



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 III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated.

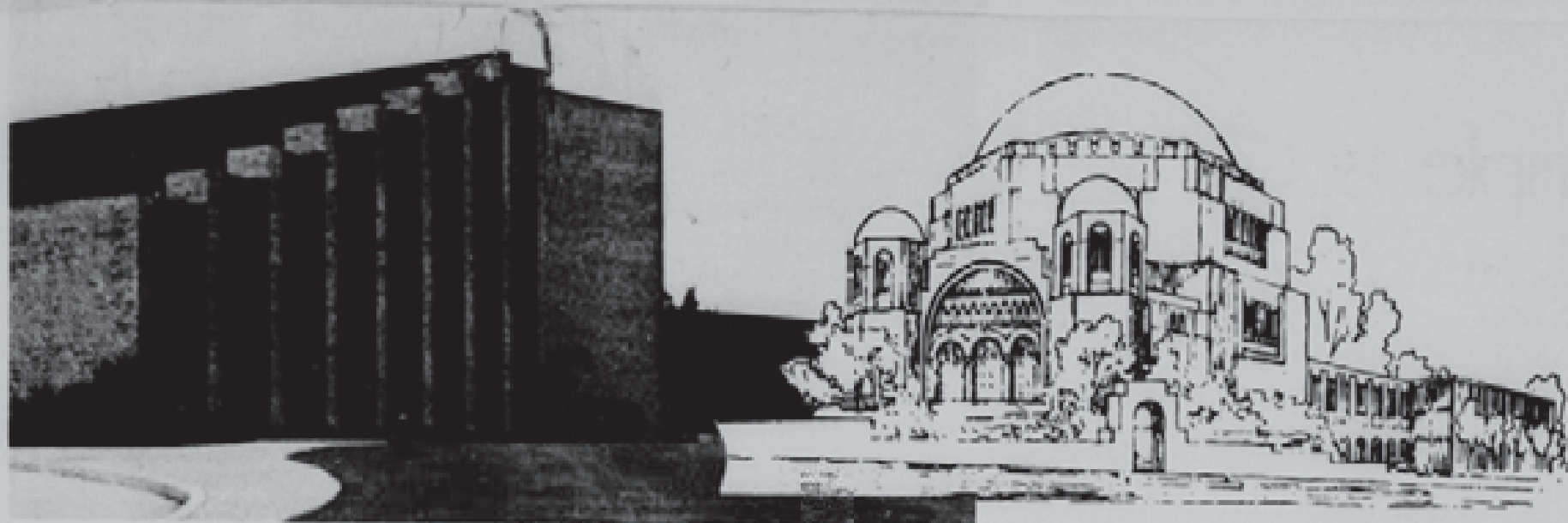
Sub-series A: Events and Activities, 1946-1993, undated.

Reel
42

Box
13

Folder
622a

Newsletters, "From the Rabbi's Desk" articles, 1982-1984.



March 14, 1982
Vol. LXVII No. 14

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk:

These are not comfortable times. It seems that almost every day the newspapers report another closing. Our area has been particularly hard hit not only by the recession and inflation but by the obsolescence of our industrial base. In the age of iron and steel we were America's heartland, but this is the age of high technology.

I'm one of those who is deeply troubled that at a time when there is such great need, many of the public supports which were designed to sustain people during difficult times are being reduced or eliminated and that the Reagan Administration has decided to cut the support systems even more deeply in the months ahead. But this is not intended as an essay in governance and politics but as a reflection on the virtue of belonging to an historic faith.

Americans tend to live in the moment. "Why study history? It's over and done." When things are going well, we assume they will only get better. When things go badly, we sing the blues. I've always felt that one of the significant blessings involved in being a Jew is that you can look back over a long history full of highs and lows, times of abundance and times

of indigence. Ecclesiastes wrote: "There is a time to plant and a time to pluck up that which is planted . . . a time to mourn and a time to dance." Our mystics taught that there is no day without its night and no night without its day. The sense of history keeps us from losing our balance and I feel some Americans have. I was abroad last month and when I came back and listened with fresh ears, I was struck by the resigned tones and the amount of self-pity I heard in various conversations. "I don't know what can be done about the economy." "No one seems to have answers." "We seem to be going to the dogs."

As a Jew I can't think of a generation of our people who wouldn't gladly exchange their lives with ours. When I am abroad I rarely meet anyone who wouldn't gladly exchange his passport for mine. I'm a preacher so forgive me for sounding like one, but this is a time for rolling up one's sleeves, getting involved in social policy, acting on new ideas with renewed energy, taking life in hand, and not for complaint. The plaintive tones I've been hearing are as unbecomingly grating as they are self-indulgent.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

March 14, 1982
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

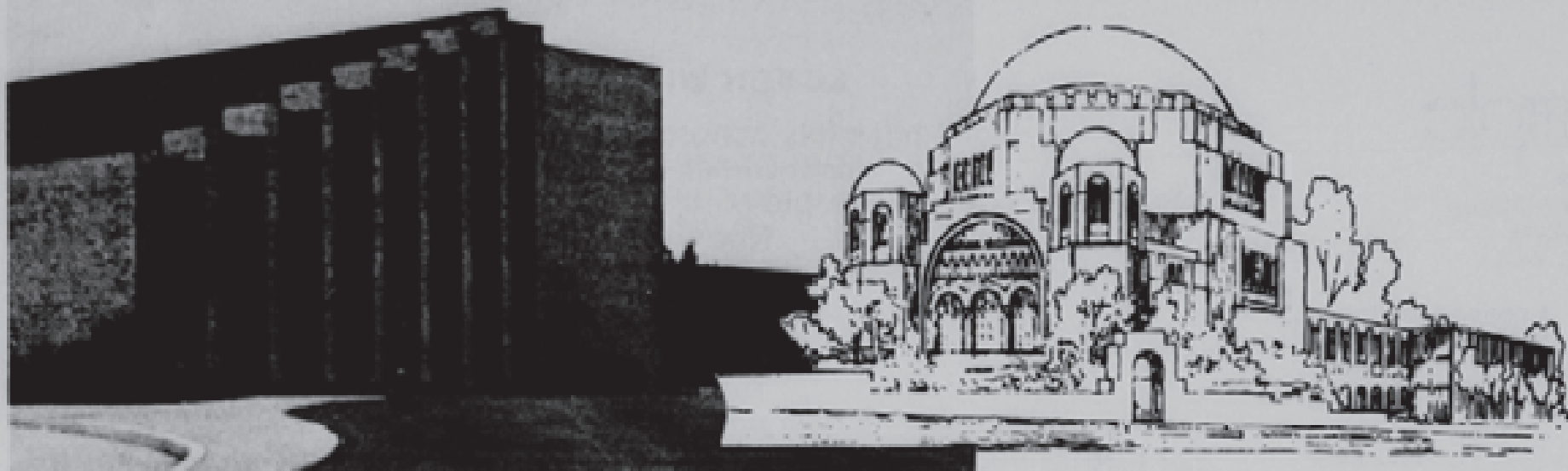
will speak on
JUDITH: SECOND IN A SERIES
OF TOO LITTLE KNOWN JEWISH
CLASSICS

March 21, 1982
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on
DANIEL: THIRD IN A SERIES
OF TOO LITTLE KNOWN JEWISH
CLASSICS

Friday Evening Service - 5:30 - 6:10 - The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service - 11:15 a.m. - The Branch



March 28, 1982
Vol. LXVII No. 15

The Temple Bulletin

From The Rabbi's Desk:

As Jews, and as members of this congregation, we share in common the goal of the survival of Jewish life.

I am sure that you will agree with me that synagogues are the foundation of that goal. Without a place for the young to experience the richness of our tradition or to gain understanding of it, and without the services and the study programs which synagogues provide, allowing all of us to express our religious feelings and to gain understanding of the wisdom of the past, Jewish life would wither away and there would be no reason for it to survive. Fortunately, there has been a revival of interest in the synagogue, and more and more people are recognizing the importance of the religious message in their lives during these difficult times.

Synagogues are not withering on the vine, but they do suffer all the ills of our economy, and if they are not given the wherewithal to perform their life-sustaining mission, it will not be done. This cannot be accomplished through membership dues alone.

There is an old rabbinic proverb that says "without sustenance there is no Torah." I want to talk to you about sustenance - the monies that congregations, and specifically this congregation, will need to continue their good work.

When I came to The Temple twenty-six years ago, sixty percent of our

budget was spent on salaries and forty percent on maintenance and supplies. Today those figures are reversed. Over the last decade, salaries at The Temple have not kept pace with inflation, while the cost of services and utilities has jumped two and three-fold.

The Temple Endowment Fund was established many years ago. Today, as in the future, we must build the Endowment Fund so that its income can be used as a necessary supplement to our dues income for the support of The Temple.

To achieve this goal, your Temple Board has approved an Endowment Fund Campaign. You will be hearing a great deal about it in the next weeks and months. I hope that each of you will participate in this essential project for The Temple.

We have the schools rooms, meeting halls and sanctuary to house our activities. It would be a tragedy of the first order if financial stringency forced us to cut back on the programs that we offer, the music that you hear, the number and quality of teachers in our school or the level of rabbinic services that we provide. It is as simple as that, and as urgent. As we embark upon this campaign, let us regard the Endowment Fund as an opportunity today, to assure our tomorrow.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

March 28, 1982

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

TEMPLE YOUNG
ASSOCIATES' SERVICE

April 4, 1982

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
will speak on
EL SALVADOR -
THE ISSUES

PASSOVER SERVICES FIRST DAY OF PASSOVER

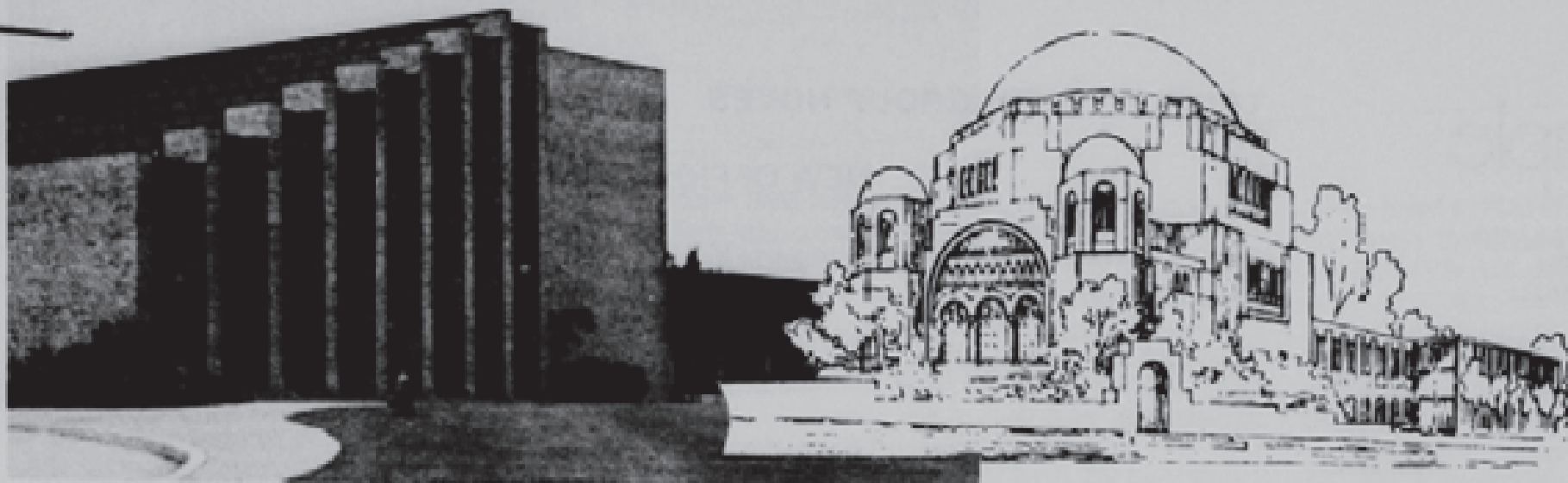
April 8, 1982

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi
JONATHAN S. WOLL
will speak on
TO REMEMBER
IS TO RENEW

Friday Evening Service -
5:30 - 6:10 - The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service -
11:15 a.m. - The Branch



May 9, 1982
Vol. LXVII, No. 18

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: THE WEST BANK

The sermon of April 17, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

I can't remember a day in recent weeks when the front pages of our papers have not featured some headline about an incident on the West Bank: 'Israeli soldiers kill Arab youth'; 'Eleven are wounded in Hebron riots'. I do not question the fact that these incidents took place. There have been well-orchestrated demonstrations throughout the West Bank and Gaza ever since the Israeli government began a program of transferring power from local mayors to village councils.

I do wonder however, about the prominence these reports have been given. Over the same period thousands have died in the two-year old war between Iran and Iraq. Hundreds have died in the hills of Guatemala where insurgents seem to be building for themselves a base of operation. The war continues in Afghanistan. Across Africa, from Uganda to Angola, there have been bloody tribal conflicts. None of these events have received similar coverage. Yet every time a few Arab teen-agers throw rocks at Israeli settlers or soldiers, who then do what needs to be done to keep the roads open and to protect themselves, the incident merits front page treatment. One wonders why. There are practical explanations. It's hard for reporters to reach the hill country of Guatemala or the battle zones of the Iraq-Iran war. They can't get into Afghanistan. Reporters report what's available to them. Israel is an open society. The Arab countries are rigidly censored societies. Most countries of the Third World and certainly, the Communist world, control the press and we hear, therefore, only what that government allows us to hear. It's also true that Israel is a convenient place for reporters. You can photograph an incident in Ramallah in the morning and spend the afternoon in your hotel swimming pool.

But, beyond these pragmatic considerations, I suspect that there is, to some degree, a far less attractive one. There are still many in the world who believe that Jews should know their place and who have not made peace with the idea that Jews now have a place of their own. Being in favor of Palestinian liberation or Palestinian nationalism is a comfortable way to vent such feelings without speaking words which could be labeled as anti-Semitic. You may even feel quite noble about your prejudices. Liberation is, after all, an approved cause. You're allowed to be openly anti-Semitic in the Second World and the Third World, but racism is still frowned on in the Free World where memories of Hitler and the Holocaust remain strong. By saying this I don't mean to dismiss out of hand, rights which are properly Palestinian, nor to tar all who report these incidents. Most reporters are simply doing their job, but the truth

is that the incidents deserve coverage but not the daily headlines they have received.

What has been happening in the West Bank these last weeks should be understood in perspective, and since the West Bank will be in the news over the next months and years I propose to spend time providing what I hope will be useful background.

Our press calls the West Bank 'occupied territory.' Perhaps so, but it's a strange kind of occupied territory. Occupied territory should have an original owner and it is not clear to whom the West Bank belongs by right or by historical mandate.

In 1967 when the Jordanian government entered the war against Israel from Jerusalem, Israel moved into the West Bank to defend itself and soon brought the whole area under its control. After 1967 Israel allowed the West Bank towns self rule. This area is the only occupied territory I know of where there have been free elections. Israel allowed all parties to nominate whomever they wanted for local town councils and mayors and permitted those elected to hold office even if they were members of the Palestine Liberation Organization which, as you know, makes no secret of its purpose to destroy Israel as a state. From Israel's side the elections were free. The occupying power did not intrude. From the PLO's side the elections were not free. PLO money was sent in. Votes were bought. Guns were brandished. Threats were made. Some

who opposed PLO candidates were assassinated. Others had their houses and cars bombed.

Even without such threats PLO sympathizers might have become mayors; - defeat radicalizes the defeated. My point is that Israel began the "occupation" of the West Bank by maintaining the system of justice and government then in place and in the hope that those who live on the West Bank would be provided an enlightened and short-lived occupation. Many in Israel then saw a chance to provide the West Bank institutions and an economy which were more prosperous, more free, and more just than the area had known and so bring a measure of stability to a volatile part of the world.

Several weeks ago the Begin government claimed to have uncovered a plan for mass riots and the destabilization of the area which was to be put into effect immediately following the April 25 withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Sinai. Three West Bank mayors have been deposed and the claim is advanced that these were to be the key planners of this program of disruption and that Jerusalem took the action it did to forestall the threatened violence. Whether Jerusalem was right in this judgment no one can say. Perhaps greater disruption was avoided, but some disruption was assured and it could have been predicted that the violence would continue once the Arabs recognized that confrontation guaranteed them world-wide head-

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

May 9, 1982

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

WISDOM

Friday Evening Service - 5:30 - 6:10 - The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service - 11:15 a.m. - The Branch

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (Continued)

lines. Some fault Jerusalem for bad judgment for not taking world opinion into consideration. I suspect that in terms of world opinion it would not have made any difference if Israel had waited to act. As far as the West Bank and Gaza are concerned Israel can do no right. For a variety of reasons the West is determined that Israel must withdraw, that there must be a Palestinian state, and that Israel's withdrawal must be carried out with dispatch and that's that.

Events do not happen in a vacuum, so let's step back a moment and gain some perspective on all that has happened and is happening. In 1917 the British government published the Balfour Declaration which pledged England's support in the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. During the preceding centuries Palestine had been governed as an administrative division of the Turkish province of Syria. World War I was coming to an end and the allies needed plans for the future management of the Middle East. In 1922 the League of Nations gave Great Britain a mandate over Palestine in order to carry out the terms of the Balfour Declaration. In 1925 the British government announced unilaterally that the terms of this mandate did not refer to Palestinian territory west of the Jordan River. England proceeded to set up a Hashemite sheik from Saudi Arabia as puppet on the East Bank and declared him king of an area which was then called Trans Jordan. At the end of the second World War England handed over Trans Jordan lock, stock and army to the Hashemite king, Abdullah, and Trans Jordan became Jordan.

Would that England had been as solicitous of the Jews on the West Bank.

West of the Jordan River England did all she could to void the spirit of the Balfour Declaration. Throughout the thirties she limited the immigration of Jews but not Arabs. In the post-war years she patrolled the coast of Palestine against the so-called illegal immigration of the million Jews who languished in European displaced person camps. It was a situation which could not last. Emotional and political pressures to remove this blockade were intense and the English people were war weary. They wanted the boys home and the cost of maintaining a large standby army was more than the British Treasury could manage. So Whitehall took steps to disarm the Yishuv even as she gave arms to the Arabs; and, having no other alternatives, she turned the whole problem over to the United Nations. In November of 1947 the United Nations voted a partition resolution which divided Palestine into three areas. There would be an Arab state consisting of the West Bank, Gaza, and a small area in the Galilee running from Acre to Nazareth. The Galilee, the Mediterranean plain, and the Negev were to become a Jewish state. Jerusalem was to be a *corpus-separatum*, a separate community, under international rule. The Jews accepted the idea of an Arab state. The Arabs did not. Many now claim that Jerusalem blocks the creation of an Arab state and forget that there would be a Palestinian state today if the Arabs in 1947 had accepted United Nations' decision. But the Arabs would accept nothing less than all of Palestine, and to accomplish this Iraq, Syria, Trans Jordan and Egypt confidently announced that they would drive the Yishuv into the sea. The Arabs attacked and were not able to achieve their ends. When a cease-fire was finally proclaimed, Israel held most of the territory allotted to it in the partition decision plus the area in the north between Acre and Nazareth which was to be part of the Arab state. Jordan had conquered what we now call the West Bank. Egypt controlled the Gaza Strip.

The north-south boundary of the West Bank runs from a point about fifteen miles north of the Sea of Galilee to a point about half-way down the western coast of the Dead Sea. Its east-west boundary begins at the

Jordan River and runs to within ten to fifteen miles of the Mediterranean. The West Bank includes most of the high land of ancient Judea and the cities which controlled an ancient trade route which connected Egypt and Syria - Beersheba, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablus, Schechen. It was in the West Bank that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob traveled, lived and settled. Jericho and Ai, both West Bank towns, were Joshua's first conquests. The palaces of the kings of Judah were in the West Bank. The West Bank contains the sites of most of the Israelite settlements of Biblical days, a fact which helps to explain why it is today the focus of Jewish nationalist and religious sentiment. The sea coast and lowlands which comprise modern Israel were almost always in contest between Judea and its neighbors and would be conquerors - Phoenicians, Philistines, Syrians and the Romans; but the Highlands, the West Bank, was the unquestioned center of Jewish settlement. The roots of our people go far deeper into the West Bank than they do to any other area of the State of Israel.

The West Bank comprises about 2,270 square miles and has a population of about 750,000, of these about 720,000 Christian and Muslim Arabs and about 25,000 Jews. In 1947 when Jordan conquered the West Bank a number of well-established Jewish settlements were overrun and those settlers who were not killed had to flee to Israel held territory. It is often forgotten that Jews also had refugees from the 1947 war. The difference is that we did not keep them penned up in refugee camps.

After 1947 the West Bank was as politically restive and as volatile as it would be years later under Israeli rule. Nasserites, Communists, Baathists and the Muslim Brotherhood stirred up so much trouble for King Hussein that he banned all political parties and, at one time, disbanded his own parliament because it had a majority of Palestinians whom he could not control. To keep the peace in the West Bank Hussein rigidly censored all West Bank newspapers and maintained two-thirds of his standing army in garrisons near the major towns. Arab rioted against Arab in the West Bank even as Arab now riots against Israel. It is an interesting and generally overlooked fact that prosperity began to come to Jordan only when Jordan lost the West Bank and that only after the loss of the West Bank did Hussein feel strong enough to move against the PLO whose forces were a destabilizing influence in his country. If you wonder why Jordan has been unwilling to enter into the Camp David negotiations, remember that though Hussein may have visions of becoming ruler of a land which stretches from Amman to the sea, his advisors know very well that Jordan's security and prosperity depend upon the West Bank remaining under someone else's control. The problem they face is that they would prefer that the control not be the PLO's or Israel's, and there are few other alternatives.

In 1967 when Israel found itself in control of the West Bank, the government was well aware of its turbulent history and had no desire to assert long term control. In 1968 Levi Eshkol offered to return the West Bank to Jordan if Amman would guarantee to demilitarize the area and publically pledge that Jerusalem would remain undivided. It was not to be. The Arab states met at Khartoum at the famous no, no, no conference: no negotiation, no mediation, no recognition, no meeting with Israel. Their goal was still Israel's elimination and the Arab states recognized that the issue of Palestinian rights would be a good propaganda vehicle in the West even though few in the Arab world or our had worried about Palestinian rights when Jordan ruled the Palestinians.

During the first years of Israel's occupation Jerusalem prevented its citizens from settling on the West

Bank. Israel wanted to maintain the status quo ante and to use the West Bank as a bargaining chip to achieve peace with their neighbors. The goal was a demilitarized West Bank. There were good reasons for this. If an independent state emerges on the West Bank, Israel will have a long and difficult border to defend and Arab guns could be placed within twelve miles of Tel Aviv. On the other hand, if Israel were to absorb the West Bank she would have to absorb 720,000 Arabs and, given the differential in the birth rate between Arabs and Israelis, the Jewishness of the Jewish state would then be threatened.

Over the years the Arabs turned a deaf ear to negotiations, and profound changes took place in Israel's attitudes toward the West Bank. Israel has been frustrated in every attempt to establish a *modus vivendi* with its Arab neighbors and has endured the psychic and economic pressures of war and isolation. Understandably the Israeli community has become more defensive, more suspicious and more willing to take unilateral action. No one can endure being endlessly bullied without striking back. Then, too, in Israel, as in other parts of the world, there has been a revival of religious nationalism. From Iran to our own country impatient orthodoxies of all kinds and of all stripes have come to play an increasingly important role in national politics as the citizenry is increasingly frustrated by economic, social and political insecurity.

Israelis have begun to call the West Bank, Judah and Samaria, terms which pick up the resonances of the Biblical times. Pressures not to return the West Bank, the ancient promised land, have grown. In the early seventies a Labor Government proposed that Israel set up a series of military stations in key areas and that the rest of the West Bank be turned back to the Arabs, provided no heavy weapons were stationed there. Israel would guarantee the Arab's security and the Arabs would gain quasi sovereignty. The Arab states did not respond and pressures grew in Israel for civilian settlements on the West Bank.

In the mid-seventies groups like the Gush Emunim, the self-styled circle of the faithful, began to argue that the government's no settlement policy stood in the way of Zionism, mocked Israel's pioneering spirit and, worse yet, violated God's will. They appealed to frustration, fear and faith - a powerful brew. How could Israel tolerate that the heart of the Promised Land should be the only place in the world which would be Judenrein. According to Jordanian law, no Jew may be a citizen of Jordan. They talked, organized and took matters into their own hands. Small groups of nationalists bought farms from area peasants who had left to enter trade in the city and began to settle on the West Bank. At first these settlements were declared illegal, but as Arab response was further delayed and as frustration mounted, these settlers found more and more support and the settlements were more or less legalized.

Mr. Begin is not the first Prime Minister to tolerate settlement activity. In 1973 a Labor Government published the so-called Galili paper which opened up the possibility of West Bank settlements by opening up the question of West Bank sovereignty. The government stated its conviction that the West Bank was not to be considered occupied territory. It was the government's position that the issue of sovereignty over the West Bank had never been fully decided - Jordan was, after all, as much an occupier as Israel - and that Israel's claims were and are as legitimate as those of any other country. Therefore, the government would allow settlement by those who wished to pioneer in area provided they did not infringe upon the property rights of the indigenous population and were authorized by Jerusalem.

(Continued)

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (Continued)

During the mid-seventies a number of small settlements were tolerated by the Labor Government. Then, under pressure, largely from the United States, Labor pulled back a bit from this position. When Begin came into power, to a large degree because of the votes of those who espoused pro settlement sentiment, more settlements were permitted.

The settlements consist of some forty or so small villages which in the aggregate house less than 25,000 people. I'm afraid that the papers have given many the idea of a mass population movement and a massive displacement of the existing population. This is not the case. Many parts of the West Bank were sparsely settled. No one has been driven out. Nor is it clear that these settlements are illegal. Under the Geneva Convention, which presumably governs military occupation and which is often cited as the legal basis for questioning Israel's settlement policy, settlement by an occupying power is illegal only if the settlement displaces the indigenous population. So far there have been no expropriations and no forced population moves.

Yet, over the last several years a consensus has developed in the ministries of the West that Israel must withdraw. The issue is really less legal, or even moral, than a response to the united demand of the Arab states that Israel withdraw. The belief has emerged that if Israel withdraws from the West Bank all of the problems which face the West in its relations with the Arab world could be resolved and the West would be able to assure itself of continuous and profitable access to Arab markets and oil. So, first the European Economic Community and, increasingly, the Reagan Administration, as the Carter Administration before it, have focused attention on the West Bank as if the way to peace begins here. Furthermore, since the Camp David accords mandated some West Bank arrangements after the Sinai withdrawal, this issue is now uppermost on the diplomatic plate. You may recall that one protocol of the Camp David accords dealt with Sinai, another with commercial and diplomatic relationships between Egypt and Israel, and a third with the establishment of a basis for negotiations between Israel and the West Bank communities with the goal of establishing some form of local autonomy. Autonomy, a deliberately ambiguous phrase, was chosen as the frame of reference for these talks to avoid any term of specific meaning which would suggest the specific degree of political sovereignty the West Bank would be given. No one could agree on the form, nature and extent of that control. Given the uncertainty which attended its birth it is not surprising that the autonomy talks have not moved ahead rapidly.

The Arab world with its billions of oil dollars has said to the West: Israel is our enemy and if you want our friendship you must prove your friendship on this issue. Under such pressure the governments of the West have made Palestinian nationalism a favorite cause and have popularized the view that it is only the intransigence of Mr. Begin that stands in the way of open, free and understanding relationships which would be profitable for the West. Of course, they phrase it differently. Begin stands in the way of Palestinian rights.

Would that things were so simple. The war between Iraq and Iran, the centuries-old Sunni-Shiite struggle, the battle for control of the Horn of Africa, the bitter tensions between Baathist governments in Iraq and Syria, the struggle between Egypt and Libya, the tribal wars in the Lebanon, the class war between poor and rich Arabs, the problems which surround the unsettling of the oil-rich kingdoms by more radical groups, all these issues have nothing to do with the West Bank except in the sense that the Palestine Liberation Organization is a radical force which operates through-

out the Middle East and trains guerillas who operate in many areas. It should not be forgotten that one of the reasons the Persian Gulf states want a Palestinian state is their hope that the responsibilities of rule would reduce the threat of the PLO to their own regime.

Is there a solution? Not in the short term. If, under pressure from the United States, Israel is forced to give back the West Bank there could be a civil war in Israel. A majority of the Israelis might bow to force majeure, the fact that they're a small country who depend for their arms and markets on the West, but many would not. Many would say: "after the Holocaust, never again. We'll make the decisions which affect our lives even if we have to go it alone." I am convinced that in today's atmosphere no government could implement a withdrawal decision. You've seen the pictures of soldiers lifting out the settlers of Yamit. Those that settled in Yamit knew that one day the Sinai would be turned back. No one has claimed that the Sinai is part of the Promised Land. West Bank withdrawal would be Yamit with gun fights and martyrs.

Israel needs time and a sense of reassurance. Israelis need to feel that the Sinai withdrawal was not in vain. Israel has given up territory twice as large as the entire state; its only oil producing area, and the possibility of defense in depth, in the hope that it could establish long term and meaningful political and commercial relationships with a major neighbor. It is not clear that after April 25 Mr. Mubarak and Egypt will respect part II of the Camp David protocol. Before Israel will go any further it needs to be clear that there is an Arab give as well as an Arab take. Israel needs time to learn whether an Arab country can, in fact, be trusted.

If Israel is pressured immediately to go the next step, I doubt that any Israeli leader could survive that move. Neither a Labor Government nor the present administration could govern if it did. All that the pressure to give up the West Bank can accomplish is to weaken Israel and to make Israel more likely to take some bold unilateral action. Washington and the E.E.C. need to understand that the West Bank problems can be faced, but not immediately, that the situation requires time and patience, and that there can be progress on this front only after certain kinds of relationships are in place and certain kinds of bridges have been built.

The Israelis under Begin have taken a tougher line on West Bank issues than previous Labor Governments. There has been tougher censorship of the Arab newspapers though these still can print absolutely vitriolic diatribes against Israel. There's been pressure on the West Bank universities to limit PLO propaganda on their campuses. Searches and seizures have been carried out in relatively high-handed ways. These acts are understandable though not necessarily praise worthy. But they should alert the West, and particularly Washington, to how thin Israeli's patience has become.

Israel needs time for her citizens to learn, hopefully, that Egypt can be trusted. With trust many things become possible. If conditions deteriorate and trust is lacking, only war is possible. Ideally, until trust develops those diplomats in Washington, London and Bonn who insist that the issue of the West Bank is central would be well advised to send some clear messages to the Arab governments that their relationships cannot be made dependent upon a particular and immediate resolution of an issue which the West does not control and which, in fact, should not be faced now because to do so would be counterproductive.

I rather doubt that Western governments will act in this way. The "settle it now" consensus is strong. Governments have decided that it's easier to lean on

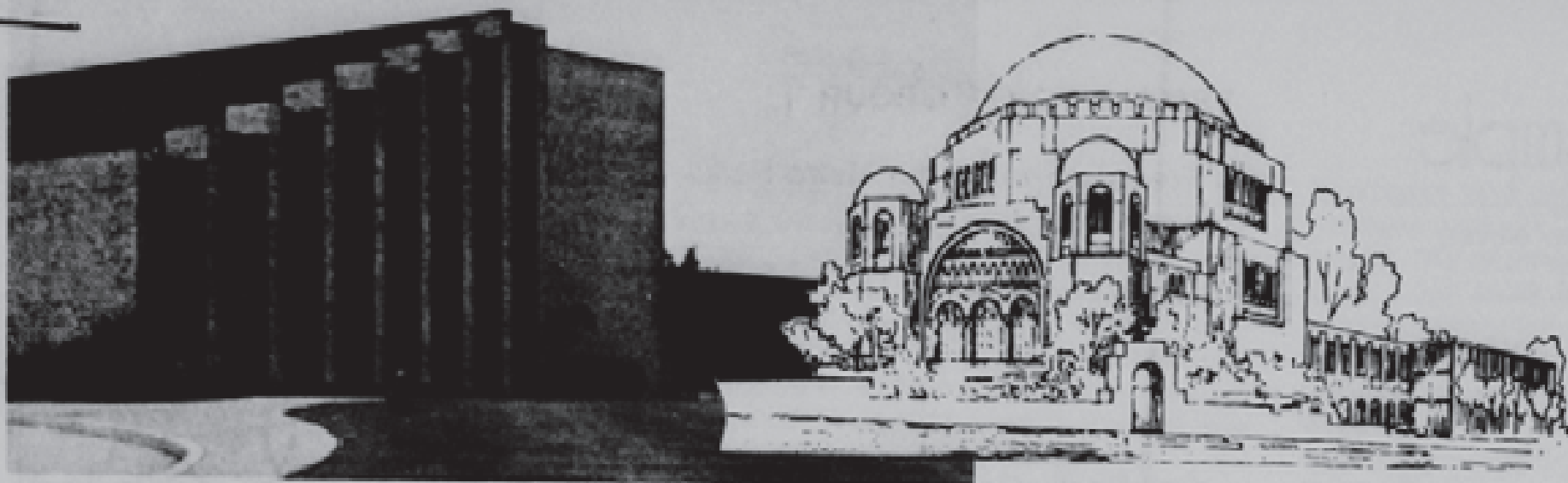
Israel than to think about the complex of problems which threaten security in the Middle East. "If that's what they want it's no skin off our backs to tell Israel to give it to them." The lesson that it's not in our best interests to give the Arabs what they want simply because they say they want it does not seem to have penetrated. It was not in our best interest to sell the AWAC's to Saudi Arabia. These planes were already operational and in the area. They did not need to be transferred to Saudi Arabian control. The Saudi's demand was an act of national arrogance. The Saudis wanted to prove their money's power and were indifferent if not contemptuous, of the political cost to the Administration. Two days after we sold the AWAC's, Saudi Arabia increased the price of oil two dollars a barrel. Five hundred days under the new cost structure and we have paid off the entire cost of the AWAC's. Within two months the Saudis reduced the flow of oil into the international market, in effect keeping up the dollar drain which has so weakened the economies of the West, indeed, of most of the world. Unfortunately, the Arabs, like some Israelis, are currently affected by jingoism and religious nationalism. They've been down for so long and, by God, this is their moment and they're going to take full advantage of it. They're taking of perverse joy in making us dance to their tune. Vengeance is a very human emotion, but an ugly one and a dangerous one. Combine mashochistic joy with Jihad, the Arab world belief that religious issues can be settled by the sword, and the future for peace in the Near East, if not in the world, is not bright.

