



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and  
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

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

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

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Reel  
31

Box  
10

Folder  
429

Temple Israel, Dayton, correspondence, program, and speech,  
1976-1977.



25th ANNUAL

# Brunch Lecture Series

## BRUNCH LECTURE COMMITTEE

General Chairman ..... M. M. Goldhamer  
Co-Chairman ..... Henry Kent  
Hospitality ..... Louis Ryterband  
Publicity ..... Bernard Chasman  
Nelson Aaronson  
Facilities ..... A. B. Goldberg  
Recordings ..... Ted Maieron  
Members-at-Large ..... Rabbi P. Irving Bloom  
Irving Katz

# 1976-77

presented by  
TEMPLE ISRAEL  
MEN'S CLUB



SUNDAY MORNINGS AT 10:00 A.M.

21 November

Using Environmental Concepts To  
Plan Our Energy Future

Dr. ERIC G. WALTHER

Manager, Food Production/Climate Mission  
Charles F. Kettering Foundation

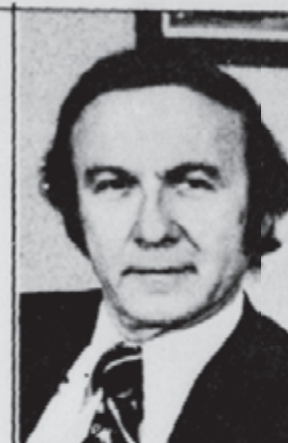


30 January

American and Jewish Concepts of  
Justice: Conflict or Harmony?

Dr. NICHOLAS N. KITTRIE

Director, Institute for Advanced  
Studies in Justice  
American University Law School  
Washington, D.C.



20 March

The Inner Dialectics of Jewish  
Messianism

Dr. JAKOB J. PETUCHOWSKI

Professor of Jewish Liturgy & Theology  
Hebrew Union College



5 December

The Arab in Israel Literature: The  
Literary Reflection of Conflict

Dr. EZRA SPICEHANDLER

Dean and Professor of Hebrew Literature  
Jerusalem School - Hebrew Union College



6 February

The Settlement in Joshua's Time:  
Invasion from the Desert or  
Peasants' Revolt

Dr. CONRAD E. L'HEUREUX

Assistant Professor of Old Testament  
University of Dayton



27 March

A Jewish Understanding of the  
Easter Tradition

Dr. MICHAEL J. COOK

Assistant Professor of Hellenistic  
and Early Christian Literature  
Hebrew Union College



12 December

My Favorite False Messiah

Rabbi P. IRVING BLOOM

Temple Israel



13 February

Scholar-in-Residence

Dr. DANIEL J. SILVER

Rabbi, Temple Tifereth Israel  
Cleveland, Ohio



17 April

The Medieval Jewish Philosopher  
and His Enterprise

Rabbi BARRY S. KOGEN

S. H. and Helen R. Scheuer Fellow  
Hebrew Union College



17 October

Birth Dogma: The Bondage of  
the Jew

Dr. ALVIN J. REINES

Professor of Jewish Philosophy  
Hebrew Union College



9 January

The American Jewish Farmer -- A  
Rude Awakening to a Utopian Dream

Dr. URI D. HERSCHER

Executive Vice-President  
Hebrew Union College



20 February

Judaism Without God

Rabbi SHERWIN T. WINE

The Birmingham Temple  
Farmington Hills, Michigan



24 April

SCHOLAR-IN-RESIDENCE

To Be Announced

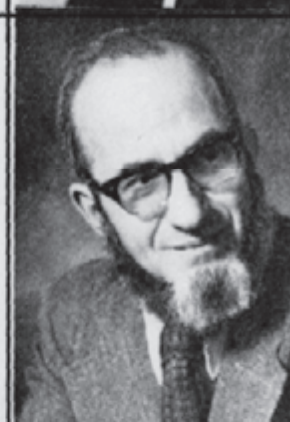


24 October

Scholar-in-Residence  
Jewish Existence in an Epoch-  
making Age

Dr. EMIL L. FACKENHEIM

Professor of Philosophy  
University of Toronto



15 January

The Birthpangs of Synagogue  
Judaism

Dr. SAMUEL SANDMEL

Distinguished Professor of Bible and  
Hellenistic Literature  
Hebrew Union College



27 February

The Bible As Myth

Sister RUTH GRAF

Assistant Professor of Theology  
Xavier University  
Cincinnati, Ohio



1976-77 Temple Israel Men's Club  
Officers:

PRESIDENT	Robert Stern
1st V-PRES.	Howard Faust
2nd V-PRES.	Ernest Heilbronner
TREASURER	Max Scherberg
RECORD. SEC'Y	James Sniderman
CORRES. SEC'Y	Bernard Chasman
PAST PRESIDENT	Arnold Merman

7 November

From WASP Domination to Plural-  
ism: A New Day for Religion-Studies

Dr. NICHOLAS PIEDISCALZI

Chairman, Department of Religion  
Wright State University



23 January

Children and the Death Experience

Rabbi SAMUEL K. JOSEPH

Temple Israel



13 March

Why Did Moses Break The Tablets?

Dr. EUGENE MIHALY

Professor of Midrash and Homiletics  
Hebrew Union College



BRUNCH LECTURE SERIES

New Temple Members — No Charge



November 17, 1976

Rabbi Irving P. Bloom  
Temple Israel  
1821 Emerson Avenue  
Dayton, Ohio 45406

Dear Irv:

I have given some thought to our conversation and to your program. I would propose three congregational lectures: 1) the meaning of Jewish history; 2) the meaning of the American Jewish experience; and 3) the meaning of the liberal Jewish experience. I do not remember which session involved your congregational meeting, but the lecture on the meaning of liberal Jewish experience would be appropriate for it. You can jazz up the titles as you want, but this format would provide a bit of continuity.

As to the clergy talks, let them be under the general rubric, "Israel As A Concept of Jewish Thought."

As an author I try to take advantage of each visit to peddle A History of Judaism. You can order copies direct from the publisher, Basic Books, but it might be easier for us to send some down. Basic requires that you establish credit. Each set cost us twenty dollars. It retails in the store for thirty-eight. You can charge anything you want in between those figures and make a bit of money for the congregation. I would be happy to autograph copies. If it is alright with you, we will send down twenty sets and you can price them as you will. We will take back those that you do not sell.

I look forward to being with you. My best from house to house.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



[1977]

Joan H. Weinberg  
HUTZLER

January 18

Dear Dan,

It was a great pleasure to read in our November Temple Bulletin that you would be here. Nice memories recur of our friendship and of many interesting conversations.

I've been living in Dayton all these years - am married to a cardiologist & have 2 teenagers. Sharon Weizenbaum told me that your wife was her friend. I do miss Sharon - she's very special. Will your wife be here with you in February?



