so far as possible in the present. But there is no way to measure the exact relationship between ancestral wrong and current damage for any given individual. Affirmative action, therefore, does not represent specific acts of remedial justice, but rather a political program of social betterment. If this program entails penalizing a specific individual who is not assignable—who, that is, cannot be picked out from among his fellows as one responsible for the historical wrong that is to be righted—then *he* is wronged in being penalized and an injustice has been committed. As a member of society, he certainly shares the remedial responsibility of the entire society in this case, but it is unjust to burden him with more than a proportional share.

**I**N San Francisco, the school board ended up not demoting *anyone* in the case of the deselected administrators. The direct assault on principles of individual justice was thus avoided. But the question of quotas remained. In the early 1960's, when the legislative battle for civil rights was being superseded by direct-action tactics, a demand for quota goals became part of confrontations on behalf of real advances in employment. There was good reason for this tactic, for it put the burden of proof on employers who would otherwise disclaim responsibility for the absence of blacks in their firms. This was especially true in certain unionized industries where the employer was saying, We'd like to do more, but the unions won't let us, and the unions

were saying, We're doing our best, but it's the employers' responsibility. Stating a quota goal was often an effective way of establishing responsibility for affirmative action, and measuring results. The quota, in the sense of a fixed number, was not taken literally.

Once it begins to be taken literally, however, another critical line is crossed. Thus the Superintendent of Schools in San Francisco has recently proposed a plan whereby no more than 20 per cent of Other Whites will be hired for or promoted to administrative positions in the first year, no more than 10 per cent in the second year, and *no* Other Whites at all in the ensuing years until ethnic and racial proportions among administrators equal the respective proportions in the school population.

Here we have a good example of the use of quotas not as a measure and instrument of affirmative action but as a way of replacing achievement with ascription by political fiat and without *any* reference to competitive performance. To say that the minority people to be hired will be "qualified" is to evade the issue. If they are indeed qualified or qualifiable, and affirmative action is taken, they will move at a certain pace into these positions anyway. But the inescapable assumption of the ascriptive approach, of the literal quota, is that minority people are *not* qualified or qualifiable, that they *cannot* compete even if given a competitive margin. The proposers of such a quota system are calling, then, for a social-welfare program, pure and simple, which indeed should not be performance-connected.

But should their assumption of the hopeless inferiority of minority workers be accepted? Is the minority population to believe that it is incapable of competition under any circumstances? Is the belief to be developed that performance should be abandoned on every level as a criterion, not only of accomplishment, but of a sense of accomplishment? This would involve not only a basic shift in our values as a society, but a cruel and destructive hoax on expectations.

The same shift is seen in another aspect of school life. The concept of "tracking"—of providing a special pace for those children who are academically talented or motivated—has traditionally had a built-in cultural bias. The tests used to determine talent were often skewed in favor of the white middle-class child, while talents which were not academic in the usual sense were downgraded. Affirmative action seemed indicated: abandonment of old tests, special efforts to identify talented non-white children, new attention to other talents. But there is now a distinct tendency to eliminate all tracking, all performance-grouping. The underlying premise was made clear by the demand of one NAACP chapter that all classes for the mentally retarded should reflect the racial balance of the general school population.



It should be very clear that these proposals are frustrated reactions to the fact that white school children are informally but effectively ascribed a superior status. But surely the remedy is to remove that ascription by affirmative action as swiftly as possible, not to move from ascribed inequality to ascribed equality. In either case, the individual is wiped out.

The point again is that human justice, as distinct from divine justice, must center around the treatment of assignable individuals. Divine justice has often taken the form of a class action, and Job wondered for all of us why it is not always connected to individual performance. He received no answer except that man cannot always understand the ways of God; and indeed our experience tells us that when any group of men try to impose a God-like style of political justice on human affairs, catastrophe ensues. This is why so many of us, in the continuing struggle to find a suitable human politics, are so stubborn about keeping individual performance and accountability rather than group ascription at the center of our system of values.

BUT do not the dangers implicit in the kind of ascriptive action taken in the case of the deselected administrators apply also to affirmative action? To the extent that affirmative action describes an active search for qualified applicants, or the bringing of tests for merit closer to occupational reality, or the training of qualifiable applicants, then the situation is not one of imposing competitive disadvantage, but of removing it. However, to the extent that affirmative action also includes the principle of "veterans' preference" for members of specified minority groups, then obviously there is created a competitive disadvantage for all individual members of "others" as a class. Whether it is a reasonable or unreasonable disadvantage will depend on the concrete circumstances of the given case and will under no circumstances be easy to determine.

So too with the issue of pace. It is impossible to say when affirmative action is moving "fast enough" or "too fast." Between 1968 and 1970, the proportion of defined minorities holding administrative jobs in the San Francisco school system increased from 11 per cent to 18 per cent. At that rate, the minorities made, in two years, about one-third of the progress needed for them to grow—and for whites to shrink—to proportions which parallel their proportions in the general population. (This, incidentally, was a large-city reflection of the kind of statistical progress that was being made by minorities during the latter part of the 1960's throughout the country. Between 1962 and 1967, for example, the increased proportion of blacks in white-collar jobs represented about one-fifth of the progress needed for blacks to grow—and for whites to shrink—to proportions

which parallel their respective representation in the total working force.\*)

Is that "satisfactory" progress? To ask that question is a bit like asking for a definition of "satisfactory taxes": the answer always lies in some shifting combination of what is needed, what is felt to be needed, and what the traffic will bear. It is that combination which will determine the shifting point at which some individual whites will be "unduly" disadvantaged, or at which blacks will be "unduly" locked into the status quo.

However satisfactory the progress made through affirmative action may or may not have been in the 1960's, it was made during a period of economic expansion. That is one key to the success of affirmative action. In a constricting economy, certain kinds of affirmative-action programs will present the risk of slipping over into ascriptive action, or of raising impossible dilemmas in balancing historical and individual justice. In some cases, certain programs may politically endanger progress that has already been made. All the theoretical talk about justice should not obscure the fact that affirmative action is a political as well as a moral exercise.

IN SHORT, there is no blueprint for determining the suitability of affirmative-action programs. But there are several strong guidelines. One is that such programs should be pushed as far as the traffic will bear at any given time. Another is that they should not do specific injustice to specific people. The third is that they should stay within a competitive, performance-related framework. Thus if the equivalent of "5 points" is given to one applicant for a job, that might be considered within the limits of a competitive edge; if the equivalent of "75 points" is given, that might be considered a means of eliminating competition altogether. Depending on the situation, if there are 100 promotions to be made, and 10 members of a disadvantaged group are chosen, that might well not be as much as the traffic will bear; if 100 are edged into promotion, it might well be more than the traffic will bear.