I am told that the dollar value of the arms which have been poured into the Middle East in the last few years exceeds the cost of all our arms during the Second World War. One must ask why. To what end? Against whom will they be used? How will they be used?

The Arab world has made the West Bank and Jerusalem the focus of its demands. Unless the West is willing to allow its policies and economies to become captive to Riyadh, Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, at some point someone will have to say, 'no, you can't have it all your way.' I suggest that time is now upon us, if it has not already passed.

The issue of the West Bank must be disengaged from all the other issues which confront the West; and the Palestinians, the Israelis and the Jordanians - the people most immediately affected - must be given a decade or two to build up trust, bridges, so that meaningful arrangements can be shaped which will have some staying power. Palestinians must work in Israel. Israel must sell to Palestine and to Jordan. Jordan must live with a Palestinian state. These three small communities must find ways to live together to survive. This can happen only if there's time and only if there's trust.

Daniel Jeremy Silver



April 25, 1982
Vol. LXVI No. 17

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: EL SALVADOR — THE ISSUES

The sermon of April 4, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

The president has been complaining of bias in the reports which have been sent from El Salvador by the print media and television. He seems to be making the case that the reporters who have flocked to this tragic land are unable to see evil on the left; and that, therefore, their reports do not accurately reflect the reality of the situation. I have no way of knowing if this be true, but I do know that these reporters have given us the surface rather than the substance of the events, foreground rather than background. El Salvador has been treated as if it were an inner city police beat. Reporters race after the police to the scene of the murder, photograph the corpse before it is taken to the morgue and then thrust a tape-recorder in the face of the widow and ask her how she is feeling. They wrap up the day, if they can, by locating the head of the local street gang so they can ask him profound sociological questions about the neighborhood.

Our surprise at the large turnout of voters last Sunday was a result of such reporting. The news reports had described the threats of the left to disrupt the elections and night after night television had shown us pictures of shootings designed to disrupt the elections. We had become convinced that if we were in El Salvador, we wouldn't go within a hundred yards of the polls: no vote is worth getting shot. So when more Salvadorians went to the polls proportionately than Americans did in the last presidential election, nearly 1,300,000, we did not understand why or what they meant by their vote.

Because of "police beat" reporting, all that we knew was that there was to be an election and that the left was trying to make a mockery of it. No one bothered to explain why six parties fielded candidates. Six parties must mean six different platforms and as many different political personalities. We were not told what these parties stood for or who these people were. I have been reading rather carefully the national news magazines and, the major newspapers, and until four days after the election, I did not find any piece which profiled the positions and personalities of the contesting parties. What we were given — day in and day out —

were labels: right, center, left. We were not even given any indication of the political, economic, or ideological matrix which might give these labels meaning.

The party of the Christian Democrats, of Jose Duarte, was called Centrist. Since this civilian-military junta seized power two and a half years ago, it has appropriated twelve hundred and fifty of the largest land holdings in El Salvador in order to turn them into peasant communes. It has nationalized the banking system and the sale of coffee and sugar, two of the three cash crops of the country. I know groups in Cleveland which would call such a party Communist rather than Centrist. What then is meant when the papers speak of this group as Centrist?

What does the label "left" mean? Does it mean that El Salvador's leftists are dedicated to the type of principals the Democratic party in the United States espouses? Left in El Salvadorian terms includes many who prefer to establish their economic reforms at gunpoint. Who represents El Salvador's left? The Socialist exiles in Mexico City or the Marxist guerrillas in the mountains? Today many are demanding that the government in San

Salvador negotiate with the left. Which left have they in mind?

And what of the right? The media have presented the right as a single group eager to suppress dissent and unwilling to negotiate with the guerrillas. If the right is so monolithic, why did five rightist parties contest the election? There is a party on the right led by a strong man, a caudillo, who espouses this position. Robert D'Aubisson, whose Arena party received 29% of the votes, has said that if elected he would wipe out the terrorists in three months. How? He would use napalm and all other weapons at his disposal. D'Aubisson appeals to those whose privileges are threatened and to the understandably frightened who want to see law and order reestablished at any cost. But more than half of those who voted for the right did not vote for D'Aubisson. The second largest party represents the military hierarchy who have governed El Salvador during most of the post-war era. Americans instinctively associate a military government with repression and tyranny, and those generals have been and can be high handed. But in Latin America the officers corps do not, as in England, consist of the second sons of the privileged.

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

April 25, 1982

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

THE NUCLEAR FREEZE
MOVEMENT

May 2, 1982

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

WHEN AESOP
BECAME A JEW

Friday Evening Service - 5:30 - 6:10 - The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service - 11:15 a.m. - The Branch

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (Continued)

Here military service has been one avenue of advancement open to the sons of the lower middle class and the poor. The military, therefore, is not unsympathetic to some of the same economic reforms as Duarte's party and do not necessarily share D'Aubisson's desire to return the country to the time when fourteen families ruled it as their private fiefdom.

To put it bluntly, our media have not given us sufficient information to form intelligent opinions. We would have been better served if those reporters had gone to a good library and done some basic research instead of rushing down to El Salvador in order to find a jeep to rush out into the fields to photograph an insignificant gunfight.

I've thought often in recent weeks of the Six-day War in Israel. There, too, reporters flocked to the battle zone. Most of them didn't speak either Hebrew or Arabic. Few had any knowledge of the complicated political background of the situation and so could do little more than sit in the bar of the King David Hotel exchanging gossip until someone reported an incident and everyone rushed out to cover it. Such coverage didn't add to anyone's understanding, because nothing fit. It was all foreground; there was no background.

I wonder how many of the correspondents now in El Salvador speak Spanish and how many speak the Indian dialects or even know where to find the tribes. I wonder how many could interview anyone who didn't speak English. If they can't, how can they find out what these people are thinking, what they thought they were voting for and what they believe the issues to be?

By now we ought to be sensitive to what I call the Sadat syndrome. In the West, Sadat was the hero of Camp David, the man who had gone to Jerusalem. In Egypt, Sadat was a prima donna who seemed indifferent to his people's economic needs, a leader who had no effective solution to the problems of inflation and over population and an ambitious man whose family was allowed to take financial advantage of the power that was theirs. The world was shocked when Sadat was assassinated and the average Egyptian barely mourned. We had seen the surface of a situation because our reporters had not given us background.

Again in El Salvador, they have given us surface rather than substance, yet no domestic political upheaval makes sense unless we understand it in its complexity; and so this morning I would like to take you with me into the library the reporters didn't visit and try to piece together the background of events in El Salvador. I have no panacea with which to conclude. Actually, I don't believe there is a quick solution to El Salvador's problems. Resolution will require time, effort, patience and compromise; and, unfortunately, that's not the Latin way. But we may perhaps avoid some errors if we understand what is involved before we make snap judgments as to what the United States or the world should be doing about the El Salvadorian revolution.

To read the history of El Salvador is to become half convinced that God never intended the country to emerge as a nation. During the Indian years, El

Salvador was a jungle area through which the Mayans and other tribes roamed and occasionally settled. There is no relationship between the present boundaries of El Salvador and Indian tribal geography. When the Spanish conquered Latin America in the early sixteenth century, El Salvador was treated as an appendage of the captaincy of Guatemala. From 1524 to 1831 this area was ruled from Antigua where the government, the Church and the Inquisition were headquartered.

Spanish rule brought about profound changes in the Indian culture. Spanish became the common language. The Roman Catholic Church became the state religion. The authoritarian attitudes of Royalist Spain and of an aristocratic church became ingrained in people's consciousness and blocked the emergence of democratic experiments. A plantation economy was developed whose main cash crops were indigo and balsam. A little gold and silver were mined in the rather meager lodes to be found in the mountains. It wasn't much.

In 1821 Latin America achieved its independence of a Spain bled white by decades of fighting in the Napoleonic wars. In 1831 the local plantation owners got together and declared their independence of Guatemala largely motivated by a desire to avoid the taxes the governor routinely imposed. Thus, El Salvador was born.

Nothing much occurred during most of the nineteenth century, but the situation changed dramatically in the early 1880's when coffee suddenly became the world's most sought after drink. The constitution of 1886, El Salvador's first constitution, is as far as I know, the only such document which owes its existence to the coffee break. The planters of El Salvador had discovered that their country's soil and climate were uniquely suited to the cultivation of the coffee bean. There was only one problem. The land best suited to this purpose was on the hillsides and the hillsides belonged to the Indian tribes. The plantation owners had farmed the rich valley land and had not bothered with the uplands which they had allowed to remain as Indian reservations.

What did the wealthy do? They gave the Indians a constitution. The constitution guaranteed free elections, a unicameral legislature, and private property. For the planters the key paragraph was the private property guarantee. They knew they could control the legislature and the vote. After all the peasants and the Indians were illiterate. So in the name of private property they broke up the reservations and gave each of the peasants title to fifteen or twenty acres of hillside land. The new landowner had his title but no money for seed or tools, and soon fell prey to the money lenders. By 1900, 40% of the land of El Salvador, almost all the arable land, certainly all the land which was useful for coffee, belonged to 2% of the population and this situation lasted until the 1970's when the Duarte government initiated land reform.

By 1900 El Salvador had achieved the economic and political shape it would retain until the end of the Second World War. The intervening decades were times of modest growth and quiet change. In the cities, groups of non-aristocrats began to be trained in the free professions. The army came to

be officered by a corps made up of the sons of ambitious peasants. A middle class began to emerge. Illiteracy was reduced from 80% to 40%. Some 7,000 miles of roads were built. Two railroads crossed the country. The old ways could not last forever. In 1930, an election signaled the impact of these changes. A man named Aruho was elected president. Aruho believed in social reform; and the oligarchical families, fearing worse, allowed him to be sworn in. But Aruho had bad luck. He came into office just as the Great Depression swept over the world. Coffee prices plummeted. Aruho had no money to implement the social reforms which he had planned, and he faced, as the present government does, a challenge from the extreme left. A young Indian chief by the name of Marti who had become a Marxist led a group of tribesmen in open rebellion. Their hopeless act provided the right with the excuse they needed to move in, suppress dissent and remove Aruho from power. Their sons would do the same to Duarte forty years later under remarkably similar circumstances.

When the Second World War ended, the new middle class could no longer be denied their place in the sun. They demanded some power and political say. After a number of armed clashes the president of the country at the time, a man named Hernandez, decided that he couldn't kill everybody and that he had no alternative but to resign and do what the wealthy of El Salvador has traditionally done; leave and take his money to Miami. One of the tragedies of El Salvador is that what wealth has been created has been taken out and invested elsewhere.

After Hernandez, El Salvador endured a series of juntas, military governments and even an occasional democratically elected leadership; no one lasted in office very long. But below the surface a new class of managers was slowly taking power into their hands. El Salvador's population of 4.8 million people exceeds its capacity to support prosperity. The country has a higher population density per square mile than India. Per capita income is one of the lowest in Latin America, a little over \$600 a year. But changes were taking place and there was a sense of growth. From 1965 to 1975 the gross national product increased at a rate of about 4% a year, and if it had not been for Roman Catholic influence in El Salvador which precludes birth control, there might have been a significant improvement in living standards. Unfortunately population growth of about 3½% a year outstripped the ability of industry or agriculture to provide.

The changing economic and social realities manifested themselves again in the early 1970's. An election put in office Duarte and a number of others who proposed modest reforms. The privileged immediately got frightened and deposed them. Duarte was imprisoned and tortured. Several of his fingers were cut off, and he was packed off into exile. But because of the structural changes which had taken place, the privileged found that they could not simply reimpose the past and that they had to walk a middle, if autocratic, way. In this mood they cashiered from the army men like D'Aubisson who were genuine extremists and encouraged economic growth. But the pace of change was too slow. Too many people now knew

(Continued)

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (Continued)

what power was all about and in 1979 Duarte and others overthrew the military government and began to rule as a civilian-military junta which was modestly reform-minded.

During the past decade the United States began to be concerned with Latin America because of the success of the Sandanista revolt in Nicaragua. Our government did not want a similar radical group to gain power in El Salvador. To reduce the chance of such an event we began to push economic and social reforms. America's new agenda also fit in with President Carter's concern with human rights. The large scale land reform and the small scale political reforms undertaken by Duarte and his junta were to a degree pushed on him by our government.

In the last three years as change began to take hold, the D'Aubisson's of El Salvador began, in traditional fashion, to resort to violence in order to subvert reform. They used the private and semi-private armies which have always protected the wealthy in that country as death squads to terrorize the countryside and to murder those who disagreed with their paymasters. Terror on the right bred terror on the left, counter terror, and the great middle who voted in this last election found themselves caught between bands of violent, lawless men. One of the truly tragic legacies of El Salvador's past is that no one trusts the ballot or judicial process. Justice has been available only to those who have the guns. In the past the aristocratic families had life and death control of their peasantry. If a man did not do what his master ordered him to do, he was shot and no one would be brought to trial. Law and order were maintained by intimidation and every group and every politician had his own protection. They still do. It is not at all impossible that El Salvador may yet become the Lebanon of Latin America, a country of armed bands each controlling a small enclave against each other petty warlord or faction.

Tragically the last years of violence aborted the slow growth of prosperity. A hundred thousand Salvadorians, including many of professional competence, have left the country. Most of those who stayed have sent out their wives, children and their wealth.

The immediate problem is that given the election results those who want to turn back the clock will try to claim a democratic mandate to return El Salvador to the control of the few. I believe they will be unsuccessful. Too much has happened, but our government's stance is unclear. We sponsored the elections and took delight in the turnout, but did not like the results. We seem to be trying to use whatever economic power we have to insure that a government of national unity—one which includes the Christian Democrats—is established. We may or may not be successful. Even if we are, many of those who have done what we hoped would be done these last few years will be relegated to minor office and many who do not agree with our programs will have power. Then too we will, whatever happens, be identified for good or ill with the new government's policies—without really being able to control them. Finally, if such a coalition becomes unglued, there is danger

D'Aubisson will simply grasp power.

What can we do? I'm not sure that there is much that our government can do. We have to do our best to maintain in power those who will push forward needed reforms; but we also must help end the violence. How to do this without strengthening the forces who are opposed to most of what we stand for is an unresolved problem. You need guns and an army to put down rebellion. D'Aubisson would be willing to do this work, but D'Aubisson is a murderer who has been implicated in the assassination of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of El Salvador, Archbishop Romero. Then there is the question how much any government in El Salvador will listen to us. Our interest in El Salvador has more to do with Cuba than El Salvador. Many Americans feel we can buy the policies and politicians we want. I find many are surprised when I tell them that both Venezuela and Mexico provide more foreign aid to El Salvador than we do. Money talks and we haven't invested a great deal. Venezuela and Mexico will have a say and should have a say and will say that the hard line Anti-Communist position taken by the Reagan Administration is not likely to be useful or successful in El Salvador. But they're not very clear as to what policies will.

How does one support reform and security? By partial measures and patience. We need the patience to be involved in day to day support over a long period of time. There need to be negotiations and reform and security. None of this will come about overnight. Unfortunately given El Salvador's tragic history, the lack of a democratic conscience and consensus, the existence of private armies and ancient vendettas, violent ideological differences and deep personal hates, the one truth that is certain is that conditions in El Salvador will remain uncertain for decades to come. Change is taking place. Literacy is spreading. Many are determined to determine their own destiny. More changes will occur. Forty per cent of El Salvador is still illiterate. Many have never stepped outside their village. As such basic changes occur in the society, the battle for power will be joined and joined again and not easily resolved. New groups want a say. Old groups want the power they have always enjoyed. The fate of El Salvador will ultimately be determined by the Salvadorian people and they are not yet sure themselves.

Some in America say let's stop all arms sales to El Salvador. Others say let's rearm the government. Some want the guerrillas to win. They identify the guerrillas with liberation. Others want a stable government. They identify the guerrillas with Cuba and Russia. Both these positions are misguided. The one would advantage those who will not stop sending in weapons. The other forgets that law and order are virtues only where there is justice. We must support a reform minded government and negotiations and the suppression of mindless violence. We must recognize the limited realities of power and the limited possibilities of reform. El Salvador is a poor, undeveloped and overpopulated country. We must learn to avoid the labels that come so easily to people of cold war mentality and those of revolutionary mentality.

Am I sanguine? Not really. By 1990 there will be six million people in El Salvador. By the turn of the century there will be eight million. El Salvador can not provide food and employment for such numbers. El Salvador is full of unresolved contradictions. Let me cite one example: the Roman Catholic Church. Many of the priests and nuns in the country, particularly those from Europe and North America, have taken liberal and sometimes radical positions in this struggle. Some have been martyrs to it. Those in the Church have been in position to see the violence and the poverty and are concerned that the few reforms which have been promulgated have not achieved what they were intended to achieve. In El Salvador, the Church sees itself, and is in many ways, a force for good. But at the same time it bears a heavy and ongoing responsibility for the country's problems. For centuries, the Church supported those in power. Today it continues to oppose the practice of birth control. Yet population is El Salvador's number one problem. Until population growth is staunch, no political solution will stick; there will always be too many mouths to feed, too many minds to educate, too many bodies to heal and too many jobs to provide.

The problems in El Salvador are not only political and economic but cultural and religious. We can only pray that the Salvadorian people will somehow find ways to grapple with them and that we can help them with time and support.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

From the Rabbi's Desk: THE NUCLEAR FREEZE MOVEMENT

The sermon of April 27, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

A movement of concern over the possibility of nuclear war is spreading throughout the country. A group which calls itself Ground Zero has had maps published in most local newspapers which illustrate the areas of maximum destruction which would occur if a single nuclear bomb was detonated at the center of the city. The circle of significant destruction reaches out twelve miles in all directions.

Another group, Physicians For Social Responsibility, has used the platform to make the point that discussion of the potential of a single bomb is to misunderstand the threat that we face and to undervalue it. They make the point that it is likely that war would involve a massive nuclear strike and that if this were to occur the level of destruction would increase geometrically. They argue that we must think not about a twelve-mile circle of destruction, but of the destruction of life itself by the after shocks and the fire storms. Pulsating shocks will destroy all the institutions of the society. Fields will be polluted. Food and medical care will not be available. The ozone layer which protects the earth from the destructive rays which bombard us from outer space will be ripped into shreds.

Such apocalyptic scenarios have become part of a great public debate which we see recorded daily in the newspapers and on the radio and television. They raise real issues, but one question we must ask is 'why now?' After all, we have lived under nuclear threat for nearly three decades. The anti-nuclear movement has been triggered, I suspect, by the perceived belligerency in act and deed of those in power in Moscow and Washington. President Reagan has talked rather carelessly about the possibility of "winning" a limited nuclear war. Mr. Brezhnev has overseen a major escalation of the nuclear arms race and placed a new group of middle-range, land-based missiles, the SS20's, in silos which blanket Western Europe. Those who govern have talked of the necessity of greater military expenditures, not of arms reduction.

Unfortunately, the arms race can only end in a dead heat. No one can win a nuclear exchange. Yet, the super powers have shown themselves less than willing to work energetically and willingly to reduce the danger of holocaust. The Soviet Union has said: 'We're in favor of a reduction in nuclear weaponry provided reduction increases our nuclear edge.' They favor a missile freeze in Europe because the USSR has been able to put in place a middle-range missile system and NATO has not yet deployed our Pershing II Cruise Missile, the countervailing weapon to the SS20's. The United States, for its part, has said: 'We're prepared for a reduction in arms provided reduction increases our nuclear edge.' The U.S. favors a nuclear freeze once the Soviet Union has withdrawn its SS20's from Europe, which would mean that we would gain an advantage before we entered into negotiations. Neither government has taken steps to initiate arms limitation talks. Before President Reagan was elected he played a major role in the Senate defeat of the SALT II Treaty. Since he has been in office Reagan has called home our Geneva negotiators, claiming that he is not in favor of Strategic Arms Limitation talks but of Strategic Arms Reduction talks, which presumably would be able to reduce and not simply limit the level of armaments in the world. Until now he has not acted on his expressed concerns. The Soviet Union has been equally unhelpful. Brezhnev and company have talked of negotiations but have steadily increased their capacity for nuclear overkill.

This week has been proposed as a Ground Zero Anti-Nuclear Weapons Week by many of the church bodies of the country, and congregations all over the land have been praying: "Lord, help us to become instruments of peace." As part of such services they have, I'm sure, read that wonderful poem in the book of Isaiah which expresses man's immemorial hope that we will some day escape from the cycle of recurring wars.

It shall come to pass in the end of days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the top of the mountains. It shall be exalted above the hills and all nations shall flow unto it and many people shall come and say, 'come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob.

He will teach us of His ways and we will walk out in His paths for our design shall go forth a law in the word of the Lord from Jerusalem and He will judge between the nations and shall decide for many peoples and they shall beat their swords into plough shares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation and they shall not know war any more.

Isaiah voiced a hope we all share, but it's important to remind ourselves that despite our well-merited anger and frustration at our administration's and the Soviet Union's military preoccupation, little will be achieved by an innocent and romantic outburst, however passionate. What are needed are practical and effective ways to reduce nuclear arms, not utopian programs centering on unilateral disarmament. Such proposals are just that, utopian, which is to say that they are impractical and unrealistic.

I wonder in how many of the churches where the second chapter of Isaiah will be read out the minister will remind his congregation that this wonderful hope is messianic - that this is not a poem but a prophecy. It's a prophecy of what will happen "in the end of days". In Biblical Hebrew 'the end of days' is a technical term which describes a period of time which occurs after time, when the world ceases to be as we know it and becomes a Garden of Eden. The Hebrews believed that God, at some point, would intervene and bring the world as we know it to an end and the human being as we know ourselves to an end. At that time God would create a brand new world and a brand new human being. In this new world peace would reign forever because a new breed of human would have come into being who would be free of all the emotional contradictions which are part of our nature. The new world is a world of saints. Peace will be universal because saints can't and don't sin. The problem is that this is not "the end of days" and there are no saints among us. While Judaism insists that we seek peace and pursue it, it also warns us not to forget to defend ourselves when we need to: "If a man comes to kill you you must do all that is in your power to defend yourself even if it means that you take his life." In the real world people act out of a complex of motives and utopian programs which neglect the cautions or prudential wisdom often make it easier for those who have no illusions about power and no inhibitions about the uses to power to manipulate and dominate the innocent.

In February Jonathan Schell published in the New Yorker Magazine a series of three articles which were subsequently came out in book form under the title, *The Fate of the Earth*. Schell's book has become the manifesto of the anti-nuclear movement. In his first chapter, 'The Republic of Insects and Grasses',

Schell brings together all of our concerns and fears about nuclear war and gives them shape. He describes with power and skill the scientific evidence of what will happen to this country or any country which suffers a major nuclear strike, and effectively and empathically makes the point that if the United States is subjected to a nuclear attack we will not only suffer twenty or thirty or fifty million dead but the destruction of the ecological system on which life depends. Disease, famine, all the feared horsemen of the Apocalypse will become the reality.

In trying to describe possible consequences of a nuclear holocaust, I have mentioned the limitless complexity of its effects on human society and on the ecosphere - a complexity that sometimes seems to be as great as that of life itself. But if these effects should lead to human extinction, then all the complexity will give way to the utmost simplicity - the simplicity of nothingness. We - the human race - shall cease to be.

Schell's point is that after a nuclear strike the world will become a republic of insects and grasses since only the simplest forms of life have any hope of surviving a nuclear holocaust. Schell's picture is effective and stark and staggering. There are scientists who claim that he has somewhat exaggerated the evidence, but differences of degree among holocausts are hardly worth measuring. Our goal must be to avoid collapse, not to count the broken corpses. But when I turn to Schell's conclusions I find myself disturbed by their unhelpfulness. Schell says that talks, be they strategic arms limitation talks or strategic arms reduction talks or talks on any other of the proposals which have been put forward are "aspirins given to a patient after the patient suffers from fatal cancer." Survival depends, in his view, on our ability to destroy the concept of the nation state and all concepts of sovereignty: to remove all national boundaries and to create a world government which would take away from all sections of the society all weapons, conventional and otherwise. What will be the motivating force behind this great transformation? Fear. Fear will propel us to take actions which no one has been able to take since men began to live on this earth.

I doubt it. As someone who has spent his life trying to understand people and human psychology, I know that fear is more often a destructive than a constructive emotion. More often than not, fear leads to irrational and sometimes suicidal actions rather than to constructive and beneficial ones. When Schell confronts the question of how this radical transformation can be brought about, he is reduced to saying, "how all this will come about I leave to others to tell us." That's no answer at all, or rather, it's an admission that he doesn't have a plan.

Many agree with Schell that mutual assured deterrence, the concept under which we have erected the fragile arrangements which have kept the peace these last thirty five years, is madness (as a matter of fact, the acronym for mutual assured deterrence is MAD). They wonder how any sane person could propose to make peace depend on nuclear warheads at ready in silos. Someone, they say, surely will push the fatal button. Perhaps, but unfortunately, no one has come up with a better answer.

When you enter the mad world of armaments you become Alice in Wonderland, and you have to leave

(Continued)

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (Continued)

behind the common sense and good sense with which you normally govern your life. Disarmament is the only sensible long range goal, but given the world as it is and the human being as we are, it is not directly attainable. In our world of mistrust and ideological division deterrence does make sense. Why? Because human nature is complex and not always amenable to reason; because survival is the first law of nature and any country which uses atomic warheads against another will have the favor returned in kind. It's worth nothing that the only country which has suffered an atomic attack was a country - Japan - which had no ability to retaliate. Perhaps a more telling example of how deterrence works comes from the area of germ and biological warfare. The Soviet have been able to use Yellow Rain for some years now; yet, Yellow Rain was not used against United States troops in Southeast Asia. We had the power to retaliate. But when we pulled out, Yellow Rain began to be used against Mong tribesmen and other mountain people who did not have a deterrent capability. It's simply not true that those who can't or won't retaliate are more likely to survive than the well-armed. An enemy is an enemy, and in the cruel arena which is the world, governments are capable of doing what the individuals who compose that government might not do in their private lives. The calculation of the high cost of certain actions is all that restrains them.

Deterrence is not a moral policy, but it's an effective one and I'm afraid it is a necessary evil in our time. Many of the marders fail to see that those who propose a nuclear freeze still base peace on deterrence. The bill which Senators Kennedy and Hatfield have submitted in the Congress to freeze the development and deployment of all nuclear weapons at the present level, says simply, 'enough is enough.' We have submarines under the sea, planes in the air, and missiles in silos capable of destroying the Soviet Union many times over. How many more missiles, how many more planes, how many submarines do we or the Soviet or does Great Britain or France require? As an expression of that 'it's enough' philosophy, the nuclear freeze movement makes good sense and has already forced the Administration to make its first serious arms reductions proposals. It's important that we hold our officials' hands to the fire until they find ways to negotiate with the other members of the nuclear club arrangements which will reduce the dangers of nuclear war.

As an expression of anger and of political determination, the nuclear freeze movement makes some sense, but I'm afraid that many are reading far too much into it. Let's assume that the Soviet Union and the Reagan Administration agree to stop further development and deployment of nuclear weapons. What has changed? Will any one of us no longer be a target of a missile in some silo in the Soviet Union. A nuclear freeze agreement itself will not change the reality that such peace as we enjoy is held in place by mutual assured deterrence. A nuclear freeze has advantages. It would halt further nuclear escalation. It would reduce the waste of money in this area. But many are taking up the freeze movement with a passion born of romantic hopes, a passion which blinds them to the fact that taken too far the nuclear freeze movement can weaken the power of deterrence. The Reagan Administration is correct at least in this: that a nuclear freeze movement in the United States could limit the ability of the government to create an effective deterrent force and that there is no way for a similar movement to emerge in the Soviet Union. Our Congress can refuse to vote the money which the Administration says it requires. Under

President Carter the Congress did in fact refuse to vote the money which he requested for the B2 bomber and the MX missile. The Politburo is under no such pressure and the Soviet Union might well believe that it can accomplish its ends by encouraging the freeze movement in the West without any real need to respond or to reduce its own military development until the point is reached when our arms are no longer a deterrent.

Given the dangers and the madness of nuclear policy, some have come to Schell's conclusion that the only issue we face is the issue of survival. Those who argue this position believe that the West should disarm and trust that somehow we will survive foreign domination, state tyranny, and that ultimately our society's beliefs and values will reemerge. I do not share that faith, and I offer Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland as my reasons.

Unilateral disarmament appeals to those who believe that these are "the end of days." I do not. The world has not changed. Most unilateral disarmament scenarios assume that we have only one nuclear enemy, the Soviet Union. If we disarm the worst that can happen is that the Soviet will try to rule us. They forget that we have not been able to staunch the development of nuclear arsenals by many countries. Communist China has a nuclear weapons system. France and England have nuclear weapons systems. The Arab world will soon have a nuclear weapons system. India has some nuclear weapons. Given proliferation, a disarmed West would most likely become a bone to be fought over by the other members of the nuclear club. Our weakness could well encourage the very nuclear holocaust which we would be disarming to avoid.

About a year ago in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Cardinal Krol of the Philadelphia Diocese argued that nuclear weaponry is evil and that since the thought is tantamount to the deed, the idea of developing a nuclear arsenal is itself a sin. When he was asked, "what then", he answered elliptically: that history records change and that human needs and aspirations have a way of expressing themselves. I do not agree with the good Cardinal that history records the irresistible progress of the human spirit. I find little evidence that any people under an effective totalitarian regime ever regain any measure of independence.

Is bare survival the only hope that we cherish? Must we at this point simply plunge ahead with unilateral disarmament, whatever its dangers, because deterrence is an evil and deterrence won't work? I think not. I agree that there is no evidence that any arms limitation program will preclude nuclear war. At this point, all we can do is try. We need to demand of those we elect to office that they use their efforts effectively and with some sense of urgency to force the Administration to engage in continuing negotiations with all countries who belong to the nuclear club. We need to hammer out arms limitation treaties and arms reduction treaties. We need to have nuclear freeze zones. We need agreements which reduce the chance of a nuclear accident. How to do this I leave to the so-called experts. What I won't leave to them is the degree of urgency with which they must go at their task. And since this is an Alice in Wonderland world I have what is essentially a mad proposal to present to you.

I believe that we have been going at the nuclear problem the wrong way. In a reasonable society you work to limit arms and increase protection. In Wonderland you try to leave yourself open to the

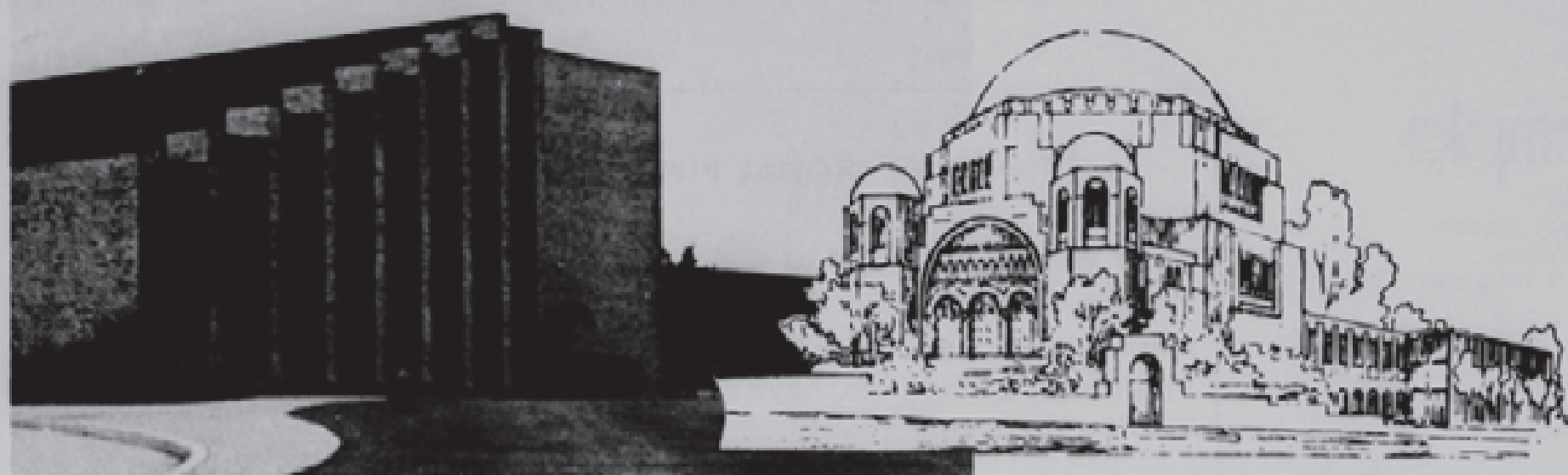
destructive capacity of your potential enemy. Paradoxically, the anti-ballistic missile and the various electronic defense systems threaten peace in the sense that they minimize mutual assured deterrence. I call my proposal SCRAP. I propose that we scrap and get the Soviet Union to scrap all defense systems and particularly all bomb shelters. I would especially negotiate with the Soviet Union a proposal to blow up all bomb shelters specifically designed for government leaders. If mutual assured deterrence is to work, Brezhnev's and Reagan's life must be at risk as well as yours or mine. It is possible, given human nature, for a leader to say: we, the party, the few, my family, will survive if I push the button. We'll be in the bomb shelter. It's too bad that many millions will be killed, but my party's interests will win out. I am convinced that only if the leaders are as exposed as we are will their fingers stay off the button. There is no worse proposal before us than this Administration's four and a half billion dollar proposal to increase civil defense for this expenditure moves in the opposite direction from what needs to be done. We need, and more importantly our leaders need, to feel exposed. Anybody who feels that if he pushes the button he will destroy his family and his friends will think not twice but thrice. He may be prepared to destroy twenty cities in some other country and to have twenty-five million people of his own destroyed because, after all, we're an overpopulated world and, at least, he'll have destroyed the enemy; but he will think twice and twice again before he will press the button if he is exposed as we are.