I'm cooking, etc.

Looking forward to  
Seeing you —  
Jan

400 W. Nottingham Rd.

Dayton, Ohio 45405

(313) 277-4766 (my phone message  
277-6256 "service" is unreliable)



When I saw your name on The program, I told Irving Bloom that we'd been friends a century ago, and Sylvan and I would like to have a dinner party for you. The committee chmn called this week to say that Sat. Feb 12 you are unscheduled, and would I be in charge of the day. (Sylvan, unfortunately, will be away, & I'm so disappointed. You would enjoy each other.)

However, my dinner party is in the works. Is there anyone you would like me to include - perhaps from Cincinnati, which is just an hour's drive?

I would enjoy taking you to lunch at the Club, and either showing you a little of the city, or having a few people in for coffee. You can have my car in the morning while



I'm cooking, etc.

Looking forward to  
Seeing you —

Jan

400 W. Nottingham Rd.

Dayton, Ohio 45405

(313) 277-4766 (my phone message  
277-6256 "service" is unreliable)



January 19, 1977

P.  
Rabbi, Irving Bloom  
Temple Israel  
1821 Emerson Avenue  
Dayton, Ohio 45406

Dear Irv:

Despite the snow I'm looking forward to my visit to Dayton. As I indicated to you I would like to use the occasion to promote A History of Judaism which Bernie and I wrote and which was published by Basic Books. You could order directly from the publishers but I found that by the time credit is established and the books arrive it is sometimes a matter of several months.

The set is now retailing at \$38.00. We have a large number of sets which I bought at \$20.00. Perhaps it would be advisable if I sent down say some 20 copies. You could sell them at \$25.00 or \$30.00, and the Temple could make some profit. All we would want would be our cost and the freight. What you can't sell we take back but I've never had a problem.

Hope to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:ms



February 1, 1977

Rabbi P. Irving Bloom  
Temple Israel  
1821 Emerson Avenue  
Dayton, Ohio 45406

Dear Irv:

It was good talking to you yesterday. I am arriving in Dayton on American Flight #349 at 2:02 P. M. on Friday, February 11. As I indicated, I would appreciate it if someone could lend me a couple of blankets for the duration of my stay. Hotels have a way of being cold.

The books are being sent down by a truck service. Freight charges of about \$15 will be collected from you and we can figure that in with the cost of the books and/or profit for Temple Israel.

I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



February 2, 1977

Mrs. Sylvan Weinberg  
400 West Nottingham Road  
Dayton, Ohio 45405

Dear Joan:

I am grateful for your kind invitation and look forward to having dinner with you on Saturday night. I do not know what will be required of me during the day so, if possible, I would like to play it by ear. It is doubtful that Adele will be coming with me. We have had a great deal of confusion here about school openings etc.

Adele was speaking to her mother last night and mentioned that Sharon's mother had died this past week. I know you cared for her a good bit and I did not know whether you knew.

Many thanks for your kindness.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



February 15, 1977

Rabbi P. Irving Bloom  
Temple Israel  
1821 Emerson Ave.  
Dayton, Ohio 45406

Dear Irv:

I thoroughly enjoyed my visit in Dayton. You have a warm, hospitable congregation and they are obviously responding to you and to your hopes and guidance. I know that you will be blessed with many years of a happy rabbinate. I was pleased to lend my voice to your programs.

My expenses for the weekend were \$125 which includes air transportation, some taxis, a few meals etc. I am sending under separate cover A History of Judaism. Thank you for allowing me to give yours away. Please don't forget to send me the names and addresses for the bread and butter letters.

My very best to Pat. I hope to see you at the Conference if not before.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



February 16, 1977

Mr. M. C. Scherberg  
4334 Seiber Ave.  
Dayton, Ohio 45405

Dear Mr. ~~Sbber~~berg:

Thank you so very much for sharing this statistical material with me. I found it quite interesting and very useful. I enjoyed being in Dayton and appreciated the chance to meet with you.



Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.



## Rabbi P. Irving Bloom

February 17, 1977

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

Dear Dan:

I write these few lines to tell you how deeply all of us appreciate your presence, your words, the stimulation and provocation you brought to us during this past week end. The feedback has been universally good, and I am most grateful to you.

I am also enclosing copies of a couple of letters received from Clergymen who were in attendance Monday morning. You may be interested in their response to your approach and to your message.

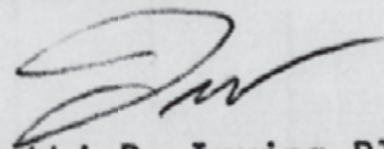
I am doubly grateful because I fully realize the rigor of the schedule and the fact that you were constantly fighting a bad cold in order to get through it.

I am enclosing a list of the names and addresses of those who entertained you in some way. The Greens were your hosts on Friday evening. Marshall Ruchman, the Temple President, is the guy who arranged the tennis games. The Weinbergs of course were your hosts on Saturday evening, and the Weismans Sunday noon. Joe Miller was your tennis partner.

Please drop me a note and let me know the amount of your expenses so that we can send you one check for the full amount.

With warmest personal regards and all good wishes,

Cordially,



Rabbi P. Irving Bloom

PIB/jk  
Encls.

*P.S. Since dictating this note, your letter arrived -  
Our check for \$1125. is enclosed.*

TEMPLE ISRAEL



1821 Emerson Avenue • Dayton, Ohio 45406 • 513 278-9621



February 24, 1977

Mr. and Mrs. Marshall Ruchman  
3024 Marlay Road  
Dayton, Ohio 45405

Dear Linda and Marshall:

Just a note to thank you for your many courtesies while I was in Dayton. I enjoyed my visit. The congregation has a special warmth to it which undoubtedly reflects its leadership.



Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



February 24, 1977

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph <sup>M</sup>Hiller  
6512 Foursome Lane  
Dayton, Ohio 45322

Dear Carol and Joe:

It was wonderful playing tennis with you. You went out of your way to make my visit a delight. I hope when you are up in these parts, "back home," you will drop by and say hello.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



February 24, 1977

Dr. and Mrs. Philip Weisman  
1200 Latchwood Dr.  
Dayton, Ohio 45405

Dear Charna and Phil:

I want to thank you for your courtesies while I was in Dayton. I enjoyed being in your home and having lunch with you. I hope you will come visit us at The Temple when you are next in Cleveland.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



February 24, 1977

Mr. and Mrs. Donald Green  
5563 Joyce Ann Dr.  
Dayton, Ohio 45415

Dear Sally and Donald:

I want to thank you for a very lovely Sabbath dinner and for the chance to meet your children. I enjoyed Dayton and Temple Israel and felt very welcome. Please drop by and visit us at The Temple the next time you are in Cleveland.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp



February 24, 1977

Dr. and Mrs. Sylvan Weinberg  
400 W. Nottingham Road  
Dayton, Ohio 45405

Dear Joan and Sylvan:

Please pardon my delay in thanking you for a lovely Saturday evening. I enjoyed being with your friends and being in your home. It was an altogether pleasurable experience.

