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The Year in Review, 1983.

The Year In Review
Daniel Jeremy Silver
January 2, 1983

I want to begin this review with a news item which may not have caught your eye. Did you notice last March a story about Alanzo Mann and Leo Frank? If not, I don't blame you. The story was buried on the back pages and only a rabbi's eye would have been drawn to it. In 1913 a 14-year old girl by the name of Mary Phagan was murdered in Atlanta, Georgia in a factory which belonged to the National Pencil Co. The next day the nephew of the owner, Leo Frank, was arrested for the crime. Frank was subsequently arraigned, tried, convicted and sentenced to death.

Most impartial observers who followed this trial were convinced that the verdict was a gross miscarriage of justice. Many called it America's Dreyfus case. Frank, a Jew, was on trial because he was a Jew rather than because of the evidence which was, for the most part, circumstantial. The most damning testimony was given by a janitor at the factory. James Conlon, a man of unsavory reputation, whose word could not be trusted.

After a series of appeals the governor of Georgia, John Slayton, commuted Leo Frank's sentence to life imprisonment. This courageous act was his death knell as a Georgia political leader. When he ran for reelection he was soundly defeated. After Frank's conviction Tom Watson, a red-necked demagogue, tried to build his political career on anti-semitism. Watson organized throughout Georgia the Knights of Mary Phagan. Their sworn purpose was to see that justice was done to this blankety-blank Jew from New York. In pursuit of their goal they boycotted and vandalized Jewish businesses. When the governor commuted Leo Frank's sentence, they broke into the jail and lynched him. (Leo Frank has the unfortunate distinction of being the only Jew, as far as we know, to be lynched in the United States). The story that struck my eye was a report that Alonzo Mann, now 83 years of age, had confessed that as a 13-year old office boy in that factory he had seen on the afternoon of the murder the janitor, John Conlan, drag Mary Phagan's body to the furnace room in the basement, presumably in an attempt to burn her body in the factory's boiler. Why

had he not spoken up at the time? He was a frightened 13-year old. Why had he waited so long? He had no answer, but he was 83 and he wanted to meet his Maker with a clean conscience. What struck me about this story was not only that it confirmed the judgement of most historians that Leo Frank had been railroaded, but that it was a fitting symbol for 1982. Nineteen eighty-two was the year of the Jew. There were few times all year long when we picked up the morning paper or turned on the evening news and did not see or hear a major story about Jews or the Jewish people or, most often, the Jewish state.

The year featured a spate of stories whose theme was the Jew as victim. There was the attempted assassination towards the end of May of Argov, Israel's ambassador to London. Later in the year there was the bombing of Goldenberg's Restaurant in Paris. In between there was the bombing of a Brussels community center during which a number of Jewish children waiting to board a bus for summer camp were injured. Bombs were placed against Jewish buildings from Sidney, Australia to La Paz, Bolivia.

Another group of stories featured the Jew as menacing occupier. Almost every day you could count on a release from the State Department or another foreign ministry or the World Council of Churches or some Third World conference or a United Nations commission explaining about some sin perpetrated by the Israeli government in the West Bank: the suppression of stone-throwing teen-agers; the destruction of homes where saboteurs and terrorists had been sheltered; the dismissal from office of a number of mayors of West Bank towns because they had openly collaborated with the PLO. There was a spate of negative stories about Jewish settlements on the West Bank which usually suggested that Israel's activity was the obstacle to peace in the Middle East, if not to world peace.

Some stories dealt not with the Jewish state as an occupying power but with

Israel's returning occupied lands. On May 25 Israel turned over the remaining section of the Sinai to Egypt as agreed to under the Camp David treaty. In doing so Israel not only turned over the military stations which control entrance to the Gulf of Akaba but removed its own citizens from the settlement town of Yamit and the surrounding neighborhood who were determined to flaunt Mr. Begin's policies. It was not easy for Jerusalem to act against its own citizens, particularly since most of these people were from groups which had supported Mr. Begin's election, but Israel lived up to its agreements. These stories briefly made the news, but few commented approvingly, and fewer reported that Israel was living up to its agreement despite the fact that Egypt was delaying its obligations to normalize trade and tourist relations with Israel. Though President Mubarak was moving to align himself more closely with the Arab world, Israel took the risk.

