DIALOGUE

YOUNG LEADERSHIP

counterparts
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Dor Hemshech – 30 Ramban Street, Jerusalem, Israel
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COUNTERPARTS

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Front cover: “Ceremonial Art in the Judaic Tradition” from a poster for the North Carolina Museum of Art by
Marc Podwal, M.D., artist, political caricaturist, and Manhattan dermatologist.

Back cover: “Salvation Army,” Israeli leaders call on Henry Kissinger to repent his misdeeds, Ze’ev from HaAretz, April 25, 1975.

DIALOGUE is published approximately every six weeks by Dor Hemshech—New Jewish Leadership, a project in Jewish
unity, initiated by Israeli leadership under the age of 45 to foster understanding and cooperation with counterparts around the
world. Dor Hemshech—New Jewish Leadership sponsors or coordinates meetings, seminars, visits, and other projects to
bring together influential young Jews of every orientation around the world.

DIALOGUE is a private forum, not for sale or reproduction in any form (without the consent of individual writers) distributed to Jews between the ages of approximately 25 and 45 who hold positions of influence in Jewish life or are recommended as capable of making significant contributions to Jewish communal experience.

Submissions to DIALOGUE should be in the form of informal open letters of no more than 1500 words, in the spirit of a dialogue, in any language. Preference will be given to short letters which respond to prior ones. Correspondents must identify themselves. The editors reserve the right to select and abridge correspondence for space requirements. Submissions can also be in the form of art, poetry or other media which facilitate personal statements.

Suggestions of names to be added to the mailing list must be accompanied by addresses and brief identifications. The editors reserve the right to remove from the mailing list those who have not expressed an interest in dialogue (e.g., by correspondence, return of a questionnaire, participation in a new leadership program, etc.).

Typeset and Printed by Tova Press Inc., 741-1058 ©
Dear Counterparts,

We appreciate the overwhelmingly positive responses we have received to the past couple of issues of Dialogue. We regret that we cannot print all the correspondence we are receiving, but we begin in this issue two new features (BRIEF NOTES and RESOURCE EXCHANGE) which will give more of you an opportunity to appear in the space we have available. We continue to welcome your comments and guidance.

The quantity of letters we are printing forces us to postpone a full review of questionnaire responses (which we still seek from those who wish to remain on the mailing list) and completion of listings of North American counterparts. We would like to share with you some preliminary observations about Americans who returned questionnaires. There is a strikingly low fertility rate at all ages. General educational attainment is notably high, but Jewish education varies widely. Virtually all have visited Israel. Few all ages. General educational attainment is notably high, but Jewish education varies widely. Virtually all have visited Israel. Few few have not yet responded to our questionnaires, we are not even sure of the programs which would interest or be useful to all.

We regret that we have no more back issues of Dialogue. Any who can return copies to us would be doing a service to interested new counterparts. Diaspora counterparts who plan to be in Israel and want to meet Israeli counterparts should write to our Jerusalem office at least four weeks in advance and contact it on arrival. We urge you to send us news and, as ever, welcome all correspondence. We can no longer publish letters without returned questionnaires or other identification. We will be giving preference to short replies to prior letters.

We will publish only one more issue before the month of Ellul. Several of you have suggested our proposing topics for integrating the majority of letters in each issue. We will try it and welcome your reactions and further suggestions. For Dialogue #8 we suggest perspectives on the issues at Geneva, for #9, taking stock of our programs which would interest or be useful to all. For #10, the relationship between our work and our Jewish lives. If you will be away from your listed mailing address this summer or are moving and wish to continue receiving Dialogue, please let us have your new address.

We have been corresponding with the editor of European Judaism, Anthony Rudolf, and would like to call his semi-annual journal to your attention. Subscriptions are available in North America from UAHC, 838 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10021 USA at $5/yr. ($9/2 yrs.). Outside North America the rate is £1.30/£2.50 from EJ, Kent House, Rutland Gardens, London SW 7 1 BX, ENGLAND.

Finally, we are seeking suggestions of articles to include in a reader on Diaspora Jewry for young Israeli leaders that would contribute to their understanding of communal life and its challenges primarily in the U.S., France, Argentina, Great Britain, Canada, Brasil, South Africa, Iran and Australia (in each of which countries, especially outside North America, we welcome suggestions of influential young Jews to add to our forum). We also seek names of young Jewish leaders in or from Communist and Third World countries who would welcome and not be further endangered by receiving Dialogue.

Our best wishes for a happy summer.

Robert Goldman  Estie Brenner  Amatsia Hiuni
BRIEF NOTES

[We begin in this issue a column which will carry comments of 100 words or less about any issue which interests you. Please include in your note, name, address and brief identification]

... congratulations on Dialogue.

In truth, it is one of the most stimulating journals I've read in a long time. Not overly intellectual, it does show vitality, acceptance of a wide range of opinion under the umbrella of Jewish commitment. I really believe you guys have done a hell of a job stimulating so many people to write intelligently and concisely. PHIL HORN former director of the University Services Department of the American Zionist Youth Foundation and of the Jerusalem YM-YWHA, now on the staff of the Young Adult Department of the World Zionist Organization Jerusalem

... the writings that you have been sending to me... have been a source of insight into intellectual aspects of Israel-Diaspora relations. My own experience has been closer to technical, industrial and military areas and I am still looking for a way to become more involved with Israel in such areas... JONATHAN M. WACHTEL Assistant Professor of Physics, Belfer Graduate School, Yeshiva University New York City

... very important to tell the Israelis what we are doing here besides dinners and parties, that we are involved in the daily life of Israel, and if we are concerned it is because we are brothers and sisters and we would like them to listen at least. It's one heart.

ARIE SUBAR Cantor and youth director Montreal.

I was delighted to have had the letter and the new issue of Dialogue which I found to be first rate... GARY RUBIN Food broker, associate chairman UJA Young Leadership Cabinet, CJFWF Board member Des Moines, Iowa

I enjoyed reading the letters and I welcome the opportunity to become more involved. I would like to find a way to help personally—as a psychologist-humanist-woman. LOIS ROSE Clinical psychologist Cleveland, Ohio

... I feel more about the holocaust should be brought to view. Most young Americans feel it cannot touch them and it won't happen again. Perhaps starting in the high schools and colleges, with films, stories, etc. about these young people. Many young couples want to rebel against religious ties and are idealistic (Jews are accepted), we must combat this! (Mrs.) CATHERINE REIDER Art teacher Flushing, New York

I think this attempt is an exciting, inventive idea after just having come back from Israel. I know that having met with some young Jewish leaders, they are looking to establish ties in this area. I think it is important that they know that the Jewish communities throughout the world are behind the continuation of the State of Israel and that they understand why we are staying in the diaspora and, of course, a chance to formulate a continuing policy. We must stop the holocausts of the future and we must do that united. I can only say it is time to begin. WILLIAM K. PEIREZ Attorney, Exec. V-P B'nai B'rith Metro Marrieds, UJA Young Leadership Cabinet Great Neck, New York

... I think it is extremely important to have closer personal relations between thoughtful people across the oceans from one another.

We are the same Jews somehow, whether in Israel, Europe, or America... It is not a matter of agreeing or disagreeing with everything that is said... by each of us. What matters is that we are one people, wherever we are on this earth... the oneness of our people is simple fact the way sunrise is fact.

... Here in Lake Forest it is easy to feel quite alone... ABBA LESSING Associate Professor of Philosophy, Lake Forest College Lake Forest, Ill.

... I believe the development of business ties and assistance from American Jews to increase the GNP of Israel to be imperative. More young people with expertise should be tapped for their abilities... The result would be technical assistance now and monetary assistance in years to come. ELLIOTT R. HUSNEY Attorney, President: Denver Venture Capital, Inc., Board member, Allied Jewish Federation Denver, Colo.

... I think this attempt to establish ties between Jewish leaders in Israel and elsewhere is long overdue. Not only can this lead to greater understanding among Jews but a bridge can be built to span the tremendous gap Jews in Diaspora believe exists between them and those in Israel. Most importantly, the word "Diaspora" should be omitted in future communications. I find it irrelevant and have... used it... only when I come into contact with Israeli friends... Am I to infer that those living in Israel are not part of "Galut"?

MORTON HIRSCH Professor of Business, Kingsborough Community College Brooklyn, New York

I feel that a program of this type is long overdue. I think that it is important that there be as many face-to-face meetings in small groups as possible between Diaspora and Israeli counterparts.

DAVID GREENBERG Assistant Counsel, New York City Planning Commission New York

Would like very much to be involved in this program in an attempt to bridge the gap between Americans and Israelis. I would also like to develop a relationship with Jews in Israel who are concerned (or not concerned, perhaps) with issues confronting Jewry so that we could learn from one another and even have an impact on each others' thinking.

I should hope that at some point we could meet and openly exchange ideas, maybe even work on a project that would involve Israelis and Americans jointly meeting with groups both in Israel and in the U.S... [We have been doing just that, although it may take time to reach every Jewish community. Ed.] CHAIM FELLER, Rabbi, Hillel Foundation at Ohio State University Columbus, Ohio

I would hope to learn more about Israeli society and the quality of Jewish life in Israel. Through corresponding with someone, problems could be identified and further explored. There seems to be the potential for a good deal of sharing both about American Jewish life and Israel Jewish life.

Through this sharing of ideas my views of Israel and a counterpart's views of America (and the Jews in both lands) might be clarified. I would relish the opportunity to participate in this program. STEPHEN DONSHIK Professor of Social Work, Yeshiva University New York City
A quarter of a million Israelis sitting in the United States should get organized. It has started in the Bay area of San Francisco. Anyone interested in it, please contact me. CHEN SHAPIRA Regional Director ZOA 46 Kearny, San Francisco, Ca. 94108

H. R. G. W.] It's apparent that the fragmentation of the American Zionist movement along traditional ideological grounds has resulted in a gap—there seems to be no outlet for young people to express their commitment to the Zionist movement outside the politically-oriented Zionist movements. This fragmentation has of course also resulted in a general weakening of the Zionist movement at a particularly fateful period in Jewish history. I would hope that Dor Hemshech would be able to address itself successfully to these problems—the potential power of the American Jewish community remains relatively untapped as a result of these problems and much remains to be done. SHAYE KOENIG, Teacher–Mathematics & Computer Science Brooklyn, N.Y.

Many counterparts, like myself, would welcome ideas on how to go to Israel in a meaningful way this summer/year. For those who're going on their own, Dor Hemshech could provide a useful link to suggest to persons like myself how to contact counterparts in Israel. Many of us who were on the trip to Israel together in December 1973, have gone or will be going back to Israel, again and again. How do you think we can sustain and develop relationships with our counterparts in Israel? Many of us are still eager for this... JUDY FEIERSTEIN Graduate student in Jewish Communal Service Cambridge, Mass.

Allow me to suggest a Shabbaton program, where a number of American based Jewish leaders could get together for a weekend... have panel discussions of questions and issues that must be discussed. The weekend could be practical, inexpensive and hopefully informative.