I am enclosing two copies of lectures I gave on death and grief which you may find of interest. I would be interested to know your reactions.

It was a delight seeing you after all too many years. I hope when you are next in Cleveland you will give us a call and Adele and I will be able to have both of you over for dinner.

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp

Encl.



February 24, 1977

Rabbi P. Irving Bloom  
Temple Israel  
1821 Emerson Avenue  
Dayton, Ohio 45406

Dear Irv:

Thank you for your kind note and for the check. I have just about broken the cold and we have had a bit of sun so things are looking up.

I enjoyed my visit with you. You are surrounded by a lot of wonderful people and I know you play a significant role in their lives. You are a very empathetic person.

With warmest personal regards and all good wishes  
I remain

Sincerely,

Daniel Jeremy Silver

DJS:mp





# *The Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland*

1750 EUCLID AVENUE • CLEVELAND, OHIO 44115 • PHONE (216) 861-4360

February 1, 1977

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver  
The Temple  
University Circle at Silver Park  
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

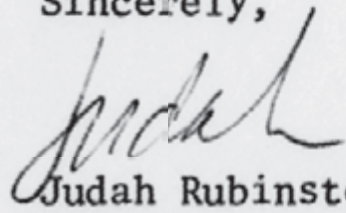
Dear Rabbi Dan:

I hope you recall most pleasantly, as we do, your talk last May to the local chapter of Jewish Communal Workers. Despite some difficulties, I managed to transcribe most of your talk and did send it on to you in the hope that you would find the time to make revisions for its inclusion with the other presentations in the lecture series for a chapter publication.

Since it was inconvenient for you to do the editing job, I have made an attempt at it and enclosed the results for your approval and possibly some final changes. We would very much like to include your provocative analysis, which incidentally you may want to retitle in the published collection of talks.

I do hope you review the edited version and that, most importantly, you will approve its publication. I would most appreciate hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

  
Judah Rubinstein  
Research Associate

JR/mg

Enclosure

President Albert B. Ratner

Treasurer Henry J. Goodman

Vice-Presidents Max R. Friedman

Associate Treasurer Charlotte Paris

Milton A. Wolf

Executive Director Stanley B. Horowitz

Bennett Yanowitz



## The Welcome Factor

Six weeks after Columbus was dispatched to ~~America~~ to plant the flag of Castilia and Aragon over the new world and to bring the cross, the authority of the Church to this hemisphere, the Jews of Spain were <sup>Forced by These same monarchs</sup> ~~ordered~~ to choose between baptism and exile. In a matter of months one of the oldest and <sup>brilliant of</sup> ~~one of the~~ most ~~creative~~ Jewish communities was destroyed. Most of the elite converted. The masses took the road to exile. For most their first step was Portugal. From there they went to North Africa and Southern Italy, Greece and Turkey. They had bitter dispersion. It was sad history, as you know.

Jewish history in the western hemisphere <sup>BEGINS IN AUSPICOUSLY</sup> ~~becomes problematic~~. Columbus brought European civilization to the new world, which is to say he brought Christian civilization and the Inquisition. The Spanish emperors and the Portugese princes were determined to keep Jews and heretics out of their possessions. Inquisitional headquarters were established in Mexico City and at Lima. The fires of auto-de-fei were frequently kindled. The settlement of Jews was not a new beginning but another chapter in an old history. The first settlement of Jews in what was to become the United States was problematic. In the early 17th century the Dutch colonized the east coast of Brazil. <sup>THE CONTINENT</sup> They established ~~there~~ a few trading ports from which they could export <sup>THE NATURAL</sup> the natural resources <sup>back</sup> of the homeland. Holland was at this time Protestant, Dutch Reform. There were Jews in Amsterdam and Jews had been allowed to come to Dutch Brazil. <sup>THE MORE</sup> In measure as these ports prospered <sup>TO MORE EXACT</sup> the Portugese were ~~eager~~ to eliminate them. In the 1640's they attacked Belam, <sup>THE</sup> small Jewish community joined their fellow citizens in the militia until they were overwhelmed.

The Jews took to the sea. Some 21 or 23 of them landed in Curacao. There was little opportunity there so they made for the closest Dutch port which happened to be New Amsterdam. Within a week the men had been thrown into jail and the women



and children taken into protective custody. Governor Peter Stuyvesant promptly sent a letter to his employers, the Dutch West Indies Co., complaining about the new arrivals:

'We do not want the Christ killers, this pariah, <sup>NATION</sup> among us. Let them be sent away immediately.' The Board met. A letter was returned to the governor, saying in effect:

'We appreciate your sentiments and we are in general agreement, but the company has Jewish stockholders and it would be inadvisable to carry out your proposal.' The governor had no alternative but to release the Jews; but he exacted two promises. They <sup>Jews</sup> ac-

<sup>most</sup> accepted full economic responsibility for each member of their community and they promised not to encourage further Jewish immigration.

<sup>MANY LIKE TO SAY 'AMERICA IS DIFFERENT,'</sup>  
The Jewish experience in America is this. It would be hard to prove this from its beginnings. If the beginnings teach any truth it is that in the real world civic virtue <sup>THE REALISTIC OBSERVATION</sup> is often the child of prudential profit considerations. All too often the survival of Jews has depended upon the ability of other Jews to buy Jews out or to buy Jews in and that <sup>IT STILL WITH US, OUR GENERATION HAS</sup> sad responsibility goes on. Within the past decade we have had to buy Jews out of Roumania and in a sense we are buying Jews out of the Soviet Union.

We do not know why the Jews of Old Amsterdam took the strong stance that they did. In part, certainly there was a sense of fraternity and fellow feeling, but there was probably also some concern that another draft of poor Jews might have to be added to the poor roll of the kehillah.

<sup>INSERT FROM 3</sup> The first Jews who came to America were obviously here on tolerance and they were accepted grudgingly. <sup>AGO</sup> The old teachings of contempt <sup>- TO SON AS CHRIST KILLER - THE DESERVED</sup> pervaded the at-

<sup>H B J</sup> mosphere. <sup>IS DIFFERENT, WHY?</sup> Why is the American experience this? The answer, <sup>beginning</sup> I am afraid, lies not in some special decency in the American soul, <sup>so much in the fact that the modern soul is more saintly, but in the brute facts of</sup>

American geography. The land was empty. At first there were more Indians than settlers. Until recently there was more land than farmers. <sup>LIFE HARD</sup> America was a difficult,



IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PERIOD, <sup>WENT BACK HOME</sup>  
~~place. Almost half of those who came to these shores in the 17th century returned~~ within  
 a few years ~~to their old world.~~ Anyone who was willing to stay had to be ~~accepted and~~ so  
 the Jew was made more or less welcome, ~~not in the Bay Colony and not in Catholic~~  
 Georgia where religious feelings remained high, but certainly in the middle colonies.

