

DIALOGUE

דו-שיח

Yuval Elitsur -- Ron Finkel -- Harrison Goldin -- Marc Mishaan --
Jack Nusan Porter -- Gershon Shaked -- Zalman Shazar -- Richard Siegel --
Michael Strassfeld -- Sharon Strassfeld -- Muki Tsur -- David Twersky --
Gad Yaacobi -- Yona Yahav -- Zvi Yaron -- Yermiah Yovel --
Alan Zuckerman.

counterparts

YOUNG LEADERSHIP • דור המשך

WHERE DO WE GO AFTER RABAT?

We welcome any letters dealing with the following or related questions.

- What foreign policy options does Israel now have?
- What lessons can Israel learn from Rabat? from current U.N. actions? from Kissinger's activities?
- How should we deal with the Palestinians? How can we deal with them?
- What can America do for Israeli security and how can we help make those things happen?
- How far can Israel rely on the United States for support?
- What should American Jewry's political agenda be? What are the priorities?
- What new issues should be addressed that relate to Israeli security (e.g., should we press energy conservation to avoid U.S. dependence on Arab oil or oppose environmentalists to exploit more domestic oil production? Should we involve ourselves in U.S. policy toward Portugal, Greece and other potential U.S. Mediterranean bases? Etc.)?
- What U.S. presidential contender offers the best security for Israel? How should we weigh other issues in relation to Israeli concerns?
- Which Israeli party offers the most effective program for security?
- Could Israeli leadership better meet current challenges? If so, how?
- Should Israel undertake a pre-emptive war now?
- Do Israeli domestic problems pose a threat to its military security?
- Does the security situation affect personal considerations for aliyah?
- Can we afford to consider (or ignore) the possibility of Israel's military defeat?

We look forward to hearing from you in the next month on these and other subjects. With your help, we hope to devote most of our next issue to considerations of the above and related questions.

We would like to offer news about personal, professional and communal activities of counterparts. Please send us information about yourself or other counterparts. We will try to print appropriate photographs. We also welcome non-expository communications, such as poetry, line drawings, and other forms of personal statement which might further our dialogue.

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Dear Counterparts,

A Jew's new year begins with sobering thoughts about the discrepancies between his ideals and his actions, between the person he wants to be and the reality of his life. For us especially, to whom others look for leadership, the recently past days of introspection and reevaluation must lead to new resolves. We are responsible for generations past and future. Our age, talents and accomplishments offer us many choices, some for purely selfish advancement, others for painful sacrifice in behalf of our people. We grapple with the conflicting motives of altruism and ambition. In our families we are creating little worlds which will influence individuals who should long survive us, worlds which are significant tests of the values we bring to the larger world. We begin to recognize the marks of age, the limitations we could once ignore, the weaknesses we can less easily indulge. We begin to see our own characters as appropriate projects for our labors. We reexamine our beliefs, our relations with those around us, our loyalties and life styles, careers and priorities. As those who inspired us grow old and die, we wonder how we will be remembered.

The new year begins in the company of our fellow Jews. It will be a difficult time for our people. Not since the Roman wars against the Jews has there been a prospect of such wealth and power massed against a Jewish state and its allies. Within the decade a trillion dollars -- the great majority of the world's wealth -- may be in the hands of nations in whose humiliation we have triumphed. Drew Middleton, the New York Times military analyst, recently reported the growing belief that the strategic balance of power in the Middle East is shifting irrevocably in favor of Israel's enemies. Within Israel, a 38% annual inflation rate -- more than any democratic society has ever been able to endure -- rages unabated, exacerbating existing frictions, discouraging immigration and stimulating emigration.

Soviet concessions toward the Jackson amendment seem to have evaporated. American Jewish commitments to improved Jewish education, care for the Jewish poor and aged, and many other ideals is challenged by an economic decline which imperils fund raising at a time when Israel -- especially since losing \$550 million in the U.S. foreign aid bill -- needs enormous amounts of money. Economic disaster faces Jews in Italy, Great Britain and other countries ravaged by inflation. In France, massive assimilation threatens the sheer survival of a major Jewish settlement. Jews in Arab nations live in constant peril. The litany could continue, but it is clear that an increasingly demoralized Jewish world will have to face crises this year that demand inspired leadership.

This year inaugurates a protracted period of trial for the Jewish people, one which will demand courage, patience, understanding, faith, and mutual support. As we all know, there is an acute need for improved

trust between established Jewish leadership and younger Jews, especially between Israel and America. If we do not appreciate this problem, no one will. Even among young Jewish leaders, we search in vain for much real trust or unity of purpose. We cannot afford to forget mutual respect, especially among those involved in pervasive Israeli and Jewish communal politics. Given the existing longing for leadership, we will have to become our people's models for decency, integrity, vision and courage. We will have to forego satisfying our personal and partisan ambitions in order to strengthen world Jewry for its trials.

This issue of Dialogue is dedicated to the memory of Zalman Shazar, a pious Jewish socialist whose Ahavat Yisrael embraced young and old, secular and religious, Israel and diaspora. The credit he brought to his office has not diminished with time. May his memory be a blessing and inspiration for all of us. In his spirit we urge you to join us in the creation of a community of shared love for the Jewish people and cooperation in securing its future. We offer this forum for your participation in that momentous project.

Sincerely,


Amatsia Hiuni


Robert Goldman

The following speech, delivered on the occasion of Israel's 25th Anniversary, was Zalman Shazar's last major address. We believe that it deserves a careful re-reading today.

Longing for redemption

OURS is the blessed good fortune to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of our independence, together with great numbers of our people coming from all the lands of the Dispersion to join in celebration. To us it has been given to see our people rooted in its inheritance, in deeply felt national and human freedom and — if not in tranquillity — at least in confident strength. It has been given us, as well, to see gates, tightly closed for tens of years, opening somewhat and allowing a stream of immigrants to reach us and begin to be absorbed as in the best days of true Zionist realization.

All twenty-five years of Israel's existence have been fashioned of the heroic deeds, the sacrifices and triumphs of its most cherished sons, its defenders and builders. Creation and construction, cultivation of waste lands, growth of settlement — all these have been the very fabric of this quarter of a century, together with economic development and achievements of science and learning in all fields, with the active participation of all Israel's inhabitants who, whether long settled or newly come from East or West, have joined forces firmly to establish and enhance the State.

This twenty-fifth anniversary is the festival of young Israel established and defended by the new generations in whose hearts and hands its future lies. At one and the same time it is the festival of the old traditional Israel which for long generations bore the hope in its heart and garnered all the sparks of longing for redemption and the sacred values of our spiritual freedom until the historic hour when it could strike out for the renewal of our political freedom.

Times of celebration must also be times of spiritual stock-taking, of intensified national unity, of strengthened bonds between citizen and State, between Diaspora and Israel. Let there be forged among us a covenant of Jewish brotherhood no less binding in day-by-day life of creative action and mutual aid than in times of war and danger. And may the blessing of far greater tolerance accompany us in our lives — tolerance of established citizen for new immigrant, of waves of immigration and varied ethnic groups for each other, of old for young, of human being for human being. Far greater patience, readiness to help each other strike root in the stony ground of our land that is being rebuilt and in the no less difficult soil of the society that is coming into being among us. In a word, let our lives be imbued always by a humanism that embraces the whole people.