... I would like to see more of the “gut” issues discussed in your pages by members of the Jewish intellectual establishment. How about sending the leading Jewish thinkers a number of topics that you feel are relevant and crucial to the state of Israel for their opinions...? EZRA LABATON, Rabbi and member of the Syrian Jewish community pursuing a doctorate in Jewish philosophy Brooklyn, N.Y.

I suggest asking married women for their maiden names. I am sure there are women listed in this month's Dialogue whose maiden names would be familiar to me... SHIRLEY GROSSMAN SEGAL Housewife, Hadassah leader Manchester, Conn.

... Reading Dialogue was a most refreshing experience for me. Being familiar with the inner-Jewish partisan conflicts both in the United States and in Israel, and having for some time already devoted myself to the goal of transcending yesterday's slogans and “denominational” as well as party divisions within kefel yisrael, I felt encouraged by seeing, in your pages, representatives of Herut and Moked rubbing shoulders, an Orthodox defender of the Israeli religious status quo and an American Orthodox critic of the moral climate within his group both having their say. I look forward to further issues. JAKOB J. PETUCHOWSKI Rabbi and Research Professor of Jewish Theology and Liturgy at Hebrew College Cincinnati [Rabbi Petuchowski is among several dozen distinguished members of the senior generation of Jewish leaders for whose information we send Dialogue. Ed.]
Dear Counterparts,

I appreciated Shlomo Levy's remarks in the last issue [Dialogue 6] and the reprint of some of my comments during my recent trip to the United States. Since returning to Israel, I have been thinking about our joint effort in Dor Hemshech and about Dialogue in particular.

...Israel developed ties with the Jews of America on two central themes: Aliyah and financial and political aid. In this way we've excluded most American Jews who either are not ready to go to Israel or who do not feel devoted enough to contribute to Israel financially. The majority in this way lost contact with Israel. At the same time we object to any intervention from Jews outside of Israel. We are not ready to listen to advice from Jews abroad on political or social problems that are part of our daily routine. Altogether I am afraid that we may reject many (especially young) Jews who have not been able to fit into one of two categories or felt they want to know more about us. They have the right not merely to support us but to ask questions, criticize and advise us in the framework of basic support of us and affiliation with us.

The older generation of American Jews felt closer to us for historical and emotional reasons. They were alive when the country was established. They lived through the experiences of the Holocaust in their own life-time. For them the rebirth of the State of Israel was something that had special significance and they could not help having a special sense of attachment and devotion to it.

Naturally, the younger generation has not shared these experiences and is in addition much more sophisticated. They will not accept things as they are and give full support without asking questions and receiving answers. Therefore if we do not want to lose the majority of Jews in America and especially the younger generation, we must open a new kind of dialogue between "us" and "them." I believe that this duty is primarily ours, the youth of America and Israel, because we are closer in mentality to each other. We in Israel must open ourselves to the Jews in America and prepare to broaden the basis of our relationship to a much greater scope than it was in the past. But at the same time I expect Jews to assume much more involvement in everything that occurs in our life, here. I am afraid that, for many Jews in America, the present situation is a good excuse to avoid that kind of involvement which requires a different responsibility because of the very limited area of contact between us and them. Dialogue is not simple. There are many ifs involved in it. If we, together, are able to create a dialogue on those problems of Jewish existence which are common to both (although perhaps varied in form); if we are more open to hear what the Jews in America and other places have to say about our situation and the solutions we must adopt; if each takes the responsibility needed in order to say these things; and if in that way get more involved, then perhaps, a new type of relationship will be created which will strengthen the ties between Israel and the Diaspora for the benefit of all.

Dialogue is a good platform in itself. But this alone is so far from meeting the needs in the realm of creating a real dialogue between American and Israeli Jews that I would rather think of something much wider in scope to meet those needs. I think that the entire effort of Dor Hemshech in the Zionist Movement should be directed to this approach of strengthening and broadening the dialogue. I have the feeling that as much as the younger generation in America needs this education, we in Israel need it as well, and so I expect the Young Leadership to do much more in Israel than just respond. Then there will be two sides to the dialogue. I am afraid that the Israelis are not properly prepared for Dialogue or for all that it represents, as well as part of the American Jews.

EHUD OLMERT
Jerusalem

At 29, Ehud Olmert, a member of the "Merkaz Ha'atzmai" of Likud is the youngest member of Knesset.

Dear Counterparts:

This will be my seventh spring at Columbia, and it will be a silent one. Student activism died countless times before its death; its demise was heralded as far back as the fall of 1970, but Ford's recession has done what Agnew's mouthings and Nixon's surveillance and the student movement's own frequent political stupidity and senseless violence failed to do. It looks like recession will become a way of life. The national budget anticipates unemployment around eight per cent until the end of 1976. Economic hardship has produced a new breed of student, one almost unrecognizable to my classmates of the class of 1972: one almost totally self-centered, dedicated to working, studying, and getting ahead. The Fifties again? I doubt it; the cultural revolution has succeeded where the political revolution failed; but there seems little doubt that we are entering a period of campus quietism.

Before our "young leadership" group between 25 and 40, preparing to assume our positions in various establishments, starts to cheer the decline of the frequently immature student movement, we ought to stop and ask if apathy is good for the Jews. I believe it is not; despite its extremes and despite the anti-Israel positions of a small number of student radicals, the student movement was indirectly a positive force for Jewish survival in America and Israel. The Jewish student movement flourished when general activism was at its peak, and it is no coincidence that the descent of the veil of apathy has also meant the decline of Jewish concern for the campus. "Apathy" means "lack of feeling" in Greek; but the essence of Judaism is that we feel, that we care. It is true that the student whose only concern is squeezing out the A's to get into medical school is not likely to be a self-hating Jew, but he is not likely to do anything helpful either. I am disappointed to find that Beit Ephraim, the Columbia havurah I helped found three years ago, has become little more than a Jewish fraternity, a place where people live but do not care about things beyond their own lives. Even the observant undergraduates I know are following the same pattern: they are personally religious but do not care that Torah transforms the lives of others.

I realize that it is difficult to sustain activism in times such as these, but it is nevertheless essential.

JONATHAN GRONER
New York City

Mr. Groner, a widely published journalist and commentator, will receive his law degree from Columbia University in the spring and will be honors attorney with the U.S. Department of Justice Anti-Trust Division in Washington, D.C.
Dear Counterparts,

In response to your recent editorial in Dialogue #6, you may be interested in what some of us are doing.

I am pleased to tell you about the formation of the Jewish American Political Action Committee, Inc. Comprised of a large number of young, committed Jews, JAPAC is a political action group which will:

- Marshal American political support for the State of Israel
- Combat anti-Semitism wherever it exists
- Make full and effective use of every form of political leverage available to us as citizens in a democratic society
- Develop its own extensive information gathering and news media monitoring group, and make full use of information gathered by other groups
- Develop position papers and materials on significant issues for public dissemination
- Approach and join with others in influencing those with political power on behalf of issues of interest to American Jewry.

Although there are other individuals and organizations engaged in similar activities, our group is unique. Our uniqueness lies in the youthful spirit and energy which we bring to realizing our goals.

Active membership is encouraged and involvement in some aspect of JAPAC's activities will be expected from each member.

The founding members are excited and greatly encouraged about the success of this venture. It is our hope that you will be equally involved in this important effort.

Our aims and objectives are to create and further an active awareness and involvement with respect to issues of concern to American and World Jewry, including ... the marshalling of American political support for [such] issues ... and the conduct of any and all other activities as shall from time to time be found appropriate in connection with the foregoing and are lawful for a Not-for-Profit corporation.

Membership applications are available from JAPAC, 5 East 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10022 or call Michael Jaffe at (212) 355-6630.

IRWIN ACKERMAN
New York City

Mr. Ackerman is a member of the national UJA Young Leadership Cabinet.

Dear Counterparts,

I would like to add my voice to the discussions of religion and ideology in our forum. The revival of the Jewish people in Eretz Yisrael advanced rapidly in the early years of Zionism because of the pioneering ideology and efforts of the Labor Movement: building a new nation and reversing the economic pyramid of the Jewish people (from a nation of marginal businessmen and shopkeepers to a laboring and creative people attached to the soil), Labor Zionism's social ideology was needed at first to build and move the new nation. Pioneering and altruistic efforts require a communally-oriented rationale for sacrificing personal satisfactions to the needs of society and the nation: protection, national defense, immigration, settlement. These efforts led to Israeli excellence in areas neglected by previous generations, such as agriculture and the military. Such lines of development were enough for the founding generation. As a substitute for the bases of Jewish peoplehood which were linked to the religion of Israel, they were not momentous enough to survive into the next generation.

As a result of an unending Arab campaign against our existence, our generation began to lose its certainty of our right and attachment to our land. They have lost something of their willingness to sacrifice for duty's sake. The military, political and economic attack of 20 Arab countries, supported by a hundred million citizens, billions of dollars, the power of oil, and the quantities of weapons flowing in to them from East and West have caused our youth to question our situation and our policies and, consequently, our character. "A Jewish state for the security of the Jews," and it is constantly threatened with destruction and faced with danger!

An attitude of "Ein Breira" (there is no other choice) is not enough. Without deep roots, there may be other alternatives for the Jews. A nation like all other nations—free, secular, permissive, without any cultural distinctiveness, without any depth of historic tradition, without exceptional values, a nation that displays corruption and disintegration of its social and economic life—has nothing to attract Jewish immigrants from abroad, and, even among its children and pupils, not a few leave.

Nevertheless, there are many islands of strength, belief and beauty among Israeli youth. Sabras, educated in Israel, volunteer for the army, live in new settlements, fulfill their obligations to the nation with willingness and sacrifice; they are the foundations of our existence.

In these difficult times, one group stands out. It is composed almost entirely of people whose beliefs correspond directly with our lives here, people whose pioneering actions and contribution to building the land faithfully express the depth of their attachment to it. It is possible that the same responsibilities that were once fulfilled by the Labor Movement, as the decisive force in society, are represented today by this group of individuals whose ideology has passed through the sieve of time without weakening. They are renewing themselves and flourishing now. This is the group of young religious nationalists whose struggle for the wholeness of Israel expressed a historic sense of our belonging and responsibility. Their belief in their right and attachment to the land dates back not 26 or 100 years but thousands of years, protected by the promise of the Lord to Abraham the Hebrew. These young people see themselves in a process of development (even during a time of retreat) leading to the redemption of the people and the land, with the full knowledge that the land is likely to vomit out its inhabitants if their nature does not suit the holiness and distinctiveness of it.

This group links the Torah of Israel to the land of Israel and the Jewish people. They are strong in spirit and firm in their ways. You will find them working in various fields, conscientiously filling the needs of the country today. Even those who disagree with their purposes and methods must recognize the purity of their motives and the integrity of their spirits and beliefs. Nor can they disregard their actions, which are immersed in a spirit of pioneering with roots deep in our peoplehood.

It is important that this trend be given proper attention, that a
Mr. Hammar, a member of Knnesset and leader of the Gush Emunim reform wing of the National Religious Party has recently been meeting with counterparts across North America.