<sup>COLONIAL</sup>  
 The Jews of these days recognized that the neighbors were still prejudiced and their situ-  
 ation precarious. Examine, if you will, the architecture of the little salt box synagogue  
 in Newport, <sup>AND</sup> <sup>directly</sup> the oldest standing in the United States. It is now a national historic monu-  
 ment, but if you look at it carefully you will find that right in front of the bima, the  
 raised pulpit in the middle, <sup>AND</sup> there is a trap door covered now by a rock. This trap door  
 leads down into the basement and crosses what was then a street into a cemetery some  
 two blocks away. The first synagogue in America had an escape hatch. The Jews of  
 Newport were conditioned to a world where they were often attacked during their  
 worship. In Europe almost every synagogue had some kind of an escape hatch. At  
 first America was not that different.

From our perspective, America is different. I know of no synagogue built  
 in the last century which has an escape hatch. ~~The record of~~ our economic and social  
 advancement has been remarkable. In educational attainment and economic achievement  
 we have risen to the top of the list and have done so in remarkably short order. Econo-  
 mically, America has been very good for the Jew and today, unlike Peter Stuyvesant,  
 the governors come to our affairs and bring us greetings and tell us nice things about  
 ourselves and, <sup>IT'S A LOVE FEAST</sup> generally, what we want to hear, though sometimes we wonder what they  
 say about us behind our backs.

I want to focus on the proposition "America is different" and ask just how  
 different. Different in what respect? Different from what? Things have been different.

There are differing views on this subject. One  
 group insists that we have put behind all the pains of  
 the European experience where suffering was the burden



AND SUFFERING A WHOLE LOT.

We have not had a Dreyfus Trial. We have not had a Doctor's Trial. Outside of some <sup>LOCAL INCIDENTS</sup> slaves in the south the government has never sponsored pogroms <sup>OR OVERT</sup> of anti-semitic activities. There have been <sup>public</sup> known anti-semites, to be sure, but by and large they have not been allowed into the mainstream of American politics. Given these facts, there are many Jews today who believe that America is different, ~~that~~ everything here is secure, ~~that~~ anti-semitism exists but only among the lunatic fringe <sup>AND THAT NATIONAL ANTI-SEMITISM EXISTS IN THE MAIN STREAM IS A WHOLELY OVERTHEATED</sup> and that there is no danger that it will become a major component of our political system.

There is <sup>AND NOT SO LONG, THEY AGREE THAT</sup> another group among us who say anti-semitism may not be central or flagrant, but it is <sup>SEE IT AS</sup> ~~certainly~~ dormant and latent in the larger society - a poison which has infected the western world for a thousand years is not quickly eradicated. This group

<sup>QUICKLY</sup> hastens to add that the Jewish community is protected by two <sup>UNIQUE</sup> basic facts which ~~did not~~ apply in any European country. United States is a nation under law. Our Constitution <sup>AMERICAN LIFE, THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE GUARANTEED BY</sup> protects our rights, including the right to worship in our fashion. The second fact is <sup>THE FACT THAT THE U.S. IS A COMPOSITION OF IMMIGRANT MINORITIES</sup> that we are a nation of minorities. In Europe the Jew was the only alien in Christendom.

In America there are Jews and Catholics and Mormons ~~and~~ blacks and whites and Indians and Asians. Those who hate can choose between many scapegoats. <sup>THIS WHO NEEDS TO BE DIFFERENT TARGETS</sup> Most Jews fall into one or another of these relatively optimistic categories,

to be very positive about the Jewish community in America, but there is a minority of <sup>CONTINUING TO</sup> a minority who believe that America is not that different, that what has happened in Europe <sup>COULD AND POSSIBLY WILL</sup> must inevitably happen here. It is only a question of time. <sup>THEY ANSWER ITS ALL BECAUSE</sup> When things in the Middle

<sup>WHEN THE MIDDLE</sup> East get tense enough <sup>AND THEN</sup> or if the oil embargo is reimposed the old ugly <sup>ANGER WILL SURFACE</sup> wound will begin to act up and fester again.

<sup>THE JEW WILL BE THE UN-AMERICAN WHO KEEPS THE FROM MAKING</sup> gas Pen-<sup>OUR</sup>yon cars and heat for our homes and schools.



basic facts which do not apply to any European country. The first, that this is a nation under law and that our Constitution protects our rights, the rights of all minorities; and secondly, that we are a nation with a plurality of minorities, there's no single dominant majority and, therefore, there are many people to be scapegoats or, put another way, that no one group can say ours is the only way, the only allegiance which is acceptable as American. And I think those Jews who tend to be optimistic and hopeful, to be euphoric if I wanted to put a value term on it about the American Jewish future, tend to take, at the very least, this second view. There are other Jews, and I suspect again these are a minority of a minority, who believe that America is not different in any basic way, that what <sup>has</sup> happened in Europe must inevitably happen here, it's only a question of time, it's getting bad enough, the crunch coming before we'll see the emergence of the same virulent anti-semitism scapegoat that was prevalent in Europe throughout the centuries.

*history*  
The term that I think we'll have to come to grips with is ~~this term~~ *which anyone who thinks about these problems must*

*ISRAELITES WERE OVERWHELMED BY THE*  
term galut. Galut means exile. When ~~the Jews were driven off of the land which the~~

*ASSYRIANS AND EXILED THEM, ENTERED*  
~~Israelites owned in the eighth century they were in galut, been taken into exile. When~~

*JERUSALEM WAS CAPTURED*  
~~the Judeans were driven away in the sixth century B. C., they, too, were in galut.~~

*JEWISH THEOLOGY HAS ASSUMED*  
On its simplest level Jewish life ~~assumes~~ *AND* that Jews are ~~appropriate~~ and secure

in their relationships to God and to themselves only when they're in their promised

*GALUT IS MORE THAN THE PHYSICAL FACT OF EXILE*  
land. ~~You leave bondage, your direction is towards the promised land. When~~

~~you're there, there you are secure and there you can have the most communion with~~

*ACCORDING TO*  
~~your god. Now you are allowed by Biblical theology to remain on that land as long~~

*security in the homeland  
is God's reward for  
obedience to His  
Covenant. God allows  
his people*



~~They are~~ as you're obedient, ~~and~~ <sup>They sin, they are</sup> when you fail in your obedience to God's law you are punished by God and exiled from the land, <sup>Galut is a political</sup> ~~so exile is a geographic term, it means being sepa-~~