On my first address as President of the State, in the Knesset ten years ago, I took it upon myself to stress that which is the very foundation of the Jewish humanism towards which the State of Israel aspires. It is that basic precept: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour

as thyself." This precept of Moses and Hillel remains the great rule in the law of our life. It is not enough to love the *nation*: one must love the *individuals* within the nation. It is not enough to welcome *aliya*: one must welcome the *oleh* with cordiality and love. The sense of Jewish unity must grow deeper everywhere — between us and the Dispersion, between Jews in Israel and all their brothers everywhere. We have struck root in the Land, and now we must strike root in the people, educating Jews outside Israel to love the State and Israelis in the State to love the Jewish people.

Let us strive with unremitting effort for a return to our authentic national culture; cultivation of the eternal and reborn values of the Hebrew language and Hebrew creativity; discovery from within the people and kindling of every spark of spiritual originality; bringing each heart in Israel closer to our roots; redeeming the living Hebrew artist from loneliness and distress, enlarging the ranks of those who respond to him, enriching his sources, expanding his horizons and elevating his status in Israel, the Diaspora and the world at large. At the same time let us continue to be sustained by the best in universal culture, breathing deeply the rarified atmosphere of the finest in man's art, thought and science, while never neglecting the cultivation of our own historic vineyard. Both the old and the new in our people's spiritual achievement must sustain us, carrying forward the ancient legacy of Judaism and the pioneering and moral values of the contemporary Jewish renaissance.

And with particular emphasis let the impoverished and the weak among us be assured that our State aspires to put an end

to lowliness of status and stature, whether material or spiritual. Over and above all past accomplishment, Israel dare not grow weary of the dedicated effort to raise the spirit of her people, so that all — even the new and the weak — may trust in the State as their staff of life, and in its determination to illuminate our daily existence with the radiance of social justice and national inspiration, as prophesied and hoped for throughout our history.

Finally, we pray that in the nearest future we may establish communication with our neighbours in this region and that both on our part and theirs steps will be taken successfully to bring into being that just and enduring peace essential to us all. May it come to pass during the term of Israel's fourth President and may Israel in his day live in security and blessing, her children reassembled in her midst, and the world at large imbued with righteousness.

Dear Friends,

Many thanks for your letter and for apprising me of your new project. It sounds exciting, and I want to wish you much success with it....

With the traditional "hayom haras olam" still fresh in all our minds, it ~~is~~ fitting that Jews and men of good will everywhere join in not only praying for a new and a better world, but in committing themselves and their energies to its realization. Each of us in his own way has the opportunity to shape a piece of the world. The collective mosaic of our joint efforts can, in fact, create a globe in which peace and justice shall reign. That is a goal toward which all of us can again dedicate ourselves as the world is once more "reborn."

Sincerely,

HARRISON J. GOLDIN

Harrison J. Goldin is the Comptroller of the City of New York.

* * * * *

Dear Counterpart,

...I willingly agree to your request, considering the significance of the relations, understanding and cooperation between "Dor Hemshech" in Israel and the Diaspora. The deep mutual understanding between us, as I see it, is an essential condition for the continuing existence of the Jewish nation in the future, and for the realization of its main destiny: a Jewish state in the land of Israel.

In my opinion, the all-inclusive goals of Israel are:

- To be a society of quality.
- To be a Jewish state.
- To be a growing state able to absorb additional Jewish people.

All of these three goals are connected and contingent upon one another.

If we are not to be a society of high quality, we cannot be a state of growth and development, and therefore not a state in which a continually expanding portion of the Jewish people may live.

The key to the attainment of these goals lies in the deepening of the relations between the young generation of Israel and the young generation of Jews around the world which would also strengthen the "Aliya"

since the "Aliya" is our main goal.

As a member of the cabinet, I see myself, to a great extent, for the time being, as a representative of the "Dor Hemshech" and I intend to act and strive towards achievement of these goals.

Sincerely yours,

GAD YAACOB I

Gad Yaacobi is a Member of Knesset and Minister of Transportation.

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Dear Counterparts,

After reading the September issue of Dialogue, with a very personal interest in the letter from Douglas Greener, a friend whom I left in Jerusalem only a few weeks before the Yom Kippur War, I felt that a medium for exchange and reaching out had been opened. It's an exciting and much needed project.

By way of introduction, I am an Orthodox Sephardic Jew born in the United States, whose ancestors originated in Syria and Egypt. During the past 6 years I have produced radio and TV, taught in a yeshiva, taken part in a good deal of what has been called the Jewish student movement, married, had a son on September 3, 1974, and am in the midst of planning a series of rock concerts to be produced in Israel. My major academic interests are philosophy and psychology.

However, these last 2 years have found me working on projects almost exclusively concerning the remaining Jews in Syria and the education of Oriental (Sephardic) youth in Israel and the diaspora. These interests brought me to learn of an organization that has worked in the Mid-East educating Jews for 27 years. In February 1974 I became coordinating Vice President of Ozar HaTorah, the International Sephardic Educational System, operating 75 schools with 13,000 students.

Established by a few wealthy businessmen and rabbis in the U.S., Israel and Europe, Ozar HaTorah opened its first schools in Iran, then Morocco, Syria (where it still helps to maintain the only remaining Jewish schools) and 6 years ago, an effort to build schools in France began. Ozar HaTorah has also helped educational projects in Canada, South America and is seriously considering the possibilities of sponsoring schools in Israel.

At this time we are focusing much of our efforts on the serious situation that prevails in France, where the Jewish population has more than doubled since 1960. The new immigrants to France, who are almost all Sephardic Jews from Algeria and Morocco, were housed in areas where there was little if any Jewish community and no Jewish education. Although most are traditionally oriented, their children are forced to attend either public schools, whose schedule includes Saturday as part of the school week, or Catholic parochial schools.

Today, Ozar HaTorah sponsors 12 schools as well as a community center, teacher's seminary, and a Kollel in France. However, at last count, there were more Jewish students attending Catholic parochial schools than were registered in Jewish educational programs. The intermarriage rate in France has climbed to an average of 60%, with some areas having an intermarriage rate as high as 80%. This is a situation we find intolerable, especially when you consider that aliyah from France has dropped from thousands per year to only a few hundred last year. Assimilation is a major factor in this statistic.

Through the leadership of the philanthropist and scholar, Rabbi Solomon D. Sassoon (now living in Jerusalem) and with the continued financial support of the Joint Distribution Committee, which covers a major part of our budgets in Iran and Morocco, Ozar HaTorah will continue to combat assimilation through education.

Until recently, we depended on a few wealthy families and the Joint Distribution Committee for the bulk of our funds. However, the financial burden has grown to proportions (\$1,200,000. in France alone) that does not allow this situation to continue. We, therefore, have embarked on new organizational and fund-raising projects. For example, our Sponsor-A-Child program supplies a hot meal and text books for one child at a cost of \$18.00 per month (\$216.00 a year). The sponsoring families can choose age and sex of a child they wish to sponsor. The sponsored child will correspond with the family and pictures will be furnished.