In the case of the deselected administrators there was a disproportionate number of Jews among those Other-White administrators who were to be demoted—because there is a disproportionate number of Jews among school administrators. Jews are *not* disproportionately

\* According to the figures used by the San Francisco School District in proposing its new "quota system" for administrators, the new 1971-72 administrative appointments, in part of a year, had increased the percentage of minority administrators by about 4 per cent. "At the present rate," said the District, if the quota system were not used, it would take "at least twelve more years" [sic] to reach the goal of having the percentage of minority administrators correspond to racial proportions in the school population.



represented, however, among the top administrators in private industry: around San Francisco, Jews occupy about one per cent of such positions. Only fifteen years ago, moreover, a California Department of Employment survey indicated that about a quarter of all California employers would not hire Jews for white-collar jobs, no matter how well qualified they were. If Jews are concentrated in the educational Establishment, one reason is that they have not been forcibly kept out of it by discrimination. If Jews should now be shut out of the educational Establishment, they would suffer as identifiable members of a historically disadvantaged group; and they would become other than Other-White.

Short of that, the sharpened competition provided by legitimate affirmative-action programs

which follow the reasonable guidelines suggested is a fact of life which Jews will have to sustain along with other Other-Whites. Such affirmative action is an obligation of this society, and a necessary ingredient of its health, in which the Jews also have a strong self-interest. It is obvious too that the Jews must have a special interest in an expansionist American economy, especially in those public-service fields in which collisions are most likely to take place. But it is also fundamental to the security of American Jews that the wavy line in each instance between affirmative action and ascriptive action be firmly drawn. For an ascriptive society is a spiritually and politically closed society; as such it is not the kind of society in which Jews can find justice or can easily or comfortably live.



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New York, New York 10022



TEXT OF IDENTICAL LETTERS SENT AUGUST 4, 1972, TO PRESIDENT NIXON AND SENATOR McGOVERN BY  
PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

"The purpose of this letter is to express the American Jewish Committee's grave concern over a trend which is in sharp conflict with our longstanding commitment to the principle of equal opportunity for all Americans. We refer to the current widespread efforts and promises to achieve 'proportional representation' in our society by providing opportunities in employment, in education, in governmental appointments and civil service and in other areas of American life on the basis of race, sex or ethnic affiliation.

"The American Jewish Committee has actively supported and participated in a variety of 'affirmative action' programs designed to rectify historical injustices suffered by Blacks and the members of other disadvantaged minority groups. We have, for example, urged broad-scale and intensive compensatory educational programs for the deprived and disadvantaged--i.e., special training, extended apprenticeships and counselling programs and other forms of remedial assistance, to help them to qualify for entry into higher education, into better jobs and in general to realize their potential for full participation in the mainstream of American life. We maintain however that such special assistance must be extended to all the disadvantaged regardless of their racial and ethnic backgrounds.

"We have also supported the policy of 'open enrollment' as it is practiced in many universities throughout the nation so that some form of free higher education or vocational training might be available to all who seek it and all who can benefit from it. We also recognize the need for intensive and extraordinary efforts in the areas of vocational counselling and job recruitment geared to the disadvantaged minority communities, utilizing the media, the agencies and the community organizations best suited to reach the members of these communities. Such affirmative action programs designed to seek out, encourage, assist and accept those previously excluded, must not however be permitted to lead to the acceptance by government or the private sector of the concept of 'proportional representation' which we believe is but a euphemism for quotas. For this concept substitutes new forms of discrimination for old, creates new breeding grounds for intergroup anger and hostility and greatly downgrades the importance of merit.

"How 'merit' is to be measured or determined is, of course, a difficult question and the American Jewish Committee strongly urges fundamental and continuing review of qualifying criteria and examinations currently in use, to make certain that they are in fact dependable measures of present and potential capacity.

"As a practical matter, the imposition of quotas or 'numerical goals' to accelerate the progress of specifically designated groups are clearly against the law. As the U.S. Supreme Court said in an unanimous decision in the case of Griggs v. Duke Power Company in 1971, 'Discriminatory preference for any group, minority or majority, is precisely and only what Congress has proscribed.' Furthermore, the concept of group rights is totally alien to our constitutional system, for in a democracy it is to the individual that rights are accorded, not to the group. While we recognize that special measures are indeed necessary to overcome dramatic and longstanding injustices, and to enable those long deprived to compete on the basis of merit, we maintain that such measures must be addressed to the individual and not to the group.

"Accordingly, the American Jewish Committee strongly urges you,...., to continue to lend your efforts to the furthering of national policies that would greatly expand employment and educational opportunities for individuals of all groups and thus diminish the intense competition for scarce existing opportunities. We therefore urge you to reject categorically the use of quotas and proportional representation in implementing vitally essential affirmative action programs."



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1972

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

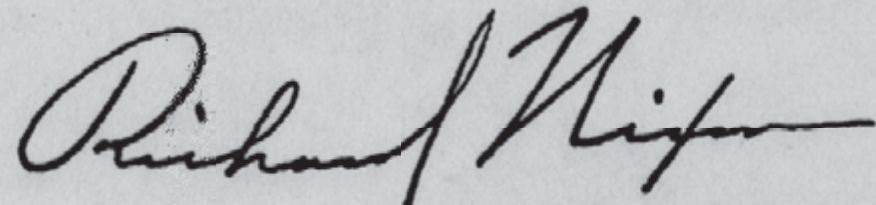
I share the views of the American Jewish Committee in opposing the concepts of quotas and proportional representation. I do not believe these are appropriate means of achieving equal employment opportunity.

I have sought and will continue to seek to enlarge opportunities for men and women of all religious, ethnic and racial backgrounds to serve in responsible positions, but the criteria for selection that I have employed and will continue to employ will be based on merit. I share your support of affirmative efforts to ensure that all Americans have an equal chance to compete for employment opportunities, and to do so on the basis of individual ability.

With respect to these affirmative action programs, I agree that numerical goals, although an important and useful tool to measure progress which remedies the effect of past discrimination, must not be allowed to be applied in such a fashion as to, in fact, result in the imposition of quotas, nor should they be predicated upon or directed towards a concept of proportional representation.

I have asked the appropriate departmental heads to review their policies to ensure conformance with these views.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Richard Nixon", with a stylized, cursive script.