Dear Jeff,

I appreciated your letter in the last Dialogue, though I believe it misses the mark. Breira is a forum for dissent which is not defined by Israeli party lines. Benjamin Halevi, who recently left Herut, as well as Lova Eliav, who recently left Mapai, are both seeking a “breira” to the status quo, represented by the de facto occupation of Arab territory and by the danger to Israeli security in maintaining the occupation. Within the Israeli Establishment, little distinction can be made (except in liberal sounding hasbara) between ideological justification of the occupation (i.e. the Likud position) and a “pragmatic” policy of creeping annexation (i.e. the position of the Ma’arach). Because in essence these are the same policies, Begin (like Rabin) has had ready access to national TV in the U.S., while someone like Major General (Res.) Matti Peled, an Israeli “dove” critical of the government position, has been hard pressed to get any attention from the U.S. media during a recent speaking tour here. Breira exists, therefore, to provide a forum for such truly dissenting viewpoints.

Matti Peled is a member of Yozma (Initiative) which represents a spectrum of independent opinion in Israel parallel to that which Breira represents in the Diaspora. Below you will find excerpts from Breira’s Israel Independence Day Declaration in which we solicit Diaspora support for a position drafted by Yozma. By this effort, Breira does not seek to transplant Israeli party structures (whether left or right) to the Diaspora (as the World Jewish Congress has done through its relationship with the World Zionist Organization). Rather, we are seeking to bring together a variety of independent voices sharing a concern to establish a new basis for Diaspora-Israel relations.

Actually, the most challenging critique of the status quo in Diaspora-Israel relations has come from Hillel Kook and Sam Merlin (former Irgunists) in a statement published widely in Israel. The distinctions they make between the priorities and needs of the Israeli nation/state and those of the Diaspora communities are of critical importance in reevaluating the organizational and psychological structures of Diaspora-Israel relations, such as the “centrality” of Israel, aliyah, the role of the Jewish Agency and fundraising. This is the voice of the “right” which is not now heard and for which Breira gladly offers a forum. Arik Sharon, on the other hand, has little more to say about Diaspora-Israel relations than what Golda and Sapir have been pushing for years (with increasingly counterproductive results): more aliyah and more money! In this area, too, the “ein breira” approach must be challenged.

Breira means ‘alternative’, and we mean to express an alternative voice within the American Jewish Community. In doing so, we also hope to build creative links between independent-minded Diaspora and Israeli Jews based on shared values and traditions, as well as a shared responsibility and commitment to solving the problems which confront the Jewish people as a whole.

Response to ongoing crises in Israel cannot continue to serve as the central psychological, religious, cultural, political, and institutional basis of Jewish involvement in the Diaspora without ultimately undermining healthy and creative Jewish development in both Israel and the Diaspora. We dedicate ourselves to building an independent American Jewish community, capable of revitalizing Diaspora Jewish life, of addressing the serious problems which confront us in American society and of maintaining a mutually productive relationship with the State of Israel. . . .

. . . the renewal of the Geneva Conference is a likelihood in the near future, and Israel should submit to it a peace plan of its own. Israel, because of her strength and central position in the conflict, can afford to take the initiative and make her position and desire for peace absolutely clear. Failing this, Israel may once again be driven to the passive role of reacting to plans submitted by others and subjected to pressures on all sides to accept other parties’ formulations, in addition to facing an increasingly dangerous international isolation.

We express our support for the following principles as the basis for Israel’s peace plan. These principles have been put forward by a small but influential group of Israeli political and cultural personalities, journalists, academics and kibbutz members who call themselves Yozma (Initiative)...

1. Israel should declare that she has no expansionist ambitions whatsoever, and is prepared to give up the territories occupied in the 1967 War in return for:
   a) recognition by the Arabs of the sovereignty and integrity of the State of Israel.
   b) a mutual undertaking by Arabs and Israelis to maintain peaceful relations and to refrain from acts of hostility of all kinds.

2. Israel should express its willingness within this context to start immediate negotiations toward a peace treaty, wherein shall be determined all procedures and guarantees necessary to insure peace and security for all parties, including the final demarcation of borders, establishment of demilitarized zones, supervision and inspection, as well as the stages in which progress toward a full peace relationship will be made. The establishment of such a relationship must be the final goal of the negotiations.

3. Israel should have no objection to the establishment within the territories she shall evacuate on the West Bank and in Gaza, of an independent Palestinian state provided such a state undertake to recognize the sovereignty and integrity of the State of Israel, maintain peaceful relations with her, and refrain from acts of hostility, including acts of terror against Israel and her citizens. Israel should be prepared to negotiate these matters with any Palestinian leadership which is prepared to accept these conditions.

4. Jerusalem, the capital of the State of Israel, should remain a unified city. Proper steps will have to be taken to guarantee the privileges of the three faiths for whom it is sacred. In addition, special arrangements, necessitated by the fact that Jerusalem will be inhabited by citizens of two states, will have to be made.

Among the members of Yozma are: Dr. Mattitiyahu Peled, Head of the Arabic Department of Tel Aviv University and formerly a Major General and Chief of Logistics in the Israeli Defense Forces, Ya’akov Arnon, former Director General of the Israeli Finance Ministry, Simcha Flapan, Editor of New Outlook magazine, David Schacham, member of the Central Committee of the Israeli Labor Party, Eliyahu Weinberg, Director of the Israeli Chamber Theater.

A peace plan, based on these principles, will ensure the existence and
well-being of the State of Israel and the existence and well-being of her neighbors. It has a fair chance of being acceptable to the Arab governments directly concerned. But in case it fails to gain acceptance, it will nevertheless serve as proof of Israel's sincere desire for peace. Such a demonstration is necessary to gain Israel the understanding and sympathy of peoples who may now be entertaining doubts as to her intentions.

Together with concerned Israelis, we therefore call upon the government of the State of Israel to adopt without delay the principles formulated above the make its peace plan known before the Geneva Conference reconvenes.


BOB LOEB
New York City

Mr. Loeb is National Secretary of Breira—A Project of Concern in Diaspora-Israel Relations.

Dear Counterparts,

An undated press release recently arrived in my office, put out by the Government of Israel Investment Authority. The release announced that Israel would be hosting a Metal Industries Week this Fall, giving Israeli manufacturers a chance to exhibit their wares to an anticipated "500 businessmen" from around the world. The next to last paragraph of this release reads as follows: "A special program for the ladies has been arranged as an added highlight to the week-long exposition. The program will feature: a special Israeli Fashion Show, a visit to the famous artist colony in Jaffa, and an in-depth tour of a kibbutz."

In the Hebrew schools, Sunday schools and Zionist Youth movements throughout the United States, Jewish children are taught that one of the fundamental principles of Israeli society is the equality of the sexes. We are shown the famous photos of women bearing arms beside their men, of women tractor drivers on kibbutz ripping through the land, photos of Golda, and again of Golda. Jewish children grow to maturity and begin to perceive that the reality does not live up to the myth. Even before ever going to Israel the more sensitive of these children might wonder why almost every shaliach sent from Israel is male. Jewish children go to Israel and discover that tractors, even in Israel, are for men (they damage your ovaries), the army includes women but they do not fight or make important military decisions, that the important power circles in Israel are almost entirely male.

At any rate, you notice that equality between the sexes in Israel is more of a fantasy than a reality, and you wonder if it is still at least a dream, a social aspiration of a young and developing society. You ask Israeli officials and you inevitably hear apologetic arguments, explaining how the present situation evolved, what the difficulties faced are, etc. Seductive arguments that leave you with the feeling that the dream is still alive, and that one day it will be actualized in an Israel rid of other very pressing problems.

And then you get this press release, unimportant really. A special program for the ladies, featuring a special Israeli fashion show. One assumes that this special program has been designed to accommodate those accompanying the "500 businessmen". The Government of Israel has decided that the executives of the metal working industry are all men. This might be the case, but it is this kind of an assumption throughout a culture that prevents social change from occurring, that maintains the status quo. And the Government of Israel, as represented by this press release, has decided to call the women accompanying these men "the Ladies". A lady is more than a noun, it is a concept, and as a concept it is debilitating to women and to society. A lady is well mannered, well groomed, and never, ever gets angry or raises her voice. She would never challenge a man, even if she knows him to be wrong. She walks the rigid and male-defined path of charm and grace. A man must protect this frail creature, this lady, and make sure that her muscles do not become strained nor her white gloves soiled opening a door for herself. And in return for all of this protection the lady behaves, is a charming ornament for her male protector, laughs at his jokes, tends his ego and his children, magnifies his importance and soothes his psychic brow.

It just so happens that the Jewish community, traditionally, has never been able to afford such delicate creatures. Historically, every Jewish man and woman had to cope with harsh reality or perish. Making a living was a major struggle, and women participated, out in the marketplace, trading with the peasants, not at home doing needlepoint. Jewish women had to bear losses without collapse, had to adjust to expulsion, followed by expulsion. We were strong as we came to the sweatshops of the Lower East Side, and to the arid fields of Palestine.

It was in America that the Jewish community first came across the notion of the sweet smelling ever smiling lady, a notion transported to this pioneer state by the English gentry. And Jewish men, finding prosperity in America, discovered that they could now afford the luxury of a frail female creature to adorn their home. Jewish women were seduced by this vision, only later to discover that Jewish ladies have the highest rate of mental illness of any single group in America. And the ladies in Israel, pressured to have children in a society with insufficient day care facilities, found that they could not afford to go to work—in a society with an insufficient labor force. And in a time of crisis like the war last year the society discovered that everything must stop while the men are away, because ladies get no training in important service jobs. And the ladies discovered that they cannot bear the strain of sitting at home worrying while the men are away fighting for the survival of the state.

And yet the Government of Israel decides to entertain the ladies with a fashion show. Ladies must adorn themselves with attractive garments designed to please their protectors, after all. Yes, it can be argued that an American market must be developed for the Israeli garment industry and I would agree. But a fashion show is the frivolous pastime of a lady who is rich enough to be unconcerned with pressing social problems. If this special Israeli fashion show is being presented to promote the Israeli garment industry, let it be presented as that. And let the government of Israel remember that men also buy and wear clothes, that men too are concerned with fashion.

Ladies and Gentlemen exist only in the upper class of societies that are busy exploiting the bulk of the population. A society that is attempting to solve social problems cannot afford such creatures. If the worldwide Jewish community is really engaged in such a struggle, we must rely on the strength of all our members. Ladies, we must remember, have no strength—as a matter of fact, they swoon at the first sign of blood.

CHERYL MOCH
New York City

Ms. Moch is Director of the National Commission of Jewish Youth of the American Jewish Congress.
Dear Counterparts,

Although I realize that I am writing from limited experience, due to the many silences around me, it's time to break the circle, if only to be proved wrong, which at this point, I'd gladly accept.

My situation is that I am a fairly active, conscious Jewish woman, transplanted for a year to study in Israel at the Hebrew Union College, as a first year rabbinical student. One of my first responses to my new situation, was to stake out my ground, to try to find a group of Israeli women who were actively working for women in Israel, for example, by arranging/designing day care centers in urban neighbourhoods and at work, and actively involved in the abortion issue.