If I were organizing nuclear protests I wouldn't be carrying a banner which says 'ban the bomb.' My banner would read, 'ban the bomb shelter.'

If I were organizing nuclear protest I would avoid the romantic rhetoric of the Schells and other messianists. Recent folk all, they are nevertheless Piec Pipers. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the Black Plague swept over Europe, it struck down as many as three out of four in many cities. As people saw the spread of the Black Plague, it began in central Asia and moved westward, they manifested all kinds of hysteric reactions. The myth of the Pied Piper developed during those years. Little children being led to death by a singer whose sweet song led them on. Didn't you sense the Pied Piper in the civil defense director who described recently his plan to save us. In the case of a nuclear attack, he would move from Cleveland to Medina all those whose surname begin with the letters A-M on even days and move the N-Z folk on odd number days to Youngstown.

Thomas Burton long ago wrote a book called, 'This A Mad World, My Masters. We do live in a mad world, and in this world of madness what seems to be sanity is often the worst madness. In our mad world we must accept the fact that deterrence holds the war at bay and is the only effective mechanism at our disposal to keep aggressors, and our own aggression, in line. The enemy is not deterrence but our own folly, and so the need is to create the political conditions which will force the leaders of the world to work out plans to reduce the danger of nuclear war by reducing step by step the levels of armament. Perhaps another generation will emerge from under the cloud of deterrence and begin to act as if they were truly sane. I'm afraid it will take a long time and we'll not live to see it, but then, as the rabbis said: "It will not be your privilege to complete the work, but you are not, therefore, privileged to desist from it."

Daniel Jeremy Silver



June 6, 1982
Vol. LXVII, No. 20

The Temple Bulletin

From The Rabbis Desk: The Ba'al Korei Program

I have been concerned with the pressures some of our students must bear to prepare for a Bar/Bat Mitzvah. For some children ages nine through thirteen the extra day each week required by the Special Hebrew program places a heavy burden on their time. Others are having some difficulty with their social or school adjustment. At this age not every student is prepared to master another language.

While at Oxford on my sabbatical I spent a good bit of time visiting England's synagogues, and I discovered that the Reform movement in Great Britain celebrates Bar/Bat Mitzvah at the age of sixteen. It is a long-standing tradition and one which has the advantage of placing the event near the time when our youngsters actually come of age. In England the sixteen-year old not only conducts the service and chants his Torah portion but makes an interesting statement about his concerns and beliefs.

Those of you who were confirmed at The Temple some years ago may recall that each week during the eleven o'clock Sabbath

morning service in the main sanctuary a different member of the Confirmation class read from the Torah, and that this honor was not limited to those in the Special Hebrew program. By the confirmation year almost every student in our school has enough Hebrew to manage the liturgy.

These impressions and concerns have led me to develop a Ba'al Korei Program which will now be available to all students. Any student, whether or not he or she is enrolled in the Special Hebrew program, can qualify as a Ba'al Korei by maintaining satisfactory work in Hebrew classes until the age of sixteen. Our one day a week curriculum and a bit of preparation for the student's special day will enable them to carry out capably the Ba'al Korei assignment. A service will be held on the Sabbath nearest their sixteenth birthday at which the Ba'al Korei will conduct and speak. Since most turn sixteen in the tenth grade a Hebrew class will be added to the High School program to prepare them for this service.

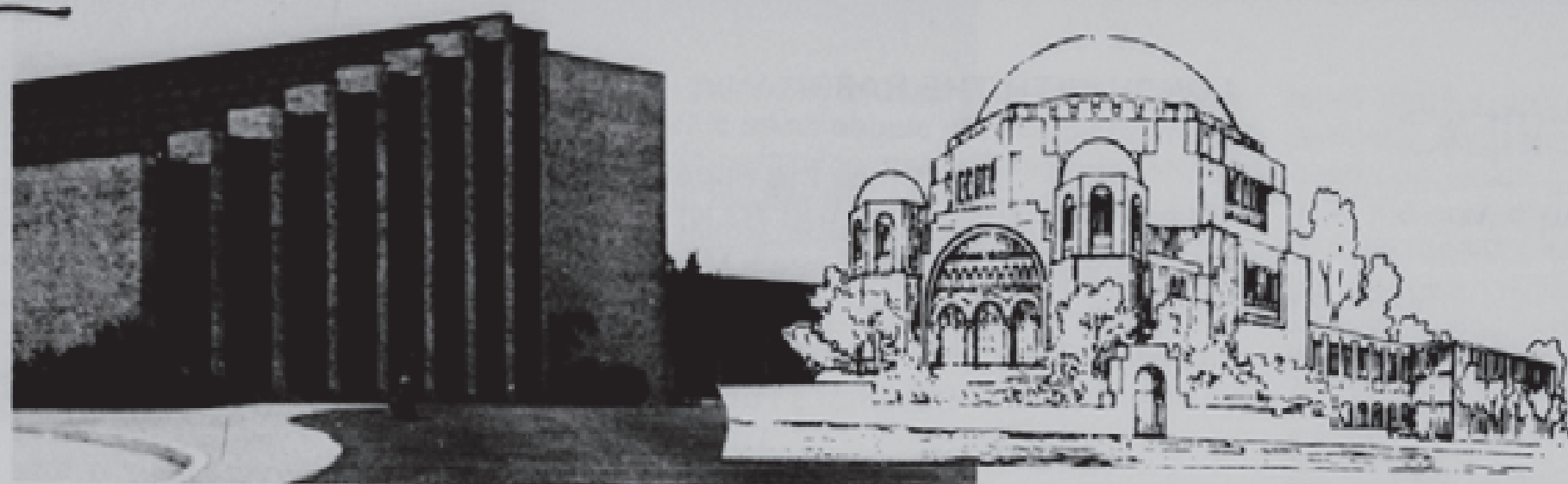
As of next fall this program will be available to all students in the Religious School. Families who wish to enroll a child should make this decision known to Mrs. Senkfor in the School office so that we can track the student's development and properly schedule a service.

This program will not change present Temple policies regarding Bar/Bat Mitzvah at the traditional age of thirteen. Those Special Hebrew requirements remain as they are. Our purpose is simply to offer families an option which will provide a special family moment at an appropriate time in a young person's life.

If you have any questions do not hesitate to call.

For those who may not know the term, Ba'al Korei was the title given to the person in the synagogue who regularly conducted the Torah service.

Daniel Jeremy Silver



October 17, 1982
Vol. LXVIX, No. 4

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: Rosh Hashanah

The sermon of September 17-18, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

Some two centuries ago the English essayist-philosopher, Edmund Burke, observed that man is, by constitution, a religious animal, and our research in the intervening years has proven him to be correct. The reason for this, I believe, is best expressed in a short phrase in the Biblical book of Proverbs, "without hope, the heart withers." Hope frees the psychic energy which allows us to reach up and to reach out; to break new ground; to open ourselves in love and so commit ourselves to another. When we lose hope the soul sickens and withers. We turn away from friends and family; away from others; in on ourselves. Lassitude and melancholy become the predominant features of our lives. We're afraid to try and we sink deeper and deeper into the slough of despond. Our whole life is diminished.

Man is by nature a hoping animal, but many of our hopes never come about. We're often disappointed. Life is brief and often bruising. At times we give ourselves to another in love only to be spurned. Sometimes we achieve some goal after arduous labor and the achievement turns to ashes in our mouths. We need a more substantial hope than our dreams; and faith, religion, provides that hope.

Religion assures us that there is reason to do the right, that civilization is not built on quicksand, that it is a virtue to care and to be caring, that there is a purpose which transcends the disappointments of the moment and so, even when we are disappointed, there is every reason for us to carry on.

When we examine those hopes which faith, religion, certifies, we discover that they confirm those hopes which speak of distant fulfillment rather than any immediate promise. Most religions advise us not to expect our hopes for tomorrow to come true. What we can confidently expect, they tell us, is the long hope.

The Eastern religions promise peace of mind. They tell us the soul can be calmed; but only after a long, difficult process of self-discipline. We must first learn to master our appetites, passions, and ambitions, not to care for what we instinctively want. The classic religions of the West assure us that there are hopes that come true; but in the next world, not necessarily in this one. We will have our heart's desires in Heaven. This life is a time of testing to see whether or

not we will be permitted to pass through the gates of Heaven. Those popular modern religions, the materialist ideologies, Marxism and Maoism, promise us economic freedom and international peace; but only when the dialectic of history has been completed and the class wars are victoriously concluded. Until then, man must commit himself to the state and sacrifice for the party and for history.

Judaism, too, as you well know, confirms a long hope: the coming of the messiah, the resurrection of the dead, and the promise of Heaven; but, interestingly, our tradition breaks rank with the other traditions and encourages us to expect happy times and to anticipate the fulfillment of at least some of our dreams. Not

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

October 31, 1982

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

AMERICA'S POLICY IN THE
MIDDLE EAST: WHAT IS IT?

November 7, 1982

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

ISRAEL: WHERE TO NOW?

Friday Evening Service - 5:30 - 6:10 - The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service - 11:15 a.m. - The Branch

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK
(Continued)

all hopes need be deferred ones. "Eat your bread with joy, drink your wine with a merry heart." "There is nothing better for man than that he should enjoy the labor that he performs." "Rejoice, O young man, in your youth." "My beloved is mine and I am my beloved."

There were good reasons why the major religions have tended to certify only the long hope. If they had said to us, 'dream and your dreams will come true,' we would quickly have discovered that they lied to us and might have lost all hope and sunk into despair. In that event religion could not have been performing its major function which is to encourage us to develop our God-given talents and so flourish. Acting as they did, the religions performed their essential function, which is to say to us: whatever the difficulty, whatever the defeat, persevere. There is reason to carry on and to be open to life. Because they certified the long hope, the hopes that need never be fully abandoned, there was always reason to keep going.

What gave Judaism the courage to say to us: go ahead and hope?

When you study the rituals with which ancient peoples welcomed the New Year, you find that most of them began the year with some complicated rite of purgation. Their purpose was to diminish the power of the evil spirits over the days that lay ahead. Today we crowd into a few hours on December 31 every possible bit of what we call 'happiness' as if we were saying: we can't count on the new year to give us joy so let's take what we can now. By contrast, tonight as we sat around our dinner tables, we dipped a piece of apple in honey and wished each other a shanah tova, u'metukah, a good, sweet year, full of pleasure, blessing and joy. We greeted one another tonight and said: Shanah tova, may the new year be a happy, healthy, joyous one. Our worship is filled with words of anticipation - Hadesh aleinu shanah tovah - let the new year be full of promise for us.

What gave Judaism the courage to say to us: go ahead and look forward to a good year? Why were we encouraged to believe that there are joys that do come true? The answer, I think, begins in the respect which Judaism shows for our capacity. Judaism does not treat us as children who cannot be trusted and must

be guided every step of the way. Judaism treats us as people of potentially sound judgment who can intelligently shape and master the emotional forces of life. Judaism does not think of us as children who want every toy in the window, every bit of candy in the box, but as discriminating adults who can take most disappointments in stride and not be embittered by most defeats.

As the new year begins I'd like to give you an image which may help you think about this concept of hope. It's found in the book of the prophet Isaiah. Night has fallen on a Judean village. A lone citizen is abroad in the dark street. He's been working at some task and has no sense of how much of the night stretches before him. This is Biblical Israel. There are no watches or clocks. He calls up to the watchman on the gate of the city who can see further than he can see: **Shomer mah m'laylah, shomer mah m'leil**, "watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?" The watchman turns to the east and scans the horizon to see if there is any sign of the dawn. He notices a slight lightening of the darkness and calls down: **atah boker**, the "dawn comes," but then he quickly adds, **v'gam laylah**, "but also another night."

Imagine yourself as that lonely Judean up late at night at your work. The night, of course, is not the physical darkness but the darkness of your problems and fears. You are thinking about a strained relationship, about the stress of earning your livelihood, about your loneliness or illness or grief. Like that Judean citizen, you cannot see how far the darkness stretches ahead of you and so you call up to one who can see further, to wisdom, to Judaism: what of the night? And wisdom, experience, calls back to you: 'there is a lightening in the distance. The dawn comes. Do not despair.' Just as day follows night in the natural order, so laughter and tears alternate in the human order, in our private lives. In time problems dissipate. The dawn comes - if we have the perseverance and the courage to be steady, if we do not turn in on ourselves and turn away from life. And to be steady we need to have hope.

I often speak this way to people who are in grief or who feel abandoned by someone they love, or who find life too much for them. I speak to them of confidence, of the dawn, of hope and faith, the message of our tradition. Recently, when I spoke this way to a good friend, a cultured man, whose life had unfortunately paral-

leled that of Job's, he listened to me patiently and responded gently with a quotation which I later discovered was from the poet Woodworth, who claimed to have read this sentence in an inscription above a hermit's cave: "Hopes, what are they? Beads of mourning strung on slender blades of grass."

My Job was saying to me: 'Hopes are insubstantial. They're like the morning mist. . . Immediately after the sun comes they dissipate and evaporate. Hope will not bring back my wife whom I have loved, or give me back the health I have lost. Hopes are ephemeral and evanescent.' I agreed with him. Hopes are evanescent and insubstantial, but the morning mist refreshes the earth and freshens the air. If it were not for the morning dew the land would wither and ultimately the earth would dry up. Just as the morning mist begins the day hopefully, so hope sets all our efforts in motion.

Let's turn again to the image. We're abroad in the darkness. We cannot see the dawn. We know we ought to hope but can see no practical way to resolve our problem. Shall we listen to wisdom, to the watchman, who says to us, 'the dawn comes'? Are we simply deluding ourselves? Experience suggests we should listen. How often have there been just such moments of despair in our lives, when we looked hopelessly around and, not knowing what to do, set off in a thousand directions. No plans seems feasible, yet, one day the clouds were no longer as thick as they had been and we found we could walk out again into the world.

What is true in our private lives is true in our collective lives. This year has not been a generous year for our country or our world. The descriptive word is recession, which means that things have gotten worse, and are moving downhill. There is less prosperity and more unemployment. The financial foundations of our world are shaky. Many in our country, indeed, whole countries have not only had to tighten their belts but face outright starvation.

When we look about for some program, some practical advice which we can follow, there is none. Reaganomics doesn't work. Marxian planned economics don't work. No one can see how far downhill we will go or how much of the night still stretches before us. Yet dawn

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK
(Continued)

down we know that there are cycles in the economic order as in our personal lives and in nature, and that if we don't surrender to despair, if we roll up our sleeves and use our God-given intelligence, initiative and concern, take each day as it comes, ultimately the dawn will come.

The future belongs to those who hope. But, of course, that's too simple a philosophy. The watchman, wisdom, you will recall, spoke another phrase - *v'gam laylah*. 'Don't delude yourself that once the dawn comes the new day will last forever.' We resolve one situation only to find ourselves facing other difficulties. To live is to be continuously challenged.

There's something of the child in every one of us. At five we were convinced that once we got to school all our problems would be over. When we were ten or eleven we were convinced that if we were allowed to stay up late at night our star would shine forever. At fifteen we knew that once we were given the car keys the future stretched gloriously ahead. Many of us go through life convinced that when we graduate and get our professional license, marry and establish a family, gain the respect of our peers, are elected to high office, achieve financial security, leave the rat race and retire, at that point we will have solved our problems, or, to use a child's phrase, we will have made it.

We should rejoice in our achievements, but, at the same time, we must recognize that they are only way stations in the journey that we call life. As we move through them we remain exposed to all the uncertainties and unexpected accidents of which life is made. There is no place short of the grave where our problems disappear forever.

It's one thing to live for hope; it's quite another, and quite dangerous, to live in our hopes, to assume that life is a fairy story, that some day we will live happily ever after. Those who remain children in this respect often end up putting their trust in some pied piper who leads them to crushing defeat. More than this, living in our dreams consigns us to continuous disappointment and denies us the pleasure of finding in life, with all of its

problems, the joys that are there. To seek perfection is to condemn ourselves to disappointment.

On this Rosh Hashanah, tonight, in this place, let me speak of another hope, a hope we have all shared, and the difference it makes if we live for that hope or in it. For two thousand years our people dreamt of returning to Zion. For the better part of a hundred years the best spirits among our people labored and sacrificed to make that return possible, to create a Jewish national home. Only a few believed it could happen. The night had been dark and had lasted for centuries; yet, happen it did, and when the dawn came we were amazed. Not only did we have again our national home, but it had actualized so many of the finest values of our tradition. A blighted land had been made green. Democracy had been established in a part of the world which had known only arbitrary authority and tyranny. World class institutions of learning, culture and research had been established. Three million people would be transformed from refugees into citizens. Imaginative experiments in communitarian living, social democracy, have been attempted and sustained. The day was bright, but there is no day without its shadows. Soon the very fact of democracy created problems. Its peculiar form gave unwarranted power to the ultra-orthodox. There was an unexpected and unwanted religious struggle. The intransigence of those who denied Israel the right to survive created constant pressure and, in time, some developed a siege mentality. The costs of maintaining necessary defense constricted institutional development. The dawn comes, and also the night.

Those who knew that no group can live in the hopes expected political miscalculations. No one is infallible. Perhaps too much was given away at Camp David. Perhaps there was not enough give on the West Bank. They knew that under pressure leaders would gamble, there would be times like Lebanon. They accepted the fact that no state is pure. But they also knew that by any national standard one wishes to suggest, Israel comes off well. The Israelis pay the highest taxes in the world, but their social welfare safety net has no gaping holes in it. The Israelis have had to go to war time and again, interrupt their studies, but when you factor in the size of the population no country on earth has such a brilliant record of academic, medical and technical achievement. Israel has suffered a permanent stage of siege, yet, it

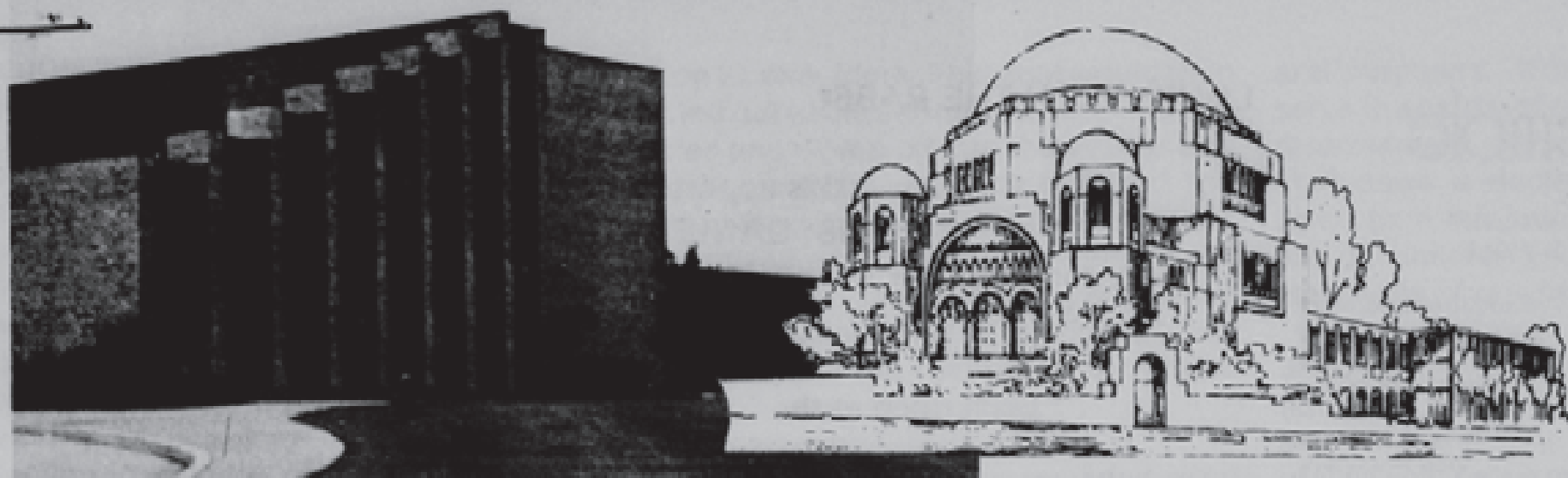
is still an open society and has maintained its democratic institutions while many other countries have adopted what is euphemistically called guided democracy.

There's no morality in war, but I put to you that there's quite a difference between showering leaflets on a civilian population, telling them to leave before an attack comes, and losing the values of surprise, and the indiscriminate firebombing of Hanoi and the defoliation of Vietnam, and the indiscriminate use of poison gas in Afghanistan. For those who live for the dream and not in the dream, Israel remains an achievement of significant consequence, a state committed to fine human values, fallible, prone to mistakes certainly, but, nevertheless, one which has tried to live up to its possibilities as best it can, given the context in which she survives.

But those who live in the dream have been disappointed. They were not prepared for reality. They wanted a pure society. They wanted infallible leadership. They wanted Israel to live as no other country lives, as if she did not find herself in an international society which is a jungle, as if her citizens did not have constantly to bear arms and brave death, as if she could avoid those inevitable moments of irascibility and anger which pressure provokes. When we live in our hopes reality always disappoints us, and some of the disappointed begin to uncritically and unfairly condemn a country whose real virtues they no longer see, whose circumstances they no longer consider, and whose future they no longer concern themselves with. They do not see that the major failing is theirs.

The wisdom of our people, the message of this night, is a simple one. There is reason to hope, there are moments of fulfillment. Dare. Care. Open yourself to life. Sense the promise of the new year, but never forget that there is no moment of final release, that life is full of challenges. Don't let your expectations be so vaunting that you lose your balance or your bearings. Do not let your dreams be so imprisoning that they seem to be the real world and that you lose the ability to find in the everyday world the joys and fulfillment it can provide. Take advantage of the promise of the new year. Walk a steady way, work for your hopes, and you'll find in the new year much of the goodness which is there.

Daniel Jeremy Silcer



October 31, 1982
Vol LXVIX No. 5

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: Yom Kippur

The sermon of September 26, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

The news of the killings in Beirut surfaced just after Rosh Hashanah. I heard the news unexpectedly while watching television, and I found myself instinctively reaching to turn off the set. I didn't, but I did leave the room and I did find myself at the bathroom sink washing my clean hands.

These primitive and elemental reactions were done though I fully discounted the hysterical suggestions being aired at the early hour that the Israelis had done the shooting. Revenge is the way justice is balanced out in the Arab Middle East, and it didn't take any particular genius to know that the assassination of Bashir Gemalyel and nearly forty of his cohorts the previous week would lead the Phalange to some act of revenge. But I was aware that Israel's Defense Forces had announced that they were going into Beirut in order to prevent just such bloodshed and, obviously, they had failed.

Somehow, I felt tainted by their failure. The term miasma came to mind. Miasma describes that almost physical odor which rises from a swamp or bog where organic material is putrefying, rotting. It is an odor which seems to cling to you. If you've been exposed to it you want to clean yourself before you continue on your way.

My instinctive reactions, which I suspect many of you shared in one way or another, clarified a number of feelings for me. I was forcefully reminded of my emotional involvement in the national home. It takes a reaction of this kind to make us recognize that 'we are one' is more than

a slogan and that the rabbinic comment, *Kol Yisroel arev zeh ba-zeh*, "all Israel is related," accurately describes our feelings. We can only hurt the ones we love. I learned also, as I think many of you did, that I apply a double standard to our people's activities. I do demand better of the Jewish people than I expect of other groups. Finally, since the news broke during the days before Yom Kippur I found that I understood with a clarity that I had never before achieved the emotional needs which brought Yom Kippur into being.

Yom Kippur, as we observe it today, is a congregational moment, yet a private moment. Our worship encourages us to take stock. We are to imagine how God might see us if He, in fact, were passing judgment on us. Contrition, confession and repentance are the goals of Yom

Kippur. The key word is sin. Sin defines those acts we did and should not have done, and kindnesses we might have done but did not do. Inevitably, the pressures of everyday responsibilities, of passion and ambition, cause us to move off the straight way and the high road. The Yom Kippur liturgy asks us to take a hard and clear-eyed look at ourselves and to see through the familiar justifications and explanations which we use to explain our actions. Yom Kippur's aim is to get us back on the straight road and the high way.

That's our Yom Kippur. The original Yom Kippur had a different focus. The original Yom Kippur was a day of national expiation, more a public than a private moment. Since their family and tribal ties were tighter than ours, ancient peoples re-

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

October 31, 1982
10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

AMERICA'S POLICY IN THE
MIDDLE EAST: WHAT IS IT?

November 7, 1982
10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

ISRAEL: WHERE TO NOW?

Friday Evening Service - 5:30 - 8:10 - The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service - 11:15 a.m. - The Branch

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK

(Continued)

cognized more keenly than we do how the sins of others in our immediate circle somehow taint us and their successes provide us vicarious satisfaction. When some fine act is performed by a stranger, someone not related to us in any direct way, we may declare his actions praiseworthy, but we draw no personal satisfaction from them. When a shameful or spiteful act is done by such a person, again we are not emotionally affected; but when it is done by one related to us, one of our family or religious community, our reaction is immediate and instinctive. We feel let down and shamed.

We take pleasure in the achievements of our children even when they are adult and completely independent of us. We are hurt by their failures even though the fault is not ours. We take pride in our community's political, cultural and educational institutions, and if these fail us, when Cleveland becomes a national joke, we share a sense of shame. Similarly, we take pride in America's system of justice, in its tradition of political freedom, and feel shame when our country shows itself indifferent to the poor and the elderly, or when it becomes arms merchant to the world. And so it is with our religious community and with Israel. We take pride in Israel's achievements, its universities and research institutions, the *kibbutzim*, and the social welfare programs, and we are hurt when errors of judgment are made or a cult of pugnacity develops in that land.

In ancient Israel people sensed keenly the impact of the acts of others on their lives. They felt the taint the miasma, of communal failures, and they organized an annual day of *kippurim*, of fasting and atonement, to cleanse them of this feeling of shame. The word *kippur* comes from a semitic root which means to purge or free oneself of. Days of expiation are useful because, despite our pretensions, we do not lead separate lives.

On such a day the priest came to the shrine and there performed certain sacrifices in the nation's behalf. There were rituals of fumigation and acts of lustration, cleansings and washings. The priest made confession on behalf of the nation in a prayer which read, "Forgive O Lord the sins of Thy people." The most dramatic act of the original Yom Kippur was the choice of one of the sacrificial goats as *azazel*, or scapegoat. An animal, chosen by lot, would be tethered and brought to the priest who would symbolically place the sins of the community

upon its shoulders. This goat would then be led out of the shrine and out of the city gates and driven off into the wilderness, bearing with him, so they believed, the sins of the past year. Once the scapegoat was driven off, everyone felt free of guilt. The priest washed himself and put on white garments. The worshippers broke their fast and the rest of the day was a festival, a time of rejoicing.

The original Yom Kippur provided relief but did not lead to reform. After Yom Kippur the community felt cleansed, but there was no plan in being how they would avoid returning to the habits or programs which had created the sense of guilt in the first place. Most of the sins of a community are sins which no individual can, by himself, resolve. No one among us believes that during the next year he will bring peace to the world; yet we all feel guilty about the arms race. I can't say tonight that during the coming year I will work out a significant arms limitation agreement or eliminate pollution or prejudice or political manipulation. Such tasks are beyond us, so we tend to deal with communal sins with a significant degree of resignation and to concentrate on expiation, release. Fortunately, moral resignation is foreign to the Jewish spirit, and in ancient Israel many worked to transform the original Yom Kippur, the day of expiation, into a day of repentance. They narrowed the focus of Yom Kippur so that it became a time during which we would ask ourselves what it is that we could do within the context of our personal lives to become better people and help our community.

Judaism's special philosophy of history encouraged this change. Most think of history as a record of the acts of great men and of powerful economic forces, and tend to view progress as the establishment of political arrangements between nations resolving outstanding military and economic matters. Historians tend to focus on treaties and agreements. Political arrangements are not unimportant, but our tradition has always insisted "not by power nor by might but by thy spirit, by My spirit, says the Lord." We measure progress not by the number of world organizations created or treaties ratified, but by the degree to which the human spirit has become peaceful and disciplined. Our sages insisted that peace will come into our world when the peoples of the world find peace in their hearts.

The battle for peace and economic justice is more a spiritual than a political struggle. Treaties are quickly broken and arrangements easily repudiated unless people are committed to their provisions

and purposes. Nor do we significantly serve the cause of peace if we march in a disarmament demonstration to try to shut down a nuclear plant but, at the same time, are indifferent to our family and our children and indulgent about the standards of our personal life.

Judaism does not minimize the importance of active citizenship, but, at the same time, insists that the building of civilization requires the reconstruction of the human heart. The best intentions of those who govern fail unless people, you and I, provide the context, the willingness and the sensitivity which must underlie a peaceful and just society. We will have peace when we bring peace into our homes, when we will love our children and are patient with them and teach them to be sensitive and loving, when we raise them to be open rather than hard-shelled, caring rather than defensive.

Yom Kippur was modified in Biblical times to reflect this special understanding of history. This is made clear by one of the most powerful speeches in the Bible. During the Babylonian exile, a time of deep national confusion, many turned to their leaders and asked why God had deserted them. Why had they been defeated? They had attended services in sanctuary. They had provided for the sacrifices at the shrine. Each year they had observed the Yom Kippur, the day of expiation. A seer of that time, an anonymous prophet whom we call Deutero-Isaiah, voiced their questions in this way. "Why when we fasted did You not see? Why When we starved our bodies did You not pay heed?" And he responded in God's name in this way, "This is the fast that I desire/to unlock the fetters of wickedness/to let the oppressed go free/to break off every yoke/to share your bread with the hungry/to take the wretched poor into your home/to clothe the naked when you see him/and not to ignore your own kin." Rites without righteousness are empty of meaning. The purpose of a rite like Yom Kippur is to remind us to make the best out of our opportunities.

Since the human being is a creature of many contradictions, Judaism prefers not to choose between opposites. So rather than abandon the original rite of expiation and lose the emotional release which it provided, the old and the new were blended. The book of Leviticus presents the rules which govern the day of expiation. The prophetic writings include the great sermon on fasting which I have just quoted. Both elements are in the Bible and both are included in

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK
(Continued)

the liturgy of Yom Kippur. During the morning service we read as the *haftarah* the sermon of Deutero-Isaiah and during the afternoon service we describe the rites of expiation at the ancient Temple.

The original Yom Kippur was a day of communal expiation. Yom Kippur became and remains a day of repentance, a day for the afflicting of our soul, a day of confession. The original Yom Kippur was a single rite which began with sacrifice and ended with the scapegoat being driven off into the wilderness. Our Yom Kippur has a repetitive quality to it. Yom Kippur returns again and again to a few basic themes. It reminds me always of the tides returning to the shore. Obviously, the hope is that repetition, familiarity, will help us really listen to what is being said and asked.

The length of the service and the long day's fast are designed to give us the opportunity to work through the inescapable contradictions between the challenge of principle and the cautions of prudence which surround every aspect of our lives. The world's a cruel and callous place, and we would not survive if we lived as if the messiah had already come. "If I am not for myself who will be for me?" But unless we live up to the highest, the messiah will never come. Such contradictions create the tension which occupies us every Yom Kippur.

Let me speak tonight specifically of the central element of tension which concerns all of us this year. All week long my head and my heart have been arguing with each other over the killings in Lebanon. My head said that Israel's Defense Forces did not do the killing and that Israel is being condemned for the crimes of others. The killings were the work of Christians. This was the act of Lebanese. At most some in Israel's government were guilty of bad judgment. And my heart said, "you shall not stand idly by the blood of your brothers."

My head said the world's indignation is misdirected and highly selective. Where were these incessant cries of outrage when Syria killed thousands of its citizens in Hama or when Syrians, Lebanese and Palestinians murdered each other during the 1976 civil war and the years since? Apparently only Israel is accountable. And my heart said, "you shall be a light unto the nations."