These past 8 months have had many exciting moments, but they've been tempered with frustrating meetings and the constant scramble for funds. Keeping up one's enthusiasm is at times difficult, but necessary. I would enjoy hearing from others who are involved in similar activities or about your attitudes on cultural-pluralism and social conflict in Israel, especially as it touches on the Oriental communities and the poor.

With prayers that this year will be one of blessings and peace.

Shalom Uvracha,

MARC MISHAAN

P.S. I expect to be in Israel during November 1974. If we can meet and talk, we may find very important common ground.

Marc Mishaan is Vice President of Ozar HaTorah and the American Sephardi Federation.

Dear Counterpart,

Enclosed is an article I wrote for ORT Reporter - accepted for publication there in a future issue...

I am sorry (in a sense) that it is so "un-ideological"- but perhaps what we need is lack of pretension and unreal constructs of words. "What is it like making aliya", you asked? Worrying about how toothpastes taste and how much cabbages cost...

Shana Tova,

DAVID TWERSKY

MAKING ALIYA: A PERSONAL CONFESSION

by David Twersky

At one point in the film classic Casablanca, Claude Rains (Louis), the Prefect of Police, asks Humphrey Bogart (Rick), why he came to Casablanca, a town beset by troubles. "For the mineral waters", Bogart replies, and Claude Rains, stunned, says: "The mineral waters? But we're in the middle of a desert". "I guess I must have been misinformed" was Bogie's classic reply.

Sometimes I feel like Bogart when people ask me why I am moving to Israel. My language displays the ambiguity. Are you going for good? For good or for bad, I reply. Are you really moving there for your whole life? When I die I'll let you know.

But my actions belie by verbal hedging; I am preparing to make aliya, to emigrate to Israel, with every intention of it being a permanent move. I am taking out the loans that the Jewish Agency provides for new immigrants, I am moving all my personal possessions, or at least those I do not care to part with.

Yet, though actions may speak louder than words, words (when published) often last longer. I know many of the reasons why I am making aliya: I believe in the destiny of the Jewish people, I believe in the still unlocked creative potential waiting to be released within us as we build together in our homeland. I believe, also, that anti-semitism is a threat, constant though dormant, too long and strong its legacy in the western world to have suddenly disappeared.

On the other hand, I can supply 'ideological' arguments against moving to Israel: America is still a country that offers Jews a lot, both in physical and in spiritual terms; the position of Jews here is relatively secure, and anyway, if the roof falls in on American Jewry there is little reason to suppose that Jews anywhere else, even in Israel would be particularly secure. I suppose that these decisions are not made purely on ideological grounds, however influenced they may be by such considerations. There is a curious interplay between what I feel, in my gut, I must do, and what I can rationalize are the needs of the Jewish people at this moment in their and in world history.

Nevertheless, coming from this sheltered Empire of Affluence, I am a bit wary of placing myself in a situation of unending hostilities. Unending? Secretary Kissinger notwithstanding, real peace in the Middle East does not seem about to burst forth. As a new oleh, I most fervently hope that it does, even more than I did before. But one must face reality as it is, not as one would wish it to be. This gives the new oleh a sense of the tragic, and a very un-American sense that not all problems are open to solution.

Every day I realize how much of my dream stuff is American; clearly the prime motivating force in the decision to go to Israel is Jewish, but paradoxically, the closer I come to leaving America, the more American I feel. In Israel, Jews are sub-divided and generalized about according to their country of origin. Thus, the familiar lament: in Rumania I was a Jew, and in Israel I am a Rumanian. I suppose that once in Israel I will be "an American" for good. There's a line in a Joni Mitchell song: "don't it always go to show/that you don't know what you've got till its gone". I guess that's the feeling.

For a while, when people asked me when I would be going, I answered that it depended on whether or not the President went to trial in the Senate. I just didn't think that I could miss televised proceedings of the trial. Well, that won't hold me back now. At the same time, curiously enough, I am growing more and more distant from life around me in this country. I cannot commit myself to anything in the future that would require my being here, and this has the effect of reinforcing my 'temporary' status as a resident. I am also taking news from and about Israel more seriously than ever. I always was very interested and involved with all kinds of developments there, but a subtle change has occurred. Now, when the country's leadership warns me of the danger of a new war, I think of myself and my friends, and how we will be directly affected by that, should it occur. When I read about the drastic measures taken by the government to deal with inflation, I think of my own standard of living. When I get a letter, or a second hand report, from the kibbutz I will be going to, I think about the incredible change in life-style I am opting for.

I also conceive of the vision concretized: how we are going to struggle to work together, despite terribly difficult circumstances of

life on a new kibbutz, to create a meaningful Jewish way for ourselves, based on the dignity of labor, and on social equality.

So, yes, there is fear involved for a person making aliya at this time. Any American Jew will have to consider (to what degree will depend on the individual) the war situation, the economy, as well as the simple yet difficult task of adjusting to a new society. I would not be honest if I did not admit to some trepidation.

The way there, which for me is a seven month journey from the Bronx to JFK airport, is a story unto itself. The first change in my behaviour is that I've become a model consumer, inaugurating a one man drive to stop the recession. I go to the Lower East Side to look for bargains on underwear, alarm clocks, blue jeans; all of which (and many more) are more expensive and harder to obtain in Israel. I make my bi-annual trip to my dentist, get a new pair of glasses, and even give up smoking cigarettes to prepare, in a modest way, for the physically vigorous existence on the kibbutz. So much to do, I begin at times to feel overwhelmed, and make endless lists to keep my mind from wandering off: arrangements with the shipper, (did you ever try to estimate your material possessions in terms of cubic feet?), insurance, packing, sifting through the collected items of a (ok, young) lifetime, keeping the useful and the particularly memorable, throwing out the collector items (a rain check to a Yankee game, old worn out sneakers). I think also (alas) of things I am giving up: the NY Times. (especially Sunday), comic books and egg creams, all the little details that give one joy, yet are hardly noticed until one gives them up.

By far the greatest challenge is wrestling with the various bureaucracies one must, invariably, contend with. Of these the most pervasive is, as it should be, the Jewish Agency for Israel-Aliya Department. I say, "as it should be", because that is their business. But before I tell you how I feel about the Agency, let me recount a story concerning another, somewhat more famous agency.

I have a dog. Her name is Ploni Almoni, which is Hebrew for John Doe, which seemed an appropriate name, she being a street dog when I found her. At any rate, I am committed, of course, to taking her with me when I go to Israel. Despite the trouble and the financial obligation involved I will take her as those of you who love (or have ever loved) a dog will understand. Anyway, I called to check out what it would involve and was told that it is relatively simple: I need papers from the vet certifying that she has received her shots within the year, and a travelling kennel. Where to get the kennel? My vet says try a pet store, but they're all out. Someone (or did I think of it myself) said Macy's, so I do, but the biggest one they have is only 25 inches long and Ploni is 42 inches (measured from the tip of the nose to the rump). What to do? A nice, kindly sales woman, informs me that TWA actually has the best deals on kennels in town. So, off to a phone and to TWA.

A very nice saleswoman tells me that TWA has a #6 kennel, which is long enough for my dog, and which is only \$28.00, twenty less than the shorter one in Macy's. I am ecstatic, having found such a good deal. Just go out to the TWA building at Kennedy airport, go up to a ticket counter, and ask for a #6 kennel. Simple as that. A few days later, I check again and am informed that prices have gone up by some \$10.00. OK, I reason, still a bargain.