Then there were the stories of the Jew as Goliath: the invasion of the Lebanon, the swift march up through Sidon, Tyre and Damour to the gates of Beirut. There were those terrible reports about massive casualties, reports which were printed without anyone bothering to check on their accuracy and which continued to appear even after their exaggerations had been shown. Pictures were splashed across the world of destruction, presumably caused by the Israeli armies - and there was destruction - but many of the film clips and photographs shown to us were not what they claimed to be. This was particularly true in Damour, that once all-Christian town, destroyed in 1976 by the PLO. Pictures of bombed-out buildings appeared frequently in our press as evidence of Israel's indiscriminate bombings, but these were, in fact, buildings which had been damaged during the 1976 Lebanese civil war, an unreported and unphotographed war whose carnage was now somehow blamed on Israel.

Such were reports of the frequent bombings of West Beirut and the daily posturings of Mr. Arafat in West Beirut. Were you struck, as I was, that the war was treated with so little attention to perspective? Few, if any, of the daily reports

bothered to mention that Israel had waited patiently for half of the year to allow the United States time to get the PLO and Syria to live up to the terms of the cease-fire agreement the United States had negotiated. In 1981 the United States had pressured Israel to agree to an in-place cease-fire. Almost immediately the Arabs began to flaunt its terms. There was a massive stock-piling of sophisticated equipment by the PLO and the placement of the surface-to-air missiles by the Syrians into the ~~Beka~~^{Beka} Valley. Israel faced the danger of these two forces coalescing, the manpower of the Palestinians and the modern air and missile force of the Syrians into a powerful military threat to Israel's security. Israel signaled her impatience but delayed actions for months in the hopes the United States could get the Arabs to obey the rules. We couldn't. We didn't and finally, Israel took matters into her own hands and the State Department acted as if we had had no role in these events.

There ~~were~~ also a number of stories which featured the Jew as pariah. Attempts were made in various commissions of the United Nations and in the General Assembly to expel Israel's delegations and declare Israel an outcast in the world community.

There were also a spate of stories which had to do with us. All summer long reporters fanned out across the land seeking evidence that American Jews were withdrawing their wholehearted support of Israel and that major divisions were opening up within the American Jewish community over Israel. All in all, you could hardly pick up a paper or turn on the television without seeing or hearing a piece about Jews, the Jewish people or the Jewish state. A Martian would have thought that we Jews represented a significant proportion of the population and the power of the world. Yet, we're only twelve, thirteen million people among four billion earthlings.

Many of us who tried to understand this phenomenon put it down to anti-semitism, and there was a good bit of anti-semitism in the activity of the Soviet, the Second and Third World and a number of reporters and columnists. There was also a good bit of calculated anti-semitic ideology, particularly in the writings

of the extreme left which appeared in the European press. But anti-semitism doesn't fully explain why 1982 was the year of the Jew.

I'd like to suggest an explanation which goes a little deeper. The world's religious myths have over the centuries led many non-Jews to think of the Jew as more significant, more important than, in fact, we know ourselves to be, and because of these myths the world has a long history of displacing upon us its fears, anxieties and frustrations. When someone close to us dies and we're filled, as most people are, with a terrible sense of frustration, we often find ourselves displacing a lot of anger at a friend or relative who didn't visit as often as we thought they should have during the months of illness. Suddenly, everything in us lets go on them. Or we're having trouble with a child and we find ourselves letting that anger out against someone in the office, or even a stranger. That's emotional displacement. Nineteen eighty-two was a frustration year. Few people sensed any real progress. There were no voices which seemed to offer a meaningful program to resolve the world's problems. There were problems galore and few solutions. We faced problems which we could not begin to resolve: continuing ethnic, tribal and national conflicts; problems social, economic, military and nuclear. The world had a surfeit of problems and a woeful lack of solutions. And rather than face its problems and limitations and make the best of it, the world, or much of it, displaced its frustration on us.

Throughout 1982 the two super powers continued their headlong, mad rush to rearm and to develop and deploy weapons which could destroy the world more quickly than earlier models of holocaustal weapons. The Soviet Union is in the second decade of a major nuclear buildup. The Reagan-Weinberger administration is in the second year of a major program of nuclear catchup. Both governments seemed willing to put their economies at risk in order to achieve an assumed military advantage.