I came, however, with the knowledge that the 'vatikah' image, the women moulding the country equal with and alongside of the men, is quite outdated. I knew that the old times when, for example, women on kibbutzim had called discussions demanding equal work distribution, were past; that now, kibbutz life, supposedly the 'vanguard of liberation' could be quite retarding for a woman's self expression. Unless a woman has a speciality or a skill, she is drafted for work in the children's homes, in the laundry, or for kitchen work, the difference being that instead of working for four people, she would now work for hundreds. I, however, was not prepared for the apathy and extremely negative reactions of women to their identification as women, and their working for women, especially in the face of strong injustices (job opportunities, the abortion issue). This shocked and saddened me.

On trying to make contact through the Knesset to women active in Israeli society for the betterment of its women, on offering my experience and assistance, I was kindly, though sympathetically, told that there really is nothing here — a few core groups, mainly American women who have made aliyah, but nothing more. It seemed to me, that the current situation has striking parallels to the situation in the U.S.A. after World War II. During the war, there was a strong movement, a ‘feminine mystique’ of the active woman. While there was war, women were educated and filled the men’s jobs in every area of industry and commerce, and they did excellently — then all the articles disappeared that condemned mothers who left their children to work, but rather praised them, calling them the ‘superwomen’. When the war ended and the men returned, the women were fired, and a huge media movement was mounted telling women that they would be loved as mothers and wives only, that all else was unhealthy, and an entire romantic age grew, encouraged by the government, which offered tax reductions for bearing children, and the baby boom began. I see a similar process occurring in Israel today.

I don’t want to underplay the extreme problems Israel has, the war and war losses, inter-Jewish discrimination, problems of women finding men, a critical economic situation, ‘having children’ problems, and ‘not wanting to have more children’ problems, the religious controls on life here. Still I wait for the Israeli woman to get entry . . . to speak and break her silence.

As a woman, I feel both very degraded and lonely here. I found that instead of walking and looking around me, as I’m able to do in the U.S., I was ‘made’ to look at the ground, otherwise I’d be encouraging a ‘come-on’. I ‘learned’ to walk playing dumb to the men who ask me for a ‘cup of coffee’ (I now know what that means!) or who would call me ‘baby’ or ‘hey you’. I felt that even if I walked around in a paper bag, somehow I’d still be distinguished as a foreigner, and as a woman, thus inviting remarks, whistles, honks, jeers and games.

A year has gone by, now I’m used to that. But there are other things that I’m not accustomed to . . . going into offices and being considered a ‘nice, young girl’ though I’ve had professional experiences in their field, being told to have babies, being laughed at when expressing my needs of wanting to produce work outside (and in addition to) the home, others assuming my ‘youthful fancies’ will pass, and not being taken seriously as a person who has potential to offer and wishes to offer it. It’s a feeling that there is no place for me in Israel, despite all the advertising.

And lastly, I’d like to return to the Israeli woman. I feel that I’m not being met, that I am concerned about things that do not concern her. I’m concerned about Israel, my state, which too I find ironic, as when I think of aliyah, it does not seem that it can ever let itself be mine. I feel marginal here, and feel that there is a passivity towards my interests. I miss contact with other women, who enjoy their womanhood, who are also concerned with their country and want to help lead, and not be led, who want their lives to become broader, who are concerned about their contributions and their creativity. I miss women who are not afraid to gather together and say they are women without worrying about the prevailing stereotypes of ‘bra-burner, destructive, discontents’. I miss women gathering together, women seeing that they have a problem, and that they have common problems . . . not being afraid to talk to and with one another about their deeper needs and problems, and working together, solve them as no one else will.

I write in frustration, and with inner pain, as I struggle with aliyah, with possible settling, yet I feel hesitant, as among other problems, my ‘womanness’ feels so unfulfilled. I invite response as I hope to be proven wrong in my assessment of the situation. I want to hear, however, solid examples of projects occurring, groups formed, goals accomplished, and not sophistic arguments as I know all about the pioneers of the past, but I am still looking for the pioneers of today. I’d like to know of individual women’s progress and feelings, but also of groups of women, for change happens not only with the individual, but also needs the group and the feeling for the unity on their situation that only a group can provide. There is a problem here, and I’m looking for roads to a solution, or movement towards a solution, and voices instead of silence.

VICKI HOLLANDER
Jerusalem

Ms. Hollander is a rabbinical student at Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem.

Dear Allan [Pakes],

I found your comments (Dialogue #5) on David Twersky’s aliyah interesting but inadequate. I have a personal suggestion on aliyah which I ask you (and others) to respond to . . .

[In 1947-48 the] Jews of America mobilized, many of them breaking the laws of the United States, to help a yet unborn country come into being. Inherent in that [action was] emotion, not logic, certainly not pragmatism, but emotion, idealism ignited and translated into action. It is the common denominator of all Jews in the United States.

[In] current Israeli policy and, more important, attitude as regards immigration of Jewish Americans to the country, the emphasis (if indeed there is any) is placed on young Jewish
American families. In other words on people who have already made the beginnings of a commitment to one particular way of life; to marriage to a certain profession, to certain goals and a particular standard of living. The statistics on American Jewish immigration tells us that half of them leave. Serious questions are asked within the Jewish Agency and the Ministry of Immigration. Conclusions are drawn, and new or modified practices are put into effect, and yet statistics remain the same. And all this goes on at a time when there is perhaps greater Jewish identification in the U.S. than at any other period. Demonstrations of Jewish solidarity with Israel draw more people, larger sums of money are raised, non-religious Jews begin wearing skull caps in New York. Not out of piety but identification. And yet the statistics on American Jewish immigrants returning to the States remains the same.

... Why does a young Jewish couple or family come to Israel? There are two general categories. One is those people who are coming to something. The other is those who are running away from something else. Most of the second category will not be absorbed because they are running away from problems that will stay with them wherever they go and just as they left the U.S. so they will leave Israel. But what about those in the first group, the ones coming to something? First of all they are small in number. We are, after all, asking this young Jewish family to do some pretty difficult things. We are asking them to tear up roots which they have taken a lot of time and effort to plant. We are asking native born Americans to become foreigners and foreign Jews. We are asking them to bring their children to future wars. We are asking them to live on a lower scale in a jungle of bureaucracy which they have only seen in the movies about the Soviet Union or about British social welfare offices.

What do we give in return? Israeli citizenship, and a chance to be Jews in their own land. ... we try to find them a good apartment, it won't be what they are accustomed to, but it will be better than what a lot of sabras have and they will get it on better terms, with tax exemptions not just in housing; they will be able to buy a stereo without having to pay tax, as well as a car. Do they realize what this means? Well if they do not, their non-immigrant neighbors will be only too willing to tell them. We try to find them work in their profession, albeit not with the same pay scale but with wages as good as any saba gets and sometimes better. In short we will try to give them as close as we can get to what their parents gave them with the best intentions and what kind of life they want to live. They have, for the most part, not yet reached the stage of finding the right answers, but are indeed, but anyone who has joined them, by the act of their joining, has already chosen a type of life for himself and seeks the company of those who have made a similar decision, namely to begin leading a Jewish American life, or an American Jewish life, but anyway you look at it, the geography of the thing is American, and Jewish means a state of mind and not the State of Israel. That is precisely why there are so few members of such organizations in relation to the overall number of Jewish young people now living in the United States. Because very few kids have made that decision, that commitment to a way of life that says four years of college and then the Masters degree and then the good spot in the right company and your first marriage in your first home, thought not necessarily the last one of either.

There is an army of 100 thousand young Jewish kids who have not yet made that decision, who are as yet undecided about what kind of life they want to live. They have, for the most part, only thought of what they do not want, and what they do not want is what their parents gave them with the best intentions and goodness of heart. They have thought that material things do not necessarily make for fulfillment in life, that a college degree may not necessarily be the key to success either, nor that success in the American sense is the key to happiness. They have thought that the measure of a man may not be determined by his salary or whether he has a key to the executive washroom, they have not yet reached the stage of finding the right answers, but are mainly trying to find the right questions. We cannot interest them in Israel with an apartment or tax break on a car, because they have already questioned whether those things mean anything anyway. They explore their minds, sometimes with drugs, on a stereo or car. For him those things are facts of life. The only one impressed by the rights of the new immigrants are old immigrants and Sabras who have to pay taxes on all those things and let you know it loud and clear. So that instead of feeling like the American Jew who has come to Israel to help build his country with his brethren, the western immigrant feels that he is looked upon as the rich Yankee getting everything free at the expense of the native born who fought the wars. It is not a pleasant feeling.

But, says the frustrated immigration worker of Jewish Agency employee, we have to find the family a place to live, he has to be able to work in his profession, he needs a car and he cannot be expected to pay the same taxes as native born Israelis after he has spent all that money and made all that effort in transplating his household. That is true enough. That is exactly the problem of trying to absorb a young immigrant family who have already committed themselves to certain ways of life, who have already entered certain professions, and feel responsibilities to each other and their children.

... What about the younger immigrant, 18 to 30, single, idealistic, willing to sacrifice for a challenge and a chance to build. Well says the Agency there are all sorts of Zionist youth organizations, but frankly they have proved disappointing. They are just not the source from which aliyah comes. They go to college instead of Israel. They might come here for a year but they go back to the States to settle. They are good bond buyers of the future but very few of them came over as volunteers after the Yom Kippur War. ...

But of course they are not where aliyah comes from! They have already committed themselves to a certain way of life just by having joined those Zionist youth organizations. For these groups are social clubs, Jewish social clubs, yes, young Jewish social clubs, indeed, but anyone who has joined them, by the act of their joining, has already chosen a type of life for himself and seeks the company of those who have made a similar decision, namely to begin leading a Jewish American life, or an American Jewish life, but anyway you look at it, the geography of the thing is American, and Jewish means a state of mind and not the State of Israel. That is precisely why there are so few members of such organizations in relation to the overall number of Jewish young people now living in the United States. Because very few kids have made that decision, that commitment to a way of life that says four years of college and then the Masters degree and then the good spot in the right company and your first marriage in your first home, thought not necessarily the last one of either.
they push on to the extremes of their own sexualities at times, not because they are born jaded or degenerate, but out of fashion and more important because those things are at the very least real to them. If we are to compare them to anyone, they are closer to the early Russian youngsters who founded Degania than they are to their own older brothers and sisters. Give them a challenge and they will jump at it, the harsher the conditions the better, not as volunteers on an older kibbutz, but for there they see at times more materialism than in the city, which translates to them mistakenly as hypocrisy. A young person of that age is a fanatic to whatever cause he gives his faith. They are the ones who swell the demonstrations of Jewish solidarity to six figure members. They are the ones who will come if the call that reaches out to them offers a challenge instead of a white bordered license plate. These are the ones who will build if they know that what they are building is theirs. If they are called upon to sacrifice in order to create with their own hands and minds and most importantly with their hearts.