I measure the dog again, contemplating surgery in order to get a cheaper kennel. In the end (and I then naively hoped it would be the end) I asked a friend with a car to drive me out to the airport to get the kennel. Up to the ticket counter I walk. "Could I have a number six kennel, please?"

The man behind the counter looks at me and asks, "can I please see your ticket?"

I stumble around for a moment, finally blurting out: "but they didn't tell me on the phone that I would need a TWA ticket before I could purchase the kennel, in fact they specifically denied it".

"Well, I'm telling you" he says, quite gruffly. As my face reddens, and my voice begins to quake in tones of righteous anger, he adds that I can complain to the Service Manager, and points to the information desk as the locus of the latter. So off to the information desk where a nice saleswoman pages the Service Manager on the PA system. Ten minutes fly by, and my body temperature increases geometrically. Finally, she admits that he doesn't ever answer her pages (hoping I suppose to avoid irate customers, like myself). Taking pity on me, she points out a man in a plain brown suit, who happens to be walking by. "He is the head of the whole TWA operation here", she tells me, but exacts a promise that I won't tell him that she pointed him out to me. So up to him I amble. I explain how 'his' company has mistreated this customer. He looks a bit flustered, as he wears no identification labels, and thus cannot figure out how I knew who he was. But he does help me out. A man behind the ticket counter descends to the cargo department and comes up...empty handed.

"We're out of that size right now."

OK, so they forgot to tell me to call on the day I intended to buy, to make sure the stock was not depleted. In fact they specifically denied that that was necessary. OK. Next time I'll call up. The man tells me that they are getting the #6 kennel in soon.

That night, back in my apartment, I get the feeling that something is amiss. Call it intuition, call it a flash of insight into the (un) workings of a bureaucracy. I call TWA air freight at Kennedy airport, expecting them to tell me, (if all goes well) that they are currently out of it, but will get it in soon. The woman says that she has never

heard of a number 6 kennel, that TWA never had a #6 kennel, that the biggest kennel they have is 38 inches long. But they told me the price and the dimensions and everything. No good; the thing doesn't exist.

I am recounting this story because in comparison to TWA, I have nothing but admiration for the Jewish Agency-Aliya Department. True, they mistakenly wrote 'new immigrant' on my papers, rather than 'temporary resident'*, which would have resulted in my being drafted shortly after my arrival. Still, they have managed to avoid other mistakes (at least in my case) at least so far. I am warned by friends with experience that I should not praise until phase II of my trip, Arrival and Settlement in the Holy Land. That's where, these skeptics assert, the Agency really reveals itself. Nevertheless, I am eternally grateful to TWA for providing such an instructive comparison, that I will never make haste to condemn.

An individual person or family going on aliya to a city might have a harder time at the Aliya Department. I mean, I am going to kibbutz, and that obviates the need for the Agency to make sure I will get housing and work upon my arrival; the major concern about my klita (absorption) will be taken care of by the kibbutz. Getting work certainly won't be a problem; the kibbutz I am going to has about 5 jobs per person right now. It is probably the most underemployed place in the world (even better than West Germany).

My life is filled with the minutiae of moving. I am told by a friend on the kibbutz to bring my book shelves. We have established a collective buying fund and have already purchased 200 sheets (much less expensive here than in Israel), towels, 45 hot plates and 45 electric fans, (in 220 volts, not 110). We will buy more. We are leaving the Land of Plastics and Electronics for the Land of Milk and Honey, 'tis true, but we try to take as much with us as is practical.

But dealing with all of these physical things are merely a preparation for the real changes one must contend with. The essential boundaries we cross are in our own minds, not on paper maps, and the oleh knows that he will begin to think about himself differently. He will look at the world not only from a different geographical standpoint, but from within a new conceptual framework as well. This is part of the meaning of the classical labor Zionist slogan, "livnot u'le'hebanot" (to build and to be built): one goes to give to the Jewish people and to help construct and create, and in the process to be rebuilt oneself.

*

A new immigrant to Israel can obtain either 'oleh' status, which results in immediate citizenship under Israel's Law of Return, or a three year 'temporary resident' status, which still allows one the advantages of being a new immigrant, while deferring the decision to be a citizen, join the army, etc.

I feel like I am running long distance, in slow motion, and at the end of the run (JFK, El Al terminal), is a pole and I will seize it and vault into the void. I feel fear and exhilaration: a loss of security and an exercise in freedom. There will be many farewells, not so much to possibilities and options, but to family and friends. This has worked already, I mean I have said goodbye to many friends who have left for Israel. Also: the knowledge of my leaving is about me, in the eyes of those I love. This is, perhaps, the hardest part of all about making aliya. I look forward with a mixed feeling of dread and relief to the day when I will turn my back on the tears and board the plane.

I am joining the Jewish people. In my own way this is one thing my aliya means to me; my fate will be inextricably linked to the Jewish people. We depend on each other for survival, we Jews in America and we Jews in Israel. I feel that very much, my needing the strength of a strong and committed Jewish community in this country, as you in this country need a strong and active Israel. Perhaps from our efforts there, something important shall emerge. Is it arrogant for me to say so? I mean from our laying concrete paths, planting, raising children, living in the world - perhaps from this something might emerge greater than the actions themselves. This is the vision and the hope that makes it worthwhile.

The apartment comes apart. The cell that is mine in the universe comes unstuck, everything is in flux. The human will is being tested. I go to Israel for dreams and people will tell me, "dreams? Here it is hard, life is very hard". And I will say, "I must have been misinformed", and I will (I hope) go on.

David Twersky was the Assistant to the Editor of the Jewish Frontier, and is leaving for Kibbutz Gezer this fall.

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Dear Friends,

Thank you very much for the opportunity to join your group.

In direct response to item 14 of the questionnaire, [What do you think about this attempt to establish ties between young Jewish leaders in Israel and Diaspora? What would you like to see done in this program?] I think that the enterprise is crucially important. You need to be aware of the very different backgrounds and interests of the participants and to plan activities accordingly. I do think, though, that personal contacts are central to the success of the enterprise.

I have enclosed a copy of a paper that I wrote reflecting on a visit to Israel last winter. The trip was sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the paper is to be published this fall along with similar responses by other participants.

Much good luck.

Cordially,

ALAN ZUCKERMAN

PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON JEWISH POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY*

by Alan S. Zuckerman

Since last October, Israel's problems have grown in number and severity. The Yom Kippur War was followed by massive economic difficulties - production shortages, employment dislocations, price inflation and soaring debt. December saw an inconclusive national election followed by Golda Meir's prolonged and unsuccessful attempt at forming another governing coalition. The new government, with its precarious parliamentary majority, will probably face a short life and be followed by another round of inconclusive elections. Though disengagement agreements have been signed with Egypt and Syria, war is as likely as peace. Israel's isolation from her former friends in Europe and Africa persists, and her foreign relations are no more secure than they were before the war. Certainly, the Israeli citizen is now much less safe and content. Since Yom Kippur, he has returned from thoughts of personal material gain, from hopes of reducing the blight of poverty, inadequate housing and inter-group friction to the funerals of his loved ones and to fears for the future.