During 1982 both super-power economies remained weak. During the year the Soviet Union had to admit that consumer commodities would be cut back. The Russian harvest failed again. During 1982 the recession, or was it a depression, held our

country in its grip. Nearly 11 percent of our work force are unemployed and a much larger percentage is underemployed. By spending additional billions for more armaments we were severely increasing budget deficits and putting the economy at risk, but the Administration pushed ahead and tried to make up for these expenditures by deep cuts in social programs, the economic cushion which alone stood between the unemployed and destitution. It was a disastrous policy and a childish game of who will flinch first, but neither power would be the first to back off.

Because no one had a good idea on how to reverse the arms race, sanity manifested itself in frustration. Publishers Weekly reported that in the last 24 months alone 180 of what the trade calls nuclear fear books were published, books which detail the destruction which would happen if a nuclear war were to take place. In the spring Jonathan Schell's The Fate of the Earth was serialized in 'The New Yorker' and became a best seller. Schell graphically outlined and clearly laid out the dangers, but could offer no realistic and achievable solution. All he could offer was a messianic scenario. There has to be a verifiable and mutual nuclear freeze, but a freeze is only a small first step. There has to be a major reduction in nuclear armaments, but that will not take place until the nations of the world abandon their territorial concern of boundaries and nationhood and an entirely new form of international governance is established. This may happen, but the time frame for such a major political change would surely be measured in centuries and the question of nuclear war or no nuclear war will be settled in a matter of years, decades at most, certainly not centuries.

We were a world full of problems for which there were no apparent solutions. All summer long good people were out in the streets seeking signatures for petitions demanding a nuclear freeze. Many states and a number of communities placed a nuclear freeze referendum on the November ballot, and in all but one instance these proposals passed. The voice of sanity was crying out: there has to be a better way, but where was the better way? The SALT I and SALT II treaties which were advertised and passed as significant arms limitation agreements accomplished so little that at

the end of their effective period both the Soviet Union and the United States had greater nuclear fire power on the line than before these agreements were signed.

I see the nuclear arms issue as a larger version of the domestic gun control issue. We keep talking about gun control. We keep passing laws prohibiting Saturday Night Specials and other hand guns, but to no avail. There are always more guns in people's hands at the end of each year than in January. Until we make up our minds that all guns have to be taken away from all civilians, there will be no meaningful gun control in the United States. The world faces a similar choice over its nuclear guns. Until the nations make up their minds that all nuclear arms must be destroyed there will not be any meaningful nuclear disarmament. Treaties will simply be documents to be worked around. No one trusts anyone else. Everyone wants the status and power which comes from belonging to the nuclear club.

In November of this year the National Council of Roman Catholic Bishops published a pastoral letter in which they called nuclear weapons immoral, described the use of the nuclear threat in international policy as unacceptable, and called on all governments to accept a verifiable nuclear freeze. Their approach made sense, but Washington responded that if we freeze development and deployment how do we know the Russians will do the same. Moscow had its freeze proposal which was designed to see that the arms advantage they had in place would remain in being. No one had any meaningful answers and so frustrations were dumped on the Jews. That was the way of 1982.

During 1982 I had a sense of being caught up in the theater of the absurd. Three cartoons captured and capsuled this feeling. A cartoon which appeared in the New York Times showed a benedaled American general saying: "the decision to cancel the MX or the B1 would send the wrong signal to Moscow. It would damage our credibility and make us look weak. Pushing ahead with these weapons will convince

the Soviets that we're strong. How else could we afford to waste all the money?" Then there was this lovely cartoon which I found in the Los Angeles Times. Two Russian citizens are reading Pravda. One says to the other: "Brezhnev dies and who do we get? Andropov, former head of the KGB." The other Russian replies: "Don't blame me, I didn't vote for him." The Jerusalem Post provided this delightful vignette from the theater of the absurd. "Lebanon has asked for an increase of 853 percent in the size of the multi-national force." Another voice says, "wow." The first voice says, "you gotta hand it to them, Amin will get all the foreign troops out of Lebanon even if he has to bring in soldiers from every country in the world."