My head said the world's indignation is highly selective and hypocritical. My

head remembered Mai Lai. There American soldiers did the actual shooting, but the media did not demand an international tribunal of inquiry and the blame was quickly shifted from the nation to a company commander who became our scapegoat. Many of those who are now condemning Israel were among the first to insist then that America was not to blame; perhaps the military industrial establishment but not they. And my heart said, "you are to be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."

My head said the world's indignation is selective, hypocritical and tinged with racism. Lebanon should be investigated, but the demands are only that Israel be investigated. When some at the United Nations spoke of an investigation, the Lebanese government insisted that there be none and there will be none. The Phalange includes the killers. The senior officer involved is known, but he will never be brought to trial. The president of Lebanon is head of the Phalange. The world doesn't seem to care about all guilt, only Jewish guilt. And my heart said, "you are my witness sayeth the Lord."

All week long my heart agreed with my head to this extent, those who so willingly and vigorously condemn Israel lack the standing to do so. I reject out of hand their standing in the matter. Who shall point the finger? The Arabs? Blood vengeance has been a way of life in that world for thousands of years. The Soviet Union? The USSR which has the blood of Afghanistan, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland on its hands? Who in the Third World has clean hands and a pure heart? The West? Which has encouraged Arab intransigence because of its needs for oil? The Pope who embraced Arafat despite the years when Arafat's forces committed violence against Lebanese Christians?

I reject any and all condemnations of Israel by the likes of these.

Who in our government has the right to condemn Israel? The United States promised to protect Palestinian civilians, but our Marines were removed from Lebanon before even their month was up. We were unwilling to risk our troops to make good on our pledge, a pattern which is, unfortunately, all too familiar. Had our government made good on the pledges which underlay the original cease-fire, the invasion might not have happened. We promised Israel the Arabs would not build up their military power during the interim. They did and we did nothing effective to prevent it.

No one out there has the standing to lecture Israel. Indeed, there is no need to lecture Israel. The Israelis are doing quite a good job of that themselves. We, the children of a sensitive and highly moral people, are quite aware of the dangers of national arrogance and hubris. Our prophets taught us that lesson long ago.

But if my heart agrees with my head that no one out there has the standing to condemn Israel, my head agrees with my heart that on this Yom Kippur we have some good reasons to beat our breasts and to say, "we have sinned." On this Yom Kippur the question we must face is how we have contributed to a hubris which led to the Beirut miscalculations. I speak of we, not they, of our sins, not those of Israel's government. In Israel an army is a tragic necessity, but many Jews in the diaspora have used Israel's military achievements as a satisfying form of vicarious machismo, a way of proving our manhood. There was the thrill of visiting the generals at the front line, of climbing Masada. We have had our own cult of bravado and it has not become us.

Then, too, there has been a tendency to see the culpability and guilt of others but not our own. The Holocaust is an immense tragedy which, understandably, shadows our lives, but their guilt does not prove our innocence. Yet, these last years many of us have been preoccupied with their guilt and insensitive to our own moral feelings. Certainly, these last years have not been years of spiritual or moral refinement in the household of Israel. They have been years of worldly rather than spiritual preoccupation. Piety is not our generation's long suit. We have failed to cultivate the heart as well as the head. Our people were once known for refined spiritual sensitivity. Can we truly make that claim for ourselves today? How seriously do most Jews really take Yom Kippur?

I accept a double standard for Israel, for my people; and I'm afraid that some of that precious moral sensitivity which once distinguished Israel has been lost. How many of us regularly apply the upper registers of moral and spiritual sensitivity to our lives? Tonight let's say, "I have sinned" and mean it. Let us rededicate our lives to the cultivation of the heart and the soul. This Yom Kippur let us not seek release and expiation until we have taken a hard look at ourselves and asked the hard questions about the quality of our lives. That is, after all, what repentance is all about.

Daniel Jeremy Silver



November 28, 1982
Vol. LXVIX, No. 7

The Temple Bulletin

From The Rabbi's Desk: America's Policy in the Middle East: What Is It?
The sermon of October 31, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

On September 1, the day that the last contingent of acknowledged PLO guerrillas and Syrian troops were shipped out of Beirut, President Reagan presented to the nation a series of proposals touching the Middle East. He began by saying: "With the agreement in Lebanon we have an opportunity for a more far-reaching peace effort in that region, and I am determined to seize the moment." His proposals included Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza in exchange for recognition by the Arab states and unspecified security arrangements. He espoused a Palestinian entity comprising the West Bank and Gaza which would somehow be federated with Jordan. He described what he called America's "iron-clad guarantees" of Israel's security. He specifically ruled out an independent Palestinian state and spoke of a unified Jerusalem, though he was not specific as to its political basis. He also suggested that Israel need not withdraw to the exact boundaries which existed before 1967 since these, following the spirit of United Nations Resolution 242, were in need of some rectification.

Mr. Reagan had not intended delivering that speech on September 1. It had been planned to precede by a day or two the meeting of Arab heads of state at Fez which was scheduled for the second week of the month. The speech was intended for Arab consumption. The United States has been concerned that many in the Arab world assume, or claim to assume, that Washington supported Israel's invasion of Lebanon. The Arab states, as you well know, did not support the PLO during that attack. They needed someone to blame for their inaction and America's a favorite target. The President's advisers obviously had told him that here was a way of showing the so-called moderate Arab states that we were "evenhanded" and understood and supported major elements of their demands. The President accepted the idea of a Palestinian entity. He pushed for the rapid resumption of the Palestinian autonomy talks. He supported an Arab presence in Jerusalem. This speech was, in effect, an open invitation that the heads of Arab states join the United States in

working out an arrangement which would achieve these goals.

The speech was moved up a few days because of Israel's angry and public reaction to the letter which President Reagan sent to Jerusalem, outlining what he intended to say. In international affairs it's customary to forewarn friendly governments of public statements which may affect their interests. President Reagan had sent a letter to Prime Minister Begin in which he not only outlined his proposal but added the demand that Israel cease building new settlements in the West Bank and Gaza and desist from enlarging existing settlements. Israel's blunt reaction made these proposals public knowledge and the President moved his speech ahead to get America's position on the records.

Israel resented these proposals as introducing America's initiatives into the Palestinian autonomy talks. Until now the United States' role has been limited to that of a mediator. Now the United States was changing the rules

of the game and, in effect, limiting the claims that Israel could advance and so reducing the bargaining chips she could put on the table.

I understand Israel's anger and frustration with the United States, but I believed then, and continue to believe, that it would have been wiser for Jerusalem to have been responsive rather than negative. A statesman must be able to set aside anger and frustration and keep his eye on the long-range interests of his country. The Arabs could be counted on to veto the President's program. Washington may believe that these proposals would meet so-called moderate Arab demands, but they do not. After all, the President specifically ruled out an independent Palestinian state which he said would be as much a threat to Jordan as to Israel. He ruled out the demand that Al Kuds, which is the Arab name for Jerusalem, be established as the capital of an independent Palestinian state. He spoke of federation with Jordan, a position most Arab states do not accept, and he asked Jordan to take the lead in the next round of negotiation.
(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE

November 28, 1982
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER
will speak on
CLEVELAND - 1932

December 5, 1982
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch
**THE TEMPLE MEN'S
ASSOCIATION SERVICE**
**MARVIN KURSON and
DR. HOWARD STEINER**
will speak on

**THE JEWISH SPIRIT AND THE
TRADITION OF JEWISH
LEADERSHIP**

Friday Evening Service - 5:30 - 6:10 - The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service - 11:15 a.m. - The Branch

though the Arabs insist that the PLO is the only acceptable negotiator for the Palestinians. If Israel had bided its time, bit its tongue, I believe that much would have been gained, at least in the area of public opinion. Responding as categorically and negatively as the Begin government did, Israel seemed to confirm the image of intransigence which the media has increasingly come to use.

In any case, Israel reacted as she did and we ought to understand why feelings ran high in Jerusalem. In Israel's eyes the invasion of Lebanon was largely forced on them by American actions. Two years ago when the Palestinians turned their long guns to bear on the Galilean settlements, Israel invaded Southern Lebanon to protect her citizens. Fearful of an escalating conflict, Ambassador Habib negotiated, after a great deal of capital hopping, a two-part standstill cease-fire. There would be no more overt military action and shelling; and there would be no major build-up of forces under the umbrella of the cease-fire. By and large, the Arabs lived up to the first element in this agreement. Shellings of the Israeli settlements became less frequent. But they went ahead with a massive weapons buildup. The PLO stockpiled vast quantities of arms from all over the world; and the Syrians moved surface-to-air missiles into the Becca Valley which gave them air cover over much of Lebanon and parts of northern Israel. When the Israeli government asked the United States government, which by negotiating the cease-fire had, in effect, guaranteed it, to make the Arabs abide by the bargain, Mr. Habib was sent back to the Middle East but was unable to achieve the desired results. The Saudis were not willing to do our dirty work and America was unwilling to take any direct action to achieve the desired result. In a sense, the Lebanon invasion had to be launched because of American powerlessness. America had guaranteed certain proposals and then could not make good on those guarantees.

When the invasion was launched and Israeli troops found themselves on the outskirts of Beirut, the United States insisted on negotiations designed to remove the PLO from Beirut without further loss of life or damage to the city. The Israeli government withheld a direct attack on West Beirut for many weeks and Mr. Habib shuttled back and forth, but it became increasingly clear that the PLO thought they could use these negotiations to prolong indefinitely a stay which provided Arafat a golden opportunity with an uncritical media to whom he had become a colorful celebrity. Again America proved powerless and Israel had to step up the bombardment of West Beirut to prove to the PLO that their departure was, indeed, inevitable. Then when Israel stepped up the action America became somewhat self-righteous and to publicly condemned Israel for the bombings, though our own powerlessness had largely made them necessary.

Those issues rankled, but the major reason for Jerusalem's bitter response grew out of our blatant interference in Israel's domestic affairs. The series of proposals which President Reagan presented on September 1 were first cleared not with Mr. Begin and the Cabinet but with Mr. Peres, the leader of the opposition. Then in a number of background interviews,

State Department officials told the media that America deemed it in our interest to help unseat the present government of Israel and to bring into power those who would be more amenable to our way of thinking.

The Israeli government had good reason in early September to be angry with us. Their reaction was understandable, but, I continue to believe, not wise.

Arab reaction followed a predictable script. They described the President's proposal as positive, trying to appear conciliatory in contrast to Israel's out-of-hand rejection; but then they went on, item by item, to point up their opposition to the President's position. The Fez communique spoke of an independent Palestinian state. It made no reference to the recognition of Israel. Even after the return of the West Bank and Gaza, all that Fez proposed was a Security Council resolution which would affirm the integrity of the states of the region. In the Arab terminology, Israel is not a state, so in point of fact, they were saying, 'we will not recognize Israel.' The President had spoken of the unity of Jerusalem. The communique at Fez spoke of Al Kuds, never of Jerusalem; and demanded that Al Kuds be the capital of a Palestinian state.

The Arabs turned down the President's proposals on every point. Mr. Schultz, our Secretary of State, began to speak of the President's proposal as the beginning of a long, difficult process of negotiation. At least, he said, people were talking. Washington began to say that the President's proposals would provide a way to draw King Hussein into the negotiating process. Much hope was held out for a meeting which was arranged between Arafat and Hussein. Though they had fought each other twelve years ago, they met and embraced; but that was as far as the meeting advanced our interests. In an interview with the British Broadcasting Company after the meeting, Hussein spoke warmly of the President and his proposals, but when it came down to *tachlis* he said, I cannot negotiate with Israel or anyone else over the West Bank and Gaza until I'm given permission to do so. The Palestinian Liberation Organization is the only group which has the authority to do so. When it came to recognition, he said, 'not now.'

Eager to find reasons to be optimistic, the United States government began to build up the visit by a delegation from the Fez Conference. Originally the delegation was to include a representative of the PLO, but because of agreements Mr. Kissinger had made with Israel's government years ago that the United States would not recognize the PLO until it recognized Israel, this representative could not be officially met. But he came anyway to Washington and every action, every speech made by this delegation, was cleared through him. His *eminence grise* suggests the real thrust of the Fez mission. Though after these meetings the United States said that there had been a good exchange of views, it was clear to all that even on the simple issue of recognition the Arab governments, including the so-called moderate Arab governments, had not moved.

Actually, the region is not ready for Palestinian autonomy negotiations. A whole set of ancillary problems, particularly those involving Lebanon, must be dealt with first. Fortunately, in the last eight weeks the American government has come to recognize this. These last few weeks there has been a certain clearing of

the air between Israel and the United States catalysed interestingly by Israel. Israel is always accused of holding back yet it is the United States which is holding back on the further shipment of sophisticated weaponry to Israel. It is the United States which has delayed the shipment of more F-16 planes which had been ordered and approved. It is the United States which has withdrawn the so-called security agreement. Nevertheless, the Israeli government came forward and said that our military people would be able to examine the weapons and the documents captured during the Lebanese invasion, items which the American military has been most eager to get their hands on because they will tell them a great deal about Russia's military capability.

Israel's gesture broke the ice. And the United States was able to reciprocate in part when several U.N. actions involving Israel allowed us to serve our principles and Israel's needs congruent. The Arab states, together with their Russian allies and many Third World countries, have been making a concerted effort to delegitimize Israel. At various meetings of the United Nations agencies they have moved to decertify Israel's credentials. A few weeks ago at a meeting of the International Telecommunications Authority in Nairobi a serious attempt was made to do just that and the United States said that if Israel's credentials were not accepted we would remove our representative and our financial support from the agency. The Arab attempt was narrowly defeated. The same scenario was to take place last week at the General Assembly, but the Americans persuaded enough countries that we meant business and would remove ourselves and our subvention from the United Nations if this were done. Israel was particularly pleased when Mrs. Kirkpatrick, our ambassador to the United Nations, forced the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency, UNRRA, to admit what had been proven by captured documents, that an industrial school supported by UNRRA funds and run, supposedly, for Palestinian refugees was, in fact, a military academy for the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Had it not been for the United States' persistence, Israel's proof would never have been put on the international record and the head of UNRRA would never have admitted, as he now has, his agency's bias. If anyone wonders why Israel does not want a United Nations-managed peace-keeping force on its borders, here is a case history of why it cannot trust any U.N. group.

In the last two or three weeks both Washington and Israel have spoken of a lightening of the mood and a renewal of good feeling, but I think we would do well to take a longer view and so the question that I have posed this morning, what is America's foreign policy in the Middle East. By way of answer I'd like to suggest that 1973 represented a watershed in American policy in the Middle East. Until 1973 the United States was the major power in the Middle East; but when Mr. Kissinger made no political, economic or military move to counter the Arab oil weapon, America's power, or pretense of power, ceased to be a truly effective force. Since 1973 America has not been able to call the shots in the Middle East and has had to resort to manipulation and indirection. Simply put, the countries there began to pay less attention to us.

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK

(Continued)

When America was the most powerful military and political presence in the Middle East, Washington could have any relationships it wanted with an individual country. We had a special relationship with Israel, another with Iran, and another with Saudi Arabia, and we left it to these governments to work out arrangements between themselves as best they could. America's only other overriding interest in the Middle East was to seal the area to Soviet penetration. But once America proved to be a paper tiger it became increasingly clear to these countries that while they had to deal with America because their need for our markets, and economic power, and the military aid, they could not depend too much on American guarantees. They would have to take care of their own defense because America's power was not ready to be used. The result has been a new militancy on the part of everyone. The symbol of America's loss of power was the year-long imprisonment of our hostages in Tehran. Another symbol of our unwillingness to use power was the timid intrusion of a few Marines into Beirut and their precipitous removal.

Since 1973 America's policy in the Middle East has centered on the maintenance of stability. We want to keep the oil flowing and the markets open. Since 1973 the United States has been interested in containing problems and to do so indirectly through surrogates or through armaments. We have been arms salesmen to everyone. 'We'll build up your army. You do the fighting.' We can't really any longer guarantee any negotiations.

A report in this morning's New York Times describes a Cabinet meeting called to decide whether to send the Marines back into Beirut. Casper Weinberger, our Secretary of Defense, argued against their return because we might become too deeply involved. According to this report, Ambassador Habis responded by saying: "your kind of thinking is precisely the reason that everyone in Beirut says that the United States is chicken."

The words are graphic, and they may or may not have been spoken, but they accurately represent the assessment most countries in the Middle East have made of our policies. If you wonder why the Beirut government has rejected what seemed to be American promises of support, it is because his government recognizes that Israel cannot depend upon security guaranteed by a government which cannot be counted on to make good on its pledges. One of the reasons the Middle East has become increasingly volatile is that the perception is broadly shared and there is no other power which can fill the gap.

The United States seeks stability. We want to preserve the status quo and to dissolve any problems which might endanger it. Some issues, like the war between Iraq and Iran, the United States we can do little about. Some, like the support of the fifty thousand Saudi men who control that vast oil reserve, we do something about - if the massive arming of that country actually will achieve our goal. Then there is the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict. Since 1973 our government has tried to propose various "reasonable" resolutions. There was the Rogers plan. Now there's the

Reagan plan. You can be sure there will be others. If plans could bring peace to the area, the United States will win the Nobel Peace Prize, but, given the nature of the international jungle and a situation where the United States is unwilling to put its power at risk, then our government is simply acting like a Sunday morning preacher who makes wonderful proposals, reasonable proposals for peace or justice or social welfare but also lacks the ability to translate these effectively into the political process. The President in his speech spoke of a "lasting, just and enduring peace". It's a noble vision. Nor would I say that Mr. Reagan's plans fail to take into consideration the legitimate security interests of Israel. They do. What his plan lacks is substance - America's willingness to get its hands dirty and put its power at risk.

On September 1 the President seemed to say that the problems in Lebanon were at an end. Not so. They've hardly begun. Everyone knows there is the question of getting Syrian, Israeli and PLO troops out, but even that is only the beginning. Lebanon has to be helped to coalesce into a nation state. Sectarian militias which have fought each other for decades must be disarmed. A responsible political process has to emerge. It's going to take time and power, and some power will have to maintain security until these changes take place. We're afraid, and have good reason to be afraid, of the dangers of involvement, but unless we're willing to make some kind of visible, tangible commitment, what country out there will have any reason to credit our "reasonable" proposals?

Washington talks of special arrangements between Israel and the United States which would guarantee Israel's security once a Palestinian entity becomes a reality, but such guarantees are only good as America's willingness to back them up, and no responsible Israeli government can bank on that willingness.

Is our word good? Yes, in terms of sending arms, not in terms of sending Marines. We like others to do the fighting. And that's the problem. We are a super power which isn't willing to put its power at risk. Preachers don't like to speak of power. We like to speak of principle, but principles not backed by some degree of power are empty vessels and sometimes dangerous illusions. America is, I am afraid, busy putting forward reasonable recommendations for an unreasonable situation. The Middle East's problems have to do with too little land and too many people, and too little resource and cannot be resolved reasonably. If America's hopes are to be realized we are going to have to put America's power at some risk, and that's a position that our government seems unwilling to take.

Our preacher's policy is, I'm afraid, a no-win policy, and one which will put Israel at an increasing disadvantage, at least in the area of public opinion. When one presents seemingly reasonable policies to people who are relatively innocent of the situation and one government to say, 'we can't do it your way because we don't trust you,' then those who don't understand all that is at stake end up feeling that the no-sayer is intransigent and uncooperative.

There is a fundamental asymmetry involved in any negotiation involving Israel and the Arab states. Israel is asked to give up land and security in depth - tangible assets. The Arabs

are asked only to make intangible concessions - an admission of Israel's existence, some kind of exchange of ambassadors, give ups which can be readily cancelled. Egypt's recent actions show how uncertain such give-ups can be. Israel is asked to give up what can never be reclaimed. There is no court out there to whom the Israelis can appeal if the Arabs renege. Were American willing to become that court and to use our power in support of compliance, then there might be some hope for negotiations. But clearly, we're not prepared to play that role.

What should American policy be? I'd like to see our policy directed towards resolving the smaller rather than the larger issues. Let's take first things first. Let's help to create a self-governing state in the Lebanon. Let's keep our Marines there until that's achieved. That won't solve the Palestinian problem, but it would help promote stability. If, as I believe, Egypt is so dependent to the United States economically that it can't afford to break completely with us over Israel, and if the Lebanon is turned into a self-governing state, then the northern and the southern borders of Israel will be at least quiescent, and no other power in the region can openly challenge Israel.

What about the Palestinians? What about a Palestinian state? That's one issue which, dear friends, I'm afraid the world must put aside for the time being. There is, of course, an issue of Palestinian rights, but then there's also issues of Kurdish rights, Armenian rights, Druze rights, Ibo rights, Basque rights, the rights of many minorities in Russia and China, and on and on. The Palestinians have succeeded in bringing their rights before the conscience of the world, but they have also allowed themselves to be used as political pawns in a battle to delegitimize and destroy Israel. In the process of achieving their rights, they have done harm to many, particularly in the Lebanon. If and when Israel's northern and southern borders are relatively secure, and if and when the uncertainty which understandably surrounds "American guarantees" is cleared up, Israel will be in a position to make significant compromises in the area of autonomy. Until then I am afraid that there is little realistic hope that much will be accomplished.

The President presented his proposals as a contribution towards a lasting, just and enduring peace. The vision is noble but I am afraid it simply points up the unreality of the American approach. He speaks as a preacher and an effective American policy in the Middle East cannot be based on pulpit pronouncements. It has to combine power and principle. Until we are willing to commit our power I'm afraid we will be as little listened to as most preachers of their all too simple solutions to the obstinate and intractable problems of the world.

Daniel Jeremy Silver



December 12, 1982
Vol. LXVIX, No. 8

The Temple Bulletin

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK: Israel: Where To Now?

The sermon of November 7, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

Marxian historians insist that they can measure the distribution of wealth between the classes of a society and between the nations of the world and, these facts in hand, predict the course of history. According to their ideology, the affairs of the world can be understood by objective criteria and, once understood, follow predictable lines. Those who lack, seek to have; and those who have, seek to protect. About the time that Marx worked out the "iron laws" of history, a group of middle European political analysts, largely German, began to describe history as a science they called real-politik. According to this theory, individual countries act to increase the wealth of the nation and prevent its diminution. They called these goals the national interest and described certain economic, political and military factors as determinative. In effect, both groups argued that people's private fears and faith have little to do with the course of history.

I disagree. Of course, economic, military and political facts, the so-called objective criteria, affect world affairs. Like individuals, nations are greedy; and like individuals, nations seek to extend their power as far as they can. With nations, as individuals, the eye is never satisfied with seeing, there's never enough. But greed and ambition do not explain all. Those who try to explain the objective causes of the First World War are hard pressed to understand why France, Germany and England plunged into that disastrous blood bath. Each country was supported by a vast colonial empire which fed cheap raw materials to manufacturers who processed these goods at great profit. These were wealthy countries who were governed by an elite who shared Christianity and Western European culture. Many of the leaders had intermarried. The distribution of wealth between the classes in these three countries was about the same. Yet, they plunged into a five-year blood bath. Over what? They quarreled over a few small pieces of land. There were some traditional cultural divisions and lingering bad blood from 1870, but these are not the kind of objective criteria that, according to Marx or a real-politik historian should force

countries into war.

If we want to understand where a country is going, how it defines its national interest, we must also consider the nation's soul — what the people care deeply about. Ultimately, the hopes, visions, fears, anxieties and prejudices of a community, particularly a free society, set the broad limits within which governments govern. Our own history illustrates this point. After the bloody events of Vietnam, a mood of deep suspicion about power and the institutions of power swept over the land. The tentative way the Carter Administration went about using the Marines to free the hostages in Iran shows how severely the public mood limited the government's options. The soul of the nation was not prepared to use power.

To know where Israel is headed, we have to know something about the soul of Israel, and to do so we have to disembarass ourselves of a popular Jewish assumption that all Jews respond instinctively, the same way, to the challenges of our times. That is

simply not the case. Diaspora Jews and Israeli Jews share similar historical memories: Kishinev, Kristalnacht, Auschwitz, Stalin's purges, and the fate of the prisoners of conscience have seared all our souls. We share Abraham, Moses, Hillel and Maimonides. We share a religious calendar, but we comprehend our shared traditions and experiences according to our individual situations.

A friend of mine, a retired rabbi, is spending his retirement teaching English to Israeli high school students. Because he is a rabbi, he also teaches a class in Bible. Recently, he described to me a session during which he discussed the Akedah. You know the famous story we read every Rosh Hashanah in which God tests Abraham by ordering him to take his son, his only son, Isaac, and offer him as a sacrifice on Mt. Moriah. My friend made the well-accepted point that this story was never intended to be a model for personal behavior. There have been commentators like the Christian existentialist, Soren Kierkegaard, who have argued that the message of this story is that the religious man

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

December 12, 1982
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

"HURRAY FOR CHANUKAH"
presented by

The Sunday Players of
The Temple Religious School

December 19, 1982
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

THE TALMUD &
THE TELEPHONE POLES

Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 6:10 — The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service — 9:00 a.m. — The Branch

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK

(continued)

must be prepared to suspend ethical judgement when God makes extraordinary demands of him. Judaism has never accepted the proposition that we must obey God's voice whatever the voice tells us to do. I can think of few more potentially dangerous ideas. Our tradition has understood the Akedah as a miracle story like the Crucifixion. The Crucifixion explains why God decided at a particular moment in time to show particular favor to the Christian communities. The Akedah explains why God at a particular time decided to favor Abraham and his descendants. Abraham, like Jesus, was prepared to make an ultimate sacrifice; not his life but something more precious than his life, the life of his only son. To make his point, my rabbi friend observed that no father would willingly bind his son on the altar of his obligations. There was stirring in the class. He looked around, not knowing why. Finally, one of the youngsters said quietly: "each of our fathers has acted like Abraham simply by coming to Israel. Everyone of us is, in a sense, bound on the altar."

Our sons sing out, "hell no, we won't go." Since they were born America has used power in quasi-colonial wars, fought for unclear purposes. Draft resistance is unknown in Israel. There it's clear to all that the army is an absolutely necessary shield which alone protects their lives and families.

There are profound differences in the interior makeup of our youngsters and Israel's young people, and equally basic differences between the adults of the two societies. We have been gentled and tempered by prosperity and by power. Most of us have always had enough. We've never felt the threat of imminent invasion, so we've come to believe that there are reasonable solutions to all the complex problems of the world. Haven't we solved our problems? Few Israelis have known prosperity. Fewer have known security. They have been toughened and shaped by austerity. They have had to put their lives on the line in five wars.

Many who travel to Israel comment on the difficulty of having what they call a reasonable conversation with Israeli family and acquaintances. Israelis, they say, insist there's only one way of looking at things. They're obstinate. They know it all. Many are obstinate. They have to be. If they're wrong just once, their lives and homes may be lost. We can afford to be detached and philosophic about international affairs. Compared to our reasonableness, Israelis seem tense, intense, sometimes intemperate. For them politics is not reading the Sunday New York Times but a life and death matter of holding on to what little they have. They can't afford to take a detached view.

In March of this year the Open Forum Journal, an informal publication of the State Department, published an interesting set of proposals aimed at resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This article proposed a "reasonable" solution to the

Palestinian-Israeli problem, and its proposals were, in fact, reasonable. The authors proposed a Palestinian State and careful security provisions for Israel. Israel should be allowed to maintain early warning radar posts along the Jordan River and elsewhere. Jerusalem is to remain undivided, but it would be the capital of both the Palestinian State and Israel. Since neither side will ever agree as to the nationality of the mayor of an undivided city, a City Manager should be appointed by the International Council of City Managers from a list which specifically eliminates Israelis and Arabs. New settlements must not be permitted on the West Bank, but existing settlements would remain in place and be protected by international guarantee.

What could be more reasonable? A similar line of thought underlies President Reagan's recent proposals. This approach appeals to many precisely because it seems so even-handed — fair.

When I described this article to an Israeli friend he smiled and said: "when the Messiah comes." What Palestinian government would be satisfied with less than full sovereignty? How long would the Israeli army be allowed to maintain military positions within Palestine's national boundaries. How long would it be before Israel felt it necessary to protect Jewish settlers in this Palestinian state who, inevitably, would be treated as second-class citizens? How long would it be before angry mobs would be out on the streets of Jerusalem bitterly complaining that an Arab or Israel policeman had mistreated one of theirs? Reasonable solutions tend to overlook the deep passions which course through an area like the Middle East.

In politics reasonableness does not guarantee success. In fact, reason plays a remarkably small role in the affairs of men. Passion, ambition, prejudice, greed, unforgiving memory, all of these emotions play far more important roles. The Achilles heel of such reasonable solutions is that they assume that once the Palestinians have been granted limited sovereignty, they will be satisfied. Nonsense. The eye is never satisfied with seeing. Politicians always seek to enlarge their power. The Israelis know, even if the rest of the world prefers to think otherwise, that the Palestinians will not be satisfied with limited rights in the West Bank. They want full rights — and many of them want full rights not only over the West Bank but over all of Palestine. Even if the local Palestinians are granted full sovereignty in the West Bank and Gaza, several million Palestinians will remain outside this state and will continue to demand rights and recompense they consider rightfully theirs. Israelis know that today's reasonable solutions will be the launching pad of tomorrow's demands.

From our somewhat detached view, we look on the 18th and 19th centuries as an era characterized by the rise of nationalism. One by one the peoples of Europe formed themselves into nation states. Later, many non-European people gained indepen-

dence from colonial rule. Watching many liberation groups demand and gain sovereignty, it seems to us not only right but almost inevitable that all peoples will have their independence. Of course, in our reasonableness we tend to repress our memories of the anxiety we felt fifteen years ago when militant blacks demanded a black state carved out of the South and we tend not to take seriously the Indian tribes who are demanding half of Maine and a good part of the western states for their own.

In reality, national rights are not inevitable or necessarily achievable, and the issue of right is not a simple one. Sixty years ago the Turkish government destroyed forever the national rights of the Armenians. They did so simply — through genocide. In the last two decades Iraq and Iran, when they have not been at war, have effectively destroyed the national rights of the Kurds. Those who are familiar with the history of nationalism in Africa recognize that in countries where one tribe has seized power, the national rights of other tribes have been ruthlessly suppressed. Some attain their national rights, others do not. Nor does nationhood end the struggle. I give you the struggle over national rights which are occurring just north of our border. Half-a-loaf solutions are, usually, the only reasonable solutions, but since no one likes to lose, such solutions are rarely attainable and, if attained, unstable. Unfortunately, it's a question of power, not right. Sometimes a third power can impose its authority on small competing groups, but even then peace is rarely achieved. I give you the tragedy of Northern Ireland.

When Israelis take a hard look at our reasonable solutions, others propose they recognize the practical problems which will immediately appear. Half of the Israelis come out of a Muslim environment and know from first-hand experience the imperialism of the Muslim faith. They know that one of the basic assumptions of Islam is that there's something called Dar al Islam, lands which have become Islam; and that it is a matter of dogma that once a country has become Muslim it may not revert to what they call Dar al-Hab, non-Muslim sovereignty. That was why the Arabs fought so relentless against the Crusader kingdoms and every Arab child is reminded that the alien intruders were ultimately driven out. So it was and so it must be.

If we want to understand the Israeli mindset we must remember one other fact: they have known what it means to be utterly alone. The United States has done a great deal for Israel. We're the one world class power which has sold Israel sophisticated weapons. Our aid has been generous. Israel has many reasons to be grateful to the United States, but the Israelis also remember those terrible three days in October 1973 when the Syrians overran the Golan Heights and Mr. Kissinger checked back any and all supply of arms to Israel. Israel had no way of knowing that on the fourth day supplies would be forthcoming. Israel was ultimately

(Continued)

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK

(continued)

alone and, having been there, knows that no government can gamble on reasonable compromises or well-intentioned promises — promises are just that. The Israelis have no margin for error. They cannot eschew the use of power because for the last thirty-five years they've been under a state of permanent siege and they know that no country has sent or will send a relief column.

Many in the West believe that any use of power corrupts and so must be avoided. Israel cannot afford such purity. Many in the West argue that "reasonable" solutions should be adopted. Israel agrees, but what is reasonable in Washington may seem suicidal in Jerusalem. Israelis know that once the big guns are brought back into the West Bank they will control Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

I'm afraid that in the years ahead Israel will find herself increasingly at odds with those who want to impose reason upon her. Our government did not wait even twenty-four hours after Tuesday's elections to begin badgering Israel over the West Bank settlements. To Washington Mr. Begin is Mr. Unreasonable. Poll after poll in Israel has shown that he is more popular today than before the Lebanese invasion, and that, as before the Lebanese invasion, the Likud, his party, has little popular support. Israelis voted for Begin, not the Likud platform. They voted for a feisty, doughty, difficult, old man who has forgotten nothing about Jewish suffering and aloneness, a fighter who will not be swayed by the "reasonable" demands of the rest of the world.

I'm not going to stand here and tell you that I agree with all of Begin's policies. I don't. Many of his policies seem to be heavy handed, others strategically mistaken. But in some areas he has legitimate interests and he will not sacrifice those interests to other considerations. Israel's survival takes precedence even over Washington's approval.