The decision to come to Israel for any American is an emotional one. It has no logic. It is in spite of logic. It is not practical. It is idealistic. It is not coolly thought out. It is hot-blooded. It makes no hard headed sense whatsoever. It is romantic. Go then to the one group of people personified by emotion as opposed to the harsh practicalities of life. . . . Give them a tent to live in and bricks and they will build you settlement. Give them the task and the skills with which to translate their idealism into action and they will accomplish it.

I am speaking of a program which would in effect be a kind of semi-civilian Nahal, made up entirely of new immigrants from Western countries, all young, preferably single, in groups of fifty to one hundred, who would be brought together in the U.S. by one Madrich who would stay with them as they went to Israel to be in an established kibbutz as a Garin, and who would strive to maintain within them the feeling that they were in a sense an elite called upon to perform a task which only they could do. While in the established kibbutz they would go through an Ulpan and be trained in how to run a meshek, after nine months to a year in the established kibbutz they would go through an Ulpan and be trained in how to run a meshek, after nine months to a year. Those skilled workers amongst them divided up among various groups with the unskilled members providing the muscle, so that they themselves would physically establish their own communities.

For the kids between 18 and 23 this could easily constitute their army experience as well by making them part of the Nahal branch of the service but keeping them within their own garinim.

Today, large numbers of kids who in the past went straight to college have gone into crafts of one type or another, be it carpentry or mechanics, pottery or electrical work. Others have tried to form their own communes within the U.S. and have failed for lack of planning and sufficient motivation. It was not enough to build a commune simply for its’ own sake. But connected with a pioneering effort in a new country to establish a new settlement the motivation would be there. What we have in essence now is a generation similar to the early Chalutzim in temperament and larger in numbers, who have been raised on high standards of living and look for meaning instead. They are already experiencing an awakening of their own Jewish identities. If they are called upon they will respond. If they are given the skills to put their idealism into effect they will succeed. As Israelis we need them. As Jews they want to fulfill that need and a deeper one within themselves, to match themselves against a meaningful challenge, to forge their lives for themselves, instead of treading in a rut cut deep by others’ journeys. They will come if what we offer them is the chance to lead an heroic life. . . .

DAN GORDON
Kibbutz Genosar

Mr. Gordon, formerly an author and film writer in the United States, is now a member of the Israeli army.

Dear Counterparts,

I was born in 1949 in Jerusalem where I spent my childhood and adolescence inspired mostly by my parents, school, Bnei Akiva youth movement, and the army. After my military service I began studying geography and Jewish history at the Hebrew University and subsequently was sent as a community shaliach to Portland, Maine. During my stay in the United States, I was alarmed by the degree of assimilation and felt that urgent action must be taken. This brought me to join, upon my return to Israel, the young leadership department of WZO and to concentrate on the topic of absorption of olim in Israel. I had been told by olim who have returned to the United States that their most difficult problem in Israel was that of social acclimation. We therefore decided to confront this problem in Israel by creating Chavurot Klita (absorption groups).

Chavurot Klita are groups of young volunteers who took upon themselves the task of helping, individually and collectively, new olim in social absorption. The motive for establishing this project was the feeling that in some parts of Israeli society an atmosphere of detachment and alienation from olim prevails. The Chavurot attempt to create opportunities and framework for meetings and joint activities for old and new Israelis with the intention of breaking the ice and bringing together people who otherwise wouldn’t be able to meet. We have social gatherings, weekend retreats, hikes, projects in which all participate; such as teaching of English to children in development towns or going together on guard duty in border settlements. We hope to contribute to the process of easing olim into Israeli society and simultaneously getting Israelis to learn more about problems that accompany aliyah.

We expect difficulties and frustrations; human projects are difficult to predict. We do not intend to measure our success quantitatively. Each Israeli and ool who become friends as a result of participating in the Chavurot, every small contribution to improving the atmosphere between old and new Israelis will be considered a success.

So far we have done the following:
1) mutual hosting of families of Israelis and olim. For example, in Bet Hakerem in Jerusalem such meetings are held every other week.
2) “Adoption” of families of olim by Israeli families while still at the absorption center.
3) “Adoption” of families of olim outside of absorption centers.
4) Families of olim meeting and visiting with future neighbors.

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Such meetings have contributed tremendously to acclimatizing these families and reducing their feeling of strangeness.

In one case, a choir for both young olim and other children was established. Meetings were held in Kiryat Anavim, Bet Yehoshua, Kiryat Moriyah, Ein Charod, and S’dom. A new class at Ulpan Ezion was received by a group of Israelis upon arrival and the two groups merged successfully. A joint seder was held in the Jerusalem Forest. The number of applications compelled us to arrange another joint seder.

The following projects are being planned:
1) Joint weekend retreats.
2) Joint social projects which will confront old and new Israelis with some of Israel’s social problems.
3) Opening a moadon (club) in Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv where we can all meet informally. Such places will serve to stabilize relationships.
4) Joint hikes and trips in Israel.

These attempts are not always successful. A planned Chanukah party ended with no olim showing up. There are bureaucratic problems with the Jewish Agency and other institutions in charge of absorption. But all have shown a spirit of cooperation and we hope to be able to help coordinate the activities of all such institutions. We have a big job before us. Only with full cooperation from both olim and Israelis, conscious of the significance and gravity of the problems will we make progress.

Any reactions, remarks, advice and help will be more than welcome.

ISRAEL SAROUK
Jerusalem

Mr. Sarouk directs the Chavurot Klita program of the WZO Young Leadership department.

Dear Counterparts,

I have an observation which, although neither profound nor even of great significance, I feel a need to share. This morning was one of those rainy, miserable days we see only too often in Jerusalem. I stood near the number 19 bus stop at the windy corner of Herzog and Tchernechovski, and noticed that an Arab laborer was waiting for the bus as well. My first reaction, I must admit, was one of fear. I turned once again within myself and returned to my thoughts of rain and the chill. Slowly I again became aware of the Arab standing shivering in the downpour. He wore a red Kafiyah, a raggedy black jacket and a pair of torn black tennis shoes.

Suddenly I felt some sort of link to the man—he probably did not even notice me but that did not matter. He was merely a poor underpaid laborer who suffered the same chill and depression as me. I realized that in my over-zealous search for my only personal character but perhaps a sign of my humanity. Perhaps if things were dealt with even politically without this cold certainty, my generation would not face the dilemma of indecision that troubles them. When I looked at that poor, insignificant laborer, as myself, another small cog in the wheel of a society, I can see that this is not the war of the individual. My perspectives are restored, these are real people not ‘The Arab States’ and ‘The State of Israel’.

ESTIE BRENNER
Jerusalem

Ms. Brenner, an American Oolah is on our Jerusalem staff and is the Israeli editor of Dialogue.

Dear Counterparts,

I would . . . like to address myself to the recent article by Mordechai Nessyahu and Yoav Lavie, suggesting that Israel make concessions in Judea and Samaria to attain peace in that area. A compromise with Hussein, they claim, is preferable to the establishment of a Soviet-protected PLO state on Israel’s border.

But we too often take for granted the phrase “concessions for peace”. We assume that if Israel compromises its physical security it will in turn receive an equal amount of friendship or lasting tranquility. Have we so soon forgotten the Jordanian role in the 1967 War? Have we forgotten the Jordanian schoolbooks which contained exercises such as: “If there are 100 Zionists and 50 are killed, how many are left?” or “Israel was born to die. Prove it.” Have we forgotten the Jordanian military documents ordering the destruction of civilian inhabitants of Israeli population centers?

The fundamental nature of Jordan has not changed and there is nothing we can do—including concessions, which would alter this deep-rooted attitude in so short a time.

The one pragmatic alternative is to maintain the present natural border, which also provides us with strategic geographic depth. The issue at stake is not merely Judea and Samaria, but the very survival of the Jewish State. Had the Yom Kippur attack occurred on Israel’s eastern pre-1967 border the enemy may very well have been in Tel-Aviv.

Furthermore, the historic and religious bond between the Jewish People and Judea and Samaria must be realized. We cannot rightfully claim Tel-Aviv and Haifa unless we claim our vital heartland, including Jerusalem, Hebron and Shchem. Nessyahu and Lavie state rather naively that “The historic bond between the Jewish people and Judea and Samaria . . . will not disappear even if it is not realized on the ground.” This bond, however, is a yearning which must be realized in order for the Jews to live their normal national existence. To be complacent with the knowledge that the yearning will continue without being realized means the termination of that longing.

In addition, the significance of religious sites located in Judea and Samaria to Christians and Moslems should not be equaled to the importance of the entire area to the Jews as our divinely chosen geographic home, with Jerusalem our capital. It is here that our national identity was forged, and it is here that we have returned to ensure and pursue our survival as a Jewish nation.

STAN WALDMAN
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. Waldman is a photographer and activist.
Dear Counterparts,

I live in an intensely Jewish neighborhood (Boro Park); most of the people I know well, so the statistics say, are not very representative of American Jews; likewise, any Israelis, by their presence here, are ipso facto atypical. It may still be of interest to others to read my intuitions as to the reaction of those few dozens whose opinions I may claim to reflect about Ralph J. Stern’s statement in the December-January issue: “Israel is the modern miracle that is the centrality of our existence to which our destinies are tied.”

That our destinies are tied to Israel’s to some extent no one but the most hardened-assimilationist would deny; but so was it to that of Polish Jewry, H.Y.D. (May G-d avenge them!), and before that, to many other Jewries—and the Temple. Again, is Israel—truly—as central to our personal existence as our jobs? mitzvot? G-d?—and to our communal existence as building a proper educational system?

I am not criticizing an apparent case of rhetorical overkill; I think that Mr. Stern’s statement really does reflect his own views and those of most of the American Jewish leadership—and their assessment of the feelings of most Diaspora Jewry. But is the really so? and if so, should it be?

Because my comments may be open to misinterpretation, I must hasten to add that of course American Jewry must do all in its power, collective and individual, to insure the continued survival and future prosperity of Israel. As worthy of our energies as this effort is, however, we should not be blind to harsh realities, and to our responsibility to insure the continued survival of Klal Yisrael—and the values that validate that survival. I must profoundly disagree with the tone and substance of Mr. Stern’s letter: Israel is not the central ideal of Judaism, and fund-raising not the most important mitzva. If this doctrine is the regnant one at UJA, it is most disturbing.

YAAKOV ELMAN
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. Elman manages Rabinowitch bookstore, one of the largest Jewish book dealers in Diaspora.

[Our Jerusalem office sent us a copy of a letter by Uzi Baram which appeared in Maariv and which we think may interest all counterparts. Ed.]

The episode that I relate below, from which I draw a weighty moral began in New York City in 1971.

Certain acquaintances made me aware of one Patrick Gerschel, a young Jew of French origin. Gerschel, at this time in his late twenties, stood at the helm of the economic empire of his grandfather, Andre Meyer—the central figure in the investment banking house of Lazard Freres, which recently hit the headlines. The young man had made it known to my friends that were he to receive an official invitation to visit Israel he would give a positive reply.

I got in touch with our Minister of Finance, who was well aware of the importance of relations with the Meyer empire, and he readily sent an invitation to Patrick Gerschel to come and see Israel for himself.