That was the kind of year it was. In the United States we were following an economic policy which was called Reagonomics. No one, including the President, seemed to know quite what it was. Everybody, including those in charge of Reagonomics, agreed it hadn't worked and yet, we plunged ahead. As the public came to understand Reagonomics, they saw it as a theory that if the economy gave more to the rich, the financial health of the country would be encouraged. Presumably, more money would be constructively invested. Everyone knew that Washington had devised a tax system which saw to it that the poor in our society paid more and the rich were given more. It seemed unjust and, worse, ineffective. At year's end more people were out of work than in January and little was invested in new plant and research. Reagonomics didn't work, but no one had a better idea. In November we elected a number of new legislators, but they hadn't stood for any single unified policy. Mr. Reagan's popularity was at an all-time low, but no one had come forward and presented an attractive economic policy which seemed to have a chance of bringing America out of the recession.

The United States did not suffer alone. Nearly 14 percent of the work force in the United Kingdom was unemployed and 9 percent of those in West Germany. All parts of the world were suffering, even, believe it or not, the OPEC nations. Two years ago the OPEC nations had a combined surplus of 140 billion dollars. They lost 100 billion dollars of that surplus during 1981. This year it's estimated that OPEC will not have a surplus. Some OPEC countries, Algeria, Nigeria and Libya,

are for the first time operating debit economies; that is, they're spending more to industrialize and modernize than they are receiving from the sale of their oil. If the oil glut continues for long and if we remain in a world-wide depression, the OPEC countries will rejoin, believe it or not, the have-not nations, a fate they richly deserve.

No one knew how to turn around the world's economy, and we sensed that the protectionist measures many countries were taking would only make matters worse. American steel workers complained that Europe was dumping steel in the United States and demanded that the government impose quotas and mounted a buy-American campaign. The UAW demanded that cars and parts purchased for the government be entirely of American manufacture. We imposed new tariff regulations with some of our trading partners, but so was every other country, and the result could very well be that the flow of international goods on which all economies ultimately depend will be damaged up and everyone will suffer.

This was the first year when economists worried openly about the possible failure of the entire international banking system. There were over 500 billion dollars in outstanding loans from commercial banks in the Western world to nations which could not make repayments. We read throughout the year of the problems of Poland, Yugoslavia, Brazil and Mexico despite its rich oil deposits, Nigeria despite its oil fields. Multiply these examples by many other developing nations and some developed ones - particularly in Scandinavia, and the world's bankers found themselves at the end of the year beginning to turn to international public banking mechanisms like the IMF to bail them out. In some cases our country unilaterally gave Brazil the money to carry them through, not because we cared that much that Brazil might go under, but if she went under our banks, our whole banking system, might collapse. No one had a solution, but the Jews are around, let's talk about them.

Before I came in today one of you said: "I came because I wanted to know

if you had anything good to say about 1982." I answered, "we're alive." So I'll close as a rabbi. The best known Hebrew word in English or any other language is the word, Amen. We use it at the end of every prayer and so do Christians and a lot of people who really don't believe in prayer. Amen was used in Biblical days by those who came to Jerusalem to worship at the shrine. When the Levites would sing a hymn, the people would respond, Amen. If you look at the Book of Psalms which is divided, interestingly, into five books just like the five books of the Torah, you'll find that each of the Psalms' five sections ends with a phrase praising God and 'Amen.'

Amen comes from the same Hebrew root as emunah, faith, and both those words mean to be steadfast, to keep going, to hold on to what you believe despite all. That's what faith is, holding on to what you know to be right, what you believe in despite the frustrations, the setbacks and challenges of the day. It was a way of saying, 'I agree,' 'I will persevere.'

We're going to need perseverance in the years ahead. We're going to need to be able to say Amen to the convictions and commitments which we know to be right. I know of no magic wand in anyone's hand which they can wave and make everything become right. Our problems have become so complex that we need computers even to tell us what our problems are. We have to attack an almost infinite number of separate problems. There's no one solution. Perhaps many of our problems have no solutions. Still, we know what needs to be done. We know what justice is and we know what peace is and we know what disarmament is and we know what public welfare is and we know what economic freedom represents. We know what we feel about many issues and we know that if we're going to be at all successful, we're going to have to move steadily, patiently, deliberately, fitting one piece of the puzzle into place and then another piece. It's slow going, but it's the only way. Only if we join this messianic journey, knowing we're never going to achieve all or most of the messianic goals, will we be able to sustain life on earth.