Many of these difficulties are hardly unique to Israel. Inflation combined with recession, the inability to face internal social problems and the fear of economic bankruptcy have since October characterized many of the countries of Western Europe and North America. Government collapse and the installation of new political leaders describes Britain, France, West Germany, Canada and Belgium as well as Israel. The United States has suffered through the prolonged agony of Watergate and Italy's chronic ailments have worsened. In addition, as in the other Western democracies, growing political cynicism goes hand in hand with declining acceptance of traditional political beliefs.

The Israelis are facing many problems typical of Western democracies with leaders no more or less capable than those of the other societies. "Leaders" are rarely men of vision, who are "better" than the rest of us.

In most societies, it is not difficult to live (most of us do) and prosper (some of us do) with political leaders, business executives and clergy, who are primarily concerned with their own personal advancement. In most societies, patchwork solutions are all that is expected and required.

Two crucial factors complicate Israel's problems beyond those of other Western developed societies and question the utility of limited solutions. As is painfully obvious, in no other country must the citizens address the question of sheer physical survival as frequently as they do in Israel. The second is that the constant concern with personal and national existence gives rise to thoughts about its meaning. Particularly since the Yom Kippur War, Israelis have transformed discussions about the content of government policies into reflections on the purposes of national as well as individual life. This has occurred not only because of the strain of frequent wars and tragedies and the need to defend in public forums Israel's right to exist. It also derives from the historic sources of the state: the Holocaust, the most recent and horrible manifestation of a long history of persecutions, and an even longer history of grappling with the meaning of national existence. It is increasingly apparent that Israel will be unable to manage with the "make-do" solutions of the other Western democracies. The questions raised in Israel strike at the most fundamental level. If these issues are to be faced, then the citizens and government of Israel must exhibit an even greater sense of purpose and vision than they do at present.

At the very best, the implication that these questions can be resolved borders on the utopian. There is very little reason to expect that Israelis (and Jews) will develop a mode of political and social organization that is significantly different and better than those of other nations. The massive economic, strategic and political problems serve to limit the future success of any such attempts as well as to explain past failures and present conditions. It may only be hoped that as the Israelis delve into questions of national purpose answers may come forth.

One reason to believe that the search may not be in vain is that this is not the first time in the long history of the Jews that such questions have been raised. From one important perspective, the examination of the reasons for the Jewish people's existence underlies all attempts to make sense of the meaning of Jewishness and to organize the life of Jews as Jews, whether within the Halacha or not, within a state or not. The agony of our current position is that we maintain a firm conviction in the right and duty of our persistence as a people, while many of us no longer accept the old views as to the people's purpose and meaning.

To argue as did classical Zionism, that we, as all other nations, require our own land begs the question of what we do with our existence once we are there. This claim served only as the lowest common denominator among competing Zionist groups, and could be accepted by all because it said so little. It rests as the cornerstone of the current malaise.

Labor Zionism's Socialist view of the state's goals is as stale as those of other governments led by the political parties of the Second International. The more militant Marxists among the Zionists fortunately have been spared the horrors of living under their brand of social and political organization. Israel has not become a communal utopia and very few Israelis adhere to the dream anymore. Happily some do and carry out their visions on the kibbutzim and in the cities. The religious Zionist response has foundered on the twin reefs of religious rigidity and political expediency. They are profoundly right to want to infuse Israel's national existence with Israel's religion. They do not know how. This is not to argue that it is only the Zionist responses that have grown dim with age and changed circumstance. Indeed, it is to their profound merit that they have grappled with the link between the people's meaning and its political and social structure.

In the nearly two millenia that the Jews existed without their own government, our thinkers devoted precious little attention to the thorny questions of the organization of the Jewish state: its governing mechanisms, its policy goals, its standards for deciding issues of individual vs. collective rights, the classic concerns of political philosophy. That Western Jews during the last two hundred years have been frequently associated with "liberal" positions and have favored individual over collective interests is in no small part related to the Jews' minority status in their host societies.

During those years, we had no need to make the difficult moral and tactical decisions of national governments. We used this luxury to concern ourselves with the religious and ethical dimensions of daily existence. Our Halacha serves to infuse our practical activities with divine significance. Our rabbis have taught us to care about the ramifications of each of our deeds, to "know before Whom we stand," and to see that "all of Israel is responsible one for the other."

A paradox emerges: The organization of our national existence - its political, economic and social structures - differs insignificantly from those of other nations. We have retained the belief, however, that our life as a people must have a profound meaning, that it is somehow, insufficient and wrong, for Israel to be just another small, well-fed Western democracy.

Perhaps it is the intellectual sources of our structures that are at fault. Jews had never before built a state and it is not surprising that the founders of Israel went to others for their blueprints. The political system is modeled on the continental democracies of the inter-war period. As in the other Western democracies, the overworked claims of the Marxists are still trumpeted as revolutionary; the political ideologies reflect times long gone, and the political game is won by the masters of intrigue. The economy is a melange of quasi-Marxist structures, and American methods and investment with a heavy sprinkling of universal corruption.

Where are the "Jewish" sources of the "Jewish" state? Is it not possible to derive from our vast literature political philosophies that strive to bridge the gap between our dreams and demands and the difficulties of political and social engineering? We require political philosophies that address with subtlety and love the inter-play between state and religion and, thereby, also between the Jew in Israel and in the Galut. The existence of Israel is the long-delayed opportunity for Judaism to be as creative about national life as it has been about personal life.

Perhaps the paradox is to be resolved only by relinquishing the claim that Israel should be "better." The reality is that Israel has been neither better nor worse than most countries. Indeed, it is highly improbable that such new political philosophies will be developed by Jews. There has been very little political creativity anywhere during the last century. Even if produced, it will be close to impossible for the political philosophies to be effected. Few governments have succeeded, or for that matter have tried, to carry out the tenets of a political philosophy.

I do not yet know if there exists in our literature the bases for fully developed "Jewish" political philosophies. On first glance, it would seem that the classics, the Tanach, the Talmud, and the writings of the Gaonim, the Rishonim and the Aharonim, provide small and indirect sources of information. We do possess writers of greater direct relevancy: Rav Kook, A.D. Gordon, Borochoy, Buber, Rosenzweig, and Kaplan. Let us go forth and study.

* I have shared these thoughts with my wife, Roberta Brenner Zuckerman, during the seminar and in the months since then. She helped me put the ideas to paper. A number of people and institutions made it possible for us to join the seminar. We would very much like to thank our friends, Suzanne and Jack Neusner and Leslie Gutterman for their encouragement and the Max Richter Foundation and Temple Beth-El, Providence, Rhode Island for financial assistance. My parents cared for our children while we were in Israel, and we are especially grateful to them.

Alan S. Zuckerman is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Brown University.

SHALOM!

