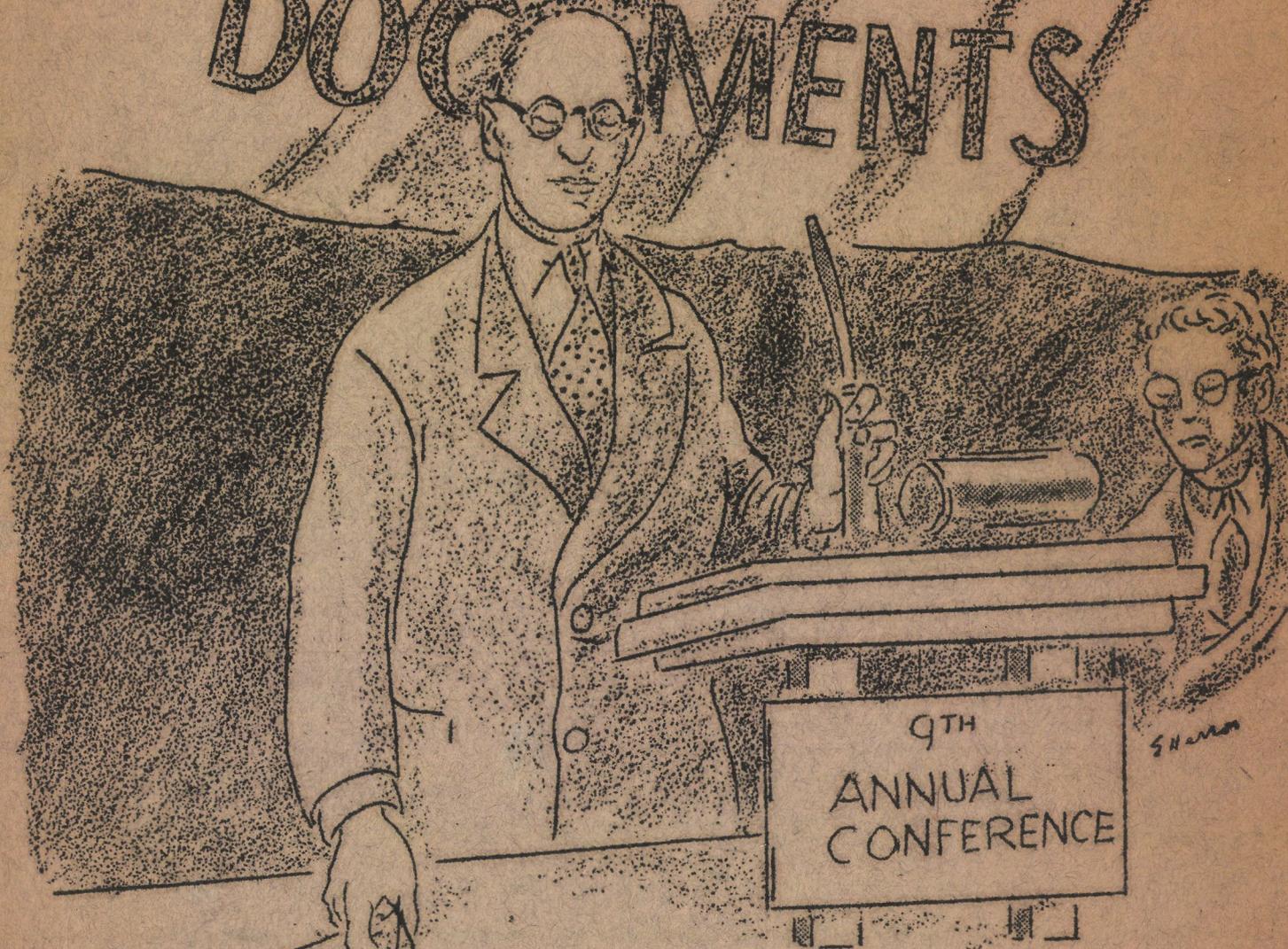


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the AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

Memorandum Outlining
The Principles of the American Council for Judaism
and
Several Problems Created by a Confusion
of
Judaism with the Nationalism of a Foreign State

THIS MEMORANDUM WAS PRESENTED TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON APRIL 8, 1953

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(Copies of the Appendices are available upon request
to the National Office)

6/11/53 - Public Aff. Div.