Washington recently has seemed eager to unseat Begin so as to get the presumed more amenable Labor Party back into power. I think they're mistaking style for substance. They'll not be any happier with Labor. If you analyze the Labor Party platform on the West Bank and national defense, you'll find little difference in substance from Begin's policies. To be sure, the Labor Party never talks about Judea and Samaria, and rarely advances Biblical claims as justification of its policies. But the Labor Party is as adamantly opposed as Begin to an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and to the idea of Jerusalem as a shared capital. The Labor Party would not agree to dismantling all settlements on the West Bank. On substantive issues, the Labor Party is as "unreasonable" as Mr. Begin.

Begin disturbs many because he openly represents the power of emotion over politics and most of us would prefer to think that our problems can be reasonably resolved. In the West we like to think that those who represent us are reasonable people

who will operate reasonably, but in fact, if push came to shove we'd act as "unreasonably" as Begin to defend our patrimony. We're reasonable for the moment because we're not threatened as Israel is.

In political analysis wise men never underestimate the appeal of unreason. Most of the great political movements of our times have been fueled by unreason — passion. It's simply not true that cold-eyed objective considerations determine what countries do. The First World War was fought over issues as unreasonable as national honor. No objective analysis can explain why the Pot Pol felt it necessary to kill nearly one third of the Cambodian population. Economic interests do not explain the unceasing conflict between Pakistan and India or more recent events in Iran.

When all is said and done, what the reasonable-minded among us don't like about Menachem Begin is that he openly articulates deep "unreasonable" Jewish feelings. He speaks about our feelings and fears and introduces emotion and religion into offices where such talk is considered bad form. Yet, in doing so, Begin is in some ways being more reasonable than his critics. He's telling it as it is and for all this he's acting with a remarkable degree of responsibility. Paradoxically, much of the attack on Begin is irrational. He's painted as a man who will not give an inch, but in point of fact, he gave back all of the Sinai. He's described as a difficult, almost medieval man, who does not know that in the Atomic Age people have to get along. Yet, in April he sent his troops against his own citizens — protestors in Yamit — to make sure that all the Camp David commitments were met.

Mr. Begin uses power and most of us don't like to think about the reality of power. Surely, there are times when he misuses power, but he's human and fallible and power isn't evil per se. Only the Israeli Defence Force protects Israel from those who wish her ill.

I have more trouble understanding Israel's use of power on the West Bank than I do in the Lebanon. There, over the last eight months or so, Israel has removed a number of Arab mayors from office and moved against dissidents in political life and the universities. A number of pro-PLO newspapers were shut down. Troops moved against stone-throwing teen-agers. The homes of men who committed acts of sabotage have been blown up. It's not a pretty picture and it's not clear that it's an effective policy; yet, if we look at it from the point of view of Jerusalem and not that of Washington, we begin to see that Begin is simply countering power with power. Since 1967 the PLO has used naked power, including assassination, to force everyone to follow their belligerent line. The Mayors who were removed from office were members of a national council dominated by and run by PLO interests. The PLO has been, in effect, a shadow government on the West Bank and the Israelis

have tried to remove their heavy hand empowering village councils who would cooperate with them. Begin's purpose is to separate Palestinian interests from PLO interests and, in the process, force has been used.

It's often been an ugly scene. There's been bloodshed. These policies may not work but can we, with absolute confidence, fault Mr. Begin and his government for having done what he has done? Yes, power corrupts. Yes, the Israelis have abused their power, but how does Israel survive without the use of power? Must all attempts to remove the PLO influence from the West Bank be abandoned? And if not, how can this be accomplished without the use of force?

Where is Israel headed? The settlements will continue. Israel will from time to time use the army to assert her interests. Her survival depends upon it, which is to say that Israel is going in a direction which our government and some American Jews will not approve. Israel will, if it is wise, continue to be willing to meet and to negotiate, but the negotiations must be based on practical security needs, not theoretical concepts of fairness. I wish it could be otherwise, but we don't live in a world governed by reasonable men.

Daniel Jeremy Silcer



December 26, 1982
Vol. LXVX, No. 9

The Temple Bulletin

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK: Why Johnny Can't Read Twenty Years Later
The sermon of November 14, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

I have been thinking a good bit recently about Judaism's love affair with the mind. Our emphasis on learning is so basic that we tend to take for granted that Jews have always emphasized literacy. We know that the educational functions of the synagogue led it to be called a *shul* which is the same word as the German *schule*, school, and that our religious leaders are not called priests or ministers but rabbis which means simply teachers. Most religions did not treat learning as a religious obligation. If you look up the etymology of the word church you discover that it comes from a Greek word which means 'the Lord's home,' God's home. There are still a number of Christian sects where the only credential needed to qualify as preacher is to have had an experience of God.

Talmudic folklore acutely imagined that Abraham had sent Isaac to a *yeshivah*; in fact, he was sent to a *yeshivah* which had been founded generations before by Shem, one of the sons of Noah. But the facts are that during the Biblical period literacy and learning were not venerated as religious requirements. I often remind my classes that there was no Bible during the Biblical age. The Bible, as we know, was not finally canonized until the second century of our era. Even the Torah was not published in its present form until about the middle of the fifth century B.C.E., some 800 years after Moses. Most of our traditions were maintained orally for surprisingly long periods of time.

To be sure, venerated scrolls of law, liturgy and dynastic history had long circulated among a literate elite composed of priests and scribes, but the Bible does not reflect the rule that every Israelite or Judean must prepare himself to be able to read these texts. It was not until rabbinic times that Talmud Torah became a *mitzvah*, a religious obligation.

Literacy seems to have come to ancient Israel in much the same way it came to other countries of the Middle East, as a matter of practical necessity. As commerce developed there was a need for men who could write out and review contracts. As cities grew and king-

doms emerged there was a need for administrators and bureaucrats who could keep the official records and the tally of taxes and tributes. A class of scribes came into being to serve these practical functions.

The Hebrew word for scribe is *sofer*. *Sofer* comes from a root means 'to number,' and the term suggests the practical functions of members of this group. These were the people who kept the tax rolls, the inventory of royal property, and the population census. In time the larger courts began to sponsor training schools for scribes where bright young men, usually the second or third sons of the well-born, could be taught to read and write and to manage the bureaus which the state required. Over time these schools developed a special curriculum which included practical copy book exercises and a good measure of practical wisdom about the operation of government, the pitfalls of royal service, and even some thoughtful philosophic speculation. In time the curriculum of these schools came to be called Wisdom. Since correspondence was necessarily exchanged between one court and another, and because there were only two

major writing systems in the ancient Middle East - the cuneiform of Mesopotamia and the pictographs of Egypt - scribes moved around from one place of employment to another and, in time, Wisdom became a kind of international learning.

Solomon's court seems to have had such a school which is one of the reasons the tradition developed that the book of Proverbs, which contains a good bit of the Wisdom curriculum, had been written by him.

Those who studied in such schools and mastered this curriculum not only enjoyed the power of high office but, inevitably, came to feel somewhat different, better than, the ordinary run of men. Learning enlightens. We've all had the sense of our eyes suddenly being opened to a perspective which we had not seen before. The learned, the *hachamim*, understood that it was their learning which distinguished them from the *hoi-paloi*, the ordinary run of people. They had no doubts as to Wisdom's value. As the Book of Proverbs put it: 'Happy is the man who finds wisdom.'
(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

December 26, 1982
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

"AMERICAN JEWS AND ISRAEL"

January 2, 1983
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

"THE YEAR IN REVIEW"

Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 8:10 — The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service — 9:00 a.m. — The Branch

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (continued)

Her value in trade is better than silver. She is a tree of life to those who grasp her. Whoever holds on to her is happy."

In time some of the more philosophic-minded scribes began to ponder an interesting question: how was it that what they had learned was so useful? It must be that what they had learned conformed to the realities of life, that the constitution of the universe was of the same nature as the constructs of their mind. Their answer was that wisdom works because the world is constructed according to wisdom. "In wisdom the Lord created the earth." Having come to this point they went on to argue that God had allowed them to appropriate some of His wisdom.

Wisdom was not the only cultural tradition in ancient Israel. A second tradition focused on Sinai, revelation, the Torah. Wisdom taught what wise men had distilled from their experience. Torah taught what God had revealed to the ancestors, His instructions. These were separate traditions, but since truth must be one, Jews who knew both traditions simply assumed that Wisdom and Torah represented different ways of presenting similar truths. Differences were put down as stylistic, not matters of substance. So where non-Judean Wisdom schools concentrated on the writings and maxims of the wise, the Wisdom schools of Israel concentrated on such maxims and on study of the Torah and ultimately bound into its collection of inspired materials the words of the wise. There is a strong democratic tide in the Jewish spirit and it was not long before it was taken for granted that the benefits of this curriculum of Torah and Wisdom should be fully shared. By the second century C.E. the essential structure of a universal male educational system was in place.

By the second or third century of our era every little Abraham, Isaac and Jacob could read; and so our question: why eighteen hundred years later can't every Johnny read?

I would remind you that the Jewish educational system was structured more like the European than our own. Every male child was taught the *aleph bet*, the basic prayers, and how to read the simpler paragraphs of the laws in the *Mishnah*, but only the brightest or the most privileged advanced beyond that level. The rabbinic system was unlike traditional European systems in that everyone was sent to *heder* and any able student could be promoted to the *yeshivah*. Ours wasn't a class-bound system, but there were tests one had to pass before the doors of the higher levels of rabbinic learning were opened. Most young men didn't advance beyond the most elementary schooling and were apprenticed to a trade.

Jews tend to have a rather romantic view of our educational system. Few know of those sections of the Talmud which discuss when teachers should dismiss a student from the academic enterprise. The general consensus seems to have been that if after five years of study the *simanim*, the signs of intellectual growth have not appeared, they will not show. This translates to mean that sometime around the age of eleven or twelve most youths ended their formal education.

I'm suggesting that any discussion of why Johnny can't read, any discussion of the

American educational system, must recognize the truly radical philosophy which undergirds it. Alone among the major educational systems of the world, we have committed ourselves to keeping as many of our students as we possibly can on the main academic track. To be sure, we have vocational schools. There are special schools and special classes, but the American system bends every effort to keep a student going. Ninety-five percent of our young people between the ages of fourteen and seventeen are in regular high school programs. In England less than ten percent of the young people of that age remain on an academic track. France keeps about twenty percent, Germany eight percent.

As a nation, we use our educational system to promote upward mobility, fairness, democracy - wonderful commitments. But our commitment comes at a price. Because of our commitments to the less talented and quick we find it hard to maintain a high level of achievement. To bring up the bottom we've, to some degree, neglected the top. A group called the International Education Association has over the past twenty years compared competency levels in various countries. Educators generally do a good job of obfuscating test results so that they can't be accused of invidious comparisons, but when the statistical underbrush is cleared away one conclusion emerges from these studies: high school students in most other developed countries are a year to two years ahead of ours in all areas of academic achievement.

Some of you have been reading the interesting series of reports on Japan which have been appearing in the Cleveland Plain Dealer. One column reported a conversation with a Japanese teacher who was asked about the problems of reintegrating children who had been studying in the United States. She mentioned two problems: the need to get returnees to accept again the strict discipline of the Japanese system, and the need to catch them up academically. In most subjects, she said, they were a year and a half to two years behind their stay-at-home friends. Those of you who have housed AFS students can testify from personal experience that most find our classes less demanding than those they have come from.

If you make comments of this kind to most educators, they will answer that you're comparing apples and oranges and add that you wouldn't want your child to be under the strict authority and academic pressure that foreign youngsters are put through. Why apples and oranges? The comparison is between a carefully selected group of the academically talented and a much broader unselected group of varying degrees of talent. We keep the majority of students into the high school years. They don't.

There's some truth to this response, although not as much as some believe. In Japan only about ten percent fewer students remain on the academic track in high school than here. Let's compare Americans with Americans. In 1928 Elvin Eurich, a young statistician and educator, tested high school students in Minnesota and freshmen at the State University in verbal comprehension and reading skills. Fifty years later the same educator tested a similar group of students in the same areas of competency. His conclusion: in every area there had been a marked drop in competency. When these studies were published some educators again made the apples

and oranges argument - though a little less assertively. More youngsters, they said, now graduate high school and go to college. Let's consider the well-publicized drop in Scholastic Aptitude Test scores which have been reported over the last twenty years. Again, some educators claim apples and oranges, but it turns out that the actual number of students who receive high marks in the SAT and College Level Achievement Tests has diminished steadily over the last twenty-five years. Simply put, our schools are not producing as many well-trained, well-educated graduates as they once did. The raw material certainly isn't of inferior quality. What's happened?

Those who test students in our junior and senior high schools describe to us a steadily decreasing level of student achievement. So the question is why. One answer educators often give is that they don't set out to stuff learning into youngsters, but to prepare them for life. But if Johnny can't read, is he prepared for life? I'll agree we ask far too much of our schools. We ask them to prepare our children to drive a car; to raise a family; to eat properly; to be able to compete in sports; and to promote integration. We tell teachers to develop our children's creativity, whatever that means; and to develop their social skills, whatever that means. Too many demands, to be sure, but even so, I don't think this profusion of purposes is at the root of the falloff in academic competence.

Many blame television. Our children do spend an incredible number of hours in front of the set and this time commitment, obviously, limits study time and, perhaps more seriously, encourages non-logical patterns of thought; but television isn't the only culprit.

Some explain the grade drop by observing that in their desire to lift up the least able, the schools have neglected the ablest. It's certainly true that in our desire to keep our schools class and racially integrated to meet our democratic commitments, many elementary schools keep bright youngsters in classes with slow learners without making special provisions for them and many systems limit tracking at the secondary level. Inevitably, some of the ablest become bored and turn off school and all it represents. It's also true that many of our brightest youngsters are brighter than their teachers. Many of the nearly two million teachers in our schools are academically limited. Particularly since World War II, normal colleges have drawn their enrollment from the bottom quarter of the college-age cohort. Most of us have had our children bring home papers which were incorrectly marked. This problem is not new. The *melamed* in the old Jewish communities was usually a failed rabbinic student, a *yeshivah bochur*, who hadn't quite gotten it. The *melamed* was looked down on rather than respected as a learned man. Weak teachers don't help the situation, but I can't buy the idea that they are to blame for the current educational failings.

It's my contention that over the last decades our school systems have demanded increasingly less of their students, and that the falling scores are a direct result of this falloff in demand. Let me give you Silver's one rule on education: the more you attempt, the more you'll achieve. Learning is not a painless undertaking. The Talmud puts this truth graphically: 'you can't learn *gemarah* as easily as a popular song.' You can listen to a song once and have it memorized. *Gemarah* (Continued)

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (continued)

is the most intricate and subtle part of our traditional learning. Even the brightest student must go over a text again and again before he masters gemarah anyone who studies Talmud is going to suffer headaches, and at times slam his text shut in frustration. Any of us who have mastered a foreign language or a particular professional discipline - law, medicine, rabbinics - know that there were times when we didn't understand and had to burn the midnight oil and take No-Doze until we did. We also know that if we had pulled up shy and given up, we wouldn't be competent to carry on our work.

Our schools have wanted to be part of the painless society. Over the past several decades, in part because of the more anarchic challenges of the sixties, our colleges began to remove not only course and distribution requirements, but entrance requirements as well. A generation ago most of the ranked universities required an applicant to have four years of English, at least three years of mathematics and science, and a foreign language. It's no longer true that college-bound students must take an eight-semester English sequence. Three years of English usually are required, but after his sophomore year a student can take elective courses in the Detective Novel or Science Fiction rather than composition and the classics, and even in these courses much of the assigned material is present in cutdown versions. In many schools students are rarely assigned a whole book and many are allowed to settle for cut-down mathematics and science courses. Only a handful of state universities still require a foreign language for graduation and none require a foreign language for admission. Languages are not easily mastered.

Perhaps the most essential skill a student must master is the ability to write out his thoughts in understandable English and logical arrangement. Unless we control our medium, which in this case is our language, we can't express our ideas. Yet, composition, writing, is almost entirely neglected in school curriculum. Do you know that the examination given by the American College Testing Institute to evaluate writing skills and achievement in English is a multiple choice test? Teachers don't have the time, or want to take the time, to grade compositions. You can't grade composition on a machine. Nor can we overlook the fact that there are teachers who wouldn't know how to grade a composition.

I know teachers who will argue long and loud that if they emphasize language disciplines and require students to parse a sentence and write complete sentences, they will stifle their creativity. I often wish the word creativity had never been invented because what we really mean is imagination and, contrary to this simple-minded approach, competence and technique free rather than restrict imaginative expression. A pianist can't be truly creative, imaginative, until he's mastered the piano and the repertoire, or a writer until he has mastered the English language, or an artist until he knows how colors mix and perspective is managed. Creativity begins when we bring intelligence and imagination to bear on a particular task. It's not letting anything pour out without knowing what you're doing.

Educators seem to be coming to the realization, albeit slowly, that the areas of competency and intellectual discipline can no longer be

neglected. May I share with you an interesting paragraph by Jerome Bruner from Harvard:

The more formal the teaching, the more time pupils spend working on the subject matter at hand. And in general, though with some important exceptions, the more time pupils spend working on a subject, the more they improve at it - not a huge surprise, but one that grows in importance as one looks at the other results. For though it may come as no revelation that students in the more formal classrooms improved considerably more in reading and in mathematical skills than the less formally taught, it is much more revealing that pupils in informal settings did not do any better on their creative writing than their more formally instructed fellows.

What of personality and teaching styles? Most pupil "types" progress better under more formal teaching. And particularly the insecure and neurotic pupil: he seems able to attend to work better, and harder, in a formal setting. Particularly for the unstable child, the informal setting seems to invite time-wasting activities - indeed, the "unmotivated," rather neurotic child, was found to work four times as much at his studies in a formal setting than in an informal one. Interestingly enough, the informal class seems to increase favourable conditions towards school, but, and more importantly, it also increases anxiety.

For several decades our school systems have been reducing academic demands. If you want to see this fact for yourself go to your attic and take out your old high school American History text and compare it to your child's or grandchild's. You'll find that your book contains at least fifty percent more text. Yours looks like a book. Theirs bears a surprising resemblance of Life Magazine: pictures, simple captions, everything laid out. Your book forced you to read and remember. Theirs lays out neat exercises which clearly indicate where the student will find the answer if it doesn't immediately come mind.

One of the reasons that Johnny can't read is that he's rarely asked to. His English texts are anthologies of short stories and precis. Texts in other subjects are short and simple. New words are rarely introduced. He's never sent to the dictionary. Assignments are minimal. He's rarely asked to write out his answer in paragraph form. Concern for the child's well-being is itself, of course, understandable. I'm not talking about sternness. I'm not talking about a Germanic classroom. I'm not talking about uniforms or a ruler on the back of the knuckles. The Talmud says that a teacher should push away a child with one hand and draw the child close with the other. Nor am I talking about the amassing by rote of a mountain of undigested facts, though I'd love to see more emphasis on memorization. I am talking about stretching the mind. I am talking about mastering the basic tools of thought and communication. To make your way in our complex world you've got to be able to read, write, number, know something about computer language, and the basic sciences. If you lack the basic skills or handle them uncertainly, you're hobbled and, unfortunately, our schools are producing far too many who can't fill out a job application or find a job in the want ad section of the local paper or do the work properly if they are hired.

As Americans have come to recognize the inadequacies of our educational product, there has been an increasing demand for what are called minimum competency examinations. Usually these are exams given during high school which determine whether you are qualified to receive a high school diploma. The

pressure for these exams suggests the felt need for academic competency, but in reality these tests achieve little because they are given late in a student's schooling and, in fact, test quite minimal skills. It's been estimated that if a real competency examination were given to high school students in any major urban system, well over half would fail. Since American industry generally requires a high school diploma for any work beyond sweeping, failing a large number of students would be to imprison them in menial work for the rest of their lives for a fault which is ours and not their own. Understandably few communities are willing to penalize students in this way, so these minimum competency examinations necessarily test such minimal skills that they do not in fact measure competency.

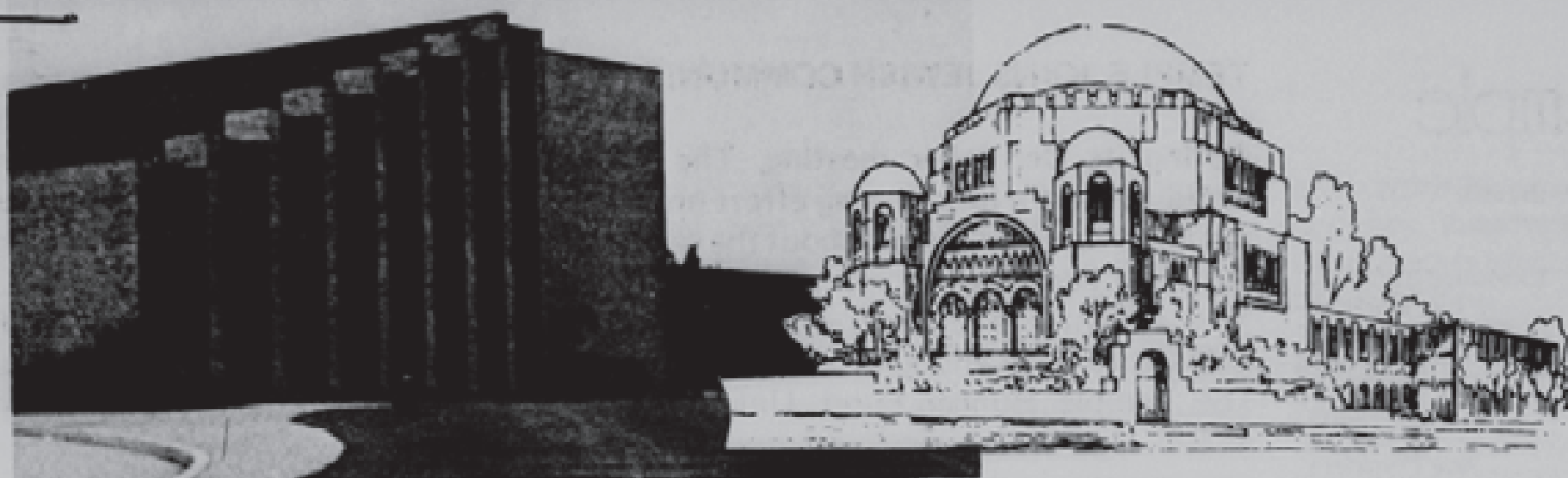
It would seem to me far wiser to give competency exams at every level of a student's development so that school's can catch early on a student who needs help and provide remediation. But to be effective such a program would require the investment of great sums of money and staff time, again more money would be spent on those who are least able and communities are increasingly voting down school levies. It's not a hopeful picture.

Education is perhaps the most demanding and difficult of all professional undertakings because every child is unique, different. Every mind thinks, works, in its own special way. There are no easy answers. There are no panaceas, but I would suggest that the bottom line of why Johnny can't read is because Johnny's not been challenged to read. He's not been pushed to read. Reading has not been emphasized at all levels and in all subjects.

Our schools need more discipline and our children need more self-discipline. Our schools need to make more demands of their students and our children need to be more demanding of themselves. When our schools settle for minimal standards they reflect the society at large. Many Janes and Johnnys don't want to work hard. Why should they? Few people they know speak or think of work as a virtue. I don't mean that we don't work. I mean we look on work as the unwanted part of our lives, the price we pay for being able to live on weekends. The "real" world, as many children see it, is leisure, sport and television. They hear us bemoan Monday. They never really see anybody work. They rarely see us read a book. How many children are told to go and do their homework by parents who are watching the television?

It's the old business of weeds and flowers. Weeds grow, sometimes taller than flowers, but weeds aren't flowers. A flower is carefully nurtured, a triumph of art and careful cultivation. If we don't want our children to grow up as weeds then we're going to have to make clear to them and to their teachers the importance we attach to mental discipline and academic competency. It's possible for a parent or a grandparent to help in the process. If your grandchild isn't writing in school you might start writing letters to him rather than always picking up the phone. If your child doesn't write well send him off to camp with stationery rather than a tape recorder, and send back corrected letters. Everything we do signals to the child how we feel about reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic. Help your child express himself, find the right word, play dictionary games, correct his English and watch your own. Read a book in the same room he's in, and, above all, don't let him be satisfied with half an education. We can't afford to waste his talents - or yours.

Daniel Jeremy Silver



January 9, 1983
Vol. LXVIX, No. 10

The Temple Bulletin

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK: What's Happened To The Welfare State?

The sermon of November 21, 1982 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

Jews have a reputation for generosity. One of our sages used the story of the Golden Calf to prove the point. The Bible reports that three months after the Israelites left Egypt they were brought to Mt. Sinai. God orders Moses to climb the mountain to receive the revelation. Moses is gone from the camp forty days and as the days pass the community of ex-slaves become increasingly anxious. There's no visible presence of authority among them. Finally, desperate, they turn to Aaron and ask him: 'make us a God who will go before us.' Aaron tells them to return to their tents and to bring back their wives' golden jewelry. He melted down this gold to make the famous image. Commenting on this hardly glorious episode, the sage was moved to say, 'what a wonderful people Israel is, generous among the generous, they give lavishly even to the most unworthy of causes.'

Generosity is not an inherited trait. You're not born generous. You're trained to be generous. Children learn to be generous by their parent's example. We train the students in the religious school by collecting a contribution every week. All of us are trained by the pattern of our community for whom the raising of money for various good purposes is taken to be one of the unquestioned responsibilities of Jewish citizenship. Among Jews sharing is a way of life.

Interestingly, the Bible spends little effort encouraging charity. Hebrew has no word for charity. The word we use, *tzedekah*, means justice. The underlying

idea, of course, is that we don't really possess that which we think we possess. We are stewards of God's possessions and we're responsible to God for our stewardship. No one has fully earned his possessions. God provides the earth's bounty. Luck plays a role. "Let not the rich man glory in his wealth." Given this perspective, the Bible does not indulge itself with little homilies on the virtue of charity or publish sad stories of need in order to stimulate generosity. Sharing is a duty, not a privilege.

In Biblical times public welfare was a corporate responsibility. Every third year the Israelite was to pay a tenth of the assessed value of his property to the community as a *ma'aser ani*, a tithe for the poor, which would be used to provide food, clothing and shelter to the needy.

The Bible also stipulates that after the farmer had scythed his field he may not make a second pass. Whatever grain was left standing is to be left for the poor. A similar rule applied to the vineyard and the orchard. After these areas had been gleaned they could not be picked over except by those whose right it was to come out and take for nothing. There was more. On the seventh year all debts were to be remitted. A poor man was not to be endlessly burdened by his inability to repay what he had borrowed to buy seed for his field. Again, on the sabbatical year a man who had had to sell himself into slavery because of his debts was to be set free. Biblical man was obliged to structure justice - sharing - into his society. Public welfare was accepted as a public responsibility.

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

January 9, 1983
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

ISRAEL'S FOUR HOLY CITIES:
I HEBRON

January 16, 1983
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

ISRAEL'S FOUR HOLY CITIES:
II TIBERIAS

Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 6:10 — The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service — 9:00 a.m. — The Branch

Given this tradition, I give no credit to the claim of the present administration that the cuts which they have instituted in various welfare services will not hurt the poor because voluntary contributions will make up for these cuts. Biblical man knew that providing for the poor must not depend upon the unpredictable generosity of the wealthy. Voluntary charity is haphazard and erratic while the needs of the poor are constant and unremitting. Moreover, the needs of the poor are usually the greatest when an economy is weakest which is precisely the time when the wealthy begin to restrain their generosity lest their own standard of living be affected.

The lack of realism in the President's argument is shown up by his own actions. His tax record, which is in the public domain, indicates that only the smallest fraction of his income went to charity. His purse has not been open and shared even in prosperous times. When he was asked about the cut-public-services stance of this administration, he's been heard to say: 'the food companies will make up for it by donations for the cuts we institute in the food stamp program;' or 'if every church would adopt ten poor families poverty would be eliminated because everyone would be taken care of.' Unfortunately, there is no evidence that this wealthy man has gone to his pastor and said, 'I will personally pay for one of those ten families.'

It's true, and a blessing, that over the last several decades the private sector has increased its level of giving. We've seen in Cleveland a substantial increase in the level of funds raised by the United Torch. Corporations have increased their giving, but these funds have, for the most part, gone to hospitals, cultural institutions, and universities rather than to direct support of the poor. I see nothing wrong with this pattern of giving. We need these institutions and the private sector simply cannot make up for the billions in cutbacks in aid to the poor, indigent, handicapped, and elderly, which our administration has already enforced or intends to enforce. John Bere, Chief Executive Officer of the Borg-Warner Corporation and a leading spokesman of the Businessmen's Council, has said it straight out: 'there is simply no way that business can replace a small fraction of what has been cut away by the government from the welfare support area.'

To look back at our past is to recognize that even a community whose religious tradition is sensitive to justice and need includes those who will not open their purses unless they are taxed. If for no other reason than the hardheadedness of some, public welfare must be a public responsibility. Only what was, in effect, tax money enabled the Jewish community to support the large number of social service institutions which it did. In Europe every community was organized as a *kehilah*. Each *kehilah* had a council responsible, among other duties, for the funds necessary for welfare needs. These services included programs to ransom captives, provide dowries for the daughters of the poor, medical care for the indigent and sick, and burial for paupers. Each council would evaluate once a year each household in the community to determine what its fair share of such programs should be. Since the community never knew in advance what sums would be needed, each household was assigned a percentage which it was expected to give toward whatever goal was set. Public welfare was a public responsibility. Such an approach is both a just way and sensible, but clearly, it's not Washington's way. The Reagan Administration would like to transfer public responsibility to the erratic mercies of private charity.

This administration seems determined to reverse the public welfare as a public responsibility principle that has been in place since the 1930's. Most of us accepted the idea that justice required that we transfer part of the nation's patrimony from the overprivileged to the underprivileged. This Administration's policy seeks the reverse: to transfer the miniscule part of the patrimony shared by the underprivileged to the overprivileged. Put less kindly, but no less accurately, the budget policies of this administration seem indifferent to the desperate needs of the less fortunate and eager to transfer wealth from the less privileged to the overprivileged.

The public welfare policies, begun during the Depression, were just and, to a large degree, effective. By 1947 only thirty-three percent of our society lived on or below what was then the poverty line. By the early 1970's that number had been reduced to eleven percent, a great achievement. If you ever wondered how the society was able to accept the trauma of the integration decision and the war in Vietnam without tearing itself apart, the answer is simple: each year more Ameri-

cans were living with some degree of decency, if not of comfort, than during the previous year. Our social policy was doing justice.

Since the early seventies the number of American households with incomes which fall below the poverty line has slowly increased. At first the culprit was inflation, then the recession; now it's government policy. It's ironic that at the very time when we have daily proof of the value of public welfare legislation we are led by an administration determined to undo as much as it can of the support legislation which keeps food on the table and a roof over the heads of the unemployed.

Proof. What proof?

Cast your mind back to the Great Depression. Then, too, millions of Americans were out of work, but a worker who lost his job in 1932 could not fall back on unemployment compensation, food stamps, Medicare or Aid to Dependent Children of the Unemployed. Farms were repossessed. Mortgages were foreclosed. Soup kitchens were opened in every major city and there were long lines of sullen people waiting for a daily handout. Today nearly twelve million Americans are out of work, 10.8 percent of the work force, and there are hunger centers in Cleveland and in all of our major cities where the poor can get food, but today these hunger centers need to feed hundreds, not as in Depression days, thousands. In most unemployed homes there is still food on the table - there are food stamps. There is heat in the bedroom - there are programs which prevent gas shutoffs. There is money for necessities - there is unemployment insurance. These major pieces of welfare legislation, put in place over the last fifty years, have proved their worth during this recession. They have cushioned the shock of the economic turndown. What a cruel irony that at the very moment when Americans ought to be giving thanks that this legislation is in place, that misery is not widespread and that class divisions have not erupted into open confrontation, we have an administration determined to undo as much as can be undone of this welfare program and return to the 1920's with its philosophy of welfare as a responsibility of private charity.

This present administration is determined to cut the size of the Federal budget. It is concerned with the size of the Federal deficit, the amount of money future

(Continued)

generations will have to pay for the services our generation has used. There's reason for this concern and most Americans agree with the need to cut the cost of government, but there are many ways to accomplish that goal. The Federal budget provides for the repayment of debts, and for defense, entitlement programs, and human and community services. The administration can do little about the cost of servicing the national debt. It could cut defense costs but decided, instead, on a crash program to significantly increase that part of the budget. Mr. Reagan and his advisers feared we were losing the arms race to the Soviet Union. There are many reporters who say that Mr. Weinberger, the Secretary of Defense, simply took the entire wish list of his department, all that the generals or admirals could dream of, and sanctified that entire list as essential to the national security. What is certain is that the 1983 budget provides for an 18.5 percent increase in defense expenditures, 10½ percent above the inflation rate. The increase is so high that many experts question whether that much money can, in fact, be spent. I am sick at heart at the contrast between the lavishness with which money is spent on arms and the pennypinching which has been going on in the welfare area. No serious evaluation of the cost benefit of various spending programs seems to have been made. Russophobia is costing us dearly and will cost us more. This year 25.8 percent of the Federal budget is designated for defense. The Administration five-year projection assumes that in 1987 38 percent of the federal budget will be spent on defense. I'm neither a pacifist nor opposed to an adequate defense, but surely this cavalier tossing around of billions is neither the way to adequately defend the nation nor the way to help the nation regain its economic and social health.