Before, during and after compiling the Jewish Catalog, we realized that this first attempt would be incomplete. A note in the introduction mentions that if response warranted, a tosefta -- in good Jewish form -- would follow. At that time, we had no way of knowing how deep the gap in information dissemination is in the Jewish community nor how great a demand exists for such information. A cursory 100 thousand sales, the areas of distribution, the types of people buying it...indicate that we more or less stumbled into a desert with a jug of water. The response has been significant and overwhelmingly favorable. The basic complaints lie with what we did not treat in sufficient depth or what we did not cover at all. As such, we will be revising the present volume in 1975. More immediately, however, we are compiling a companion volume dealing with areas omitted in the first catalog -- with a particular emphasis on the inter-personal and communal. If you have any suggestions, inform us as quickly as possible. We are now in the stage of contacting possible contributors.

Knowing more than we did then, we will hopefully avoid some of the problems encountered in putting together the first catalog.

With your help, number 2 will be even better than number 1.

Peace in the year to come.

SHARON STRASSFELD
RICHARD SIEGEL
MICHAEL STRASSFELD

Richard Siegel is Director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at the Stony Brook campus of the State University of New York.

Michael Strassfeld is a doctoral candidate in Jewish Studies at Brandeis University.

Sharon Strassfeld is on the staff of the Institute for Jewish Life.

All are editors of The Jewish Catalog (Jewish Publication Society, 1974).

[We will be glad to forward all correspondence to appropriate sources on this and other subjects. -- Eds.]

Dear Friends,

It was interesting to get the new magazine and to find out that an attempt was carried out to build a new stage for a dialogue between new Jewish leadership from both sides - Israeli and Diasporic.

It is my deepest belief that this stage won't be used for an unobligatory exchange of opinions but it will turn out to be the stage for exchange of opinion between partners. Unfortunately, the Israelis, on the one side, and the leadership in the Diaspora, on the other, do not know the essence of the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora and, therefore, the Diaspora leadership fails to function as a counter-balance to the Israelis and fails to lift their burdens in a mutual partnership.

In my opinion, the Israelis will fail to build up a Jewish State with Jewish content if Diaspora Jews won't act as contributors, not only with money, but also with spirit and ideology. It would be a dividend for Israel as a State and the Jewish people as a world-wide community if not only big donors become prominent leaders in the community, but educational and intellectual figures also penetrate into the line of leadership of Jewish communities.

This step is of utmost importance in order to maintain Jewishness and Jewish life throughout tranquil periods. Otherwise, assimilation will prevail, and we shall lose our people one by one without the necessity of an outside threat.

Yours sincerely,

YONA YAHAV

Yona Yahav, former chairman of the National Union of Israeli Students and Secretary General of the World Union of Jewish Students, is now the spokesman for the municipality of Jerusalem.

Dear Chevra,

I have just seen a copy of DIALOGUE and like most people, I am very excited about this project. I wish you well. Please put me on your mailing list. Anything I can contribute, please let me know. A few bits of advice:

- a) I believe you should engage in more dialogue between Israelis and Diaspora Jews, less internecine battles between American Jews (i.e. the debate, if one could call it that, among Arthur Waskow, Howard Adelson, and Seymour Siegel.).
- b) Work more closely with other projects (i.e. BREIRA NEWS-LETTER) both in programming and in media communication, so as to avoid a common Jewish problem -- duplication.
- c) Have more Israeli women become involved, both here and over there. I noticed a lack of women on the Israeli counterpart list, most noticeably Shulamit Aloni.
- d) And most crucial, you must involve more Arabs -- Israeli Arabs and Diaspora Arabs -- in this dialogue.
- e) Include a "news round-up" of other projects and journals, both old and new, that are involved in such dialogue.

I recently had the opportunity to hear Amos Elon and Sana Hassan at the Boston Book Festival; I recommend their new book BETWEEN ENEMIES (Random House) to readers, and I hope that DOR HEMSHECH will involve these two personalities in the future.

Despite the gloom, the future looks brighter with the emergence of such creative energies at work.

In Struggle,

JACK NUSAN PORTER

Dr Porter is co-author of JEWISH RADICALISM (Grove Press).

The following comments are excerpted from a discussion among young Israeli intellectuals who had participated in the American Zionist Federation - American Zionist Youth Foundation Scholar-in-Residence program in the United States during the past year. Joanne Jahr, who directs the Zionist Council of the Arts and Sciences, forwarded the transcript to us. In sharing their impressions of young American Jews and the effectiveness of Israel in reaching them, the discussants used as points of departure the widely read article "Instant Zionism" by Norman Podhoretz (editor of Commentary) which appeared in the New York Times magazine and some materials prepared by "Breira", a New York based group attempting to open critical discussion on issues relating to Israel which have heretofore been ignored, at least publicly, among American Jews.

Prof. Gershon Shaked. Chairman of the Hebrew Literature Department of the Hebrew University. He had been in America previously. This was his first participation in the Scholar-in-Residence program. He was sent to Rochester and Buffalo, New York.

...There are two types of people who do not ask as to their basic Jewish identity and existence: a) the immigrant generation and b) the orthodox. Theirs is an emotional identification which does not require a striving for a rationale. Many of the others are vexed by the questions "who am I?", "why am I?", "do I possess anything unique as compared to the external society?". These are the basic questions. It is to be expected that these questions will only intensify with time. Our job is to provide answers to these Breira-like questions or rather to act as stimuli to the potential interrogators so that they can answer their own questions. This is because one of the things which must interest us most vitally is the process through which they can maintain the Mordechai Kaplan concept of "peoplehood".

Let us begin with some of the answers (to the three questions I mentioned earlier) that are connected with Israel. The ones I heard in America are neither serious nor substantive. I was at a self-styled "Israeli Cafe" on one campus, where I saw American-Jewish students singing and dancing in a style reminiscent of a halutz past whose traces one can scarcely find alive in Israel itself. This did not represent an authentic cultural expression born out of the young people's experience. It was an imitation of an anacronism which is at best external to themselves. Similarly financial contributions, although they too represent a kind of identification and commitment, are nonetheless responses to external stimuli.

A second complex of questioning revolves around the State of Israel - what is the rationale for its existence and what are the inter-relationships

between myself as an American Jew and the State of Israel? These questions belong within the Zionist sphere. For, every answer, and they may be as varied as a personal decision to go on aliya or an equally personal decision to ignore any relationship at all with Israel, there is a follow-up question. These derive, ultimately, from mental states which are to be found even among younger elements who did not personally experience or live through the period of the holocaust. "Is it possible that a total destruction of the Jewish State will happen in my lifetime?" And, irrationally perhaps, there is a spillover into an anxiety about the danger to their own continued existence as Jews even in America. This irrational thought is re-enforced through a historical link with a consciousness of the holocaust.

I have no doubt that the two sets of questions, who am I on the one hand, and the right of the State of Israel to exist and its inferences for me as an American Jew are interconnected. It is in this light that the phenomena of Breira should be viewed if one is to relate to it in an intelligent manner. Breira can be seen as a deepening of consciousness on the question of identity. Also, it is an attempt to arrive at a dialogue between two autonomous presences or existences. In such a confrontation a process may develop which brings one of the partners to a conclusion that what he holds is not sufficient. If Breira is really a serious attempt and a search for identity, call it neo-Bundism, then it is a positive development on the American-Jewish scene. For instance, if the question is put, what is it within American-Jewish literature or what can be elicited from the emerging patterns of Jewish sociology in America - and having been put - if the answers can indicate that there is an autonomous and indigenous American-Jewish creativity, then this is a good sign.