Resume of Attached Memorandum
Outlining
The Principles of the American Council for Judaism
and
Several Problems Created by a Confusion
of
Judaism with the Nationalism of a Foreign State

The purposes of this memorandum are:

1. To call to the attention of the United States Government a series of situations indicating that United States citizens of Jewish faith, without their volition, are being placed in a relationship to the State of Israel and to certain of the so-called "Arab states" which is different from the relationship Americans of all other faiths have with those states.

The situations are:

- (A) Pages 9-10 of the memorandum: Certain specific acts of the Israeli Government tend to grant Americans of Jewish faith Israeli privileges or to bestow upon them Israeli obligations which are not shared by Americans of other faiths. Therefore, in order to protect the American national status of its citizens of Jewish faith, the United States Government has found it necessary to issue advice or suggest precautionary steps to American Jews, where Israel is concerned, while no similar advice or precautionary steps are suggested to Americans of other faiths. In so doing, the United States Government appears to give recognition to this Israeli-Zionist ideology which seeks to establish a relationship between American Jews and Israel that is different from the relationship to Israel of Americans of other faiths. Since this different relationship is based upon religious grounds, we are opposed to it as contrary to fundamental American principles.
- (B) Page 11 of the memorandum: Certain of the so-called "Arab states" refuse to honor the American passports of American citizens of Jewish faith. Americans of other faiths are not subject to the same disability.
- (C) Pages 12-13 of the memorandum: The Israeli Nationality Law infers that American Jews have certain rights with respect to immigration into Israel which are not shared by Americans of other faiths. Since this distinction between Americans is made on the basis of religious faith, we oppose it and believe it proper to call our objection to the attention of our own Government.
- (D) Pages 13-14 of the memorandum: An inaccurate definition of "Jews" in procedural regulations issued by the United States Government in connection with the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952.

2. To inform the new national Government of the United States of our belief that these situations have developed because of the ideological character of Israeli legislation and Zionist activity.

On pages 14-15-16 of the memorandum, evidence is offered to demonstrate that the State of Israel and Zionism combine to exact obligations from, and to impose rights on, American Jews in relation to Israel that are not shared by Americans of other faiths.

3. To set forth (pages 2-3-4 of the memorandum) in opposition to this Israeli-Zionist ideology, the principles of the American Council for Judaism. For ten years as a national organization, the Council has been conducting a program based on the principle that:

- (a) The nationality of a United States citizen of Jewish faith is exclusively American;
- (b) That Judaism is a religion, not a nationality;
- (c) That Israel is not "the Jewish State";
- (d) That American Jews have no national attachments to Israel through their religion;
- (e) That Jews in the United States are not a minority group of a national, political or any other secular character;
- (f) That no Jew and no organization of Jews, including our own, can speak for all Americans of Jewish faith.

4. To request our Government: (Pages 20-21 of the memorandum)

- (a) To examine the four situations outlined above (1,A-D) because, in our opinion they may take on the character of precedents. They could lead to serious deviations from basic American principles.
- (b) To take any and all steps possible to correct these four situations.

5. In the spirit of a recent public statement made by President Eisenhower to offer any service or resources within our power to fulfill, in terms of these situations, the obligation of "every free citizen to renew his awareness of his duty to do all in his own power to honor and to guard our precious civil and religious liberties and to decry, with candor and courage, any violation of them. No violation is too trivial to be attacked. There is no such thing as just a little bigotry - any more than there can be just a little persecution.