Mr. Philip E. Hoffman, President  
The American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022



Senator George McGovern, 1910 K Street, Northwest, Washington D.C. 20006

August 14, 1972

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

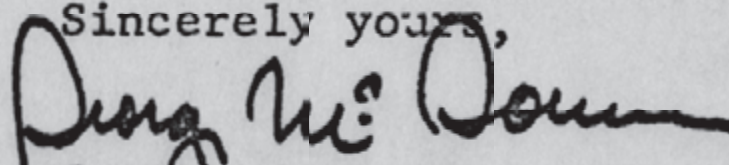
I have read with interest your thoughtful letter of August 4 on ways of expanding opportunities for members of disadvantaged minority groups who have been the victims of exclusion in our society. I have noted especially your rejection of the concept of proportional representation as a means of rectifying historical injustices suffered by Blacks and members of other minority groups.

As your letter makes clear, the issue of "affirmative action" is intertwined with other critical areas of social policy, including the principle of merit, the threat of new discrimination and the danger of new polarization. I intend soon to deal with these interrelated issues in a major statement.

I can assure you now, however, that I share the concerns you have expressed and reject the quota system as detrimental to American society. I believe it is both necessary and possible to open the doors that have long been shut to minority-group members without violating basic principles of non-discrimination and without abandoning the merit system. In this connection, I commend the American Jewish Committee for the positive approach taken in your letter and for the support you have given over the years in strengthening the principle of equal opportunity for all Americans.

I have pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to expand the opportunities for employment, for education, for housing and for personal growth and achievement for every citizen. I am confident that this goal can be reached in ways consonant and consistent with our basic commitment to a society based on the principle of full equality in a free society for all Americans.

Sincerely yours,

  
George McGovern

Mr. Phillip E. Hoffman, President  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, New York



M E M O R A N D U M

TO: PARTICIPANTS IN THE PANEL  
FOR THE TEMPLE FIRST FRIDAY  
PROGRAM ON OCTOBER 6, 1972

FROM: BDGoodman

DATE: SEPTEMBER 26, 1972

For your information, the members of the panel consist of the following:

Jordon Band, Moderator  
Seymour Brief  
Herbert Kamm  
Mrs. Herbert Kamm  
Robert Wildau

The representative of the Republican party is Stanley Aronoff, State Senator from Cincinnati, Ohio. The representative of Senator McGovern has not yet been determined.

I am enclosing copies of articles and other material that may be helpful in pointing the way to anticipated lines of questioning, without however intending to limit anyone's views, thoughts or imagination. The enclosed information concerns:

1. The views of the two parties and of the two candidates toward Israel and its security.
2. The question of Soviet Jewry and specifically the "exit fees" established by the Soviet Union.
3. The question of "proportional representation" in employment, education, governmental appointments and civil service and the effect of so-called "affirmative action" in connection therewith.
4. The issue of "scatter-sight housing".

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 696-1600, or at home at 831-5223.

B.D.G.



## Emanu El Will Welcome New Associate Rabbi

Rabbi Daniel A. Roberts, newly elected associate rabbi of Temple Emanu El will be introduced to the congregation at its services on Friday, Aug. 11 at 8:30 p.m. in the sanctuary.

Rabbi Roberts has just completed a year of graduate studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Prior to that he spent two years as a Chaplain in the U.S. Navy, during which time he was also associated as youth director at Temple Beth Israel of San Diego.

A native Ohioan, Rabbi Roberts was ordained in 1969 from Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion.

During studies at the Hebrew Union College he spent the year 1964-65 in attendance at the Hayim Greenberg Institute for Jewish educators abroad in Jerusalem.

His wife is the former Phyllis Goodman of Warren, Ohio.

He will be presented by Rabbi Alan S. Green.

## Federation Offers to Help Resolve Dispute

At a meeting on Tuesday, the Executive Committee of the Jewish Community Federation authorized President Maurice Saltzman to offer the good offices of the federation in attempting to resolve the dispute which has arisen over the erection of a new mausoleum in Mt. Olive Cemetery, Aurora Rd.

A letter will be sent to the parties in the dispute offering to appoint a committee to attempt to resolve the issue, which

## Point of View

# McGovern Record on Israel Attacked

BY BENNET KLEINMAN

At the risk of incurring the wrath of my liberal Democratic friends, I feel constrained to set the record straight on Democratic Presidential Candidate George McGovern's record as it relates (and only as it relates) to Israel.

I write as one who has never voted Republican in a national or state election.

Whenever McGovern's record on Israel is challenged, his adherents rise to his defense with "Look what he says about moving the U. S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem," or, "Look at the Democratic platform on Israel."

All these defenses have a hollow ring to them. I know what McGovern says now, but I prefer to look at what he did then—that is, before he was a candidate seeking Jewish votes. Even what he says does not convince me that he is a friend of Israel.

But let's look at the record, as a famous Democrat once said.

AS REGARDS Jerusalem, McGovern always stood for its internationalization. No true friend of Israel would support such a proposal. It is anathema to Israel and I daresay to most of the Jews in the world. Moving the embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem does not thereby make Jerusalem Israel's capital, any more than having had the embassy in Tel Aviv made Tel Aviv Israel's capital. Apparently McGovern personally still favors the internationalization of Jerusalem.

McGovern supported and still supports the proposition that only "minor" changes should be made in the borders of Israel and the Arab countries involved, without a true regard for Israel's security needs—a disregard for which could result in the disappearance from the face of the earth of the State of Israel and its people, a fate faced by no other people in the world.

McGovern also favors the stationing of United Nations troops in Israel (and other Mideast countries)—a proposal absolutely unacceptable to Israel.

MCGOVERN EXPRESSED great concern for the Arab refugees and the conditions under which they live due to Israel's actions. I have never heard him express a similar concern as to the conditions of Jewish refugees in that area. Most staunch supporters of Israel do.

When the War of Attrition against Israel was being waged by the late Egyptian President Nasser, Israeli troops at the Suez were under unbelievably powerful attacks by perhaps the greatest mass of heavy artillery ever assembled at any place on earth. Israel's only defense was deep-penetration bombing of Egyptian military targets west of the Suez Canal and behind the heavy artillery.

She was virtually begging the United States for Phantoms, the only bomber which Israel could effectively use for such purposes. Under tremendous pressures from various quarters, many senators



Kleinman

were persuaded to sign resolutions proposing that Israel be furnished the Phantoms she required.

Even McGovern was persuaded to sign such a resolution, but he expressed the condition that Israel promise not to use the Phantoms to fly over Arab territories held by Israel. This condition would have prevented them from flying the Phantoms over the Sinai, let alone the Suez Canal, and would have made the planes at that time virtually useless.