Forced to maintain debt service and determined to increase defense spending, the administration might have cut costs in the area of entitlement, Social Security, old age and military pensions or the area of human and community services. Mr. Reagan's folks, the people who voted for him, draw on these entitlement programs and the administration has so far shied away from reducing these benefits. Where to cut? There was only one place left - the area of services to the poor, the handicapped and the unemployed and the impacted cities in which they live. Billions of dollars were cut from the Food Stamp program, Aid to

Dependent Children of the Unemployed, legal services for the poor, Medicaid, all programs which support the indigent and the unemployed. From those who lack much was taken; and, incredibly, to those who have, much was given. A recent report by the Congressional Budget Office points out that 40 percent of total savings from benefit reductions made during fiscal 1983 will come from benefits received by those who have incomes below the poverty line, and 70 percent of the savings represents reductions in benefits from those whose household incomes are less than \$20,000. The income transfer stands out in even starker contrast when you consider the implications of the new tax laws. For fiscal 1983 those who earn less than \$14,000 a year will lose nearly \$300 in benefits, and those who have taxable incomes of over \$80,000 will enjoy a net gain of over \$10,000. This Administration seems to define justice as taking from the poor to give to the rich.

The poor are being used as cannon fodder in the war which this administration is waging to reduce government and to increase capital formation. The war itself is not unwarranted, but surely there could be other strategies. Billions and billions of dollars could be cut from the Defense Budget. Defense spending is notorious for its waste. This is the area where sweetheart contracts and cost plus contracts are routinely signed by officials who will in a few years be working for these defense contractors and where whistle blowers are routinely pilloried and fired. Surely, the well off could have been asked to share the burden.

Plato once observed: "wealth is the parent of luxury and indolence; poverty is the parent of meanness and viciousness; and both are the parents of discontent."

I consider this Administration's budget proposals immoral, unjust, and imprudent. Theirs is a policy guaranteed to open deep and bitter divisions within the society. If we continue to demand sacrifices of the poor in order to advantage the wealthy, then as sure as day follows night the poor will become the many and the angry, and will shake off their lethargy and take what they should have been offered in the first place. This process is already beginning. Erratic and haphazard crime is a consequence of erratic and haphazard generosity. I can think of no greater tragedy than that this country

develop the ideological and class divisions which characterize and destabilize most other countries. Class conflicts almost always are a prelude to autocratic governments and a loss of freedom. Some months ago the President was watching the news on television. That evening the program included a report on an elderly couple who were in danger of losing their home. The man had worked all of his life. All they had was this little home. An unexpected tax assessment had been leveled against it and the man couldn't pay. A government agency was foreclosing on his home. The President was disturbed. This was his kind of family. He picked up the phone and called the reporter. He wanted to know how the Federal government could help. The reporter told him that this case had been brought to his attention by a Federal agency which provides free legal services to the poor, an agency which the President had just eliminated from further funding.

I'm not arguing that the public welfare legislation enacted during the last fifty years is perfect or free of abuse. Too much has gone to administration. Some have taken advantage of the system, but I'm convinced that the cost to the nation of welfare crime is but a small fraction of monies we've paid out unnecessarily to defense contractors or lost to the Federal Treasury because special interest groups have lobbied and gained tax loopholes. The poor have no lobbies in Washington to secure their benefits. Wealthy or poor, people are not saints. Any program will be abused. Any program will be misused. But decency and prudence require a broad-gauged public welfare program. Yes, we will pay higher taxes. Every bill has to be paid. Yes, those with capital will not be able to take as liberally from Social Security as they expected. The middle-class and the wealthy are going to have to tighten their belts. The belts of the poor are already tight. There's really no alternative and I remain convinced that this country, prosperous even in recession, can find the will to care for the economy without neglecting its social needs.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

Reprinted from *The Plain Dealer*:

HOW MANY MOSESES?

IMAGES OF MOSES by Daniel Jeremy Silver, Basic Books, 335 pp., \$16.95.

By William H. C. Congdon

Why was no Jewish boy named after Moses for some 1,700 years after the death of the greatest leader the nation of Israel had ever known? The more one thinks about it, the stranger it seems. What could be more natural than to name a child after a hero, one of those stellar souls whose faces and figures fill us and excite admiration? Yet, the ancient Jew did not find it natural, according to Daniel Jeremy Silver, in his new book, *Images of Moses*. Moses was not the object of adoration.

He did not twinkle in the imagination of his people like a cold, far star to be vaguely idolized. For all those centuries, he remained still present with Israel, still capable of overhearing what was said by the family at the supper table. Who would want to take the chance that the august personage might mistake words of rebuke directed at a 10-year-old son, also named Moses, who had spilled his soup? Better name the child something else. As Silver suggests, the modern cult of the adulation and admiration of great heroic figures only proves how lonely we are in our spiritually empty universe.

This readable and exciting book is a report on the exploration of Jewish pasts. The author, who is Rabbi of The Temple in Cleveland and a part-time professor of religion at Case Western Reserve University, is equipped with a wealth of scholarly knowledge, a pleasant prose style, and a good deal of personal charm and humor. He takes his readers on a series of archeological digs, not down into the crumbling brick of antique cities but into the images and symbols left behind in documents and texts by Jewish writers at various times in the thousands of years of the history of Israel. With him, we search for Moses himself, that first and foremost of the Jews, that distillation of everything Jewish. What is discovered is not a Moses, but *Moseses*; not one unchanging figure, constant amid the vicissitudes of history, but many Moseses, many images.

Silver demonstrates that each age has made up its own Moses: "To the editor of Deuteronomy, Moses was a contemporary of Joshua's, the first among the prophets, a holy man. To a Jew conditioned by Hellenistic cultural norms Moses was a lawgiver who founded the civil religions of Athens and Sparta. To the Talmudic sages Moses was *Moshe Rabbenu*, the first among their colleagues, a master of Torah study, a holy man and faith healer. To generations of ordinary Jews suffering the pains of an outrageous fortune Moses was an intercessor who sat beside God in Heaven and spent his days presenting their needs to the Almighty. To modern Zionists Moses was the original liberator of the Promised Land, a leader determined to change his people's fate."

The fascination of this book lies in the way that Silver, unencumbered by the turgid prose and humorless jargon that mars much scholarly writing, fits together the bits of ideas and emotions left in the collective memory of the Jewish people to reconstruct the attitudes and feelings of Jews long dead. The reader has the sensation of meeting them, almost of hearing them talk. One is reminded again and again of the endlessly patient archeologist piecing together a picture of a whole human body, the outline of a jar, or the plan of a town from a fragment of skull, a shard, or a few feet of adobe wall. Probably the "dig" of most interest to the majority of readers will be the one in the first chapter, "The Diminished Hero." Here the author directly confronts that strange mythological disease of the modern mind called fundamentalism by helping the readers hear the description of Moses in the Torah, the first five books of the Hebrew Scriptures, with open, hospitable ears. One discovers that the text does not say what most of us believe it says. The Moses of Exodus is a diminished hero, if indeed he is a hero at all. He is not Indiana Jones with a white beard, a mighty man, a super-male, an over-muscled stammerer, a kind of Gandalf zapping Egyptians with his magical powers. The

movement from stained-glass-window hero to the biblical figure, the movement from great Moses to mere Moses that Silver suggests, is similar to the transition of faith many Christians believe is the center of Christianity's task in the modern world, the replacement of the image of an almighty Christ with that of the Jew, Jesus of Nazareth. In this regard and many others, Silver's book can be a considerable help to non-Jewish readers.

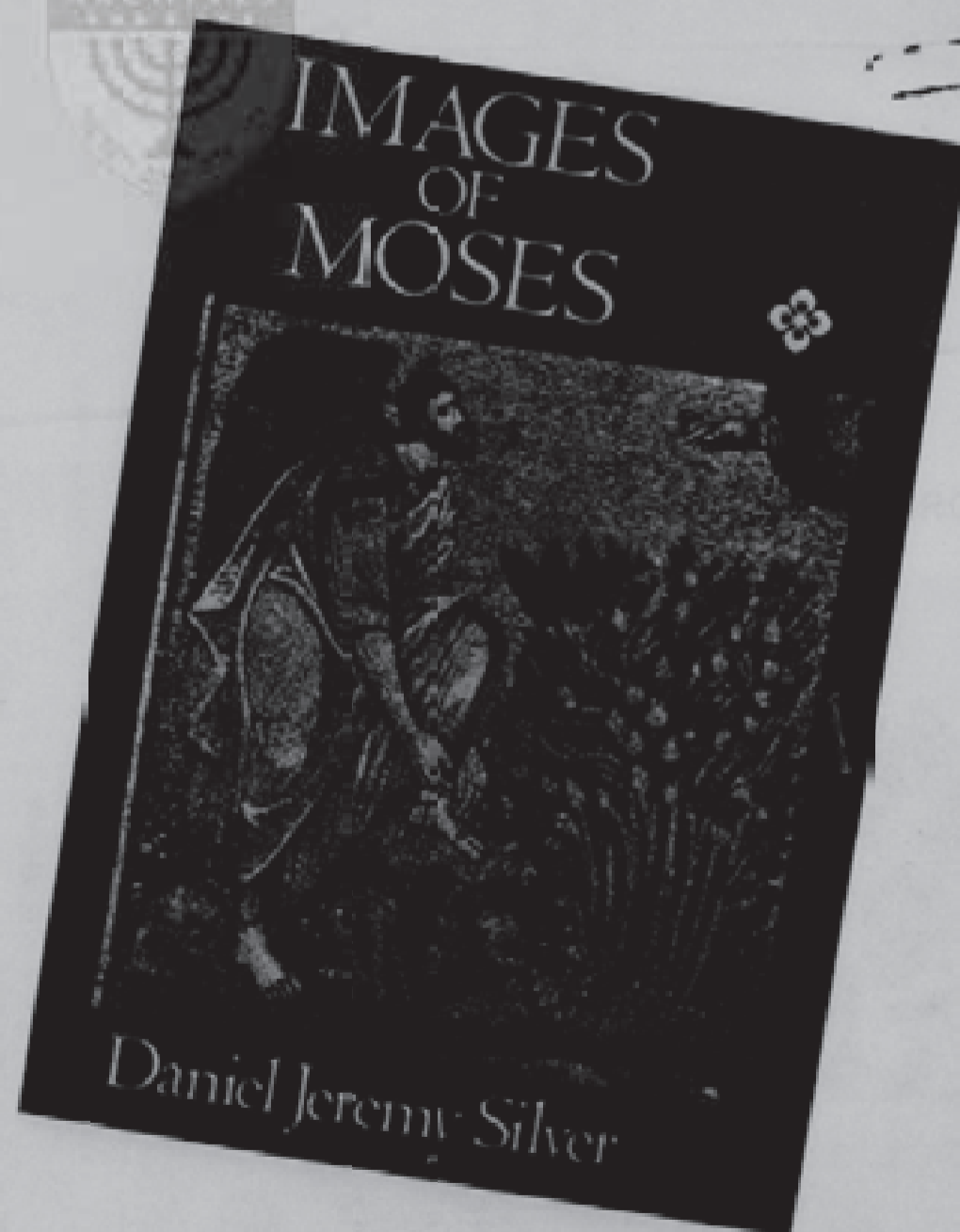
The thesis of *Images of Moses* is that the image of Moses in the Jewish soul is alive, growing, changing, becoming more beautiful, more rich with meaning and power. In this sense, Moses still lives in Israel in his Torah.

The author could have been more explicit with reference to the secondary theme of *Images of Moses*. For this image of Moses is the image of the Jew himself. To know a community's Moses is to know something of what that community means by Jewishness. Silver might have entitled his book *Images of Israel*. To discover a pluralism of Moseses is to discover the absence of anything that might be called *the Jew* and to reveal in his place *Jews*. To say that there is no one, correct, permanent image of Moses is to deny the existence of a fixed and final Jewish nature. It is to locate the center of Jewishness, not behind in some nonexistent, fundamentalistic, mummified past, but forward in hope, in what the community will know, will believe, and will love. Silver peels our sight off the Jewish pasts and attaches it to Jewish futures.

It is interesting to note that attempts to bring about a similar refocusing of Christianity on its future have been under way for decades. Many Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, are beginning, after suffering, to learn how to sustain their faith without believing themselves to be the sole elect of God who possess the final truth of either Scripture or authority. Silver challenges his community

to do the same, to admit the awesome truth that the Jew is "not yet," that the Jewish imagination and tradition still live and are even now in bud with new flowers and fruit, that, as Hans Kung said, "the future belongs to God" — the Lord God, it should be remembered, whom the Jews have blessed twice daily with the words, "Thou hast always been our hope."

Congdon, who has taught religion and philosophy, is a writer living in Philadelphia.



Rabbi Silver's new book *Images of Moses* may be purchased from Beth Dwoskin at The Temple office.

Books in the News

The Many Images of Moses Throughout Jewish History

"Images of Moses," by Daniel Jeremy Silver, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 335 pp., \$16.95.

Reviewed By
DAVID S. ARIEL

Is the Jewish religion one unbroken chain of continuous tradition or a composite of the beliefs and practices of Jews living at various points in history? Are there ideas in Judaism which are authentically Jewish and others which are inauthentic?

What, in short, is the nature of Judaism—now, in the past, and in the future?

Daniel Jeremy Silver's study of the images of Moses throughout Jewish history is an attempt to answer these questions. He approaches the issues through an examination of one specific idea—the "idea" of Moses—and explores the continuities and changes in the portrayal of the central figure in Jewish history.

THE AUTHOR, senior rabbi of The Temple, challenges the assumption that Judaism is a fixed entity which neither undergoes change nor transformation. He explodes the "image of a one-time, all embracing Torah," by illustrating how the image of Moses is "one of those compelling ideas through which (the Jewish people) expresses its understanding of the essential structure of reality."

In tracing these images, he casts doubt on the notion of one uniform Judaism by showing that there was not just one Moses.

The Moses of the Bible is a prototypical "West Asian shaman," a religious holy man who is able to influence the destiny of his people by invoking the assistance of God and who intercedes on behalf of his people.

In the Hellenistic period, when Jews lived under Greek cultural and political domination, Moses "acquired" a new character. Greek-speaking Jews created a fictive biography of an active and successful political leader, philosopher-king, urban nobleman, military general, competent administrator, founder of Egyptian

civilization, and originator of Greek philosophy. Hellenic Jews did this in order to fill in the gaps in Moses' life and justify their own claims as worthy citizens of the Greek city-state.

THIS IMAGE was never included in the authorized rabbinic literature because the Talmudic sages recognized the degree to which Greek values were assimilated into the portrait of Moses.

The Talmudic Moses, however, was no less a striking departure from the Biblical Moses, and the rabbis knew this well. Their Moses "acquired a new personality; new incidents are added to his life, and he is given a new name and a new persona." The change from Moses as holy man to the new rabbinic image of Moses as Torah-teacher and scholar is seen in the new name given to him—*Moshe Rabbeinu* ("Moses, our rabbi.")

Rabbi Silver also traces Moses through the Islamic period, in medieval Jewish philosophy and Kabbalah (Jewish mysticism), and up through the modern period.

The images of Moses, he concludes, illustrates the central preoccupations of each generation, as they are projected upon this figure.

Moses, the man, fades into the background; Moses, the symbol, reflects the view that the Jewish people has of itself in each era.

As Rabbi Silver says, "To know a community's Moses is to know something of its soul." Moses is a symbol, a kind of vessel into which tradition pours new values and ideas. "Each new image reveals what is special about that period's understanding of the Jewish tradition and of itself."

RABBI SILVER does not suggest, however, that Judaism is what each generation determines it to be. He sees Judaism as a "continuum made up of



Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

distinct cultural strands." But not all these strands are woven into the final cloth. The constant elements in Judaism are "its sacred texts, worship patterns, and calendar." These are the forms of Judaism which are continuously being invested with new meaning.

The cultural values dominant in each age reshape the meaning of these forms, institutions, and symbols (like Moses).

The central issue in this work is the author's conception of Judaism, which, he suggests, is the sum total of the cultural changes which have taken place in the history of the Jewish people.

These changes, however, are always clarified through the filter of tradition. Each generation may have a different ideal—holy

man, political leader, moral guide—but, in order to gain acceptance for this as Jewish ideal, it must be projected upon a Jewish symbol—like Moses.

To the extent that the new conception gains credibility as a legitimate version of existing tradition, it becomes a part of Judaism.

WHAT, THEN, is the standard of authenticity in Judaism? Silver suggests what might be called the criterion of "vested originality." A new conception is not merely projected upon tradition, it is placed under the control and authority of a religious image or symbol. For a new idea to be considered authentically Jewish, it must be subsumed under an authoritative image and be accepted as such.

Silver has shown many images of Moses, some of which faded in the course of time and others which endured. But all are authentic because the tradition, the symbol of Moses, defined the limits of innovation in Judaism.

Daniel J. Silver's book is readable Jewish intellectual history at its best. It is a rare example of a scholarly work which goes beyond the arcane realms of Jewish academic scholarship and addresses the concerns of contemporary Jews who are eager to understand their tradition.

Dr. David S. Ariel is president of the Cleveland College of Jewish Studies.

❖ IMAGES OF MOSES ❖

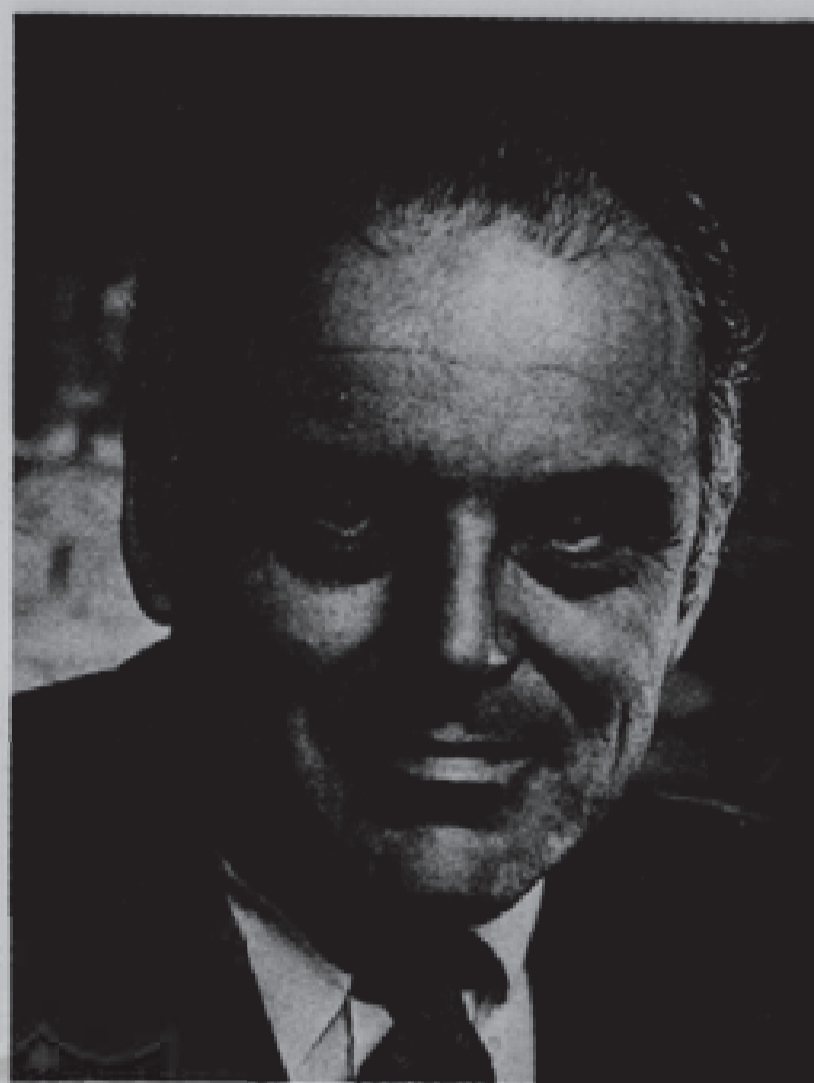
Daniel Jeremy Silver

"*Images of Moses* is an original and penetrating work which brings together superb and thorough research on the singular most important personage in all of Jewish history. Indeed, Ahad Ha-Am was correct when he said that if we had found from the vantage point of historical fact that Moses had not lived, we would have had to invent him in order to explain the most central aspects of Jewish history, the Exodus from Egypt and Theophany at Sinai. Dr. Silver has brought together sources which give us a people's perception of its greatest hero. He has done so with scholarship and eloquence."

—ALFRED GOTTSCHALK
President
Hebrew Union College

"By reviewing the different conceptions of Moses, from biblical to current literature, Daniel Jeremy Silver has demonstrated how these reflect the values of different generations, and with vivid asides he has also called attention to comparisons and contrasts in our present world."

—JUDAH GOLDIN
Professor of Post-Biblical Hebrew
and Oriental Studies
University of Pennsylvania



DANIEL JEREMY SILVER is Rabbi of The Temple of Cleveland, Ohio, and Adjunct Professor of Religion at Case Western Reserve University. His other books include *Maimonidean Criticism and The Maimonidean Controversy, 1180-1240* (1965) and Volume 1 of *A History of Judaism* (Basic Books, 1974).

----- **Special 30-Day Offer at 10% Discount** -----

To: Basic Books, Inc.
Attn: Mail Order Department
10 East 53rd St. New York, NY 10022

For 30 days without obligation, I would like to examine **IMAGES OF MOSES**. If not completely satisfied, I may return the book within the stated period and all charges will be cancelled. By ordering now, I am entitled to a special 10% discount off the regular price of \$16.95.

Please send _____ copy(ies) of **IMAGES OF MOSES** (80-3201X) at the special discounted price of \$15.25.

- ☐ Bill me, plus shipping and handling.
☐ Enclosed is my check. Publisher pays all shipping and handling.
Bill my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Account number _____ Expires _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Radio

CJH 11/19/82

Rabbi Silver's New Book On Radio 'Jewish Scene'

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver discusses his book, *Images of Moses* with Dr. David Ariel, president of The Cleveland College of Jewish Studies, continuing the observance of Jewish Book Month on "The Jewish Scene in Cleveland" on radio this Sunday, Nov. 21.

The program is heard at 6:05 a.m. on WGAR, 1220 AM; 7 a.m. on WJW, 850 AM; 9 a.m. on WBBG, 1260 AM; and 10:35 a.m. on WCLV, 95.5 FM.

A tribute will be paid to the memory of Aliza Begin.

The Voice of Israel will feature a tribute to the Tel Aviv Zoo with music by the Israel Chamber Orchestra.

Editorial comment will be heard by Cynthia Dettelbach, editor of The Cleveland Jewish News; comments on the Torah portion of the week will be given by Rabbi Stuart Gertman of Anshe Chesed (Fairmount Temple); and David Guralnik continues his "A Yiddish Vort" series.

Musical highlights will include a new song composed by Naomi Shemer; Jan Peerce singing "Eyskes Chayil" in Yiddish and music by the Klezmerim.

"The Jewish Scene" is written and produced by Renee Katz, Iris Fishman, Lois Katovsky and Sue Sicherman.



Rabbi Silver on 'Images of Moses'

Rabbi Daniel J. Silver, author of a new book, will speak at the Jewish Community Center next week as Jewish Book Month continues. Held this year from Nov. 11 through Dec. 16, Jewish Book Month features a series of varied events and speakers, and is open to the community.

On Tuesday, Nov. 23, at 8 p.m., Rabbi Daniel J. Silver will discuss his recently published book, *Images of Moses*.

Rabbi of The Temple since 1956, Rabbi Silver is also adjunct professor of religion at Case Western Reserve University and at Cleveland State University. He has served as the president of the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, chairman of the Israel Task Force, Jewish Community Federation, and president of the Cleveland Board of Rabbis.

In addition to his new volume, he has written three other books and numerous published articles and book reviews.

A graduate of Harvard University, Rabbi Silver received his rabbinical degree from Hebrew Union College and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Rabbi Silver's book describes the images of Moses as reflected in the changing interests of the Jewish tradition and the changing attitudes of other traditions.

On Monday, Nov. 22, at 1 p.m., Rabbi Maurice Feuer will review Levi Alan's *Prophetic Faith In A Secular Age*.

Rabbi Feuer moved to Cleveland a year ago after completing over 40 years of



Daniel J. Silver

rabbinical service in different parts of the country.

Both of the events are free. Jewish Book Month is under the direction of the Jewish Book Council, Lois Bialosky, chairperson.

The following week, in honor of Jewish Book Month, author Ina Friedman will discuss *Escape or Die*, true stories of young people who survived the Holocaust, and author William Gellin will discuss *Moved By Love*, a novel of remembrance of the lower East Side of New York.

For a full schedule of Jewish Book Month events, call the Adult and Community Services Department at the JCC, 382-4000, ext. 202 or 249.

Silver, Daniel Jeremy. *Images of Moses.*

Basic Bks. 1982. c.295p. index. \$15.95.

SOC SCI/REL.

This book examines the diverse literary, artistic, pietistic, and historical treatments of the biblical Moses. Beginning with the opaqueness of the biblical text itself, the author emphasizes that each of the various subsequent depictions can be seen as an exercise in image- and myth-making, reflecting the values, hopes, and sometimes the ethnic/political strategies of its creator. The work makes contributions to iconography as well as to the sociology of myth and religion, and is written in a light and readable style. Highly informative, it is likely to prove interesting to scholars and lay readers alike (though the former may find the absence of references a flaw).—Egon Mayer, *Sociology Dept., Brooklyn Coll., CUNY*



January 8, 1984
Vol. LXX, No. 10

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: Saying No To The Press (November 27, 1983)

In medieval Europe power was organized by estates. An estate defined a corporation, a body, which represented a powerful class in the society. Originally, there were two estates: the landed nobility and the senior clergy. Later, a third estate came into being which represented the interests of the guilds and the emerging financial and merchant classes. These estates met to inform the ruler of their interests and to adjust with members of the other estates, interests which were in conflict. Meetings of the estates were held in France until the Revolution when representation by popular vote replaced corporate representation.

During the 19th century the term, the fourth estate, became a popular label for the press. Government by corporation had long since ceased, but the fourth estate suggested the important truths about the press, that it represented a powerful element in a country's political life, and one which had its own corporate interests.

The press's political clout makes it inevitable that it will be caught up in the arguments of political life; praised by some, damned by those whose interests it seems to oppose. Those who feel badly used will make the case that the press has political power and is not politically accountable. Editors do not have to stand for election. Those who own the presses or the television outlets are responsible only to their shareholders, and the profit motive may not necessarily coincide with the responsibility of the press to the nation.

The fact that the press is not subject to political pressure has been in many ways a great plus since it has made for a certain independence both from the passions of the popular will and the strategies of those in authority. But the media are always under suspicion that they favor the interests of their owners and the privileged classes. It's a concern; but the real price of private ownership has been the trivialization of the media's news gathering and news dispensing functions. Those who own these outlets require a mass audience to maximize the return on their investment, so their minds minions the sensational rather than the substantial and highlight so-called human interest over hard news. The result is what I call least common denominator news; a two-paragraph item which reduces a complicated political event to unintelligible noise or an image which captures the eye but does not help us understand the issues involved. Private ownership encourages the press to deal in

headlines and picture opportunities and results in a serious neglect of the media's critical role in a free society where it must serve as the means through which the public exercises its right to know.

The press lords will reply: 'we present what the public wants.' So do prostitutes. Our Constitution does not protect the rights of the media because we need to be entertained. Our laws protect the media's freedom so that it can inform. When the press prostitutes itself for numbers and profit, it forfeits its significance to the society and in time that society will become impatient with the media's special privileges.

Let's look at the way the media covered Israel's 1982 invasion of the Lebanon. Recently I came across a column which quoted a man named Dan Bavli whose assignment in the Israel Defense Forces is to escort news people. Bavli's an old hand at this work. The interview quoted him to this effect: "What I noticed in this war, which I hadn't noticed in the Yom Kippur War, was a total lack of intellectual curiosity on the part of the reporters. They chased after blood, guts, and destruction."

This emphasis on blood, guts and destruction has become increasingly evident to all of us in this age of television cameras and instantaneous satellite transmission. Blood, guts and destruction is a reality in any war, but not the only fact we need to know about a particular conflict. War is a complex political reality and each conflict needs to be understood in its particular and special context. We need understanding, but what we are increasingly getting is a steady diet of corpses and wounded children. Very little in the media helps us distinguish Afghanistan from El Salvador from Lebanon.

These last weeks, as various elements in the PLO have been bombarding each other near Tripoli, the press has printed a daily picture of a mother carrying a dead child or a little boy carrying an injured child. These are effective pictures, but these images do not tell what is at issue between the parties and how this struggle fits into the complex political and military reality which is Lebanon. It's not only that we are not being helped to understand what's happening, but that this kind of coverage encourages us to turn the page. When events are reduced to soap opera there is no reason to try to distinguish causes and issues.

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

January 8, 1984
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
SUSAN ELLEN BERMAN

will speak on

REFORM JEWISH RITUAL

January 15, 1984
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
DAVID FOX SANDMEL

will speak on

JEWS AND CULTS — AN UPDATE

Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 6:10 — The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service — 9:00 a.m. — The Branch

Of course, there are people in the media who are serious about their news gathering responsibilities to the society, and who spend their lives trying to research events and present them accurately and in context. Such professionals agree with James Madison who he wrote in *The Federalist Papers*: "A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is both a prologue to a farce or a tragedy or perhaps both. People who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power that knowledge gives."

Unfortunately, they are a minority, particularly when one moves away from the few national newspapers and a few senior people in the television networks. Let's turn again to the summer of 1982. As the Israeli forces moved north a host of reporters and cameramen descended on the Lebanon. Few knew anything about the complexities of Lebanese politics or the ideologies of the various factions involved. Few of them knew Beirut from Damascus. Almost none could speak Arabic, and so most were limited to English-speaking news sources. Many were quite insular so if they could find a European or an American they assumed here was an honest source. When a bus load of reporters came to Sidon they met three doctors, two from Norway and one from Canada who had been working in the hospital there. Here was a wonderful chance for an interview. Those doctors spoke their language and were like them. The doctors told a shocking story. Israeli forces had strafed and bombed the hospital. The Israelis had refused the doctors' request to allow their patients to be evacuated. They had been eye witnesses to the torturing of prisoners of war by the Israel Defense Forces. Because it was a good story given them by fellow Westerners, many of these reporters sent their testimony out unchecked. A few entered Sidon and discovered that the hospital had had anti-aircraft guns on its roof, an ammunition dump in basement, and the local PLO Headquarters on the first floor, and tempered the doctors' story with such phrases as "it was alleged." None reported that a group of reporters had been deliberately misled. The press is extremely protective of its own.

After the fighting ended a Norwegian paper decided to investigate this sensational story and sent one of its reporters, Frederick Sejander, to the Lebanon and Israel. He visited the hospital site and re-interviewed the doctors. He found that they were convinced deologues who quite openly told him that they defined the truth as whatever served their purposes. Sejander discovered and reported that this whole story had been a deliberate attempt at misinformation and propaganda. His finding was printed in Norway, but as far as I know no paper which printed the original interview printed this review.

One of the reasons the press lacks credibility in many eyes is that it does not openly face up to its failures. The media is remarkably thin-skinned about criticism. If they are forced to print a retraction it will be buried at the bottom of page twelve even if the original story appeared on page one. I've rarely seen a report which reviewed how the media had been misled or mishandled a particular set of events. When the New Republic printed a long expose of the Lebanese coverage, the result was a number of defensive statements, but few *mea culpas*. Mistakes are buried, not admitted. No one expects a responsible press to report with consistent accuracy all that happens in our complex world, and so the attempt to portray itself as infallible only heightens our suspicions. As a result, suspicion of the media is deeply

engrained in the society. Again and again I hear people say, 'I don't believe anything I read in the newspapers.' In such an atmosphere of pervasive suspicion, the media cannot possibly perform the service which they must perform. Even if they provide us the information we need, we don't trust that information.

A Marxian analysis of the media would insist that the press serves not the public but its masters, that since those who own the presses and the stations are capitalists, the press is, essentially, a propaganda agency which serves business interests. To the media's credit, a number of studies have shown that business leaders look upon the press as anti-business. Advertisers do have an influence, but, to a surprising degree, the media has been able to act with a degree of freedom which is frankly surprising. I need add that you will search in vain for criticism of the government in the press in any Marxist country.

A free press is a rare achievement. In only one country in three is there anything approaching a free press. Governments want calm, not criticism, and so are rarely willing to restrain their power and allow a free press to operate. Unfortunately, in recent years a serious attempt has begun among some Third World countries to suppress criticism by controlling the media. In most of these countries the local press already operates under tight restraints. What these governments now want is to control outside reporters. Largely under the auspices of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, these countries have sought to create what they call a New World Order of Information and Communication. They propose to license reporters. They propose to charge the reporting profession with the responsibility of reporting the positive and constructive elements in the society. A reporter who fails to do so would have his license revoked. These developing societies, most of them fairly authoritarian in structure, don't want to be criticized. They don't want their planning failures publicized. They don't want opposition voices to be heard. Criticism breeds political dissent and they want to continue to govern. Presumably, if no one investigates or publicizes a country's problems, they don't exist. Certainly, out of sight is out of mind. These countries have already passed a rule through the United Nations Commission on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space which prohibits any country from using satellites to send its television programs into a country whose government does not want its citizens to receive them.

I think we agree that the greatest amount of freedom that can be accorded to the press within the limits of national security must be given and that a free society must make every possible effort to protect the ability of the press to investigate and to report what they have discovered. This brings us to the immediate issue: the question of Grenada.