* * * *

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM
AND THE
PURPOSE OF THIS MEMORANDUM

I

This memorandum is submitted in behalf of the American Council for Judaism.

We hope it will call to the attention of the proper authorities of our Government an international situation which has -- without our volition, and in conflict with our religious principles -- blurred the precise, single nationality status we have possessed and wish to continue to possess as individual United States citizens of Jewish faith. This has come about because our religion, Judaism, has been confused with the nationalism of a foreign state. This confusion also appears to be present among representatives or agencies of the Government of the United States.

The memorandum covers questions involving either this Government or the Government of a foreign state with which the United States maintains friendly relations. One of the basic principles of the American Council for Judaism is that

"...Our exclusive spokesman in all international affairs is the Government of the United States through its authorized representatives. American citizens have no right to participate in the political life of Israel (or any other foreign state) except through the proper agencies and procedures of the Government of the United States."

We consider it proper therefore to call these problems to the attention of the proper authorities of the United States Government.

It is essential that this principle be maintained in order that our country's foreign policy may be directed by those charged with that responsibility. It would be catastrophic, in this critical period of world tensions, if foreign affairs are confused by pressure groups in our domestic life, exerting influence for special interests abroad. Conversely, the United States should require, in its relations with foreign states, that these relations maintain the integrity of the American principle which holds all of our citizens to be possessed of equality, regardless of race or creed.

Deviations from this principle can do irreparable harm to the democratic ideals we hope to strengthen throughout the world. They can insinuate themselves into the attitudes, if not the legal structure, of American life itself and weaken our own democracy.

The American Council for Judaism is an organization of United States citizens of Jewish faith. Certain popular confusions about Jews and Judaism make for misunderstandings affecting the unity of the American people. For ten years we have conducted a program designed to eliminate these confusions and misunderstandings about Jews from American society itself and, on the international level, from the relationship of Jews to the State of Israel.

The Council has a national membership largely organized into chapters in many of the principal cities of the United States. We claim to represent only our own membership. With equal emphasis we hold that neither we, nor any other organization of Jews nor any individual Jew can speak for, or represent, all United States citizens of Jewish faith.

Our efforts to clarify the status of both Jews and Judaism emphasize the following incontrovertible principles:

1. Our nationality is solely American. Although there are Jews and some Christians who believe a "Jewish" nationality exists, we reject that concept for ourselves.

A word is pertinent here about the organized Jewish groups which identify themselves as one or another branch of Zionism. No single Zionist group, and no combination of them, represents all Americans of Jewish faith. By their own largest estimates (about 500,000), all the Zionist groups in the United States together, cannot claim 10% of American Jews, including children.

We also believe that even among this less than 10% of American Jews known as Zionists, there are many who do not subscribe to the basic Zionist contentions. Many nominal Zionists would deny Jews are a national or ethnic group or that Judaism is a distinguishing category of American citizenship in any way other than the honored American distinction of religion. The persecutions of Jews during the period of Nazi ascendancy and the post-war problem of hundreds of thousands of Jewish displaced persons led many to give open or tacit support to Zionism. But they believed the Zionist movement was essentially humanitarian, rather than the nationalist movement it actually -- and self-avowedly -- is.

Our educational work makes the valid distinction between universal, humanitarian interests in the dispossessed and rootless of the world, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the preoccupation of Zionism with efforts to create a minority nationality of Jews in the United States with national rights in, and obligations to, the foreign state of Israel.

Part of the Zionist effort to create the illusion of a "Jewish" nationality, is to call the state of Israel "the Jewish State". Misunderstanding or simple carelessness leads some others to use the same designation.

But the term "Jewish State" is inaccurate. There are Christians, Moslems, atheists and perhaps other religious, non-religious, or anti-religious citizens in Israel, in addition to Jews. Furthermore, since a large number of Jews would reject the idea that Judaism is a nationalism and that Jews are a nationality, there is no basis in fact to consider Israel "the Jewish State". Nor has there been, for more than 2,000 years, a political entity which could be called properly or accurately a "Jewish" State.