Instant Zionism, all inclusive, myopic and flacid such as Podhoretz claims exists in America, is bad. It is inauthentic because it does not ultimately derive from the American experience, therefore it is not good for either Israel nor Zionism that Israel should be the sole component and the total content of Jewish unity from a cultural or social point of view. Breira-type questioning, however, despite the paradox, is, I think, an interesting, important and positive development.

Zvi Yaron. Scholar and lecturer. Author of the leading interpretation of the teachings of Rabbi Kook. Zvi Yaron also serves as Spokesman for the World Zionist Organization. He was a scholar-in-residence in Boston this year.

Upon first reading Podhoretz's article from the New York Times, I was encouraged. However, upon rereading the article once I returned from America, I have come to the conclusion that woe is to us if this is the new content of Zionism. There is no deep-seated or significant

revolution in the attitudes of Podhoretz and people of a similar stripe. On the contrary, it is a convenient way to persist in a stance of alienation vis a vis Judaism, Jewishness and certainly Zionism, while at the same time appearing to be favorably disposed. It is easier to be pro-Israel, to speak of the need for support; things which in and of themselves are important but are far from full Zionism. I would like to agree with Shaked but emphasize some other aspects.

If we examine the components which together make up Jewish identity in America, we will discover that there is a constant erosion in all the components, e.g., religious faith (despite marginal manifestations and relatively small groups whose religious belief and commitment has grown) there is a similar erosion in identification as Jews through the sense of membership in an organized Jewish community or in a meaningful belonging to the Jewish people as a totality or of a sense of meaning or driving force deriving from Jewish consciousness or a sense of Jewish history...the only component which is constantly on the rise is the one connected with the State of Israel.

As a result there is an internal contradiction - Jewishness is on the wane while at the same time a single component, support for the State of Israel has swept the field. This is both an internal and an external factor. Internal because it is after all Jewish, but external to them since most of them do not plan on aliya. What gives most American Jews the fuel and the anchor to continue as Jews is ultimately external to them. Jews like Podhoretz can be only pleased that things have arrived at such a state. As good as this is for the UJA and other forms of organization, it is bad ultimately for things Jewish. To paraphrase some Jews in America - "what will happen if the recurrent crises end, if heaven forbid, peace breaks out in the Middle East, will Jews still be interested in Israel?" Of what will this interest consist. Ultimately some new intellectual and emotional challenge will have to present itself - who are we, what are we and why?

For the moment, it does not matter what the personal composition of the Breira movement is. Nor should the question be: does Breira endanger the UJA or any Zionist activity. The question is quite the reverse. Was there something imperative, something that required a voice in the initial statement of Breira? Despite the fact that Podhoretz's fawning should have been soothing to us, it is worrisome, while Breira, whose headlines "let us free ourselves of Zionist domination" do create some legitimate worry; nonetheless, when they raise the question from within themselves, who are we? This confrontation is of such importance that we should be encouraged. There is a great hope that the intellectual fertilization of the debate will ensure that something creative and positive will emerge on the American-Jewish scene. The question is not, what is Zionism for American Jews? The question is, whether that Zionism grows out of the new American-Jewish reality as it did for the old American-European Jews? That older analysis resulted from the way European born Jews observed Jewish life in the Diaspora, saw it as

problematical and impelled by crisis conceived of the creation of a Jewish State as an answer to the crisis of Jewish life in the world. Now in America it is the other way around. There is an established Israel and it is Israel which is in crisis and endangered and we in America want to participate in saving Israel or alleviating the danger. Zionism, no matter how you define it, does not derive from an American crisis but an overseas problem.

...Can we expect an internal discussion to develop within American Jewry which will relate to its own problems? In the past when there were discussions even between American born youth who were Jewish with their non-Jewish peers, whatever it was that the Jews were saying was not a concomittant of Jewishness. Vietnam was after all not a Jewish question, even if it did have a moral dimension. Even the chavurot were a reflection of the rise of the commune movement in America and now that communes are on the wane, so are they. Can Breira and hopefully other similar developments in America be the occasion for an examination by American-Jews of the American-Jewish problematics of their life?

Prof. Yermiah Yovel. Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Hebrew University; was sent to Los Angeles.

...Breira...even if it is unimportant is nonetheless an indicator of what is happening in the society at large. The process is that out of the indigenous American experience not necessarily the Jewish one... there is a growing tendency toward particularism. Consequently, young Jews too began to ask what is it that is unique about Judaism. Here they had to transcend of course, the American experience and relate to the fate and history of Judaism. I do not think that it is solely the State of Israel that gives them their interest in Judaism. There are internal American catalysts to their search. This has created an apparent contradiction between their concern for an identity as American Jews and their interest in the State of Israel. Breira can be viewed as an expression of this competition... The organization called Breira may be transient. The phenomenon is not. There are two things which American Jews are in search of today and they are to some extent interwoven. The first is the complex which Gershon Shaked described so well--who am I, what am I, etc., and the second is a search for some measure of independence from Israel as the sole factor that will identify them as Jews. They search for a more immanent definition of themselves as Diaspora Jews. I think that this is a long-lasting process which will yet strike root and proliferate, so that one who is not enamoured of it cannot allow himself the luxury of overlooking them. Nor am I convinced that one should dislike them. I think that the long range interests of Israel and of Zionism can be best served when people arrive at self-definition through an internal process. This may at times compete with fund raising because they will want to divert money for local Jewish education; it may at times compete with a certain kind of Israeli

information activity especially when that activity is officially inspired and is an apologist for the government line. Because part of their search for identity is bound up with the concept that they must be independent from the government line and free to criticize it while at the same time being in basic accord with the State. All these competitions and conflicts can prove to be beneficial.

...as to what our target audience ought to be, I feel that this is one of them. It would not be wise to differentiate between young and critical on the one hand, and middle-aged and "polite" on the other. Even among the younger category, there are two distinct types to be found. There is the one type that is clearly establishment-like in its view. They are or will soon be the leadership of the new Jewish establishment... The younger establishment types are today increasingly in evidence in fund raising, in positions of power and in public opinion... Even among them one may find elements that put an increasing stress on diversion of funds for Jewish education in America. The revolutionists have a more liberal or leftist hue. Breira falls within this category.

My advice is to conduct our information activities using distinct emphasis. I would try to avoid the tendency towards a centralized monotone approach. I would have no hesitation whatsoever when speaking to the second of the two target audiences to stress that one need not be an undeviating supporter of every government policy in order to be a supporter of Israel. Nor need one view the State of Israel as the sole priority of the Jewish people today. True, we should stress that it is a priority, for willy nilly, there is an inter-relation between the continued existence of the State of Israel and your existence as a non-Israeli Jew. It need not, however, be your sole priority. You need not even declare yourself to be a Zionist in order to recognize Israel's cardinal importance to you as a Jew.

Muki Tzur. A noted kibbutz educator and theoretician. Currently editor of Shdemot journal of young kibbutz intellectuals. Was one of the editors of Siah Lochamim (Soldiers Talk About the Six Day War). He was a scholar-in-residence in Berkeley, California; Nashville, Tennessee; and New York.