The Grenada invasion represents the first episode in recent history when our government did not allow a pool of reporters to accompany an invasion force. Beyond this, for three days after the invasion reporters were barred from Grenada. Casper Weinberger, the Secretary of Defense, explained this decision as responsive to the military's concern for the safety of the reporters. His explanation was immediately and properly laughed out of court. The military then developed a set of practical explanations. Success, they argued, depended upon absolute secrecy. If a group of reporters had suddenly disappeared from Washington, questions would have been asked and security might have

been compromised. Then there was the issue of numbers. Grenada is a tiny island. Today when military action occurs, a horde of reporters descends within hours from world-hopping jets. In a small area they present both logistic and security problems. I'm told that on the second day of the invasion there was one reporter in Barbados trying desperately to get into Grenada for every five U.S. military personnel on the island.

I'm not much impressed by these arguments. Practical issues can always be resolved practically. What is particularly worrisome is that the White House abdicated this basic responsibility to the military. This White House seems to want to govern but not to administer, and rather than exert that ultimate and constitutionally-mandated control over the military which a society like ours requires, it abdicated the media decision to the military. The military are trained to order and to authority. Reporters represent disturbance. It's easier without them underfoot. One of the legacies of Vietnam is a lingering suspicion between the military and the media. The media believes the military lies. The military believes the media seeks to undo national policy.

The Grenada decision was a foolish one. Excluding the media only confirms reporters in their suspicions and encourages them to suggest all kinds of ugly motives. The Israelis made a similar unfortunate decision to exclude reporters during the first days of their Peace in Galilee invasion. This decision accomplished little except that the reporters rerouted themselves to Beirut, and for the first few days all the information that was coming out emanated from PLO or other Arab sources. Those in Israel could report only that Israel was preventing them from getting to the front for unknown, and therefore suspect, reasons, and that the material they were receiving was highly censored and, therefore, suspect.

Censorship does not become a free society. Yet, I would suggest that the press must ask itself a difficult question, a question they've not as yet posed: why it is that in the last 18 months three of the countries who are fiercest in their support of the freedom of the press — Israel in the Lebanon, the United States in Grenada, the British in the Falkland Islands — felt it necessary to impose severe restrictions upon the media. If asked this question the press, I am sure, would defend itself by saying that all three governments are headed by conservative, right-wing types who are extraordinarily, even paranoically, security-conscious; and, unfortunately, not as sensitive as they ought to be to the interests of the free press. Those who make this argument in the United States point to a number of instances in which the Reagan Administration has limited public access to information under the Freedom of Information Act by requiring researchers to pay the cost of the search and duplication, and by sending out a directive which no longer requires the bureaus to take into account the right of the public to take know when making a decision as to whether something is classified or not. The only question is national security. This administration has foolishly insisted that the showing of certain foreign films be preceded by an announcement indicating that they are political propaganda and, again, foolishly has refused visas to people whose politics they disapprove of: the widow of Chile's Allende; Ian Paisley, the radical Protestant leader from Ireland; and a number of his Irish Republican Army opponents.

Perhaps the most unfortunate move in this area by this

administration has been a plan to require all retired senior government officials who write on their years in office or on politics to submit their books to some form of pre-publication censorship. The argument is that their text may rest on classified information garnered while in office. The problem is that the government's right to censor is increased even though the book may only draw on information already in the public domain. These actions are foolish, unnecessary and ineffective; but they do not prove that this administration has launched a concerted campaign to limit press freedoms. Many of those who have written about the attitude of the Reagan Administration towards security and secrecy, including some who were most passionate in their attack on the Grenada decision, have reported that this administration has been somewhat better in this area than the two administrations which preceded it. In a strong editorial which appeared in Time Magazine, its senior editor included this sentence: "This administration has been far more intelligent and helpful in its dealing with the press than was customary during the Nixon age of paranoia and the Carter era of petty meanness." I'm not defending these governments or their actions, but suggesting that for the press to put down the concerns of these three governments by labeling these governments right wing or overly conscious about security concerns is to avoid looking at their own culpability.

A number of concerns seem to have converged at this time and led to these decisions. Some are practical. When David Brinkley appeared before a Senate committee, to protest the Grenada decision, he reminded the senators that reporters had accompanied American forces in all previous military actions, including D-Day, that reporters have been willing to sign documents that free the government from responsibility for their safety and that they have abided the rules of operational secrecy. What he did not do was analyze the differences in media operation which have developed between World War II and today.

The second World War was global. Grenada is a small island. The Falklands are a small chain of islands. Lebanon is a small country. During the second World War a sprinkling of correspondents followed each army across the globe. Today within hours a horde of correspondents concentrate on a small area. There are serious logistical and control problems. Even more basic, I believe, is the unspoken question of the reporters' sympathy. During the second World War there was general agreement among the reporters who accompanied the troops with the purpose of the allies. Today reporters often disapprove of a governmental decision. Many European reporters work for papers owned by parties which make no bones of the fact that their reports reflect party ideology. In the United States there is not only a counter culture press but a growing suspicion of all institutions, including the government. Then, too, words have increasingly given way to pictures. Instead of a detailed report of an operation, many people are there only to get a human interest photo or to report back on somebody from the old home town.

The government tends to feel the media looks at every war with a Vietnam bias. I don't think that's the problem. As I see it, the problem is that the media have become self-conscious of its political power, I believe that the fourth estate has come down with a case of *hubris*, the feeling it know best. Reporting unconsciously slips over into sermonizing. Some reporters have become preachers. Preachers, as I well know, have the luxury of criticizing the

actions of others without being responsible for the consequences of a program. We don't have to administer. We don't have to stand for election. I believe that since Watergate and Vietnam the press has developed a certain self-righteousness and a perceptible hubris.

The media has become self-conscious about its power, and it is powerful. Senior press people have easier access to the leaders of our government than many of their own subordinates. Almost any media person has easier access to our representatives than many of us have. There isn't an agency of the government which doesn't have elaborate quarters for the press. The senior reporters and network anchor people are among the best paid and most powerful individuals in our country. The press plays a crucial role in determining the political agenda; how we view the major political figures; and what we think about various agencies and programs. The issues they chose to splash across page one become our issues. The issues they chose not to investigate remain non-issues.

The press is powerful, necessarily so. That's not the problem. The problem is that the press has increasingly become self-conscious about its power. I sense that many in the media want to change the course of events rather than simply report events. The line between reporting and editorializing has become blurred. The press is conscious of the fact that it's part of the action. In the late 60's and early 70's some in the press began to justify what was called advocacy reporting. It was argued that since there is no such thing as total impartiality, why not simply be open and candid about your views and put in the adjectives which encourage others to agree with your position and omit the facts which do not fit.

A man named Michael Ledeer, who teaches at the Georgetown School for International and Strategic Studies, reported recently a conversation that he had with a senior television journalist during the war in Lebanon. Television journalist: "How can Begin and Sharon continue to bomb Beirut after all the pictures that we put on television?" Ledeer: "Well, you know, Jerusalem must consider other issues besides that of public relations." Television journalist: "But we've seen to it that these pictures are sent all over the world."

Consciously or unconsciously, this journalist was trying to make history work his way. He was a reporter and a protagonist. There are many such. Power breeds the temptation to exploit one's power.

The lack of responsibility to administer a decision, to make it work, and the ability to make public judgements breeds what my mother used to call hot angels. It's easy to know what should be done if you don't have to take the contrariness of any political situation into consideration. I find the fourth estate's growing interest in playing a major role its own devising in our political life a dangerous development. The press is to be a media through which we make up our minds — a source of information, not another policy-making agency.

I don't know quite how we can get our hand on this problem, but I do know a good dose of humility would help. On Yom Kippur before the leader goes out to conduct services he is required by our tradition to recite a prayer which begins, 'I am inadequate to the task which I must undertake.' I commend that text to all reporters. Humility is a becoming

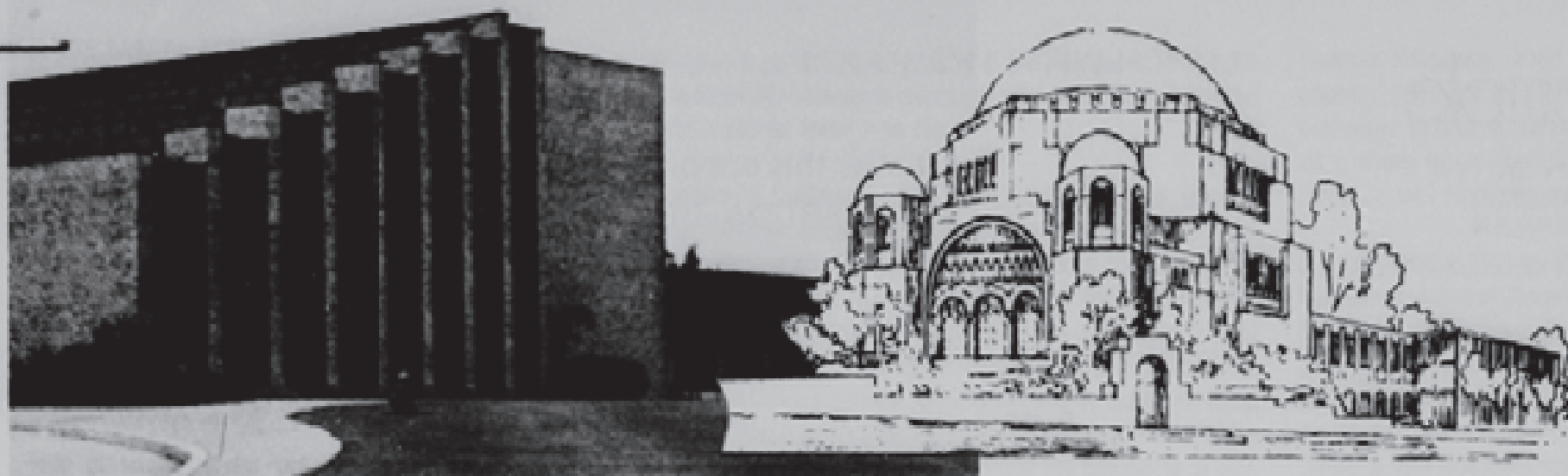
virtue and one I increasingly find missing in the press. One example. After Grenada the Defense Department announced that it would convene a commission, including representatives of the media, to discuss how a future confrontation between the military and the media might be avoided. Newsweek handled the story this way.

Though unchastened by criticism of press curbs during the Grenada invasion, the Pentagon last week pledged to form a commission to review the restrictions and to suggest rules for coverage of future military actions. The panel — to include both military and journalists — will be headed by retired Maj. Gen. Sidle, who spent two difficult years as chief American military spokesman in Vietnam. Sidle, now a director of public relations for the Martin Marietta Corp., had the unenviable task of conveying to a skeptical press Gen. William Westmoreland's promises of an early victory. He was not afount of information, but, says former CBS Saigon bureau chief Ed Fouhy, "He escaped with his integrity, which is saying a lot for that time and place." It remains to be seen whether Sidle's new boss — President Reagan — will give him more latitude than Westmoreland did.

Instead of saying, 'there's a problem, here's an honest attempt to resolve it,' every adjective is loaded and every line drips self-righteousness. Whoever wrote and edited this piece suffered from the hubris I've been describing.

Since they are, in fact, the fourth estate, it would be wise for the media to come together as a corporation and appoint its own national commission whose task it would be, year in and year out, to review the media's handling of the news and to publish critical and detailed analyses of its findings. At present every significant segment of the body politic is critically reviewed except the media. From time to time a journalism school magazine may analyze the coverage at a particular event, but these studies are not widely publicized and there is no ongoing body charged with this duty. Doctors in a hospital are held routinely to peer review. Most professions have some kind of professional board of review. The press does not. A few newspapers have an ombudsman who presumably reviews editorial matters, but his comments rarely reach the public. More's the pity because the public needs to have confidence in a free press. It does not today. Everyone seems to have a horror story of press inaccuracy or presumed bias. A free press which is not trusted cannot play the crucial political role which the fourth estate must play if our political life is to remain healthy.

Daniel Jeremy Silver



January 22, 1984
Vol. LXX, No. 11

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: Baby Jane Doe (The Sermon of December 11, 1983)

The facts are these. On October 11 of this year a baby girl was born in The University Hospital, Stonybrook, Long Island. She was born with a condition known as spina bifida. Her spinal column was exposed. She had an abnormally small head and an excess of spinal fluid pressing on the brain. Because of these and other handicaps she was given just a few months to live. With surgery to control the excess fluid she might survive for twenty years, but if she does she will be permanently bedridden, lacking in many motor and communication skills, severely retarded, and in constant pain.

Her parents and the attending physician agreed that surgery should not be performed. They saw no reason to prolong her "life" on a mattress grave. Apparently, a nurse in the hospital who believes that everything must be done to prolong "life", regardless of the situation, telephoned information about the infant to a self-appointed crusader, Lawrence Washburn of Dorset, Vermont. Mr. Washburn immediately complained to the New York courts to force the operation. The magistrate's court ordered the surgery on the child now known as Baby Jane Doe. This decision was appealed and both the New York State Court of Appeals and the State Supreme Court over-ruled the original decision.

While these legal battles were going on Washington entered the case and lawyers from the Department of Health and Human Services and the Justice Department took the issue to the Federal courts where they sued for the government's right to review Baby Jane Doe's medical records. So far this petition has been denied by every court to whom it has been submitted.

The courts have usually been unwilling to interfere in suits involving the State's right to override a decision to refuse medical treatment. There are exceptions when, for instance, society at large may be threatened as in a case involving immunization against a communicable disease or when the religious scruples of parents may deny a child life-saving surgery. There are cases involving the Jehovah Witnesses refusal to accept blood transfusions. But even in such cases the courts acted with caution only because they hesitate to intervene between patients and their physicians but because these cases involve the constitutional question of the free exercise of religion.

You may remember the 1975 case which involved Karen Ann Quinlan. This 21-year old girl had taken drugs and

liquor at a party and slipped into a deep coma from which she could not be roused. During emergency treatment she was put on a mechanical respirator, but days passed without any change and doctors testified that she was in a "persistent vegetative state." A few months later her foster parents asked the hospital to remove the life support systems. The hospital refused. The hospital insisted it had a duty to carry out all possible treatment. After lengthy litigation the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that the right to refuse treatment has constitutional roots. The court, in this case, made an important distinction between treatment required to prolong life and treatment which simply prolongs dying. Her coma was irreversible, but, unfortunately, the strength of a young body sustains her even today in a vegetative state.

Given the judicial history in the area of the right to refuse treatment, the question must be asked why the government chose to interfere in the case of Baby Jane Doe. Some will say, and not without justification, that this is an election year and this was a political decision. The president has not been able to satisfy the right-to-life people on the abortion issue or the Moral Majority on the prayer-in-public-schools issue, those who might be expected to be absolutists on the "save a life" issue. Here was a golden opportunity to show himself as a champion for their interests. If this was the

purpose the President will not reap the harvest of votes that he may expect. It is well to remember that a majority block within the Right-To-Life movement, the Roman Catholic Church, opposes any rule which would require that extraordinary life-sustaining measures be taken in cases such as Baby Jane Doe.

The Quinlans were Roman Catholics. During that trial, their parish priest testified in court to the Church's well-established position: that life is sacred but not an absolute. The Church looks on this life as the first part of a continuum which extends into life everlasting. Thus the duty to preserve life has limits, limits which do not impose on patient or family the need to suffer unduly or make heroic sacrifices for questionable benefits.

Recently, Father John Paris, a Jesuit father who now works at the Hastings Institute, restated the Church's position in the Wall Street Journal. He was writing specifically about Baby Jane Doe, and in opposition to those who say, "The rights of the deformed child are absolute and unwavering and require that all measures should be taken to save life under all circumstance."

"Such a vitalist approach is utterly foreign to the tradi-
(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

January 22, 1984
10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

TMC Creative Service
Barnett Bookatz and
Nancy Cronig

will speak on

JUDAISM LOOKS AT 1984

January 29, 1984
10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi
Daniel Jeremy Silver

will speak on

THE LANGUAGE OF
JUDAISM - I - HEBREW

Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 6:10 — The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service — 9:00 a.m. — The Branch

tional Christian understanding of life and the duty one has for its care. In that context, life as a gift of God, is indeed sacred, but it is not an end in itself. It is destined for something higher and more ultimate. And the duty to care for it is a limited one, one which demands not heroic sacrifice and suffering on the part of the individual or the family, but only the use of ordinary means and resources to preserve it.

"That standard, which has been the Catholic moral teaching for centuries, has been reiterated in the Vatican's 1980 Declaration on Euthanasia where we read: "One is never obliged to use 'extraordinary' means." Then, aware that the traditional "ordinary/extraordinary" language has frequently been misused, the Vatican emphasized the original intent to focus not on the technique but the condition of the patient by substituting for the outmoded phrases a "proportionate" benefit and burden test.

"Under that standard, our task is to examine the proposed treatment, its risks, costs and possibilities and compare them with the results to be expected "taking into account the state of the sick person and his or her physical and moral resources." As New York's highest court confirmed, that was precisely the basis for the physician-family decision for Baby Jane.

"Within the Catholic tradition, the right to life and the sanctity of life have always meant a respect for human creation in all its forms. That respect prohibits killing of innocent life at any stage—fetus, newborn, aged, senile, terminally ill or hopelessly comatose. But it has not and does not demand that where there is little hope of prolonging life except under intense suffering that we do everything technically possible."

The Surgeon General of the United States explained the government's actions in this way. "We are not fighting for the baby. We are fighting for the principle that every life is individually and uniquely sacred." Some of us would argue that the baby, this baby, should be our central concern. It is the baby who suffers. It is the baby's parents who are suffering. But I think we also recognize that a rush of empathy cannot be our final and full response to this kind of tragic situation. Baby Jane Doe's suffering is clearly beyond whatever most of us would define as tolerable limits, but suffering is, after all, a subjective experience, and many of us will differ as to precisely where the line should be drawn. Suffering is not in all cases sufficient reason to abandon attempts to sustain life.

The Surgeon General was enunciating a basic Biblical principle when he argued that every life is individually and uniquely sacred. Judaism looks on life as a gift to us from God—His, not ours, to dispose. The taking of life is a crime. Suicide is a sin. You will not find in rabbinic literature any enthusiasm for what the Greeks called euthanasia—actions which insure an easy death. The rabbis often repeated in this connection Job's dialogue with his wife. Job has been stripped of position and wealth, forced to suffer the death of his children, and afflicted with a variety of painful and disfiguring illnesses, Job's wife can no longer endure his pain. "Do you still hold fast to your integrity? Curse God and die." If I had been Job I would have been sorely tempted to end my suffering, but Job will not take the easy way out. "You talk as one of the shameless women. Should we receive good from God and not accept evil?"

When the Greeks followed Alexander into the Middle East and settled in, the Jews were scandalized by the indifference the Greeks showed to each individual life. They could not

imagine a culture which practiced infanticide. In their eyes it was an ultimate sin to expose the deformed and unwanted infant and so force it to die.

Judaism's traditional approach should warn us against becoming too cavalier with such a currently popular phrase as quality of life. Many of us who oppose the fundamentalists who insist that everything must be done in every situation have taken to this phrase as if it provides a solid basis for any and every tragic medical dilemma. It does not. The term lacks precision. Quality of life may mean one thing to an active twenty-year old and quite another to an eighty-year old who must somehow manage the infirmities of age. Many of those who spend their days sitting in a wheel chair staring into space in our old folks' homes are enduring lives which have little quality, but, surely, none of us would argue that their lives should be terminated or even that their deaths should be hastened, however gently.

Some of us feel a mongoloid child has no quality of life. Others of us are not that certain. I would argue that it is precisely because of such honorable differences of judgement among us that the government should not interfere in the patient-physician relationship. There is no consensus among us on this issue and so the government cannot impose a national standard. The issues are complex. Each case is unique. Medicine is a fast-changing discipline. There is no consensus or certainty among us, so it is best that these cases be left to the attending physician, the patient and the family.

I would fault the government on another count. Those who exercise a right must be prepared to accept the responsibilities their actions involve. Righteousness involves concern, act and continuing responsibility. Self-righteousness involves concern, act and an unwillingness to accept the consequences of one's actions. Let's assume that Baby Jane Doe lives for twenty years. She will be bedridden. She will require extended and expensive care. Will the government be at her bedside? Will it accept financial or administrative responsibility for her care? Once the court rules, the Administration will turn to other matters. It's hard to see this administration assuming new costs related to medical care.

The government can properly claim that it is following out the principles of those whose philosophy underlies our Constitution. It was the intellectual father of our Constitution, John Locke, who coined the phrase "the inalienable right to life." Locke insisted that the right to life was a right that could not be taken away or given away. Locke did not acknowledge the right to refuse treatment and his spiritual heir, Thomas Jefferson, insisted that anyone who hastened death in any way was unbalanced and was to be pitied by public opinion.

Neither man, of course, could conceive of the sobering consequences of the miracles of modern medical treatment. They took their stand against the philosophy of the hard-hearted mercantilists of their day who looked upon individuals as cogs in an economic machine. These mercantilists argued that national prosperity depended upon limiting the costs of production; that when the parts wore out they should be scrapped and replaced; and that the community could not and should not sustain those who were no longer productive.

Locke insisted on the sacredness of life because he needed to counter the "realists" of his day who reduced the human being to a unit of production and treated the individual as if he were a machine. This kind of thinking still crops up among our "realists." We find it again in the writings of the social Darwinists of the 19th century and of the National Socialists in our century. Hitler cleared out the mental institutions and old-age homes of Germany in the name of

national efficiency. I am sure that there are some in our country who have this turn of mind, and who would like to find ways to hasten the death of the infirm and the elderly as a means of solving the financial problems of the Social Security and medicare systems.

It is good and necessary that the sanctity of each individual life be a concern of the government, but let the concern be educative, not judicial. The greater danger is not a single mistake of judgement but the government's power to impose arbitrary standards on its citizens. I am sure that many patients and physicians come to a decision with which others would disagree. Perhaps they've even made a wrong decision. To be human is to be fallible. We all make mistakes. But even if they have, it's an honest mistake and the society as a whole has not been hurt. Such decisions involve only one life. If we are the patient we must accept the consequences of our decision. It's our decision and our fate. Since there is no consensus on such issues, and since every case is a special and separate one, any attempt by the government to legislate what must be done will only cause mental anguish, physical pain and financial harm to many. I am convinced that each of us has the right to accept or reject treatment because no one has the right to make that decision for us. Why not? Because no one else will have to live by the consequences of that decision.

The government sometime claims the right to act in order to protect us from ourselves. At times we need such protection. It is possible to become so excited or so depressed that we lose our balance and our judgement. Societies are right to try to create an emotional environment which discourages suicide. If we can get someone suffering from a broken heart through the night they will often find that a new life opens with the dawn. Issues of terminal illness, infirmity and senility are, however, of a different order. They represent irreversible situations. There is no solution this side of the grave. All the religions of the West have the rules against suicide and a thousand ways to avoid enforcing these rules. It is not suicide to hasten an inevitable, and perhaps an overwhelmingly painful, end—an end which can rob a person of that dignity which is more precious than life itself. I am fully convinced that none of us has the right to say to another, you must have surgery. You must take chemotherapy. If God has already decreed that our life must end, we need not oppose Him. I hold those who insist on treatment regardless of the situation and the wishes of the patient or of their guardians to be guilty of inflicting assault and battery on an unwilling victim. By what right do they impose their peculiar absolutism upon another?

I deem it healthy that many in our society have begun to make known their feelings about extraordinary heroic measures by signing a living will.

"To my family, my physician, my clergyman and my lawyer:

If the time comes when I can no longer take part in decisions for my own future, let this statement stand as the testament of my wishes. If there is no reasonable expectation of my recovery from physical or mental disability, I request that I be allowed to die and not be kept alive by artificial means and heroic measures. Death is as much a reality as birth, growth, maturity and old age. It is the one certainty. I do not fear death as much as I fear the indignity of deterioration dependent upon hopeless pain. I ask that drugs be mercifully administered to me for terminal suffering even if they hasten the moment of death.

"This request is made after careful consideration. Although this document is not legally binding, you who care for me will, I hope, feel morally bound to follow this mandate. I recognize that it places a heavy burden of responsibility upon you and it is with the intention of sharing that

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK:
(Continued)

responsibility and of mitigating any feeling of guilt that this statement is made."

This so-called will has no legal standing, but it does suggest to the family they need feel no guilt if they find it necessary to make that hard decision.

There is a piece of doggerel which suggests our situation: "Of old when men lay sick and sorely tried/The doctors gave them physic and they died/But here's a happier age. For now we know/Both how to make men sick and keep them so." In an age such as ours it's well that we remind ourselves that Job's willingness to accept life's sufferings is in the Bible and that the Bible also tells us "there's a time to be born and there's a time to die." Judaism does not look

on death as the ultimate evil. Death conforms to God's wisdom as surely as birth. The medieval sage, Nissim Gerundi, put it simply: "There is a time when we should pray for a sick person that he should recover and there is a time when we should pray for God's mercy that he should die." It was generally accepted among the rabbis that there is no duty incumbent upon a physician to force a terminal patient to suffer a bit longer.

In the early centuries of this era men put little faith in a physician's skill. Doctors were called in only when all else failed since their treatment often hastened death. During the period when the Talmud was written people put more faith in prayer than in medicine, so this story is appropriate. The greatest sage of his day, Judah ha-nasi, lay on his death bed. The man who had headed the Jewish community with rare capacity was in great pain. His disciples and his colleagues wanted to keep him with them. They live

in a world when it was believed that the Angel of Death could not enter a sick room as long as people prayed there continuously. These friends prayed with a full heart and without a break. Judah had a housekeeper, a wise woman. She felt her master's pain and she saw the determination of those who prayed, so she took a large clay pot up to the roof of the house and threw it down against the flagstones of the courtyard. The resulting explosion stunned the pray-ers and the Angel of Death stepped across the moment of silence and took Judah's soul.

The Talmud praises his housekeeper for her act. There is a time to be born and a time to die.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

THIRD FRIDAY SABBATH SERVICE

A FAMILY DINNER & SERVICE FOR ALL GENERATIONS

SPONSORED BY THE TEMPLE YOUNG ASSOCIATES

OPEN TO ALL

DATE: Friday, February 17th

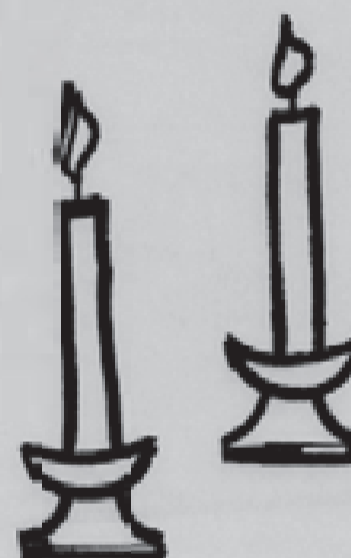
TIME: Dinner 6:00 p.m.

Service 7:45 p.m.

PLACE: The Branch

COST: Adults \$6.50

Children 6-12 years \$3.50 — Under 6 Free



RSVP by February 10th to:

Carol & Ken Hochman

23625 Shelburne Road

Shaker Heights, Ohio 44122

Questions? Call 464-2297

_____ Adults @ \$6.50 \$

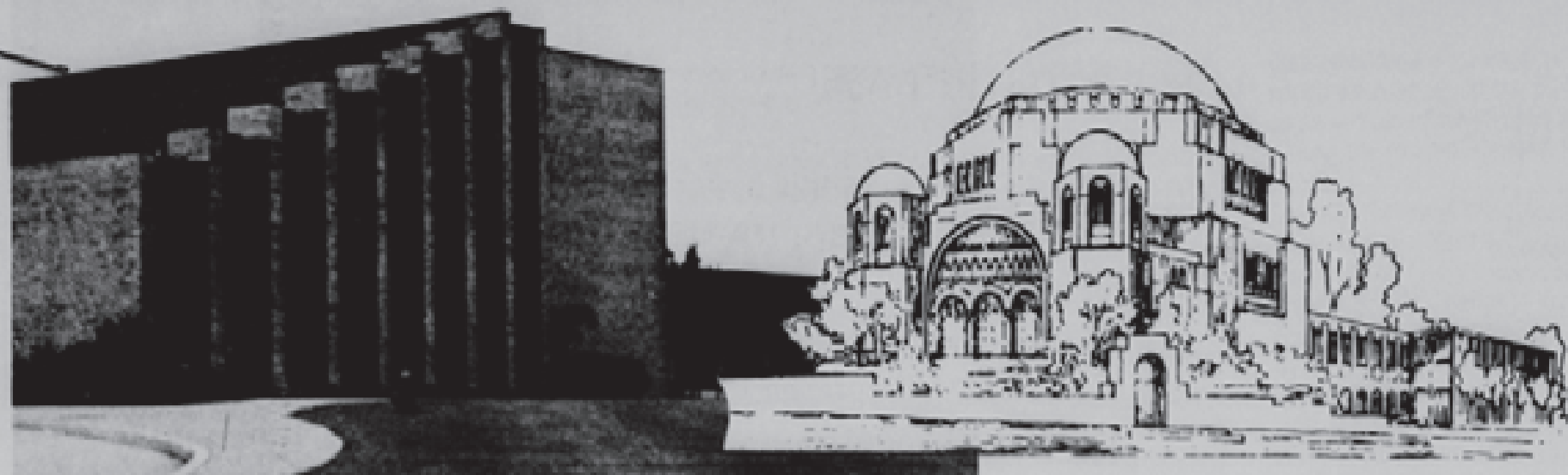
_____ Children 6-12 @ \$3.50 \$

_____ Children under 6

Total amount enclosed \$ _____

Make checks payable to The Temple Young Associates

Name _____



February 5, 1984
Vol. LXX, No. 12

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: Can There Be Peace In The Middle East?
December 23, 1983 at The City Club Forum

The other day I came across a child in our Nursery School busily crayoning. I asked her what she was drawing. She said: "God." I said: "No one knows what God looks like." She looked me straight in the eye and said: "After I'm through they will."

Anyone who presumes to think that after I'm through they will know whether there can be peace in the Middle East or how peace can be achieved in the Middle East will be disappointed. No one knows, neither the protagonists in the area nor the diplomats in the various ministries of the world. The Middle East is a cauldron. The Middle East is going through the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, the Technological Revolution, and the Information Revolution all at once; and it has a long way to go before it achieves stability. Many of the countries in the Middle East are in the same relative place in their evolution that Christian Europe was in at the beginning of the Hundred Years War. They are trying to sort themselves out and they are caught up in any number of bitter internecine quarrels. Time, and time alone, will bring a degree of stability to the Middle East. The best one can do, I think, is to take a narrow look at one of the problems of the Middle East and to extrapolate from that issue some approaches which may be generally useful. That's what I'd like to try and do with you this morning.

I will concentrate on the Lebanon. Let me begin by asking the questions we've all been asking to see whether the answers we've been getting satisfy us. If they do not, what ought to be our American policy in that part of the world? The question we've all been asking is this: What are the Marines doing in the Lebanon? The answer we've been getting is that they are there as part of a multi-national peace-keeping force.

Question: "How can a few thousand soldiers, hunkered down in defensive bunkers, bring peace to a country where everybody seems to be at the throat of his neighbors?" Answer: "They are there as part of our symbolic commitment to the Lebanese government."

These are the questions we've been asking and these are the answers we've been getting, and most of us are not satisfied by these answers. We know that peace-keeping must be an active enterprise. You can't secure a city if all its police officers spend their duty hours in the police station. If our troops are to be an effective symbol of our commitment to the Lebanese government, there must be something positive and accomplished about their presence. In reality, they have been assigned a defensive, passive posture. The result is that our troops have become targets

of opportunity for anyone who feels that he has some real or feigned reason to be angry with the West or the United States. We ought not be surprised that many are saying: "Bring the boys home."

Perhaps we ought to remove the multi-national force, but before we do let's ask again the basic question - why are they there - and see if there are better answers than those the government has provided.

Let's begin by reminding ourselves that the Marines are not there because of a unilateral decision of the United States. The multi-national force was requested by the Lebanese government, and four Western powers. Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States - responded to that request. Why? Because it was in their interest to do so. The West does not want the Lebanon to fall under the aegis of Syria. An independent Lebanon fits in with our geo-political reading of what should take place in the world. We don't want a radical state allied with Iran and the Soviet Union to control a significant section of the sea coast of the Eastern Mediterranean.

We also have a parents' concern for the Lebanon. The Lebanon is our child. The Lebanon was created in the middle of the 19th century by the French for reasons which, as all political reasons, were partially economic and partially humanitarian. The economic reason was that the

French, and Europe generally, wanted an outpost in the Middle East from which they could do business with a part of the world which they recognized was beginning to emerge into economic prosperity. But there was another reason. Traditionally, this area of the Lebanon had been the area to which Christian groups, minorities in the Arab world, and some sectarian Muslim groups like the Druze, had come during the medieval period, seeking security from the religious imperialism of orthodox Islam. The French created the Lebanon in part to be a safe area where these minorities could live and survive without being threatened by a rising tide of Islamic nationalism.