FORTUNATELY McGovern's condition was not accepted by the Administration, and Israel was able through their use to stop the killing of Israel soldiers and bring about a cease-fire.

Most people are not aware of the fact that McGovern is one of the sponsors of a bill in the Senate (No. S3378) which would not allow any deduction for tax purposes of any charitable contribution which was to be used outside the United States or its territories. By this he joins with Sen. William J. Fullbright (no friend of the Jews) in doing severe damage to the United Jewish Appeal which sends enormous amounts of money to the support of Israel.

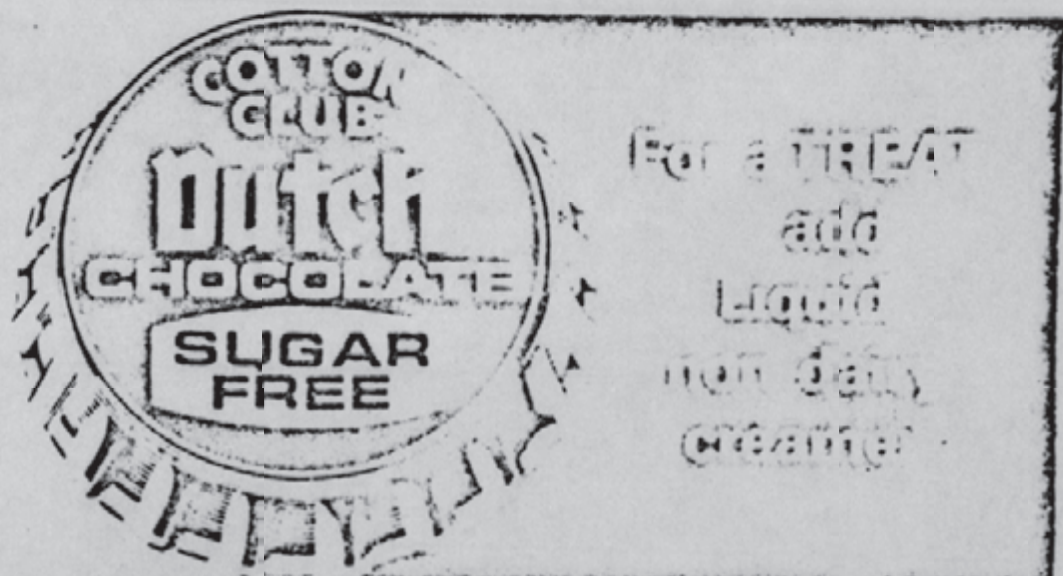
Imagine the damage which would accrue to Israel's social and economic structure, as well as her security. Again, no true friend of Israel would sponsor such a bill.

Israelis and Israeli newspapers are overwhelmingly unfavorable toward McGovern. Two Hebrew papers have in no uncertain terms attacked McGovern's record vis-a-vis Israel.

MCGOVERN'S PROPOSALS to withdraw aircraft carriers from international waters and troops from Europe cannot but weaken American power. Itzhak Rabin, Israel's ambassador to the United States, has said that such weakening must redound to Israel's disadvantage, since Russia will fill any gap left by American withdrawal.

McGovern has also said he would eliminate the foreign policy apparatus in the White House and restore the State Department's traditional policy-making role (woe unto Israel).

If the foregoing record is one of a friend of Israel, I fail to see it.





By TED BONDA

Bennet Kleinman's "point of view" article last week is so full of inaccuracies and out-of-context quotations that the readers of The Jewish News deserve an immediate response. Here are the facts about Sen. George McGovern's record on Israel.

On Jerusalem: On March 3, 1971, The New York Times published a report of an informal question-and-answer session with a group of Neiman fellows in which Sen. McGovern participated in Washington and in which he allegedly said: "Perhaps the solution is to internationalize the City of Jerusalem".

That quotation did not represent Sen. McGovern's position. He therefore issued a statement, the very next day, to correct the incomplete and inaccurate news story. In it, Sen. McGovern proposed that Jerusalem "continue to be administered by Israel with international guarantees of open access to people of all faiths."

THAT REMAINS his position today. The only change in Sen. McGovern's position since then has been to urge that the U.S. move its embassy to Jerusalem and recognize it as the capital of Israel. Such a proposal, on which President Nixon has been silent, would serve as a psychological weapon of enormous importance in supporting Israel's claim to sovereignty over a unified Jerusalem, a claim Sen. McGovern vigorously supports.

Compare this position with the action of the Nixon Administration in September 1971 in voting with the Soviet bloc to condemn Israel for putting up new housing in East Jerusalem formerly occupied by Jordan.

On Israel's borders, Sen. McGovern's record is equally clear. On March 4, 1971, he declared: "No solution can or should be imposed on the Middle East by outside powers. The cornerstone of our policy should be to encourage a negotiated settlement on the part of Israel and the Arab states. Questions of boundaries and other issues can only be resolved in negotiations between the Middle East governments. It is clear that Israel will never accept a settlement that does not assure her of defensive borders and that fails to recognize and guarantee her independent existence."

MOST RECENTLY, Sen. McGovern has made clear his belief that "there can be no peace in the Middle East until the Arab states agree to new and recognized boundary lines capable of deterring any future aggression."

Compare this with the Nixon Administration's infamous "Rogers Plan," which is still the official policy of the U.S. government and which calls on Israel to return to the pre-Six Day War borders with only "insubstantial alterations."

Yes, Mr. Kleinman, it is true that on July 20, 1970, Sen. McGovern suggested that "Israel as well as the Arab states should be willing to accept the presence of the UN on their territories." This statement was made during the Egyptian war of attrition, when many men of good will were searching for a way to prevent a renewal of full-scale hostilities. But the situation has changed enormously in the nearly two years since that speech was made, chiefly because of the cease-fire that has kept the borders quiet since August, 1970.

SEN. MCGOVERN has not repeated the suggestion; he does not hold it to be a valid proposal today. To write that McGovern "favors"



Bonda

(note use of the present tense) this position is plain misrepresentation. An even greater misrepresentation is the charge that Sen. McGovern, in Mr. Kleinman's words "expressed great concern for the Arab refugees and the conditions under which they live due to Israel's actions."