Gerschel began to temporize after he received the invitation. Perhaps he conferred with members of his family. Finally he informed me that he could not accept the invitation for reasons which he would not disclose. But I didn’t relent, because we had taken this initiative with his agreement. I requested a meeting with him.

On a winter day in 1971 I met with Patrick Gerschel in the Plaza Hotel in New York City in the presence of the two intermediaries with whom he was socially acquainted. At first he maintained that the invitation had not been phrased in a manner appropriate for a man of his status. However, after a short argument, he abandoned this tack and went to the heart of the matter.

Israeli policy, he said, was mistaken. The expulsion of the Palestinians from their homes made imperative an Israeli initiative and the Arabs in the occupied areas were being treated severely—even the U.N. had taken this stand. But Gerschel addressed himself mainly to Israel’s position in France and to her unwillingness to accept French policy, which he described as balanced. His argument was principled: he had no intention of visiting Israel as long as its position in the Arab-Israel conflict was so inflexible and unjustified.

I kept my disagreement to myself. I got the impression that the young man had previously expressed his desire to visit Israel without taking into consideration the interests of the Meyer economic empire, and that he backed out because he had been rebuked after having announced his intentions.

But the point of this story lies elsewhere, and now I’ll relate the interesting conclusion of the episode. In the course of our conversation Patrick Gerschel showed great impatience and said that he had to hurry to a cocktail party he was giving in his luxurious apartment for Andre Malraux the French Minister of Culture who was then visiting in the United States. Gerschel noted that he had close ties with the French administration, including a direct relationship with Georges Pompidou, and he told of the joint investments in Africa of Lazard Freres and the French government.

After an hour’s conversation Gerschel went on his way with a correct farewell, with the promise to put off his visit until the summer of 1971 rather than to cancel it altogether.

I was brought back to this episode when I read of the Arab demand that the house of Lazard Freres be excluded from all business with them—certainly a most serious affair, but in this case perhaps also tragic. For even Jews who disavow any sympathy with Israel and consider French interests sacred become victims—not because of their political positions or beliefs, but because of their ethnic origin. Thus my musings bring me to the racial doctrine, according to which men are not judged by their personalities or opinions but by factors over which they have no control.

Patrick Gerschel, a young Jew, arrogant, proud, and self-satisfied, has also become a victim of a doctrine from which he strived so hard to escape.

Mr. Baram is secretary of the Jerusalem region of the Labor Party and was a founder of Dor Hemshech.

Mr. Rothschild was sent for a vacation. Can I help you?

YEDIO’ AT HARONOT 2/17/75
Dear Counterparts,

... I appreciate your publication, but do not agree with ... Joanne Jahr. I work in the world, not ... the secular world or the Jewish world. Just as I wouldn't refuse to help or listen to someone who is a conservative Republican, I don't cancel out the part of the world with a different background, set of theological beliefs as myself in terms of religion.

My great concerns at the moment center around communities as they exist today. How to give citizens a feeling of impact, how to touch a responsive chord among those who could make something more liveable but have lost hope.

Collectives are the only satisfying answer, theoretically. But, as the raw material is nowhere near that point, the best alternative that I can see now is the council idea. People with the same focus of solution can't get as much done as a group with the same problem and an open mind concerning the solution. Right now, an example would be landlord-tenant problems. This is a very real thorn in the side of this country's second class citizens, renters.

By isolating myself to Seattle's relatively affluent, very un-together and non-pragmatic Jewish community, I would not only be fooling myself about the problems facing our community, but, along with fellow members of my congregation, would be neglecting real needs.

Finally, Israel and Judaism are not equal, and I resent having the assumption rammed down my throat. If I had been old enough enough to move to Israel in '68, I would have, but recent years have taught that Israelis are first Israelis and then Jews. I am first a Jew in my heart and second a humanist working in the United States until I see no hope here for change, but Israel is a country with modern, nationalistic, priorities. To confuse nationalism with religion is a travesty.

ANNA SARA SOLOVEICHIK
Seattle, Washington

Dear Counterparts,

... I am concerned with a seeming Israeli unconcern for independent diaspora-oriented Jewish thought. This is especially epitomized by the Israeli castigation of Dr. Nahum Goldmann for what essentially has been a temperate, realistic, and sympathetically Zionist viewpoint. The crest of worldwide non-Jewish support for Jewish causes which came in the wake of the Holocaust is done with.

Israel is not the only Jewish solution to the Jewish problem. And if one believes that all Israel is responsible one for the other, then one must take steps to assure Jewish survival in the diaspora, of an equal priority to support for Israel.

Thirdly, Israel cannot have the answers to all the problems of diaspora Jewry (e.g. the Louis Pincus Memorial Fund for Jewish Education in the diaspora, to pay for programs to be developed in Israel for use in the diaspora). Nor is Aliyah necessarily the answer, although the Jewish Agency would like to have us think so. One answer may, however, be the development of indigenous programs utilizing concepts of cultural sharing and exchange.

Another topic rife for discussion is the inaccessibility to American Jewry in which Israel has placed itself by ... government policy against group and charter fares ...

ELIHU DAVISON
New York City

Mr. Davison is News Director of Radio Station WEVD in New York, the only Jewish radio station in diaspora, carrying Hebrew as well as Yiddish programs.
Dear Counterparts,

My original letter to Dialogue (Vol. 1, #5) was written because I had many questions and few answers (which is not to say that I now have fewer questions and more answers). After hearing some of the answers and finding them to be unsatisfactory, I went to my first, and still best, teacher (if I had gone to him in the first place there would never have been a “dialogue”; there would have been no need).

My teacher has been in the field of Jewish communal service for more than thirty years and, fortunately for him, has all of the necessary, (ir)relevant credentials—CSW, ACSW, MSW, Ph.D. We discussed the idea of Jewish communal service programs in general, the MSW degree in particular, and the MSW as a knowledge base for Jewish organizational and communal work. Points were gone over: technical means (writing, publicity, etc.); program planning and organization (formal/informal; covert/overt; manifest/latent); administrative tasks as outlined by Gulick, committee work (specific task oriented committees; boards of directors); and, of course, the all-important Jewish component. The questions raised were:

(1) What is it you do—the nature of the job
(2) Towards what end; why?—function
(3) How do you do it?—tasks and skills necessary
(4) Where do you do it?
(5) When do you do it?—use of time

Having grown up in a Social Work/Jewish professional/academic atmosphere and having been “privy” to many of the arguments in the field for all of my life, I can honestly say that Wurzweiler (as an example) is not the answer. On the surface it appears to be the answer, but it’s simple and simplistic. With the compartmentalized way social work is taught at most schools—group workers vs. case workers, community organizers vs. both, and psychiatric social workers vs. all of them—it’s an inadequate training ground for me and an inadequate answer for the type of questions I originally raised.

If I were working at a specific social work agency such as the Educational Alliance or the Jewish Association for Services to the Aged, or with a Jewish community council, I would definitely need the MSW degree in particular, and the MSW as a knowledge base for Jewish organizational and communal work. Points were gone over: technical means (writing, publicity, etc.); program planning and organization (formal/informal; covert/overt; manifest/latent); administrative tasks as outlined by Gulick, committee work (specific task oriented committees; boards of directors); and, of course, the all-important Jewish component. The questions raised were:

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(2) Towards what end; why?—function
(3) How do you do it?—tasks and skills necessary
(4) Where do you do it?
(5) When do you do it?—use of time

As director of the Leadership Development Committee of the Jewish Welfare Federation in San Francisco, I am concerned with a two fold approach.

While statistics have suggested that Judaism as a way of life is threatened with extinction, positive programs can be implemented to counteract the forces of assimilation. The Leadership Development monthly programs that I am now planning aim at stimulating and reviving Jewish consciousness in America. In addition, it is my desire to expand the scope of our current once-a-month meeting in three directions, with the goal of encouraging more participation among our constituency. The three areas of our concern are Shabbat and festival observances in the home; family and couple retreats; and havurot.

The other goal of my work is to strengthen the alliance between the Diaspora and Israel. I hope to accomplish this by building direct ties between the young generation in Israel and those in the Diaspora.

As regards the above, I find the information that you send out invaluable. It not only keeps me informed of what is happening, but serves to give me fresh ideas for additional programs. I think that it is important and very helpful to have members of Counterpart become involved as much as possible with the “professionals” of the organized Jewish community and to begin to work with them.

During the month of August, I led a group of twenty people from my Young Adults Division to Israel on a people-to-people mission. The major emphasis of the trip was to have young American Jews meet with their Israeli counterparts. The idea was good and although there were many problems, they certainly were not insurmountable. I have spoken to Judy Widetzky about them and I have been corresponding with Eliezer Sheffer and Amatsia Hiuni in New York.

I feel that one prerequisite for a successful meeting between Jews in Israel and those in the Diaspora is a screening of the individuals that are participating. This screening should be based on age, and professional status, as well as the level of sophistication regarding Jewish consciousness.
I give this project of establishing ties between young Jewish Leaders in Israel and the Diaspora top priority and am willing to be of any assistance in this program. I would also appreciate any suggestions you might have for me in order to best accomplish this goal.

DIANE L. WAXER
San Francisco, California

Ms. Waxer is director of the Leadership Development Committee of the Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco, the Peninsula and Mann County.

Dear Amatsia:

... [Dialogue] will add dimension to Young Leadership programs already in existence and give new programs a strong base for meaningful development. A deeper understanding of Israel, her problems and her triumphs can be obtained from an exchange of thoughts and ideas.

[It] can also be helpful in another way by helping our Israeli counterparts understand the intricate problems which confront young leaders in the American Jewish community. Many times, the young leaders in Jewish organizations in American face certain frustrations and problems within their organizations which, in their minds, might be at a higher priority level than developing a deeper understanding of Israel. From this basic premise we can draw another thought. [Dialogue] treats the programmatic information and data on Israel at a very high intellectual level. I am sure that this is essential because of the complexity of the topics. The young American Jew who is highly committed will avidly read this information to absorb new concepts and gain a further understanding. However, we need to go further.

The furtherance of knowledge on an important and vital subject for those who care is important, but what about the developing young leader who is just starting to become active in an American Jewish organization and is feeling his way along the organizational structure, the roles he will be playing and contemplating his future in that organization?

A knowledge of Israel and his counterparts in Israel is a most important part of the entire whole and the necessary information that a developing young leader needs to receive possibly could begin with more basic concepts on Israel and then be developed over a certain period of time. A young leader who truly understands the information and ideas you are trying to disseminate will be in a better position to evaluate what he reads and contribute constructive thoughts and ideas.

Steven H. Morrison, the Director of the B'nai B'rith Leadership Cabinet, and I, have already initiated the first steps in exposing the young leaders in B'nai B'rith to the Counterpart program. We are looking forward to their responses, sharing those responses with you and the continuation of an ongoing relationship with Counterparts.

PAUL GREEN
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Green is Assistant National Director of B' nai B'rith's Leadership Cabinet.