Much of the concern which we have about our policy in the Lebanon is based on the common wisdom that there has never been a nation called the Lebanon. It is argued that the Lebanon is an artificial creation fundamentally unstable and that, therefore, any attempt by the West to create a nation called Lebanon is doomed to failure. Lebanon is a fragile state, but it is well to remember that for the better part of this century, until the early 1970's, the Lebanon, however fragile its political arrangements may have been, was a relatively secure place as the Middle East goes. Its security was sufficient to transform the Lebanon into the most prosperous country in the Middle East. These were the decades when Beirut became the most prosperous capital in the Middle East. The commercial and banking

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

February 5, 1984
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
Daniel Jeremy Silver

will speak on

THE LANGUAGE OF
JUDAISM - II - ARAMAIC

February 12, 1984
10:30 a.m.
The Temple Branch

Rabbi
Daniel Jeremy Silver

will speak on

THE LANGUAGE OF
JUDAISM - III - ARABIC

Friday Evening Service - 5:30 - 6:10 - The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service - 9:00 a.m. - The Branch

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK:

(Continued)

interests of the West and of the Arab world met there. Much of the business of the Arab world was done in Beirut, and as Beirut's prosperity grew some of it reached out into the countryside. If it had not been for foreign intrusion, if it had not been to those who imposed themselves on the Lebanon from the outside, I am convinced that the prosperity of the Lebanon would have continued, and the fragile political relationships of the Lebanon would have been able to hold together.

Those relationships were shattered in 1970 when the major military and political leadership of the PLO settled the Lebanon. You recall that the Palestine Liberation Organization was created in Egypt in the middle 1950's. Its desire to drive Israel into the sea corresponded nicely with Nasser's ambitions; but Nasser quickly discovered that the PLO had a complex political agenda. Since it was armed it could not easily be controlled. Within a year or two Nasser had driven the PLO out of Egypt. The Syrians restrained the many-sided and varied political and military ambitions of the PLO by conscripting the local PLO into the Syrian Army. For several decades there has been an Al-Saika division of Palestinians in the Syrian Army. Rebuffed by the major confrontation states, the Palestinians moved their political and military base to the weaker of the states which border on Israel. For a number of years Jordan tolerated the presence of the PLO, and it was from Jordan that many of the terrorist attacks of the 60's were mounted against Israel. But by 1970 King Hussein had recognized that the PLO was a threat to his throne and to the security of his country, and engaged the PLO in a major battle in order to free his country of their unwanted presence.

The PLO then moved its headquarters and military commands to the weakest of the countries which face on Israel, to the Lebanon, and it is with the introduction of the PLO in force into the Lebanon in 1970 that the tragedy of the Lebanon began.

The PLO moved into a country where relationships between the minorities had always been tenuous and where the political structure was an arbitrary structure designed to maintain a balance of power between the minority groups. The PLO came in like a bull in a china shop. Maronite Christians were muscled aside from their centers in Sidon and Damur. Shiite Muslims were pulled out from traditional centers in southern Lebanon and the Druze from some of their strongholds in the Shuf Mountains. The PLO began to carve out for itself what was intended to be an independent state in Southern Lebanon. The PLO not only muscled aside these groups from parts of their traditional turf, but provided arms, equipment and terrorist training to the radical among them; and soon, because everything was now in confusion, fragile relationships which had survived for almost a century frayed and came unstuck. Everyone armed himself. Militia began to fight against militia. In 1975 Lebanon fell into a tragic, costly, bloody civil war which turned everyone into someone's enemy.

The PLO brought not only war and bloodshed to the Lebanon but also the Syrian Army. By 1976 the government in Beirut found itself incapable of maintaining even a semblance of order, and Syria was handed a wonderful opportunity to extend its influence in the Lebanon, something it has traditionally and historically sought.

Over the centuries Damascus has been the dominant capital in that part of the world. During the long centuries of Turkish rule, Damascus was the provincial capital; Beirut a small provincial city. Earlier during the heyday of Syrian power under Saladin, Damascus had governed most of the Middle East. Syria has always looked upon that area which we now call Lebanon as part of its natural hegemony, and it has been Syria's clear and consistent policy to increase its influence, either directly or indirectly, in the Lebanon. In 1976 the Syrians sent in their army, ostensibly to keep order. Syria kept portions of the army in the capital and, in effect, incorporated much of the eastern third of the Lebanon, the Bekka Valley, into the homeland. Syria allowed the rest of the Lebanon to remain trapped in

internecine warfare because confusion suited her purpose. Syria simply settled in.

As the PLO developed its state in the south, it began to develop that indispensable arm of every independent state, a standing army. Money and equipment — tanks, cannon and missiles — were provided by Libya, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Algeria, and the Soviet Union. By the late 70's a well-equipped standing army was in place in southern Lebanon. All that it lacked was an air force.

Naturally, the Israelis were concerned, and conveyed to the United States their concern. The United States cautioned patience. Washington reminded Israel that as long as it had control of the skies, modern warfare is won in the sky and not on the land, they had nothing to fear. The United States went farther and negotiated a tacit arrangement between Syria and Israel in which the Syrians agreed not to move surface-to-air missiles into the Lebanon, and Israel agreed not to take preemptive action against this PLO army. Within six months of making this agreement, the Syrians violated it. They moved Russian-built surface-to-air missiles, the SAM II's, into the Bekka Valley. Israel complained to the United States which had negotiated the agreement and, in effect, guaranteed it. Phil Habib was sent to Damascus. He came back empty-handed. Damascus had no intentions of pulling back from this extension of its power and influence. Syria is a determined police state which knows its mind as far as the Lebanon is concerned. Syria was testing the United States. The United States, instead of taking some kind of economic or political action which would have signaled its displeasure, tried to act as if nothing had happened and simply cautioned Israel to be prudent. In so doing, we laid the seeds for the inevitable preemptive action which was the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon in the summer of 1982.

The United States reaction was not only a passive one towards Syria, but a positively pliant one. The Administration began to argue that the reason that the United States had failed was that we had no talking points with the Syrians. We needed better relationships with Damascus. We didn't have such relationships because Syria is a police state. Thirty thousand secret police help Assad control dissent. Syria keeps a division of crack troops in Damascus in order to maintain the control of the Alawite minority who rule the country with an iron hand. Nevertheless, forces in the United States, the impetus coming first from those in the Defense Department whose major activity is military sales to the Arab world, began to argue that we should find ways to support Damascus. So our reaction to Syria's deliberate flaunting of the United States' good name, incredible as it now seems, was a proposal by our Administration to the Congress that several hundred millions of dollars be granted to Syria under our foreign aid program.

Assad saw the United States blink and moved to take full advantage of the situation. Syria began to send even greater quantities of arms to the PLO and to those minorities in the Lebanon who were the more radical and allied with the Shiite Alawites and the Shiite Iranians.

The predictable happened. Israel was patient for awhile as the PLO army grew in size and her northern settlements continued to be bombed. She recognized that the time would soon come when she might not be able to control a PLO army backed by Syria's Air Force and surface-to-air missiles. The SAM missiles threatened Israel's control of the air over northern Israel and southern Lebanon, and the 1982 invasion took place.

Once the Israelis had defeated the PLO army, driven the Syrian Air Force out of the sky, and destroyed the SAM II missile centers, the United States and our Western allies were presented with a rare new opportunity — a chance to engage in negotiations with all those foreign groups which had brought such tragedy to the Lebanon: the PLO, the Syrians, and the Israelis. Here was an opportunity for negotiations which would see to it that all of these forces withdrew from the Lebanon. Through these negotiations we would support the elected government of Lebanon and help to extend its authority. At the same time, we could pressure

that government to engage in those necessary reforms which would readjust the political equation in the Lebanon so as to take into consideration the new realities of power among the minority groups.

It was at that time that the request for the Western soldiers came, and the West willingly responded. But Washington during those months was caught up in its policy of Syrian appeasement. Largely under the influence of Casper Weinberger, the Administration convinced itself that the Syrians were acting as they were acting not out of national ambition but as a way of signaling to us their displeasure with the United States' relationship with Israel. Casper Weinberger and his allies argued that the United States had a golden opportunity to signal to the Arab world that we were distancing ourselves from an ally who had done something of which we disapproved. Here was a chance to show the Arabs by our actions that we were sympathetic to their concerns. In the months ahead we would show the Israelis our displeasure. By following this policy of appeasement, we lost the opportunity of creating negotiations which would involve the Syrians as well as the Israelis. We set the Syrians aside. Only Israelis and Lebanese were involved in negotiations, and we even told the Lebanese government, 'you don't have to negotiate peace with Israel. All you need to do is simply make an arrangement in which the Israelis agree to withdraw.' After some months, in May of 1983, we forced the Israelis to sign such a bilateral agreement — forced, not in the sense that the Israelis had any long-term territorial ambitions in the Lebanon, but forced in the sense that the Israelis recognized how stupid and short-sighted American policy was. Not to involve the Syrians was a guarantee that this agreement, whatever it was, would never, in fact, go into effect because it was predicated on the coordinated withdrawal of all foreign forces, and Syria had no reason to withdraw.

What was Casper Weinberger's argument? He argued that once the Israelis agreed to withdraw and the United States had made clear its displeasure with Israel, Syria would willingly withdraw. Why would Syria withdraw? Because Syria would recognize that she could gain support and influence with the United States by such an act, and because the Saudis would bring pressure upon Syria to move out. Over the last many years the Saudis have provided the basic financial support which allows the nearly bankrupt economy of Syria to survive. Between the summer of 1982 and the spring of 1983 the Saudis had provided nearly two billion dollars to the Syrians, the dollars which the Syrians used to rebuild their army with new and more sophisticated Soviet equipment. Weinberger felt that all the Saudis had to do was to go to Damascus and tell Mr. Assad that he had gained from the United States all that could be gained, that the United States had distanced itself from Israel, and that now was the time for Syria to further the larger interests of the Arab world and secure the involvement of the United States with positive forces in the Arab world by withdrawal.

Weinberger's argument bore no relationship to political realities. The Saudis had no real interest in accomplishing withdrawal. They are not interested in the security of sectarian Muslim groups or in protecting Christian Arabs in the Muslim world. Christian Arabs are not allowed to live in Saudi Arabia. Nor did they have, in fact, talking points in our sense of the word with the Syrians. True, they gave billions to the Syrians, but this was protection money, not leverage money. It was the kind of money that a shopkeeper gives to representatives of the Mafia in order that he can continue to stay in business. The Saudis are deathly afraid that the Syrians will support the subversion of their power in the oil fields by arming the poor Arabs, mostly northern Arabs, who work in the oil fields and who do not share in the riches or power which black gold provides Saudi Arabia's feudal lords. The Saudis have been buying the Syrians off.

Once the Israeli-Lebanese agreement was signed Syria said simply: 'We want no part of it. The only issue as far as we're concerned is the unilateral withdrawal of the Israelis.' Emboldened by the appeasement evident in Washington's policies, Syria redoubled her efforts to enlarge her sphere of influence in the Lebanon. She gave tanks and cannon to

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK:
(Continued)

the reverse to be the case. The Saudis are afraid of the Syrians. The Saudis are a small feudal oligarchy sitting on top of rich gold fields, black gold, and the Saudis are afraid of subversion because the oil fields are manned by Palestinians, by Syrians, by Iraqis who are not allowed to share fully in the wealth they are bringing out of the earth. The Saudis fear the Syrians as the agents through which the Soviet, the Libyans, the Iranians and others could ship down weapons, subversive materials and subversive propagandists in order to stir up the oil fields. Essentially, the Saudis are buying off the Syrians, and it is my firm belief that Syria's ambitions in the Lebanon begin in Syria, are determined by Syria, fit Syria's concepts of her leadership role in the Arab world, and will be limited only insofar as Syria feels that other countries will not allow her to increase her influence.

Q: Rabbi Silver, I've been puzzled and somewhat astonished recently that there has been no outcry or moral condemnation in the U.N. or the Third World countries, similarly in world opinion, for what I regard as slaughter and killings by so-called rebel PLO versus the other Palestinian PLO, and by the Syrian involvement in that. You don't hear any real condemnation of that. Similarly, in the Iraq-Iran war there is no significant discussion of that; it's relatively quiet and seemingly the world is unconcerned. What is the moral difference that takes place in the world with regard to that kind of violence and slaughter and massacre as against other types that are condemned?

A: We have what you would call a selective morality based on what is of interest to the news media and what they are allowed to report. One of the problems of the Iraqi-Iranian war is that the correspondents can't get to the front and report on the slaughter which has now reached the tens of thousands. Another is that the media has largely a Western moral bias. It is assumed that Israel as a western state should abide one set of moral standards, and somehow if Arabs kill Arabs it's something less: 'lesser breeds without the law.' The attitude doesn't speak well of our appreciation of the people who live in the Third World or the Arab world, but it's a fact of life. This moral bias harms our understanding in a more basic sense than simply moral outrage which is a relatively cheap commodity. When the terrible civil war broke out in the Lebanon in '75-'76 it was hardly covered in the world press and, therefore, it hardly became an issue. We continued to deal with Syria and the PLO in Lebanon as if nothing had changed. Instead of trying to nip a problem in the bud we let it fester, and like all wounds that are allowed to fester, the situation became increasingly dangerous.

One of the problems that we're dealing with here is that only those issues which seem to be controversial at home are those which are raised up in the media. I was announced as today's speaker at the City Club to talk on peace in the Middle East. Suddenly before anybody knows what I'm going to say, there has to be an opposition speaker who's going to counter whatever it is that I have to say. Now, that's fine. The platform is devoted and dedicated to free speech, but my point is that somehow the issue of Arabs in Israel has become one of those issues which excited debate in the United States while the Arab vs. Arab issues do not

and so do not get that same kind of coverage though, as in the case of Iraq-Iran, North Yemen-South Yemen, poor Arab-rich Arab, the Brotherhood of Islam vs. radical groups advocating change though these struggles are much more important in the long run.

Q: Rabbi Silver, in your very clear description of the history of this mess in the Middle East, I see one thing as missing. All these people over there are members of major religions. What has happened to the religious philosophy, as I interpret it as being something for the human race, in all this mixup. We have the Christians, we have the Muslims, we have the Shiites, the Alawites, all this. What has happened to the religious beliefs of these peoples?

A: The assumption that religions promote peace is false. I don't mean to play bah humbug with the Christmas spirit, but I remind you of the Crusades. I remind you of the Hundred Years War in Europe which was essentially a war between the Lutheran north and the Catholic south. I remind you of the terrible wars of the Middle Ages when the graceful civilization of the Albigensians was destroyed by the Catholic forces on northern Europe. I don't think anyone should wonder that religions are involved. Religions are inevitably woven into the texture of a society and, therefore, reflect all the interests and contradictions of the society. We would like religions to deal with peace and good will and all of that, but that's only one side of the coin. They also deal with turf. They also deal with survival. They also deal with ambition, and at least in the case both of Christianity and Islam these religions have traditionally been imperialist, that is, they have looked to the conversion of the world by force if not by missionaries.

Q: As it is common knowledge to most, every time the past ten years when any person on the so-called West Bank, so-called occupied territories, would attempt to start a dialogue with an Israeli government representative in the negotiation of status, the Palestinians, that person was inevitably not part of the PLO framework, that person was either maimed or assassinated by the PLO. There are many such incidents. Now that the PLO seems to be in greater disarray than it ever has been, would you care to hazard an opinion as to whether those moderate voices among the Palestinians will have a greater say in negotiations and an ability to bring about some negotiations with the Israeli government?

A: I'm not sure that the PLO is in great disarray. What has happened is that the armed PLO is now consolidated under Syria's influence. What is in disarray is Mr. Arafat's role and position.

Let me answer the question by telling you of a group that meets in Jerusalem. It's called the Rainbow Group. It's a group of Catholic priests, Dutch Reform ministers, professors at the Hebrew University, academics from all of these groups, who meet every six or eight weeks to discuss issues of common concern. This group has been meeting for many years. A number of times when I've been in Jerusalem I've had the privilege of meeting with them. There are a number of intelligent and scholarly Muslim intellectuals in the Jerusalem area. Over their history the Rainbow Group has made serious efforts to bring some of these people into these conversations. No political decisions are being made, but at least there should be contact. They have never been able to do so. One of the problems that we have

in all of these relationships is that it takes two to dance, and the leaders of the Muslim world have not even been willing to dialogue. And if we can't do it at that level it's going to be a long time before we do it at the political level.

Q: You couldn't have given a better argument for the new International Information Order about how selective the Western news services are about what news they will cover and, ironically, it's that the United States is pulling out of UNESCO.

A: The new International Information Order would not encourage the fuller dissemination of information of all kinds. It's designed to control information for the benefit of groups for which it is not now being controlled. It's an attempt to license reporters. It is an attempt to require reporters to publish what that particular country believes to be positive and affirmative about its activities. It's an attempt to see to it that we get a view of the Third World which the Third World wants us to have rather than a view of what the Third World really is like. The problem is not, as far as I'm concerned, that we need this UNESCO fiasco which would absolutely shackle the free press, but we need a free press which is determined to do the present job that it is equipped to do but to do it better.

Q: Rabbi Silver, would you comment on why the Soviet Union has not been more assertive and aggressive as we have remained there in Lebanon.

A: The Soviet Union has been assertive in the sense that it has resupplied the Syrians with the most advanced equipment which has ever left the Soviet Union. The Syrians now have the Soviet's newest and best surface-to-air missiles which can control that whole air corridor. They also have, and this is most dangerous to the United States, something called the SS 21 which is a surface-to-surface missile with a range of about 200 miles which is absolutely accurate within that range and could destroy the big guns in New Jersey with one or two hits. What it has not done, beyond sending 8,000 troops into Syria many of whom are in combat structures; what it has not done is to be more visible because it recognizes what the United States does not yet recognize - the degree to which other countries in that part of the world whose interests it would like to cultivate, particularly Iraq and Iran, do not want to see Syria gain hegemony over that part of the world. Because of these conflicts of interest, the USSR must tread a little bit softly in the Middle East.

Q: Would you comment on the Israeli claim to Palestine as compared to the Arab claim. Were the Israelis interlopers on the Arabs in Palestine?

A: I saw a sign back there which said there was one minute to go. Let me simply say that I don't see any value at this point of debating historical claims. I think the Israelis have a traditional claim which we all recognize. The point is that they have a viable state. The point is that there is territory which is in dispute. The point is that that territory which is in dispute cannot be resolved unless there is recognition on all sides that the parties to the agreement can be trusted, and the plea that I made earlier remains, that until the United States has a consistent policy which is consistent in fact, the Arabs have no reason to enter into serious negotiations on the West Bank or on Gaza.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

COLLEGE UPDATE

This year's college reunion, graciously hosted by Marshall and Marilyn Bedol, was a tremendous success. From that evening's group we have a college advisory board which is planning future activities. A late summer retreat weekend is one option under discussion. If you are interested in joining us, please contact Rabbi Berman at The Temple Branch.

ATTENTION ALL YOUTH GROUPERS!!

Please note these dates on your calendars

February 10 - deadline for Spring Kallah applications

February 26 - The Youth Group meets The Force (details to follow)

March 2 - 4 - Spring Kallah in Canton.

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK:

(Continued)

dissident groups within the PLO to drive Arafat's supporters first out of the Bekka Valley and then out of their northern base around Tripoli, a task which has recently been accomplished. What is their argument with Arafat? They are not angry with Arafat, as some in the West suggest, because he presumably is willing to negotiate on Israel's existence; not at all. Neither Arafat nor the dissidents accept negotiations. They are angry with Arafat because he will not submit the PLO to Syria's control.

The Syrians also went ahead and provided heavy cannon and tanks to the Druze who used this firepower to force the Phalange out of the Shuf Mountains and to gain control over the heights which overlook Beirut. Syria gave arms to the Shiite Amal. These are the guns which have been firing at the multi-national force and which have prevented the Lebanese government from extending its authority into West Beirut. Syria also provided support, explosives and training to Iranian volunteers in the Baalbek region, the group who launched those terrifying truckbomb attacks on our Embassy, the French headquarters, and the Marine GHQ.

The Syrians, in other words, have responded to appeasement as most dictatorships respond to appeasement, by taking advantage of every opportunity which they sense along the way. In the process, over the last year Syria has seriously weakened the West's position in the Lebanon, been responsible for the loss of many American and French lives, and even created greater havoc than existed before.

They directly opposed our purposes, yet, we continued to offer the carrot.

Our interests lie in supporting the Lebanese government. It is clear that the Lebanese government must be pushed to political reform, and that there must be some reconciliation between the warring minorities. To this end the United States has been pressuring for a conference of reconciliation, but we found that the Syrians demanded as the price of their support that the minorities go to Geneva only if Syria went to Geneva with them. We didn't even test Syria's resolve, we simply agreed. So everyone went to Geneva a month ago and what happened? Instead of dealing with the domestic issues of the Lebanon, instead of dealing with political reform, Geneva dealt with only one issue - the demand by the Syrians that all the parties in the Lebanon denounce the Israel-Lebanese Treaty, which is to say that all the parties in the Lebanon, including the duly elected central government, denounce Western interests and Western ties. And tacitly agree to accept Syrian leadership in all such matters.

The Geneva Conference broke up without any substantial accomplishment, but by now the degree of Syrian sponsored violence against Western positions had mounted to the point when these governments were under domestic pressure to rethink their commitments. Washington's response was to move away from the Casper Weinberger policies of appeasement to a more active policy which allows our forces to retaliate when directly attacked.

Unfortunately, retaliation has shown that many of the weapons available in our arsenal are obsolete. We are responding with the guns of a battleship which was moth-balled ten years ago or more because the admirals knew that in the era of missile warfare battleships are sitting ducks. We sent carrier planes against Baalbek, slow, subsonic planes because they are the bombers we fly off of these carriers, and two of them were shot down and another was seriously damaged.

Can we just walk away and leave Lebanon to the Lebanese? If we could leave Lebanon to the Lebanese it might be wise to walk away, but if we leave Lebanon to the Lebanese we're not leaving Lebanon to the Lebanese, we're leaving Lebanon to the not-so-tender mercies of the Syrians. Syria is a police state. The Syrian government has shown that it

is willing to turn its guns against its own people. I remind you of Hama, the fifth largest city in Syria, whose center was destroyed by the Syrian Army because it sheltered those who opposed the Assad government.

Commitment will require patience and perseverance. We will have to pressure Gemayel and others in the central government to change the balance of power. But you know, Syria is not a super power. Syria is a nearly bankrupt government, fearful of internal dissension. That's why it is a police state. Assad may be incapacitated. If so, we are likely to see a power struggle among the minority Awalites who rule that country and between them and those who oppose their rule. Syria is disliked in the Arab world. Syria cut the pipeline through which Iraq exports oil to the Mediterranean. Syria is disliked because of its radical pro-Soviet activities and because of its anti-traditional Islamic laws and proclivities. There is no reason to believe that if we persevere Syria will remain as she is now, in seeming control. Those groups who receive Syrian support, given Western resolve and support, might well begin to disengage themselves from the Syrian sponsors. The Druze are a strongly independent community which has no wish to be dominated by Syria or anyone else. Given half a chance I am convinced that most of the various minorities would begin to show a greater willingness to cooperate with Beirut towards creating the independent Lebanon. They need to survive.

There are no guarantees. There is no way that anybody can stand at this rostrum, or any rostrum, and tell you that if we keep our troops in the Lebanon we will, in fact, be able to make out as we propose to make out, that is, support and sustain an independent Lebanese state. The Middle East is not a predictable area of the world, but I would suggest that the risk is worth the taking. To give up now, before we have really tried patience and political consistency, is to write off several millions of people and condemn them to totalitarian rule. Withdrawal would not only expose the Lebanese minorities to the not-so-tender mercies of a police state, but weaken our ability to deal with those countries in the Arab world which have depended upon our support. They would have every reason to question whether America is a dependable ally.

Let me close by extrapolating from what has happened in Lebanon to the whole question of Israeli-American relationships. As part of this new activist policy of trying to contain Syrian influence, at the end of November of this year the United States signed with Israel an Agreement on Strategic Cooperation. This agreement is simply America's recognition that the Israelis are the only major army in place on which the United States can depend and that the I.D.F. can be supportive of American activities in that part of the world. Last week we saw the first evidence of this cooperation when Israeli convoys and tanks went into the Shuf Mountains on prearrangement and brought out from Deir El Kamar 2,000 Phalange soldiers and some 5,000 Maronite civilians who had been besieged there for several months. This relief diffused one of the many problems with which the Lebanon abounds.

But I must say to you that the Israelis did not greet this Agreement with great joy. They are deeply concerned, as are other pro-Western countries with the inconsistency, and sometimes the downright foolishness, of American policy in the Middle East. A similar memorandum of strategic cooperation was signed three years ago. It was in being for all of three months before it was unilaterally denounced by the American government because Jerusalem had announced that it would bring the Golan under routine administrative control. Mr. Begin had just completed Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai. In the process he had had to dismantle a major Israeli town, Yamit, and the Golan act was his attempt to reduce domestic unrest. It was a purely technical matter. Yet, the United States government rose up in righteous wrath and used this act as a pretext to denounce this memorandum of strategic understanding.

Allies often do things which we do not approve of - England in the Falklands; and we do things of which our allies do not approve of - the United States in Grenada; but if there is to

be a really meaningful commitment among allies which will be understood by all the parties in the Middle East, that commitment must somehow run through thick and thin. The Israelis are concerned that this new agreement will last only as long as America feels weakened in the Lebanon. They are also concerned that America's indecision has made negotiations between Israel and its neighbors increasingly difficult. Whenever the Arab world feels that the American-Israeli relationship is steady and sturdy, we begin to hear talk about the willingness of so-called moderate Arab governments to negotiate with Israel. The minute Washington begins to distance itself from Jerusalem, as we did last year during the era of the Weinberger policy of appeasement, these voices are silenced. We've heard little this last year from Arab capitals about the possibility of negotiations. The Arab states have been content simply to denounce the Reagan plan and sit back and wait. Why should they negotiate when they feel that Israel will be increasingly distanced from its major big power support?

What I'm saying is simply this, that if, as I believe, the major element in the equation which concerns peace in the Middle East is the factor of time - the countries of the Middle East must somehow last out the next decade or two while systemic changes take place in their society - then it is crucially important that the United States sort out its priorities and remain consistent in support of those priorities. If, as seems clear, one of those priorities is an independent Lebanon, then let us make sure that Syria understands this, and let us take those measures which will, as far as possible, support the possibility of maintaining an independent Lebanon. Further, if America's policy remains what it has been for the last 35 years or more, that we support the existence of Israel and see her as a strong, democratic ally, then let the United States make clear by its actions that we do in fact consider Israel an indispensable ally and that we will not back away from her even if she takes actions in her own interest which the United States, for one reason or another, does not approve. Only when the rest of the world understands the steadiness of this relationship can there be any significant opportunity for peace.

When the new agreement on strategic cooperation was signed, Sec. Schultz happened to be in Europe. He left Europe for meetings in Tunisia and Morocco where he met a good bit of anger from the so-called moderate Arab states about our new agreement with Israel. The secretary responded to these leaders by saying, 'there's nothing new in this agreement which has not been, in fact, the fact since 1948.' What he did not say, but is in fact the fact, is that the actions of the United States over the last year understandably had raised the question in the minds of Arab leaders whether a strong relationship remained in place. Their anger was in fact frustration that the United States was reasserting what had always been basic American policy - a policy which does not fully suit their interests.

I wish at this season of the year that I could stand here and tell you that peace is around the corner in the Middle East, that there's an easy way to achieve it. Peace is not around the corner in the Middle East and there is no easy way even to dampen down the area's violence. What I can say is this, that peace has a better chance in the Middle East if Washington is clear as to its mind and if Washington has a mind.

It is for constancy and judgement that I pray.

Questions

Q: Rabbi, you've mentioned, and it seems rather clear, that Syria will be told what to do in Lebanon by the Saudi Arabians. My question is, how much influence does America have on the Saudis and how much influence do the Saudis have on the Syrians?

A: I suggested to you that Syria will be told what to do in the Lebanon by the Saudis, I misstated. I don't think I suggested that. I suggested that Mr. Weinberger believes that the Saudis are able to tell the Syrians what to do and that they are able to do so because of the large amounts of money that the Saudis give to the Syrians. I believe quite

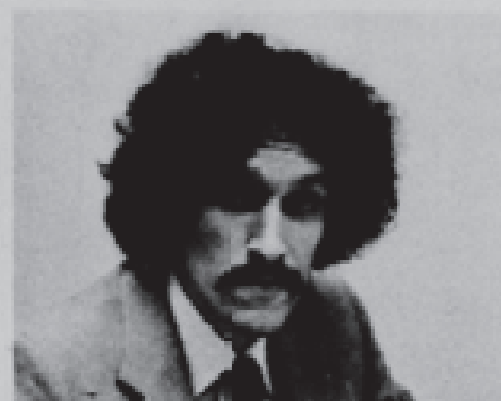
T M C LECTURE SERIES

Monday, March 5, 1984 — 8:15 P.M. — The Temple Branch — All Purpose Room



RABBI DANIEL JEREMY SILVER will present: "The Synagogue — Then as Now", an illustrated tour of synagogues from Third Century, Israel, to Twentieth Century, America. In support of the thesis that form follows function this lecture will discuss synagogal design, style and ornamentation.

Monday, March 12, 1984 — 8:15 P.M. — The Temple Branch



ORI Z. SOLTES, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Judaic Studies at Cleveland College of Jewish Studies will present: "Ceremony and Ceremonial Objects", an illustrated presentation, with authentic museum pieces, evidencing the reverence with which Jews viewed Jewish Ritual and Jewish Ritual Objects.

Monday, March 19, 1984 — 8:15 P.M. — The Temple Branch

RABBI DAVID F. SANDMEL, Associate Rabbi of The Temple, will present: "Prayer and Prayer Books". He will detail the forms of worship unique to the Synagogue and the development of the books of prayer — the *Siddur* and *Machzor*.

Monday, March 26, 1984 — 8:15 P.M. — The Temple Branch

RABBI SUSAN E. BERMAN, Associate Rabbi of The Temple, will present: "The People of the Synagogue", an illustrated portrait. She will describe the evolution of the various synagogue "professions".

Refreshments following each presentation

J. Norman Stark and Dr. Howard A. Steiner, Co-Chairpersons



The Mother-Daughter Luncheon held on January 22, 1984 was a smashing success. It was wonderful to have a capacity crowd re-institute a long-time Temple tradition. I'd like to thank a hard-working committee for all their efforts: Claudia Folkman, Sydel Green, Sylvia Kahn, Amy Kaplan, Ethel Kendis, Marion Kendis, Dana Lefkowitz, Renee Polk, Margie Schwartz, Joyce Wald, and Valerie Weitz.

With appreciation, Ruth Mayers, Chairperson



April 1, 1984
Vol. LXX, No. 16

The Temple Bulletin

From The Rabbi's Desk:

The other night I watched a debate on the issue of a constitutional amendment permitting prayer in the public schools. The present prohibition was defended by a senior Lutheran minister who spoke of the sanctity of prayer, the fact that each faith has its own special prayers, and of the pluralism of American society. Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority supported the proposed amendment, arguing that prayers never hurt anyone and that all the ills of American society — drugs, suicide, divorce, crime — metastasized when the Supreme Court banned prayer in public schools on the basis of the separation doctrine. His argument has no validity whatsoever. America's social problems antedate the Court's ban and it defies reason to believe that a few words at the beginning of a school morning will transform the moral tone of the nation.

I am opposed to prayer in the public schools. Prayer is an expression of faith and not a means of convincing anyone of the value of morality. Some pretty good pray-ers like Rasputin and Torquemada were downright evil men. Little children ought not to be put into a situation where they can be pressured by teachers whose religious views are other than those of their home. I am not impressed by the argument that no one will be forced to participate. A six-year old, trying desperately to adjust to school, does not need the added pressure of having to sit aside at the beginning of the school day.

Honesty, however, should compel those who agree with me to recognize that the pressure for the prayer

amendment is a predictable reaction to the carelessness with which many have managed their lives. Many homes are no longer places of emotional strengthening. If we argue that religion and personal values are the business of the home, the family must be willing and able to accept this responsibility. All too frequently this is not the case.

Insofar as their religion operates as a sensitizing or moralizing agent, and it doesn't always, almost everyone could do with more; but you can't stuff religion down children's throats. Moreover, there is no such thing as religion with a small "r". There are only separate religions, each with a distinct set of values and overview. The "no dancing, no drinking" approach of some nineteenth century Protestant sects is quite different from the character-building approach of Judaism.

In many ways the prayer controversy is a harbinger of things to come. A generation ago true believers seemed to be on the verge of disappearing.

Today, to many people's surprise, they are making themselves felt all over the world. In his recent book, *Religion in the Secular City*, Harvey Cox has described this unexpected phenomenon and suggested that the next few years will be a time of religious revival. Our lives are confusing in the extreme, and everyone needs a sense of order and direction, precisely the order and direction which religion offers. Cox adds that the popular religions of America will be anything but theologically liberal. The liberal religions have been saying, 'This is the way it was, but we have to make up our own minds.' Cox argues that most people feel overwhelmed and need more direction. They need help in making up their minds: rules and duties. I wish I could say that this religious revival bodes well for the human race. Falwell is convinced it does, but I can't get Iran out of my mind.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

April 1, 1984

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

SING UNTO THE LORD
AN OLD SONG

Jewish Music Month Celebration
A Chassidic Song Fest with
Congregational Instrumentalists

April 8, 1984

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

PRAYER AND THE
CONSTITUTION

Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 6:10 — The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service — 9:00 a.m. — The Branch