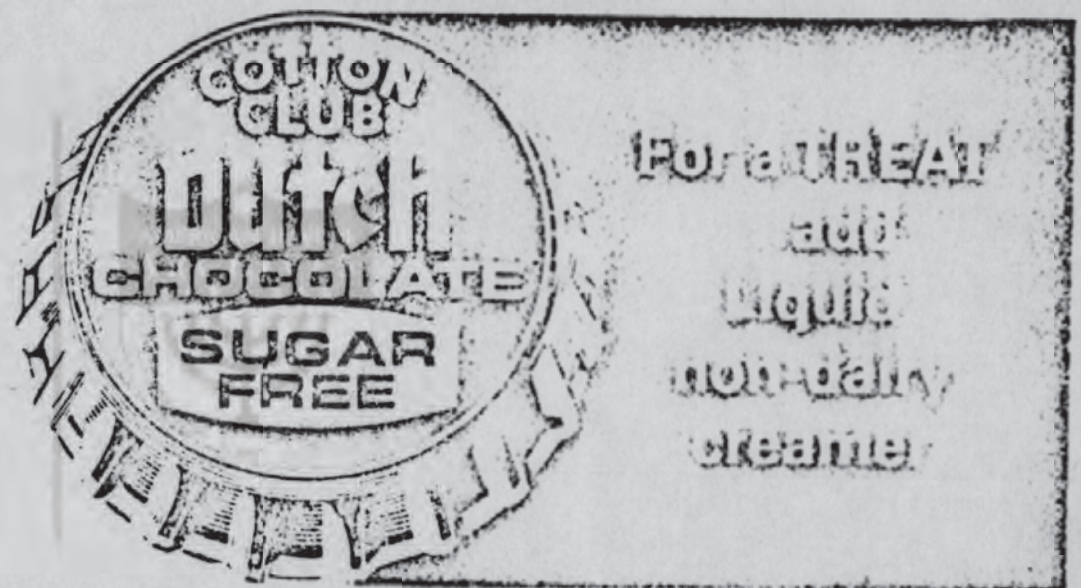
I challenge Mr. Kleinman to furnish any documentation for this accusation. What Sen. McGovern did say (July 20, 1970) was this: "Israel was created as a Jewish state. As a result, it cannot accept a large hostile population in its midst. If Israel were to admit all Arabs who wished to return to their homes and property on its territory, it would have to accept just such a disaffected group. At the same time, it is undeniable that thousands of Palestinians sincerely feel that they have been unjustly barred from their homes. Since repatriation is not possible, reparations are necessary. Some Palestinians might be able to enter Israel, but most could find new homes in underpopulated Arab nations."

THIS POSITION is entirely consistent with the publicly-announced position of the Government of Israel that repatriation of Arab refugees is unacceptable and that compensation is the only feasible solution.

Mr. Kleinman "never heard him (McGovern) express a similar concern as to the conditions of Jewish refugees in the area." In fact, Sen. McGovern has publicly called on the government of Syria to permit the emigration of that country's Jewish population.

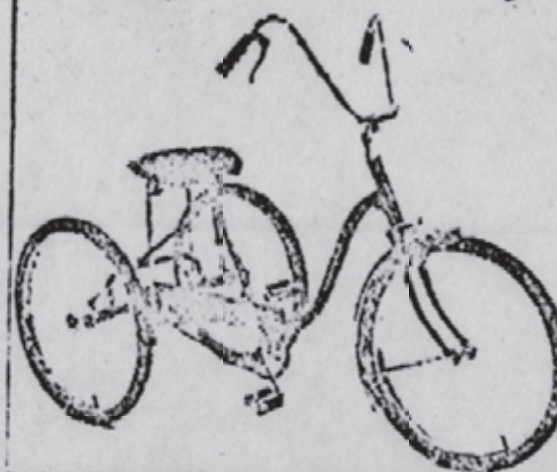
The most serious charge made by Mr. Kleinman concerns the issue of supplying Phantom jets for Israel. The charge is properly leveled against President Nixon. It was Nixon who in 1969 and 1970 strenuously resisted the efforts of the Israel Government to obtain jet planes to deter Soviet-Arab aggression. As a result, Israel turned to its friends

Continued on Page 15



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# Attack on McGovern Answered

Continued from Page 10

in the U.S. Senate, including Sen. McGovern, and it was the Senate that pressured the President into supplying the Phantom jets so desperately needed after the USSR began supplying Egypt with modern arms.

IN FACT, the American Jewish Congress on June 2, 1970, went so far as to place a full-page advertisement in the New York Times containing an open letter to the President, signed by seven U.S. Senators—all of them doves on Vietnam—calling on the President to furnish the planes in question. Sen. George McGovern and the then Sen. Stephen Young of Ohio were among the signers.

Another inaccurate and out-of-context quotation in Mr. Kleinman's column claims that McGovern "expressed the condition that Israel promise not to use the Phantoms to fly over Arab territories held by Israel."

What Sen. McGovern did suggest was that the aircraft sold to Israel should not be used "to extend the area of combat"—meaning Egyptian territory, not Israel-held Sinai. Moreover, Sen. McGovern declared in the very next paragraph of the very same speech: "The Arabs should reciprocate by ending the formal state of war between the two sides".

OBVIOUSLY, if the Arabs agreed to end the formal state of war with Israel—something they have refused to do since the founding of the Jewish state—there would be no need for Israel to fly its planes over Arab territory. But the Arabs never agreed to reciprocate.

Equally misleading is Mr. Kleinman's charge that Sen. McGovern favors a bill which would not allow tax deductions for charitable contributions to be used outside the U.S. Obviously, this would seriously damage Israel's efforts to build the Jewish state.

I am happy to inform Mr. Kleinman that the facts are quite different. The bill (which was introduced by Sen. Gaylord Nelson and co-sponsored by Senators Humphrey, Kennedy and 10 others) contains 55 sections and over 100 significant changes in the tax laws. Sen. Nelson has stated:

"The provision in question was put into the bill in one of the early drafts and was left in the final bill as a result of an oversight. There was no intention on the part of the bill's sponsors to discourage charitable aid abroad...I am therefore introducing an amendment which would delete this section from the bill. Sen. McGovern has assured me that this amendment has his full support."

THE LAST TWO points raised by Mr. Kleinman are easily disposed of. Sen. McGovern has made clear, in his own defense priority

program, that "in the case of the Middle East, American aircraft carriers can be used to illustrate deep U.S. concern and commitment plus the capacity for speedy intervention in a tense situation."

And, finally, Sen. McGovern has never said he would "eliminate the foreign policy apparatus in the White House and restore the State Department's traditional policy-making role." Such a proposal would mean repealing the law creating the National Security Council; Sen. McGovern has no such intention.

Since his first days in Congress, when as a freshman member of the House he was one of 74 representatives who appealed in 1957 to the Eisenhower Administration to oppose a return to the conditions under which Egypt barred Israel's ships from the Suez Canal, George McGovern has demonstrated his commitment to the security of Israel.