My basic assumption is that the Israelis sitting round the table do not know what America is... America is another culture - a widely different one from ours - whose Jews despite the fact that they are Jews, are primarily American... the more I got acquainted with the real America, the more I realized that the culture-gap is so immense as to preclude any total grasp. Words not only have different meanings, they also "work" differently.

The first thing we must explain in our hasbara is just how hard it is to explain and why... There is another symbolic process and another

concept world operating. So that if one thinks that hasbara is the transmission of a certain body of facts or of knowledge he misses the point that in the process of assimilating those facts, the conceptual frame transposes meanings. The human equation operates as a filter through which the hasbara has to pass. Therefore, you require people here who can subject the material which is to be offered as hasbara abroad to the test of "how does it sound - how will it work?"

There is another difficulty in that we are providing information to people possessed of wide-ranging knowledge, depth of intellect, and great ability in their own fields. With this however, they have limited acumen in the areas we want to deal in. Some of us assume that their lacunae in knowledge about these matters dictate to us that we should talk in a kindergarten vocabulary to them. This simply does not work. I believe that we must speak to them in the profoundest terms possible even in those areas where they are uninformed. If you insult a man's intelligence you will never earn his respect. This approach holds true for Jewish education in America, generally and most specifically in the educational work conducted around the topic of Israel.

...Another incorrect assumption of ours is that our theatre of operation must be politics for it is not their primary concern. True, occasionally when there is a particularly dramatic outbreak of war or peace, the political question assumes dimensions transcending the political - i.e., existential and moral ones as well...

Since in the near future we will no doubt be faced by grave political concerns, we must find a way of translating these political fights into the existential tensions which exercise them. How can we differentiate between our own real existential problems and the politics which are after all only the tools by which we hope to affect the ongoing concern for our existence.

It is an optical illusion that Breira is a new departure in American-Jewish life. This illusion is caused by the myopic view that all America went Zionist. Breira is a classic manifestation of an important strand in the American-Jewish tradition - not merely a revolt against Zionism. It is perhaps a stylistic revolt. Substantively however, it is within the tradition of pre-'67 America, before the advent of Instant Zionism. However, since Instant Zionism is a rather shallow manifestation, hence Breira too is quite superficial. Still the two taken together represent a traditional American dialectic.

My analysis of Podhoretz does not view him under the species of a Zionist. He has always had a consistent line in opposition of any revolt on the part of youth. He is squarely in the tradition of the last Liberal on the fortress wall. Just as he opposes Women's Lib, and the Black ethnic movement, so he fights Jewish radicalism of whatever hue. He now uses Zionism as a weapon for the Jewish establishment in this its latest battle...

...If we here in Israel take our Zionism seriously there must be a point of meeting between our demands which grow out of the Israeli reality and the inner needs and workings of the American-Jewish community. We must undertake a Zionist critique of that community. For if Zionism does not include such a critique then it really does become a one-way transaction. Kurt Blumenfeld once defined German Zionism as a post-assimilation Zionism. Individuals who have passed through profound stages of assimilation examined some of the obstacles on the road to total assimilation and from this point arrived at Zionism. One of the target areas we should reach for in America is just such a group which Blumenfeld described in Germany. They can be found on campus and in many other places. They are looking for a road back and we must help them find it.

* * * * *

The related comments (on the recent World Union of Jewish Students European-Israeli Conference in Semmering, Austria) were brought to our attention by Eliezer Sheffer, a staff member of Dor Hemshech, who has served as a shaliach in the United States and is active in the young leadership of Israel Religious Party. The first excerpts are by Ron Finkel of Australia, chairman of WUJS, the latter ones are from the reporting of Yuval Elitsur, a young journalist with Maariv.

... We were conscious in the months following Yom Kippur 1973 of two quite new trends in the Jewish Student world. On the one hand we witnessed an increasing disinterest on the part of Diaspora Jewish youth to the plight of Israel, evidenced by an almost complete dissipation of activities in support of the political struggle of the State by the end of 1973, and on the other hand a reawakening of interest amongst Jewish students in Israel for links with the Diaspora ...

... Past encounters between Israeli and non-Israeli students have invariably resulted in heated debate on substantive political questions with Diaspora students arguing for their right to criticise the policies of the Government of Israel and the Israelis reacting to such criticism with charges of 'treachery' and a close-mindedness often bordering on arrogance.

At Semmering we witnessed an interesting role reversal, which reflected a crystallisation of the two trends noted earlier.

- (a) The European response was directed on two levels: a defensiveness conditioned by earlier experiences which resulted in their failure to acknowledge the changed approach of their Israeli peers, and
- (b) an aggressivity in support of the legitimacy of Diaspora Jewish life, linked to, but independent of Israel. This marks a turning point in the involvement of European Jewish students in their national, communal life styles.

They expressed a strong desire to strengthen European Jewish life by the injection of creative stimuli. (Incidentally this feeling carried over into the deliberations of the European Executive of W.U.J.S., which met during the Seminar and laid down an impressive list of projects to be attempted by the European Section in the coming 12 months). Inevitably the debate involved consideration of political questions, but the key question at all times was the legitimization of Diaspora Jewish life as distinct from an analysis which viewed the Diaspora Communities as mere appendages to the State of Israel.

For their part, the Israelis found the European response close-minded and antagonistic. They repeatedly indicated a desire to listen and were even to a certain extent obsessed by listening rather than contributing ...

... A young student said that it was easier for him to live as a Jew in Germany than in Israel (he is the son of a returned family, he also served in the Army and his parents owned a luxury shop in the centre of Jerusalem before their return to Germany). An Italian student

supported the idea that the rift between European countries and Israel during the last war was not the consequence of Arab petrol but of Israel's aggressiveness...

... Taking into account the arguments expressed by the European Jewish students we could easily imagine that the persons who met here consider Israel only as a refuge for Jewish People in search of safety (like the Syrian Jews or those from the USSR). They seemed to be a group of persons who not only do not consider eventual immigration to Israel but even deny such a possibility as a suitable solution for the young intellectuals of the Diaspora.

FEELING OF CULPABILITY

In private conversations, it was evident that such hard criticism was uttered, in many cases, out of pain and hurt feelings of people who speak very loud but, at the same time, do not help Israel in an hour of emergency. This is a tragic paradox. Instead of Israel's problems being challenges and unifying factors for Jewish youth in the Diaspora, they serve as divisive and distracting factors.

The Israelis were frustrated by Jewish youth who do not come to Israel or just come for a visit to enjoy what is prepared for them. The Jews of the Diaspora, satisfied with exaltation and demonstrations, suffer from guilty feelings of physical inaction.

This idea was expressed by Martine Okonowski, a French student of philosophy and Chairman of the European Centre of W.U.J.S. 'In days of war, like the Yom Kippur one - she said - we feel more than ever the alienation between us and Israel. We feared the fact of being only a mirror where Israel reflected itself. The immigration of everyone of us would have changed the situation, but this is an unreal situation. It is essential for us, and even for Israel, that we should find an identity for ourselves, a real content for Jewish life in the Diaspora not based merely on eventual immigration to Israel'...

... It was a somehow oppressive meeting, and a disappointing one for many participants (from both ranks). But, for some people, it was evident that, to avoid illusions, the Israelis must try to save what is still left to be saved. They certainly must find another way of getting to the heart of the Jewish youth in Europe.