What troubles me about our times is that so many people seem emotionally unable or unwilling to accept the frustration, to admit failure, to take this patient view. They want quick fixes. They want easy solutions, panaceas. They want our illnesses diagnosed and successfully treated, and quickly. They're not prepared emotionally for the long, long haul, for the long years of wilderness trekking. They believe they can fly to the Promised Land in a supersonic jet.

The problem is that frustration breeds impatience, the closed mind, and madness. All around us we're seeing a revival of ferocious religious and ideological fundamentalism. Millions of people are committed to a party, a fundamentalist ideology, a leader, an ayatollah, to men and to causes who claim to have simple solutions to the complex problems of the world. One group after another proclaims its manifesto and its revolution, but no revolution can resolve the problems of overpopulation or illiteracy or the lack of the necessary training most people have for today's job market. The world no longer needs the uneducated human being, the pack horse. It needs the trained mind, the scientific and the technologically oriented mind, and the humanist, someone who knows history and psychology and all that goes into making us what we are. Yet, the world is turning more and more toward the guru, some authority figure, false prophets, religious fundamentalists, cults, toward simplistic, and, therefore, dangerous, forms of commitment, commitment which gives answers which are non-answers, closed-mind commitments.

I hope the new year will be an Amen year. I hope we will find a way to keep an open mind and a well-informed mind and steady, but patient commitments. I hope we'll find the courage to be steadfast and to persevere. Life is not fated. We're not pursued by the furies. We're not shackled to some horrible destiny as the Greeks insisted. We're free, as our fathers taught us. "See I have set before you the blessing and the curse, life and death, choose ye life that ye may live."

We're free. We're free to make choices, free to do the right or to be hasty in our commitments, foolish to do the wrong. We're alive and that's to say a great deal. We're alive and we're free, and the question for 1983 and the years ahead is the question that's always before mankind: have we the steadfastness and the wisdom to use that freedom constructively and sanely?



Dry Bones

JEMAYEL HAS ASKED FOR AN INCREASE

OF 853% IN THE SIZE OF THE MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE

WOW!

YOU'VE GOT TO HAND IT TO HIM

AMIN WILL GET ALL FOREIGN TROOPS OUT OF LEBANON

EVEN IF HE HAS TO BRING IN EVERY SOLDIER IN THE FREE WORLD TO DO IT!

Proposal n's Reply

While we understand the spirit that motivates the freeze efforts, the Administration cannot support the freeze itself. It would freeze the U.S. into a position of military disadvantage and dangerous vulnerability. The Soviets' efforts have produced new weapons, including new generations of intercontinental ballistic missiles directly threatening our nuclear deterrent.