He has also made clear his devotion to the values of human dignity and social justice; of compassion and caring for the aged and the weak; of peace in the world and peace at home.

AS JEWS we are particularly concerned for these values because of our history and heritage. But they are the concerns as well of millions of Americans from every walk of life. It is because they know that George McGovern shares these concerns deeply and committedly that Jews and other Americans across the country will vote for George McGovern on Election day. I have faith that there are enough such Americans to elect him President.

Ted Bonda, who is active in the Jewish community, is prominent among Ohioans working for the election of Sen. George McGovern as President.

## Artificial Insemination Not Grounds for Cop-Out

JERUSALEM (JCNS)—The Supreme Rabbinical Court has ordered a man whose wife gave birth to triplets after artificial insemination to support all four of them.

He had refused on the grounds that doctors introduced someone else's semen, and he denied paternity.

## ARAB REFUGEE WOMAN FOUND TO BE JEWISH

TEL AVIV (JTA)—A Jewish woman, who was found last week living as an Arab in a refugee camp near Ramallah, was reunited Monday with her half-brother at the Ramallah police station.

Esther Shihrou embraced and kissed Joseph Assor of Haifa, after verification of their family ties.

Kidnapped 26 years ago by an Arab in Haifa, she was taken to Jaffa. Twice married, she had three children by her second husband, who has since returned to Jordan.

She said she planned to return to Haifa and declare her return to the Jewish faith. Two of her three children will go with her to Haifa.

She was found by Rabbi Hannaia Derii, who locates Jewish children abducted in the pre-state period.



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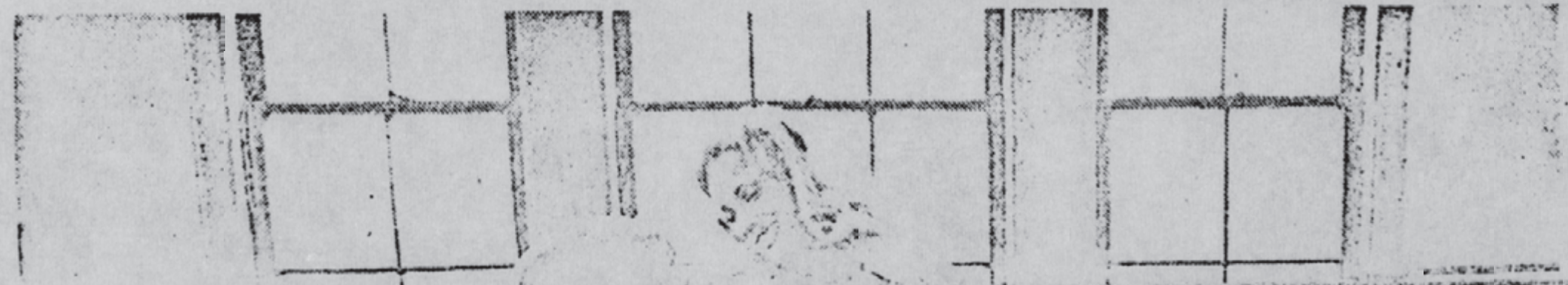
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## Bills Won't Change

## Tax Deductions

WASHINGTON (JTA)—Proposed federal tax reforms which would have drastically affected charitable contributions and bequests by Americans to institu-





# On McGovern's Record on Israel

BY BENNET KLEINMAN

When I wrote an article a few weeks ago with regard to Sen. George McGovern's record on Israel, I did not anticipate that I would be engaged in a newspaper debate.

I fully expected someone to take issue with my statements and had hoped that they would demonstrate that McGovern's record was somehow different from what I had stated it to be.

I was then prepared to let matters rest without further reply. However, in the light of the charges of "inaccuracies" and "misrepresentations" made by Ted Bonda in the Cleveland Jewish News of Aug. 11, I must again take up the battle.

Some weeks ago Ben Wattenberg, writing in the New York Times, said that McGovern generally uses three ploys in his campaigning. One is "I didn't say it." The second is "I said it, but I didn't mean it that way." The third is "I said it, I meant it, but Congress wouldn't let me do it anyway." Obviously, his adherents have learned well the three ploys that he himself uses.

MR. BONDA STATES that McGovern "allegedly" said: "Perhaps the solution is to internationalize the City of Jerusalem." Now here comes the ploy - Mr. Bonda then says that even though he said it, that is not what he meant, because he issued a statement the next day explaining what he meant.

Why an explanation was necessary is not clear, but even the explanation merely states that Jerusalem be "administered" by Israel with international guarantees of open access to people of all faiths. This, in fact, is what internationalization is all about.

Mr. Bonda then says that the only change in Sen. McGovern's position has been to urge that the United States move its embassy to Jerusalem and recognize it as the capital of Israel.

I pointed out that McGovern DID recommend the removal of the embassy to Jerusalem, but he did not say (and I challenge Mr. Bonda to tell me when, if he did) that Jerusalem should be the capital of Israel. He has never publicly to my knowledge changed his stated position on the internationalization of Jerusalem.

ON ISRAEL'S borders, Mr. Bonda quotes from Sen. McGovern on March 4, 1971. What McGovern said THAT day (as Presidential hopes grew) may be what he thought on THAT day, but in previous years he was a staunch public supporter of the Rogers Plan which was unacceptable to Israel.

And, no matter how Mr. McGovern or Mr. Bonda say it, they can't convince me that weakening the presence in the world arena of America-Israel's only powerful ally - will not, by extension, weaken Israel's security.

One admission that Mr. Bonda makes is that McGovern did propose the presence of UN troops in Israel and Arab territories. He tries to brush this away with the statement that all men of good will somehow or other felt that way.

No true friend of Israel, knowing of Israel's unhappy relations with the United Nations, has

ever proposed or supported such a program. So far as I can determine McGovern has never indicated that his attitude on this proposal has changed, despite Mr. Bonda's contention that my position is a misrepresentation. How does Mr. Bonda know this?

Mr. Bonda insists that McGovern did not condition the furnishing of Phantoms to Israel on the agreement by Israel not to use them over Arab territories.

I REFER to Mr. Bonda to the JTA Daily News Bulletin of July 21, 1970, in which Sen. McGovern is quoted as recommending that American planes not be used by Israel for "forays over Arab territories," and that—"armed incursions across the battle lines...should be halted."

By the way, of all the senators who signed the resolution, only McGovern made this condition. I insist that McGovern's conditions would have made the furnishing of planes to Israel useless under the circumstances then existing, since their only function then was to bomb behind the murderous artillery installations of the Egyptians.