<sup>being sepa-</sup> ~~rated from your national home and it's also in Jewish theology a theological term or psychological term (if you will), which means you're in a state of punishment. You're~~ <sup>imply a state of guilt, you are</sup> ~~convicted, you stand under God's anger and you obviously, when God is angry with you,~~ <sup>in Galut because you do not do so</sup> ~~you can't have a complete and intimate relationship with Him. Galut then becomes the~~

~~term for insecurity, for alienation, for a sense of distance, for all those terms which~~ <sup>describe the tensions of separation</sup> ~~have somehow become part and parcel of the basic psychology of the Jewish tribe,~~  
~~of us.~~

<sup>When we ask "Is America different?" we are</sup>  
Now over the years there's been a simple answer to the simple terms. If <sup>asking ourselves</sup> ~~we're in exile let's get back to the land, so the Jew prayed for a return to Zion and~~ <sup>psychological question: Do we feel</sup> ~~Zionists worked for a return to Zion. That was to be the end of insecurity, the return~~ <sup>politically insecure? Do we feel that it is possible for</sup> ~~to security, the end of distance from God, the return to intimacy with God. But,~~  
~~Israel~~ <sup>us there to be close to God, security, America is not</sup>  
obviously, you can be insecure in the land. You have only to look at the history of Is-  
rael in the last 27 years to know that to be true, and so the question which <sup>had</sup> ~~faced Jews~~  
in America is really this question: Is America galut? Is America exile? The question  
is being asked simply not is it a place outside of Israel, but is it a place where the  
Jew can feel secure, at ease, ~~beyond the punishments of God, you feel the need to~~  
~~be masochistic, to feel that whatever happens to us is because of something we or~~  
~~our ancestors did. Is it a place where we can be at home, at ease, fully ourselves~~  
~~and organize ourselves for a full expression of our religious life, one which will be~~  
~~fully satisfactory to God? So the question that we face tonight is in one sense, is~~  
~~America different, in Jewish terms it's are we in galut? Now let me approach this~~



*Let the question can be approached in many ways, let problem by telling you another early historical vignette.*

*Not approach it by way of about to call the "Welcome Factor"*  
In 1790 our first president, George Washington, made a state visit to Newport.

The purpose for this visit has long since been forgotten, at least by those who know as

little about the biography of George Washington as I admit I do, but it's interesting

*That* to note when his visit was announced a number of ~~the~~ community <sup>ORGANIZATIONS</sup> religious social

*and professional in Newport*, sent him letters of invitation to visit ~~their church~~, their

*Now, among these groups was the SYNAGOGUE*  
synod, and the Hebrew synagogue, and the Hebrew community of Newport was the

*Jewish in the U.S.* largest community at the time, invited Washington to come to visit them when he was

*Washington* there for two days. In fact, he did visit the Hebrew synagogue. When he left Newport

*got back to his office in Philadelphia, Washington in a*  
and went back to the capital he dictated to one of his secretaries a letter, a very

*kind and butter letter which because of its noble content*  
lovely letter, full of high-flown sentiment, a letter which is part and parcel of most

*has become a favorite of*  
American Jewish history books because it's filled with the kind of sentiments we like

to hear. This is what he wrote as a bread and butter note to thank the Hebrews of

Newport for their hospitality.

I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced in my visit to New Port from all classes of citizens.

The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy, a policy worthy of imitation.

All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. Toleration is no longer spoken of as if it is by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoys the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.



WE TRILL TO THE 15 SENTIMENTS OF OUR OWN PRODIGENT, THEY TELL  
 Now most Jewish audiences, when they hear this, get up and applaud. Now the <sup>ETHEL</sup>  
 US IS AN AMERICAN WOULD BE DIFFERENT IF HAVE TOLD YOU THE  
 history of this is a fascinating one because that's the history as most of our Sunday

Tell it. IT DIDN'T QUOTE HIGHER THAT WAY THE LANGUAGE  
 School texts offer, but the reality is a little bit different. It turns out that in the

borrowed almost verbatim from

letter of invitation which Moses Seixas, the warden of the Hebrew congregation, had

written to General Washington. He had written all of these sentiments and that what

Washington's secretary of his did was simply to <sup>COLLECT OUT SEIXAS AND STAY</sup> echo and repeat to the Hebrew

THE WARDEN BACK HIS OWN WORDS, WHAT HE KNEW THE JEWS WANTED TO HEAR  
 congregation what they in fact wanted to hear. The great phrase, "to bigotry no

sanction, to persecution no assistance" is pure Seixas, not pure Washington. What

I'm saying is that from the days of General Washington to those of Gerald Ford AND

JIMMY CARTER

there's always been a minority adviser in the White House, a public relations con-

sultant, who has seen to it that all minorities, all groups, are told by the President

what they want to hear insofar as it <sup>SUCH SENTIMENTS DO NOT</sup> doesn't violate his basic policies, on the basic

attitudes of the United States. Now we hear a lot of nice things from our public officials,

and it's good to hear them, far better than to hear otherwise, and one can make a

A VOLUMINOUS

great dossier out of these statements and they would fill a civics textbook, but the

but the question is <sup>HOW MANY WILL THE REAL AMERICAN STAND UP?</sup> what happens when push comes to crunch? The real question is what do have

these very same men <sup>LOW</sup> when Jewish rights <sup>WERE</sup> are not being allowed full exercise?

That's the issue. And here, if we look at America, not at the platitudes that the <sup>AS SOMEONE</sup>

different story emerges. LET'S LOOK AT PUBLIC EDUCATION,

government has repeated to us, but at what the governors have actually done for

JEWS HAVE PAID THEIR SCHOOL SUPPORT TAXES AS WELL AS

us or to us, the story is somewhat different. In America we have a public school

education, it's sponsored by our own tax monies, but historians now tend to speak

That

of the public schools in the United States, at least until the middle of the 1920's,

as protestant parochial schools and the Catholics <sup>AS WELL AS JEWS</sup> were as excluded as the Jews

from these schools, but that's what they were. They taught the protestant ethic.

They taught the protestant view of history, they taught essentially that America was

THE NEW PROTESTANT REFORMATION, THE  
 REFORMATION PROTESTANT, JEWISH EXCLUDED TO



created and the Constitution written by protestants and reflects the protestant view of life and the protestant holidays were observed in the schools. And you can still find any number of civics classes not so very far from here in which the teachers teach essentially that America is a Christian nation and all that follows from that and as evidence for that I'll give you any Confirmation class of mine when we happen to be discussing these things because the children bring in to me the report of what their teachers in fact say.