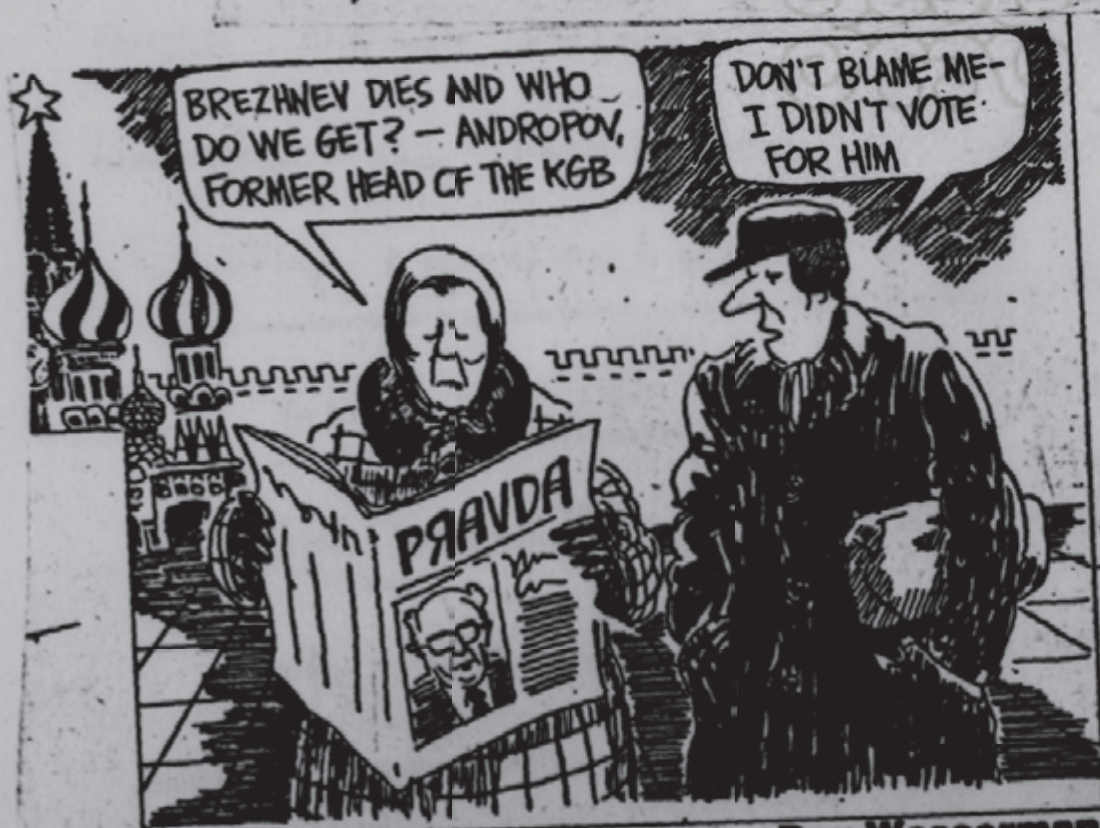
In Europe, Soviet deployments have given the Soviet Union an overwhelming advantage over the West in this category of weapons.

The freeze proposal, which is neither verifiable nor reduces weapons, is not only bad defense but bad arms control as well.

The President needs the strategic modernization program if we are to have a credible chance to negotiate a good Start agreement with the Soviets. The freeze would, of course, kill the modernization program and with our chances for achieving the reductions that we all seek.

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THE J



Dan Wasserman
The Los Angeles Times Syndicate

A DECISION TO CANCEL THE MX OR THE B-1 WOULD SEND THE WRONG SIGNAL TO MOSCOW

IT WOULD DAMAGE OUR CREDIBILITY AND MAKE US LOOK WEAK



PUSHING AHEAD WITH THESE WEAPONS WILL CONVINCE THE SOVIETS THAT WE'RE STRONG

HOW ELSE COULD WE AFFORD TO WASTE ALL THIS MONEY?



Does the name Wesley mean more anything to you? No? What
about the name Ray Frank? Let's start with Ray, the one
difference between the two is that the only name related to a
male in the U.S. — it happened in England 1845 in Colby Co.

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found murdered in the ^{Frank} family business - DE NATALIS
PENAL CO. - No report by G.O. was ~~over~~ - but to
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charge on the testimony of a certain James R. Kelly - the
rule was very double and would be double further
at the J-Club

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new world without ... to a writer tried to
build a political career by ... "No
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[illegible]

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You could hardly pick up a paper without a page full
about Texas on Frank

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because of the fact that they are not born in my country
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A MAZE with no way out

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 a ~~limited~~ ~~unilateral~~ nuclear policy.

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... of - ...
... with ...

12 - OK ... - ...
... of ...
USA - ... and ...

for ... - 500 B of ...
~~...~~ ... for ...
at ... - ...

building & ... at ... - Intervention
Infantile ...

... to ...
consumption ...

Can be ... NATIONS ...

PINCH - OYOC had 1203 surer in 1950 / 60
B 1991 surer 1013 '82 - May OYOC center
would be a family OYOC surer surer surer
surer surer in 1953 surer to all surer and
further surer -

at: a ^{apartment} ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ - ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
to take a ^{directly} ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
surer to surer - // ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
surer ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~

surer - ~~surer~~ - 1952 ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
surer ~~surer~~ - ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
surer & ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
surer // a ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~

surer ~~surer~~ / surer ~~surer~~ / ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ - ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ - ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
surer ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ - ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
18 - ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
surer - ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
surer ~~surer~~

just - 10 ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
would be ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~
to ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~ ~~surer~~