I quoted Sen. McGovern to the effect that he would "eliminate the foreign policy apparatus in the White House and restore the State Department's traditional policy-making role." I indicated that this would bring nothing but woe to the Jewish State.

Now here comes the next ploy - Mr. Bonda says that Sen. McGovern "never said it." Nevertheless, I have this day sent under separate cover to Mr. Bonda a copy of an article emanating from Washington which appeared in the Cleveland Press on Wednesday, July 26, 1972, reporting an interview of McGovern by National Public Affairs Center of Television in which McGovern said precisely what I quoted.

THE THIRD PLOY now appears - "Such a proposal would mean repealing the law creating the National Security Council: Sen. McGovern has no such intention." (Obviously McGovern couldn't himself repeal the law and Congress probably wouldn't do it.) Incidentally, how Bonda knows McGovern's lack of intention in this regard is not clear.

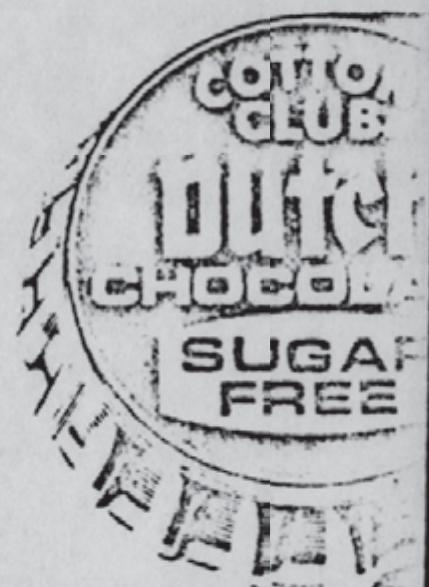
Ted Bonda is urging Jews to vote for McGovern and at various points in his article attacks President Nixon. One will note that I am not attempting to influence anyone to vote in any particular manner. I attempted to set forth McGovern's record for those voters who want to consider his position vis-a-vis Israel (among other issues) so that they can base their judgment on his TRUE record and not on what he and his adherents now say or try to cover up.

I speak not as a proponent of any candidate but one whose ONLY ax to grind is making McGovern's position on Israel clear to all voting Jews.

See editorial...Page 14

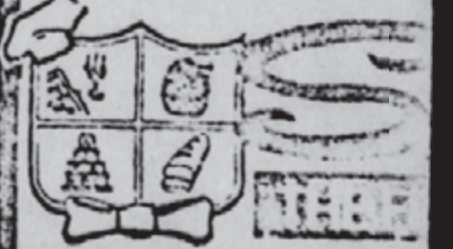


Rabbi Louis Engelberg and Mrs. Sidney Prizant at a service by Taylor Road Synagogue on the High Holy Day campaign.



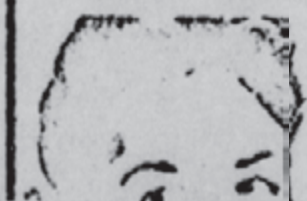
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# A Strong Platform

The Democratic Party's platform committee yesterday adopted a strong Middle East plank for submission to the full convention in Miami next month.

The platform pledges continued military equipment to Israel, calls for direct Arab-Israel negotiations, advocates a military force sufficient to deter the Soviet Union, proposes to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem, recognizes world responsibility for Arab and Jewish refugees and urges mobilization of world opinion for Soviet Jews.

The text, as submitted by the drafting committee and amended in the long plenary session on Monday, reads as follows (floor amendments are in italics):

## Middle East

The United States must be unequivocally committed to support of Israel's right to exist within secure and defensible boundaries. Progress toward a negotiated political settlement in the Middle East will permit Israel and her Arab neighbors to live at peace with each other, and to turn their energies to internal development. It will also free the world from the threat of the explosion of Mid-East tensions into world war. In working toward a settlement, our continuing pledge to the security and freedom of Israel must be both clear and consistent.

A Democratic Administration should:

- make and carry out a firm, long-term public commitment to provide Israel with aircraft and other military equipment in the quantity and sophistication she needs to preserve her deterrent strength in the face of Soviet arming of Arab threats of renewed war;
- seek to bring the parties into direct negotiation toward a permanent political solution based on the necessity of agreement on secure and defensible national boundaries;
- maintain a political commitment and a military force in the area amply sufficient to deter the Soviet Union from using military force in the area;
- recognize and support the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, with free access to all its holy places provided to all faiths. As a symbol of this stand, the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem;
- recognize the responsibility of the world community for a just solution to the problems of the Arab and Jewish refugees.

## Soviet Jews

We welcome every improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and every step taken toward reaching vital agreements on trade and other subjects. However, in our pursuit of improved relations, America cannot afford to be blind to the continued existence of serious differences between us. In particular, the U.S. should by diplomatic contacts seek to mobilize world opinion to express concern at the denial to the *oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe and the minorities of the Soviet Union, including the Soviet Jews*, of the right to practice their religion and culture and to leave their respective countries.

Two delegates moved to strike out the Jerusalem paragraph, claiming that this might involve the United States in another Viet Nam—a contention that was angrily rejected by a number of delegates who insisted that there is no analogy between Israel and Viet Nam, that Jerusalem has been Israel's historic capital and that it is wrong for the United States not to move its embassy there. The amendment was almost unanimously defeated.

The plank dealing with Soviet Jews was broadened to include other minorities, by a vote of 48 to 37, over objections that this would evoke cold war ideology.

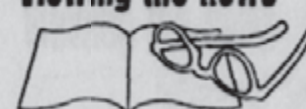
The clause proposing to maintain a political commitment and a military force in the area was put in by the drafting subcommittee to meet the charge that the party's trend towards disengagement might weaken America's defense posture and thus jeopardize Israel's security.

# NEAR EAST report

Washington letter on  
American policy in the Near East

Vol. XVI, No. 26, June 28, 1972

Viewing the news



An Unjust  
Resolution

On June 7 the *Near East Report* reserved space for the UN Security Council resolution condemning the massacre at Lod.

Incredibly, such a resolution remains to be formulated. Instead, just as incredibly, the Security Council on Monday adopted a lopsided resolution condemning Israel for reprisal raids against terrorist positions in Lebanon while omitting all mention of the attacks against Israel civilians which incited the raids.

The events behind the fiery three-day Security Council debate began last Tuesday when a band of Palestinian terrorists crossed into Israel and ambushed a tourist bus, killing two civilians.

Israel struck back Wednesday in ground action near Ramiyah in southwestern Lebanon. An Israel patrol captured five high-ranking Syrian army officers who were guests of the Lebanese command.