Dear Counterparts,

Concern for the future of the Jewish community, not simply that it exist, but that it continue as a viable, healthy, innovative organism is a source of anxiety for us all.

Through the North American Jewish Students Appeal I have the opportunity to work with dedicated, bright, at times frustrated students and recent graduates. Young people who are often overwhelmed by the job to be done but who swallow, count to ten and surge onward. Those I speak of are the staff members (though often with salaries months in arrear) and volunteers of the NAJSA's constituent agencies: The Jewish Student Press Service, the North American Jewish Students Network, RESPONSE Magazine, Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, Yavneh and Yugntruf. These six independent national Jewish student groups have broken away from the historic trend of the Jewish community which has been to react to crisis situations. Instead, they fight, in addition to the daily problems of any office, empty bank accounts, the fear of change held by many in the community who sit in positions of "influence and power."

As costs rise, with them grow the excuses to cut or freeze funding. Thus, the staffs of these groups become more skeletal. The North American Jewish Students Appeal was established in 1971 to act as the funding arm for these groups so that they may devote their time and creative energies to programming.

Just as the products of the Counter Culture of the late sixties and early seventies are now assimilated into the life patterns of Middle America today, these Jewish groups constantly take general trends and change them into Jewish expressions which find their way from the campuses into the local Jewish communities throughout the continent (yes, and even to Israel). I shall share with you just a few examples of what has come out of the student movement.

From the women's movement grew the Jewish feminist movement through the impetus provided by Network's National Women's Conference in 1973 and Conference On Changing Sex Roles for Men and Women in 1974, and by RESPONSE magazine's Women's Anthology.

Young people on campus today are turning their thoughts and talents to deal with the holocaust, a subject too often ignored perhaps because we are still too close to it. Both the JSPS and RESPONSE have just published Holocaust materials, much of which, because it is specifically geared to the next generation after the Holocaust, can be used as supplementary material for history books in which the Holocaust is barely mentioned.

SSSJ brought the plight of Soviet Jewry to the attention of the American public and is still the best source of up to date Soviet Jewry information, action suggestions and briefings for tourists going to the Soviet Union.

I can go on and on describing the projects of the six organizations and the smaller beneficiary groups of the Appeal. But I wanted only to introduce you to what is being done. These groups at once provide a sense of constancy in the ever changing student world and a tool for change. I appreciate the opportunity to illustrate why the success of the Appeal (we raise funds from local Jewish Welfare Funds and Federations, Foundations and individuals, while also relating to the communities what is happening on the national level of student activity, offering our services and sharing our perceptions) insures a continuance of a strong, aware leadership for our community.

I do not pretend that we have all of the answers or meet all of
Ms. Dessel is Executive Director of the Jewish Students Appeal. Your community do not hesitate to contact the office. North America, 36 West 37th Street, New York, New York 10018; (212) 564-2392.

SUSAN DESEL
New York City

Ms. Dessel is Executive Director of the Jewish Students Appeal.

The following letter from Eliezer Sheffer, of our Jerusalem office, was received by Dr. Steven Cohen, assistant professor of sociology at Queens College and publisher of Response magazine, after a visit to Israel during which the two met. Both thought the exchange might interest fellow counterparts.

My Dear Steve,

I’m grateful for the opportunity that I had to meet with you and to hear your good ideas on the activities of Dor Hemshech.

For the purpose of making use of your ideas, here is a short summary of your suggestions.

In your opening you pointed out the tremendous usefulness of a straight forward, true, and open dialogue between the younger generation in Israel and the United States which is to be established by making personal contacts.

1. Dor Hemshech shall serve as a center for making personal contacts between groups of professionals in the U.S.A. and people of the same profession in Israel. That is—doctors with doctors; lawyers with lawyers, etc.

2. In the summer months, seminars shall be arranged in Israel, in which members of the same profession from Israel and the U.S. shall participate.

3. The advertisement of the Dialogue [in Israel, Ed.] shall be expanded. By proposing topics for mutual clarification on which intellectuals from the U.S. and Israel express their position, it shall thus be seen to that there will not be a monologue.

4. Dor Hemshech is to plan a program for “Volunteers in Israel” in which professionals and others shall come to Israel and serve in development towns for specific periods of time.

5. Dor Hemshech shall maintain a service of lectures on the Middle East, and shall make use of 4-5 excellent lecturers on this topic who shall speak at institutions, organizations, and communities for fees which shall be paid by the group.

6. One of the basic aims of Dor Hemshech is to set up a means of spreading original and high-level information on what is going on in Israel. As far as I understand, your intention is for us to distribute (articles, lists, reactions and information in English) among influential Jewish intellectual groups in the U.S. from which they shall learn in depth the basic problems which are occupying Israel.

It shall be the whole truth—not as the things are seen or steered in the newspapers or in the official publications of the Jewish and the Israeli establishment.

7. Priorities in planning and programming

According to what you write, the future leadership of American Jewry is growing and developing in only 2 national organizations:

1. The Jewish Federations
2. Among the Young Leadership of the U.J.A.

You think that out of these organizations the true future leadership shall grow, and all the other organizations are in a process of dying-out. Likewise, it is desirable to pay attention to influential intellectual groups, even if they are a minority of the future leadership.

8. The political activity.

As to political activity, you pointed out the great importance of setting up focal points with people who have an understanding of politics, such as Bob Goldman and others, who shall diligently keep track of the changes in the focusing of the strength and influence of the Jewish organizations, and shall see to it that the proper and capable young people shall take up central roles in these focal points of strength. You pointed out that the purpose is to act in such a way as to incorporate the proper young forces and not to cause struggles between the generations by revolutionary methods. You also brought up the information which you have as to the intentions of the department, for Dor Hemshech to acquire political strength in order to fortify its position in the Zionist Hanhala.

On the subject of political aims and purpose, I expressed my opinion to you personally, and now I shall elaborate on it.

Those of the younger generation in Israel, who take an interest and participate in the relations with the Jews of the diaspora, are very much concerned with the form and identity of the future ties between the younger generation in the dispersion and Israel. On the other hand, links of the former generation are based primarily on the one-way relationships and needs of Israel from the diaspora; these are for monetary, political and moral support according to the constant needs of Israel. But the younger generation in the diaspora does not accept this type of one-way connection, and much prefers a dialogue: two way, frank, critical and more open.

As an illustration, allow me to quote from memory things that we hear occasionally from young Jews in the U.S. “Your leaders only look for the rich people, and when they come here, they measure their success by the amount of money they manage to raise in one evening”. Or, “We give you the money and you don’t give us the opportunity to participate in your decisions”. Or, “You require of us an unquestioning belief in Israel. You preach to us on Aliyah but you are not willing to listen to our criticism on society and rule in Israel!”

These comments and others, and questions which we hear lately such as: “Is the continuity of Israel really sure since everyone hates and isolates Israel?” testify, in my opinion, to the growing deterioration in understanding and relations between Israel and the younger generation in the U.S.

I think that this deterioration in relations and trust is a result, primarily, of the absence of open and frank dialogue between us, and that the type of relationship of the former generation, which was rooted in the past in philanthropy is no longer suitable to the new generation. There is a substantial danger of the development of complete apathy towards the future and the fate of Israel.

I wrote this long introduction, in order to express more strongly our fear and worry as to the meaning of the relations between the future generation in the U.S. and Israel. And from this stems the reasons that we think that there is a necessity for organization and alignment in Israel and the diaspora.

Note: When I say “political” I mean a common political struggle for goals and objectives in which the younger generation is united in this struggle, and not inter-party debates and struggles in Israel, which in my opinion have no significance in the relation-
ships between Israel and the diaspora.

In Israel it is possible, with relative ease, to locate the future political and spiritual leaders of The State. They are to be found among the 23 younger members of Knesset, members of the counterpart* and among intellectuals, writers, and young journalists who form public opinion. And since the establishment of Dor Hemshech a year and a half ago, we have been constantly working on attempts to interest these groups in the subject of the Diaspora Jewry. We have arranged tens of meetings and study-days in which we had them participate mutually with young people of influence and position outside of Israel. Happily, young people, from Moked to the younger generation of Herut and N.R.P., are united in the opinion that it is necessary to refresh, to change, and to renew relations between Israel and the Diaspora. Now we can already see first results in which young Israelis in important positions begin to take an understanding and serious attitude towards this idea.

Concerning this, let me frankly point out to you that we actually have intentions and ambitions to get to positions of power, in the establishment of the World Zionist Organization, since the W.Z.O. today in Israel is the central and only moving force of activity among the Jews of the Diaspora. Therefore, as our power shall grow in the centers of power of the Zionist administration, we shall more and more be able to influence the decisions on how to invest the millions of dollars which Zionist administration today spends, through its different departments, on activities outside the country. This is a political, public and legitimate struggle of young people who think that the former generation is not able to understand the ways and true desires of the new generation.

The goals and objectives are clear. We know the potential leadership. The younger generation is taking its place in the focal points of power and influence. Dor Hemshech unites in one framework all the groups and currents that are joined in the desire and intention to bring about changes which are the requirements of the reality and the times in the U.S.

This week I saw the Organization of the Presidents Club. They came to Israel, as they said on television and in newspapers, in order to hear about Israel’s problems from close-up, to find out about its ways, and to co-ordinate positions. Apparently, fine and dandy. But to my sorrow they say nothing to me and those of my generation. They supposedly represent all of U.S. Jewry, and I know that this is not true. I do not know how many of them were chosen in democratic elections, and who actually chose them, but this fact is also unimportant. The main problem is that they talk and do not say a thing to us. Their stories about their impressive successes at their intercressive meetings with President Ford, their fine words, slogans, and declarations do not awaken anything in us.

This phenomenon makes us even more angry when we know that there are many others. This week I spent a good deal of time with Professors Irwin Cotler, Chaim Waxman and David Sidorsky and incorporated in our discussion young members of Knesset. They got through to us. We did not agree about everything, but we spoke on the same level. We analyzed and related to topics. We listened to each other, and there was something to hear. Why aren’t these voices heard in the blown-up President’s Club?

You are guilty.

*Moetzet Halativah, the Advisory Council of the Israeli Dor Hemshech New Jewish Leadership group. [Ed.]

You consider yourselves above politics, you run away from public struggles, close yourselves up in the universities, libraries and grumble against the Jewish establishment in America, without doing a thing to change it.

Dear Steve, I was impressed by the depth of your approach, and your understanding of the basic problems.

For you and for young people like you, we today have an obligation to start a political public struggle in order to take a place in the focal points of power and influence of U.S. Jewry. The members of the Presidents’ Club do not represent your opinions and to us they also do not say a thing.

We are ready and willing to help you in this struggle which is essential to our continuation...

ELIEZER SHEFFER
Jerusalem, Israel

Mr. Sheffer is coordinator of Dor Hemshech activities in the Jerusalem office and a member of Hamishmerit Hatezeina of the National Religious Party in Israel.

Dear Counterparts,

I have not had much time to write about my recent trip to the U.S. or my meetings with so many of you since I returned to my new position directing the young leadership of Moetzet HaPoalot (Pioneer Women) of Histadrut. I hope to write soon, but I am sending on statements made by many young members of the Israel Labor Party at an ideological conference held just before the Yom Kippur War.