Or look at another example, until at least the second World War, the laws of property were developed in the United States as the right to exclude Jews from living east of Warrensville Center or in Forest Hills, and any number of hotels, resorts and apartments were, are in some cases still, practicing non-Jewish restrictions of one kind or another. Or if you want something that's a little more immediate, I give you the fact that despite the great prosperity of the last years and the complaints of big business that they couldn't find enough bright young people to move into positions of high executive responsibility, business didn't have the glamour it once had. One of our major national organizations had to mount an "executive suite" program that forced the big businesses of America to open their doors, at least at a middle management level, to a few Jews. The gap between the pronouncements and the reality has always been and is still today, in ~~some ways~~, a sizeable one.

Now if you measure the American Jewish experience simply by the measure of private economic advancement, the pocketbook of individual Jews, we'd have to say it's been a glamorous and exciting one which augurs well for the future. We've come a long way from being tailors and cigar makers and push cart operators to our present position in America. We've taken advantage of the expanding opportunity which has been America up till very recent times. We worked very hard for it. Our



grandfathers or our fathers and our mothers worked in the sweat shops of the lower east side of Philadelphia and of Boston, 12-14-16 hours a day every day but the Shabbat.

And most of us worked ~~very~~ hard at school and at graduate school to get the degrees

that allowed us to ~~move into this new world and have the skills which would be paid~~

~~for by the new world.~~ The question is now that the pie is no longer getting larger

and larger, now that we're talking not of an infinity of an expanding economy, we're

talking about ~~new growth and zero population and all of that, what's going to happen?~~

Is the opportunity as great for the next generation, will it be as great for the next

generation as it has been for ours? And I don't believe many Jews actually, deep

down, believe that it will be. How many Jews are frightened when they think of the

Arab boycott, the new interest in Arab markets, and they see to the closing off of

law firms or of banks or of corporations to young Jews who want employment now

because they can't deal with the Arabs if there are Jews there?

Now the question obviously is is the cup half full or is it half empty? If

we look as Jews tend to look, from themselves out, from their lovely ranch homes

in Pepper Pike to the future, then it's clear that the future is fairly bright. They've

done well. Their children have had educational opportunities and if they failed to

take advantage of that that's the child's fault, not America's. But there's another

factor which I'd like you to think about for a while. It's what I call the welcome factor.

The question, whether or not Americans have ever really wanted Jews here as their

neighbors. America is a pragmatic country. Once Jews are here we tend to be ac-

cepted, What's the record if we look at the immigration laws? The introduction of



~~new Jews into a community or into our national community?~~ As long as America was a wilderness, empty, everybody was welcome, anybody was welcome to pile through Ellis Island. We needed workers in the steel mills and workers on the farms, anybody who was willing to come could come. <sup>The US' First</sup> ~~And the original~~ immigration quota legislation, <sup>which</sup> ~~the legislation which~~ <sup>passed in</sup> was finally effective in 1921 and 1924, was not in its origin or

in its major impetus anti-semitic, ~~at all~~. It came about a) because the labor unions needed desperately to prevent greenhorns from coming in and be used by the Carnegies and the other <sup>MANAGERIAL</sup> ~~mundzerin~~ who ran businesses, as strike breakers. <sup>becoming a part of</sup> ~~And they needed~~

to bring themselves up and they couldn't fight against this cheap labor. They were <sup>LABOR</sup> ~~brought about~~ because this was a period of uncertainty, there had been a Red scare <sup>LABOR USED TO INCREASE AND WAS ANOTHER FEARON FEARS AM COLLEGE</sup> ~~which feared that these people from Europe would bring in alien ideas.~~ But, in

point of fact, when the labor union people and the various power groups of America <sup>WAS THAT</sup> ~~and the~~ WASP senators got together during these 1920's and wrote these <sup>ELITE FOUND AN IDENTITY OF FRONT AND THE NEW</sup> ~~discriminations~~ <sup>discrimination</sup> ~~quotas, they wrote the discrimination into the quota.~~ They were determined to keep

America white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, and Jews were discriminated against,

Catholics to a lesser degree were discriminated against, and the Orientals were totally discriminated against. <sup>THE NEW LAW</sup> ~~What they did essentially, as you know, is to allow~~

large quotas of people from the Scandinavian countries and the British Isles, from

the <sup>Smaller</sup> ~~low~~ countries, a lesser number from central Europe, Germany, <sup>Said much smaller</sup> and

Italy, and the <sup>in urban areas</sup> ~~much less~~ group of Poland and the Slavic countries and from Russia,

which meant effectively that those areas where there were large Jewish communities <sup>AND ENHANCED</sup> and endangered Jewish communities, were precisely those places which somehow were getting the smaller quotas in relationship to their population. If you want to



see the results of this on Jewish immigration, in the seven years preceding 1924 656,000 Jews entered the United States. In the seven years succeeding 1924 only 73,000 Jews were allowed to enter. And during that very same period, the argument is raised we had to keep people down and this was just an effective way of doing it, by our own admission, by the admissions of our own immigration experts, there were over three-quarters of a million visas from Scandinavia, from the British Isles, from Germany, which went unused, which could have been filled, but were not filled; could have been filled if people from central and eastern Europe or the Asian countries were allowed to come in.

Now in the 1930's if we look at the welcome quota, we find that these discriminatory quotas, these racist quotas, now are a matter of life and death to thousands and tens of thousands of Jews. Hitler had come on the scene. Stalin is moving into his era of autocratic power where the whole Jewish community of Russia feels endangered. United States is in an interesting position. Beginning in early 1933 IN 1933 WE ELECTED there was a New Deal. There was a President who has great appeal and one can win great support from the indigenous American Jewish community in power. There's a democratic power or party which has important ties in New York and in Philadelphia and elsewhere with large Jewish communities in which Jews are important. Franklin Delano Roosevelt himself was obviously a man who likes some Jews and likes Jewish brains. Rosenman, Frankfurter, others were in his inner circle and remained so. It's obvious that he approved of the Jewish genius. When a man like Einstein wanted to come to America a way could always be found to bring him in, but it's also clear that in all the years that Mr. Roosevelt was in office he did nothing, nothing, to break



the quota system, <sup>FIND WAY TO</sup> to get in Jews above the quota, to tell the State Department that they could not manage the granting of visas in a typical State bureaucratic manner, <sup>WAS</sup> they ought to speed things up. ~~There was no~~ proposal ~~ever~~ submitted to Congress by <sup>FDAS</sup> the administration asking for a special dispensation to bring in 50,000 or 100,000 or a quarter of a million Jews into the United States, with the result that between 1932 and 1945, during the whole Nazi era, only 120,000 Jews managed to immigrate into these United States. During that same period <sup>1,250,000 ENTHALD WAS ALLOCATED</sup> 350,000 places went ~~unfulfilled~~ unfilled, <sup>TO EUROPE WERE NOT ISSUED — WITHOUT EXCEEDED THE</sup> in the quotas of Germany and the countries that Germany occupied during the second <sup>AUTHORIZED RATE OF IMMIGRATION FOR ALL YEARS DURING</sup> World War. And another 900,000 places went unfilled in countries that were among the allied nations of the second World War. If we had simply met our own numbers, allowed Jews to come in, Jews who had no other alternative, we could have saved <sup>MILLION HAVE ENTERED</sup> nearly a million Jews. If you want the spirit of welcome in those years I give you the good ship St. Louis. Nine hundred and thirty Jews boarded this refugee ship with ~~passports and visas~~, or at least exit ~~papers from Germany and visas~~, which would allow them to enter Cuba. When they reached Havana the Cuban government decided <sup>NOT TO</sup> they would not honor these visas. The captain of the ship sailed for Baltimore. When he came to Baltimore <sup>ALL</sup> the ship was quarantined ~~in the harbor~~. Despite incredible protestation by American Jews and a few others, none of these 930 people were allowed to land in the United States. This is 1939. The ship was turned back. <sup>PASSENGERS</sup> The ship went back to Hamburg and the people were unloaded to Auschwitz.