At the same time, Israel air strikes were carried out over terrorist strongholds in southeastern Lebanon.

The terrorists struck again early Friday morning with a rocket attack on a civilian housing area in Kiryat Shmona. Later that day, Israel renewed bombing and shelling of Lebanese villages suspected of harboring Palestinian guerrillas.

Fighting continued over the weekend, with clashes between Israel and guerrilla gunboats off the southern Lebanese coast.

On Monday, Israel reported attacks on the Golan Heights from Syrian territory.

According to sources in Beirut, the terrorists agreed yesterday to suspend

(Continued on Page 120)



## A Strong Republican Plank

The Republican party took the offensive against Senator George S. McGovern in a Middle East plank which charges that his proposed defense cuts "would increase the threat of Middle East war and gravely menace Israel."

A strong pro-Israel plank submitted to the national convention in Miami Tuesday pledges continued military and economic assistance to Israel and promises to maintain adequate and efficient tactical forces in Europe and the Mediterranean area. The plank continues:

"The irresponsible proposals of our political opposition to slash the defense forces of the United States—specifically by cutting the strength of our fleet, by reducing our aircraft carriers from 16 to six and by unilateral withdrawals from Europe—would increase the threat of war in the Middle East and gravely menace Israel. We flatly reject these dangerous proposals."

A comparison of the Republican and Democratic Middle East planks shows that the Republicans topped the Democrats by including a promise to continue economic aid to Israel. An explicit commitment to that effect did not appear in the Democratic plank.

On the other hand, Democrats included a proposal to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and to move the U.S. embassy there, and the Democratic plank used more explicit language in a call for *direct* Arab-Israel negotiations.

For the purpose of comparison, the *Near East Report* reprints the two Middle East planks on Page 151. While there are differences, there is no doubt that these are the strongest pro-Israel statements ever to emerge from America's two national parties. Israelis have assurances of the continuing support of the American people for Israel's survival.

## A Policy of Ransom

While the press was carrying euphoric reports that Russia and America had reached a "meeting of minds" on emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, the Russians were actually taking harsh measures to obstruct it.

The Soviet Union established a schedule of exit fees—ranging from \$5,000 to \$25,000, according to the applicant's education—theoretically intended to compensate the government for tuition costs.

Thus, while the number of emigrants may yet reach the 30,000 estimated at the beginning of the year, these will be confined to the less educated.

The Russians cannot claim that the fees are intended to halt the brain drain, for visa applicants are swiftly dismissed from their jobs and their talents wasted. The objective is to discourage all migration by malicious regulation and harassment.

News of the new regulation came, coincidentally, as the GOP platform subcommittee in Miami Beach took up a plank dealing with treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Richard Maass, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, told the committee that the new Russian visa policy was "nothing less than ransom . . . and a return to the cruel and primitive devices which the Soviet Union had employed in the past to subjugate its people."

Two days later, Maass and two other national Jewish leaders—Jacob Stein, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, and Max M. Fisher, chairman of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds—met with Secretary of State William P. Rogers, who disclosed that the Administration had expressed its concern to the Soviet Union.

On the same day, two Congressmen—Representatives John Buchanan (R-Ala.) and John G. Dow (D-N.Y.)—attempted to deliver a letter of protest at the Soviet Embassy to Communist Party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, but Counsellor Victor Izakov refused to transmit it.

The previous day, embassy officials refused to see five Congressmen who had proposed to raise \$1 million for Soviet Jews.

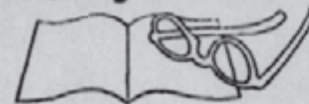
They included Representatives Bertram L. Podell (D-N.Y.), Jonathan B. Bingham (D-N.Y.), Edward I. Koch (D-N.Y.), Peter A. Peyser (R-N.Y.), and Dow.

# NEAR EAST report

## Washington letter on American policy in the Near East

Vol. XVI, No. 34, Aug. 23, 1972

### Viewing the news



### Two Murder Plots Foiled

There was warfare in the skies last week.

Moroccan airmen tried to assassinate their monarch, King Hassan II.

Arab terrorists tried to murder 140 passengers on an El Al plane.

Both attempts failed.

Morocco's King Hassan II accuses his former defense minister, Gen. Mohammed Oufkir, of masterminding the attempt on his life.

In a radio address to his people last Saturday, Hassan said that airforce pilots led by Oufkir had planned to shoot down the King's Boeing 727 over the Atlantic Ocean so that no trace of the aircraft would be found, thus making the crash seem accidental.

Oufkir had intended to install himself as regent, with the King's son, eight-year-old Crown Prince Sidi Mohammed, reigning as titular head.

Oufkir shot himself after his complicity was revealed to the King. He was exposed by fellow conspirators who had vainly attempted to seek asylum in Gibraltar, where they were turned back by the British. (Libyans later stormed the British embassy in Tripoli in protest.)

This was the second military revolt against Hassan in 13 months. In July 1971, rebel troops tried to assassinate Hassan at his seaside palace at Skhirat. About 100 people, many of them guests at the King's birthday party, were killed. The King escaped injury. Soon after, he named Oufkir defense minister. Hassan said on Monday that Oufkir had begun plotting immediately after his appointment.

Why Oufkir turned against the King is unknown. He may have been dissatisfied with the King's rule; he may

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better.

we do hope you have  
a great time and that  
the sol shines in it's special  
Colorado way for you.

Love.

Bob & Co.





(1972)  
Tuesday.

Dear Adele,

I have been  
looking through some stuff  
we have from Aspen and  
have decided that the folders  
indicating restaurants, services,  
merchants etc. are quite out  
of date and you would do  
better to go to the visitors  
bureau and get new ones.  
However I indicated on a  
recent Aspen Times list of  
restaurants the ones we  
especially recommend.



3.

apartments are beautiful  
wood and brick has been  
covered up with plaster by a  
most un-feeling man who  
has the place for a while.  
We hope you like the simpler  
atmosphere in our apartment.

The Copper Kettle Restaurant  
and Tippler bar is on the  
rear side of our building and,  
if you feel especially in  
need of an excellent, very expensive  
dinner, this is a great place.  
Check the menu first - each  
evening it's different with only  
two choices of entrée - You might  
like another evening's choice



also I think the visitors  
bureau would have maps  
for your walks in the  
mountains.

Our Tipple Inn invitation  
I stuck in so you can  
see where you're going.  
The building on the left was  
really used during mining  
days as a sort of the  
produce of the mine and  
boasts the original beams and  
brick walls. The other buildings  
have been made in the same  
style. However in some of the