JUDI WIDETSKY

[We offer a brief sample statement. If you are interested in our printing more or making the full conference proceedings available, please let us know. Ed.]

I was born in Yemen and arrived in this country twenty-three years ago, when I was eight years old. I will remember the Diaspora and its suffering, the tents we lived in. Then came the flats. Everyone thought that the problem of the aliya of the Fifties was thereby solved. But the situation became worse. Families with many children became a second-class nation within the country. Poverty was bequeathed as a legacy and left deep scars.

I can visualize the map of the Yemenite aliyah—forty-one settlements—and where are their representatives? I congratulate the party on its decision to reserve places for representatives of the women, the youth and the ethnic groups. This is a step forward.

I want broad democracy. I oppose a secret nomination committee that determines the Parties’ lists of candidates for responsible positions without the rank and file membership being able to influence matters. Citizens are called upon to vote for 120 delegates to the Knesset when they know nothing at all about 50% of the people whose names appear on the lists. The same holds true for municipalities and the Histadrut.

Earmarking a number of places is in itself progress, not in democracy, but in view of conditions prevailing today. However, that does not insure wider participation of the ethnic groups or others. Who will chose the women’s representatives? Who will choose the representatives of the ethnic communities or the youth?

The Labor movement must consider itself responsible for the image of Israeli society, of Israeli democracy, and this must find expression in daily life.

SHOSHANA SHARABI

Ms. Sharabi is active in the Mishmeret Hatezeina of the Israel Labor Party.
Dor Hemshech director Uri Gordon has been too busy meeting many of you in diaspora to write for this issue, but his office sent us a clipping from the Israel Digest by S. Z. Herbert which fairly describes his views about Zionism.

Uri Gordon is an angry young sabra. Pinhas Sapir and Aryeh Dulzin know what Zionism means, the 39-year-old head of the WZO's Young Leadership Division told us, but my generation doesn't. We must learn it together.

Declaring that young sabras and young Jewish leaders in the Diaspora must meet as equals, Uri Gordon challenged the assumption that it is all right for a Jew in Jerusalem to talk about Jewish education in New Jersey, but not all right for a Jew in New Jersey to talk about Jewish education in Jerusalem. How can we meet, he asks, unless it is as equals in a full and frank dialogue.

Having led the Young Guard that reaches across all Zionist parties in Israel, and whose demands led to the formation of the Young Leadership Division, Uri Gordon makes it clear that he sees his struggle as having just begun. As sabras, he declared, we want the Ministry of Education to adopt a curriculum that will produce a complete Jew who will view matters from the life of the country, or will they simply ignore them? Will sabras who call for the aliyah of all Jews also help absorb the newcomers into the language of the Zionist movement, so that if an Argentinian and a French Jew meet, they have a common tongue which also expresses Zionism's basic spirit?

Uri Gordon feels that young Jews can, and should, participate in the leadership of the WZO, and accept responsibility for its future. He feels that they should lead together with their parents' generation as long as they can learn from them. After all, he noted, it was the parents' generation that made history. They founded the State of Israel. The problem facing the young generation is how to make the most of this inheritance.

Making his views heard, organizing programs to bring sabras and immigrants together, arranging joint seminars with young Jewish leaders from abroad, Uri Gordon is a busy young sabra. And, in challenging some of the accepted ideas of his elders, he is also an angry young sabra, determined to make his voice heard and to fight for his ideas.

Dear Bob,

... There has been considerable talk—and some research—on generational differences in ideological attitudes and policy preferences among the Israelis. My research goal is to explore how those differences might be expressed in political behavior. For example:

1) Are participation levels (e.g., regularity of voting; campaign activity; attempts to contact political officials or communications media; group joining) different among age-groups? If so, how?
2) Does intensity of support for political institutions vary with generations? Do feelings of personal and political efficacy?
3) Is party preference skewed along generational lines? Is intensity of party identification?
4) If generational differences exist on the above matters, to what extent are they causally related to factors in the aging process itself (e.g., life-cycle effects, compositional effects)? What other factors have explanatory value in regard to these differences in political behavior?

The following studies have been useful and encouraging so far:

I will need more information on the following questions:
1) How available are Israeli election studies and public opinion research? From whom? (Israeli Institute of Applied Social Research; Israeli Institute of Public Opinion?)
2) Are there other kinds of data besides these traditional forms in which such information may be found?
3) Where or from whom—in the U.S., in Israel, or both—might funds be sought to support this research?
4) Is anyone pursuing this or related research at the present time?

This is must a sketch of my idea at the moment. As I'm sure you can see I'm still in the very early stages of this research. If you or any of your friends in Israel or New York can make any suggestions in regard to what I've outlined here, I'd be most grateful. . . .

MARSHAL HERSHBERG
Pittsburgh, Penna.

Professor Hershberg, who teaches political science in the Penn State system, studied in Israel and wrote his dissertation on American Jewish lobbying efforts in Israel's 1968-69 effort to buy Phantom jets. He is an expert in "cohort" theory, and his area of interest touches closely on ours. We urge anyone who can give him leads, especially for sponsorship, to reply.
NEWS OF COUNTERPARTS

CORRECTIONS
Rabbi SAUL and Professor SHELLEE BERMAN’s son is Shmuel Shamma.
DEBORAH CARDOZO is not engaged to Larry Mittman.

PROFESSIONAL
LEONARD ALTMAN, formerly New York regional coordinator of the America-Israel Public Affairs Committee has moved to that organization’s Washington, D.C. office.
Professor BARUCH BRODY is leaving the Philosophy department of M.I.T. for Rice University.
BARBARA GINGOLD, editor of the Young Judean and formerly with the national office of UJA is returning to Israel and looking for opportunities to use her artistic and photographic talents.
AMATSAI HIUNI, the first Dor Hemshech representative for North America, who set up the existing New Jewish Leadership program, will soon be returning to Israel to resume his career as a film producer.
JEFFREY MAASS, former assistant director of the Department of Synagogue Relations of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies-UJA of New York, is assistant director of the ADL regional office in Miami, Fla.
PUL WIMPFHEIMER, former assistant to Congressman Edward Koch is now Executive Assistant to the General Director of Shaarei Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem.

HONORS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS
Rabbi SAUL BERMAN, Professor STEPHEN DONSHIK and ROBERT GOLDMAN have been elected, respectively, acting chairperson, co-chairperson and secretary of the Jewish Ethics committee which grew out of the letter from 26 orthodox leaders in Dialogue #5.
BILL NOVAK, SHERMAN TEICHMAN, STEVEN P. COHEN and other Boston counterparts are involved in the publication of Moment: the New Magazine for America’s Jews, which appears this month.
MARTIN SALOWITZ of Kibbutz Gezer and former Secretary General of the North American Jewish Students’ Network, has retrieved, after more than two years in Israeli customs, his aliyah present from numerous American counterparts, a pinball machine, thanks to many interventions and much protektzia by, among others, YONAH YAHAV, WILLIAM NOVAK, AVIVA CANTOR ZUCKOFF, and URI GORDON.

Large numbers of counterparts are receiving doctorates and ordination this month and others are going on Sabbatical, making aliyah or otherwise distinguishing themselves. Lest we slight anyone, we invite all such to send information for our next issue.

MARRIED
Rabbi JONATHAN PORATH and DINA GELLER
DAVID GLANZ and ZAHAVA SOMPOLINSKY

NEW PARENTS
MARGY-RUTH GREENBAUM and Dr. PERRY DAVIS of New York, a girl: Rina Ariella.
LUCY and WILLIAM (ZE’EV) LAMPE of Beersheva, a boy: Yosef Shmuel.

DOR HEMSHECH—NEW JEWISH LEADERSHIP NEWS
Hundreds of counterparts have been involved in several dozen programs in Israel and Diaspora in the past few weeks. Director URI GORDON has been in North America and will visit other Diaspora settlements shortly. Members of Knesset ZEVELUN HAMMAR and Dr. YEHUDA BEN MEIR are now travelling around America meeting with counterparts. Numerous cooperative programs have been taking place with Young Leadership groups in UJA, B’nai B’rith, and other organizations. More detailed information of Dor Hemshech activities is available in BeHatitvah (in Hebrew) for any who want copies.

We mourn the sudden death of our colleague and friend SHLOMO LEVIN, vice-consul of Israel’s New York Consulate. May the Lord comfort his wife HADASSAH and family among the other mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.

RESOURCE EXCHANGE
[At the request of many counterparts, we will print brief (25 words or less) requests for or offers of resources of non-commercial value for young Jewish leaders. We will print names and addresses or transmit replies from our office at your preference. We reserve the right to determine appropriateness and edit submitted items. Ed.] NJL—New Jewish Leadership
515 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

1. An explanation of the differences and relations between the WZO, WJC, Jewish Agency and international Jewish government functions. NJL
2. Nurses (RNs, LPNs), inhalation therapists and other health workers for Hadassah Scopus hospital. Expenses paid for 6 month volunteers. Hadassah c/o NJL
3. Volunteers for clerical help in office of NJL
4. Young orthodox rabbi for young congregation in Melbourne Australia. NJL
5. Volunteers to participate in or help coordinate (with NJL aid) apartment exchanges between counterparts. NJL
6. Codes of ethics of Jewish organizations. NJL
7. Volunteers to participate in or help coordinate (with NJL aid) pen pals’ correspondence exchanges between children of counterparts. NJL
8. Recently experienced sophisticated hardware technicians. NJL
9. Graphic and photographic illustrations for Dialogue. NJL
10. “Women in Israel” 74 pp. of articles by and about, from Features of Israel, P.O.B. 29786, Tel Aviv, ISRAEL
11. North American Jewish communities to co-sponsor and host a tour of the Israeli Pirchei children’s choir. NJL

Diaspora families interested in spending a week or two together with families of Counterparts in Israel in the late summer. NJL

We include in this issue further listings (L-R) of Americans and Canadians receiving Dialogue. In subsequent issues we will carry the remaining North American Israeli and other counterparts. We urge you to take a look at this list and supplement it for us with additional American and Canadian Jews between the ages of roughly 25 and 45, now or likely to be in positions of leadership or constructive influence in Jewish life. We also invite you to send us names of counterparts in Israel and diaspora communities outside North America. Please include addresses and brief identifications with all suggestions. (Any of you who yourselves have not returned our informational questionnaire and would like to continue receiving Dialogue are urged to fill it out and mail it as soon as possible.)
If you are planning aliyah in the near future, you may find the following of interest. If so, fill it out and send it in.

Dear Israeli Counterparts,

We would like to make direct contact with an Israeli family prior to our Aliyah and to correspond with them.

Our family consists of:

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Our occupations are:

Hobbies and special interests:

Arrangements have been made for us to stay at the following Absorption Center:

It is our intention to seek residence in (State city or town)

Subjects that interest us in preparation for Israel:

Approximate date of Aliyah: ________

Please return to New Jewish Leadership, 515 Park Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10022