Now what is the American Jewish experience if we look at this welcome <sup>U</sup> factor? Perhaps this unwelcome factor is limited to the years preceding the second



World War. What happened after the second World War? <sup>2 million Jews and</sup> ~~(The beginning of the other~~  
~~crowded into D.P. camps in Europe. They can't go here~~  
 side of the tape and I think some of it is missed)

~~AGAIN. POLA AND PROGRAMS IN ISRAEL, MANY FEEL DO~~

~~The union is to be under the Communist system. The western countries, France, England~~

~~are not prepared to allow them to enter.~~ They've got their own war-torn economies

to rebuild and <sup>as so the</sup> they languish for two years or more in the displaced persons camps.

<sup>UTM OF</sup> Now it's during this period that the so-called illegal immigration into Palestine <sup>BRITAIN</sup> comes  
~~while paper is in effect~~  
 to its height, the exodus, the ship. It's during this period of time that Jewishangers

~~are~~ got frayed. Here are two million survivors beyond the six million that were killed  
 and they're still in tents and in camps or being interned by the British on Cyprus.

You recall that as a great act of magnanimity, <sup>ONCE</sup> it seemed by many in the American

Jewish community <sup>AT THAT TIME</sup> as an act of political courage, ~~President Truman got up one day~~

~~and he demanded publicly, or asked publicly,~~ that Mr. Atlee, <sup>commander of</sup> in the British Labor

government <sup>1945</sup> ~~then in power,~~ immediately allow 100,000 visas for Jews to settle in

Palestine. And this was seen as an act of great political courage and, of course, we

wanted it if we could get it. ~~Mr. Bevin, Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary,~~

<sup>MY</sup> you recall responded to <sup>Bevin's view was, he suggested</sup> this in a very ~~acid~~ kind of way. He said very simply that

the reason Mr. Truman wants the 100,000 Jews in Israel, in Palestine, is that

<sup>MR. BEVIN WAS AN OBVIOUS ANTI-SEMITIC; BUT NONE WERE MORE</sup> he doesn't want them in New York. ~~And that's true.~~ At no time in 1945, or 1946 or

1947 did the American administration introduce a bill <sup>which would have</sup> into the Congress to allow

<sup>DRAFT OF 1945</sup> any sizeable quota of Jews to come into these United States. There was no attempt

to empty the displaced persons camps by allowing <sup>Then here</sup> these people to come here. And

~~if you want to measure the welcome factor put this against the Cuban airlift; put~~

this against the Vietnamese refugee program; and add, <sup>IN</sup> if you have the courage, the



At no time, if we look at this welcome factor, during all those years of the rise of Hitler, genocide and politicized anti-Semitism, did the United States make a move to allow greater numbers of Jews into the United States. Your parents, and your grandparents and some of you signed affidavits and worked to get an individual here or there in. But there was very little that we could do politically.

Whether we look at the failure of the administration to respond to obvious Jewish pressure, or whether we look at the failure of the administration even to take steps to bring Jews out to some kind of refugee center, in the Evian Conference or Bermuda Conference, whatever it may be, we find that there was just no support for more Jews coming. Those who were here, Americans were pragmatic, and they were here, but we really don't want more Jews as neighbors. If we look, and say all right, that was in the 30's, but after the trauma of Dachau and America felt guilty and it all changed. Or did it? Remember that after the war, there were still 2 million Jews in DP camps in Europe. Never once did the Truman administration request the Congress to allow large drafts of these Jews to come to the United States. Finally in response to a variety of pressures, President Truman suggested publicly that the British rescind the White Paper sufficiently to allow 100,000 Jews in Tel Aviv, because he didn't want 100,000 Jews in New York; and he was right.

Now compare this to the sea lift, the air lift, which went on for 10 years of Cuban refugees after the Bay of Pigs, and compare this with the recent sea lift of refugees out of Viet Nam. If we look at the welcome factor, we have to say that we have never been able to build up pressure to bring Jews into the United States in large numbers over quota because of humanitarian reasons. I would submit to you that even the bill that finally passed <sup>Stulan (year) now</sup> very recently to allow a sizeable number of Soviet Jews into the <sup>(50,000)</sup> United States, came not because there was a great upsurge of popular



feeling in the United States that we ought to have more Jews. It came because there was a great upsurge of anger in West Berlin and in Amsterdam and in Paris, in Rome, among NATO allies who said to us, "Look you've been, for whatever your reasons, putting tremendous pressure on us to force the Russians to let some Jews out of the Soviet Union. Okay, you hoped they would go to Israel, but they decided not to go to Israel. Now they're camped outside of our cities, and we really don't want them and you are not allowing them to come in"" It was that kind of pressure plus popular pressure from areas such as ours that led to that final bit of legislation.

What am I saying? I am trying to suggest that when we look at the welcome factor it is easy to see the limitations of Jewish power. We're looking now at a question of Jewish power that has nothing to do with whether or not Israel should give back the West Bank. It has nothing to do with whether or not Israel should be given 2.4 billions of tax dollars in military and economic aid. We are looking at a simple humanitarian problem. A population group which is known to be energetic, self-sufficient, self-sustaining and self-supporting, <sup>has</sup> asked several times in our century to be allowed to bring into a relatively empty land, large drafts of its own people. Each time, ~~in a sense~~, nobody said no, <sup>but</sup> no action was taken; and each time, we lacked the power to make it happen. That is the important point: we lacked the power to make it happen.

Jewish power is a figment of Jewish imagination. It has one great value that I can see. It makes people a little more leary of doing what they think will displease us. But Jewish power is a creation of the anti-Semitic press. Nobody talked about Jewish power in the nineteenth century until the anti-Semite in the 1880's and 1890's devised the term. They devised the term for their own <sup>ghoulish</sup> ~~ghastly~~ purposes to prove that there was a Jewish con-



spiracy, ~~whether it was communist or whether it was capitalistic~~, to take  
 over the world. Jewish power was popularized in the social science and  
 political science areas by the British before and after the second world  
 war to explain why America was taking positions in the Middle East, which  
 were inimicable to traditional British imperial interests. Washington  
 was responding not to the good of the west but <sup>its natural intention</sup> was responding to power, <sup>the UNFUTURE</sup>  
<sup>MOCKING</sup> that is Jewish pressure.

Why did Washington respond as she did to the events of the Middle East?

Not because Jews wanted to create a state. That was a nice idea and, yes,  
 it solved one problem. It would take the DP's and they would not have  
 to come here. But the real reason was that we wanted, as a country, to  
 elbow the British and French out of the economic advantage they had in the  
 markets, the oil controls and what not in Syria and the rest of the Middle  
 East. We wanted those markets; we wanted the Mediterrean ports; we wanted  
 to protect the oil rich southern Arab lands, and we devised a policy ac-  
 cordingly. We saw that <sup>THE NO NORTH</sup> there was a tier to the north which was a little  
<sup>LONGER</sup> <sup>FULL OF</sup> <sup>WITH A LOT OF</sup> big under Russian influence and ~~suspect~~ the radical Arabs, <sup>the poor Arabs</sup>  
<sup>THE OIL FIELD</sup> which tend to have less oil. Perhaps we could create a series of small

states like Jordan and Israel which could act as a buffer between the  
 poor Arab and the rich oil lands beneath. Certainly we would <sup>build them walls</sup> find there  
<sup>LE TO THE</sup> <sup>OF</sup> <sup>THE</sup> was economic advantage for Aramco and for Chase Manhattan and for all the  
 other institutions of American economic power. We could move in and create  
 the Middle East as an American sphere of influence rather than one which  
 was British and one which was French.

Political scientists would say that what you have seen in the last twenty  
 or twenty-five years has given some Jews the illusion of Jewish power be-  
 cause America seemed to support everything that Israel wanted. Truman



stands on the green lawn outside the White House, and smiles at Weizman and receives the sacred Torah and says, "I always wanted one". More importantly, there has been significant sales of some arms and obviously political support. But what you have seen is a temporary identity of interest between the <sup>A small</sup> ~~interests of the new state~~ and <sup>A small</sup> ~~United States~~. The political scientists would remind us that Jewish power, if you look at it historically, is what is called incremental power. It is not absolute, it cannot initiate, it cannot run counter to what is perceived as a national interest.

What it can do, if we are organized, is to see to it that once a decision has been made, that America is prepared to follow through on that decision. Once The United States has determined, for example, that it wants to have an aircraft carrier which is land based, air bases, let's say in Israel, from which it can <sup>protect</sup> ~~top~~ the Iranian and Saudia Arabian oil fields, then it becomes important to make certain kinds of military commitments to Israel; and we can see to it that the Israelis get what they asked for rather than simply what America is prepared to give. This power is incremental. We cannot force any issue.

The issue of Soviet Jews did not emerge because we wanted it to emerge. It is a perfect example of incremental power. There was a sizable group in and out of the Senate who were convinced that the Russians did not mean anything that we meant by detente, who were suspicious of this term that the Kissinger-Nixon administration was pushing. This group determined that Russia <sup>RETAINED</sup> ~~maintained~~ its imperialistic ambitions; they saw air bases in Africa and elsewhere. They saw all kinds of things happening, and they were determined to challenge Russia's intentions early and to, in a sense, sabotage this particular approach to detente: You need a moral issue. You can't do it purely on narrow, political concerns in the United States.



We're a moralistic people. We gave them the issue and they took it; and when it became too expensive they backed away from it. For a while we got some emigration out and then it was cut off. We were able, for a period of time, ~~to find a large volume of American people concerned about one thing which has to do with Russia~~, to blend our concerns into <sup>A</sup> ~~that~~ larger ~~concern~~. For a small period of time we were able to get increment and value out of it. When it no longer fit the larger need, we could not.

What does all of this say? It suggests to me that Jews ought to take no comfort ~~whatever~~ from the fact that the United States has been understanding, sympathetic, helpful to Israel over the past 28 years. America has done that for her own interests. Her relationships with any and every state of the world is governed by America's national interests. There is nothing wrong in that. That is the way every state operates. We often take ~~very~~ seriously the political professions of our presidents that America is committed to the survival of Israel. How many times ~~was~~ <sup>were similar</sup> that

<sup>professions made</sup> ~~said~~ about Viet Nam? I ~~could make a list of them a yard long~~. Those are political statements. The question is what purpose will Israel serve within the geo-political needs of the United States, and how can we as people in the United States interested in the survival of Israel, ~~make~~ <sup>ensure</sup> sure of two things: ~~One~~ is that there is a large sympathetic body of opinion who will essentially applaud the government if it moves in areas that are favorable to Israel. Could we still operate on a public opinion basis moralistically rather than in terms of what Kissinger has made clear to us is the way the state department and government operate? Secondly we are going to have to recognize that when the interests in the United States move towards evenhandedness, which is to say towards Arab markets, towards the protection of Chase National Bank investments, or City Bank of New York investments, or whatever they are in the Middle East,



that point in time, we can "shreigevald:.. We can write to our congress people, and there is absolutely nothing we can do.

In 1956, you remember Israel, England and France worked out a co-ordinated attack on Egypt because of the closing of the Suez Canal and because of the massing by Nasser of troops in the Sinai. Israel fought and the European powers really did not. But Israel found itself within a matter of days on the banks of the Suez Canal. The last thing that America wanted at that time was for the Canal to become a kind of polarizing issue. You will remember that Secretary Dulles then peremptorily ordered Ben Garion to remove the Israeli troops. And we petitioned, and we marched, and we talked and we button-holed and we visited and we didn't delay by a single day the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the banks of Suez back to Israel. It was a clear decision of American policy that withdrawal had to take place; and "gornisht helfen", there was nothing we could do to avoid its taking place. — *Russians did the same in 1973 when Israel surrounded Egyptian Suez Canal Army.*

We live in a scary world. We live in a world where it seems to me we have to be ultimately realistic. Power in the United States is divided and it should be. That is one of the things that protects our freedom. Jews in the United States are not going to be able to have it their way. No group in the United States can have it its way. This is simply the way of a heterogenous and polygot nation. There are going to be many times over many years, where the American Jewish community is going to feel itself frustrated and threatened. You remember that when the first Arab oil embargo was put down, Jews began to see bumper stickers which talked about oil not Jews.: These bumper stickers were a figment of our imagination. Someone may have finally put one up but there literally were none when Jews began to talk about this, we're tense, ~~we~~ *we* people have not forgotten that we are in the Diaspora. We tend to overreact; we are a passionate people, and there is terrible danger in being overly passionate and overly urgent.