Our antecedents did not come here from any "Jewish" state. The vast majority of American Jews have no intention of taking up residence in the State of Israel.

It follows therefore that many United States citizens of Jewish faith cannot -- nor do they wish to -- claim any common "Jewish" nationality.

There is therefore no justification in fact for assigning to us a "dual nationality" status, in the same way that some immigrants to the United States, or their descendants, are subject to that status because they have come to the United States from nations where the principle of Jus Sanguinis obtains.

2. Three denominations of Judaism are generally recognized in the United States; Orthodox, Conservative and Reform. Individual Jews of all three are to be found in the membership of the American Council for Judaism. They have different ways of observing Judaism. But they are all agreed that the essence of Judaism is its universal, ethical and moral values.

The antecedents of this Judaism can be traced back to Biblical times.

The new order of freedom and opportunity which Jews, along with men of all other faiths, found in the democracy of the United States afforded the universalism of our religion the most favorable climate in all of history for expression and growth.

In 1885, the branch of our faith known as Reform Judaism, in a document called the Pittsburgh Platform, enunciated principles singularly patterned for the democracy of the United States.

It included the following declaration:

" ... We consider ourselves no longer a nation but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the administration of the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state ..."

Further, in the Pittsburgh Platform, Reform Judaism stated:

" ... We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training of the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and today we accept as binding only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization."

Among the more traditional interpretations of Judaism in the United States, the works of Dr. Solomon Schechter are pre-eminent. It must be kept in mind that Dr. Schechter died before the State of Israel was established. His reference to "Israel" in the following statement is a collective, theological -- not political -- term, frequently used as a synonym for the religious collectivity of "Jews".

"We must remember that Israel is not a nation in the common sense of the word. To the Rabbis, at least, it is not a nation by virtue of race or of certain peculiar political combinations."

("PHILOSOPHIA JUDAICA", Solomon Schechter, Phaidon Press, Ltd., 14 St. Giles, Oxford, England. Page 69)

In an essay entitled, "The Jewish Law," Dr. Schechter wrote further:

"Nor did God postpone the giving of the Torah (Jewish religious law) till Israel should enter into the Holy Land, lest Israel might claim it for themselves, and say that the nations of the world have no share in it. In other words, it was not God's intention to make it a national religion. He gave it in open places, in the free desert, so that every man feeling the desire might receive it."

("PHILOSOPHIA JUDAICA", Solomon Schechter,
Phaidon Press, Ltd., 114 St. Giles, Oxford,
England. Page 69)

At still another time, Dr. Schechter put it this way:

"If, then, the kingdom of God was thus originally intended to be in the midst of men and for men at large (as represented by Adam), if its first preachers were, like Abraham, ex-heathens, who addressed themselves to heathens, if, again, the essence of their preaching was righteousness and justice and charitableness, then we may safely maintain that the kingdom of God, as taught by Judaism in one of its aspects, is universal in its aims."

("PHILOSOPHIA JUDAICA", Solomon Schechter,
Phaidon Press, Ltd., 114 St. Giles, Oxford,
England. Page 63)

These Americans of Jewish faith were profoundly moved and inspired by the hope and promise of America. They strove mightily to slough off the secular and political segregation which less enlightened societies had frequently imposed upon both Jews and Judaism. Affirmations such as these just cited reflected, among Jews, the same limitless gratitude for American freedom that was common to those of all faiths who were fortunate enough to come to these shores.

In the light of these traditions, the members of the American Council for Judaism hold that any individual can honor his Judaism fully and remain integrally and inseparably a part of the totality of the American people seeking only those individual rights and accepting only those individual responsibilities which are the basis of equality for all Americans.

Today the hope and promise of America are largely equated with the hope and promise of the free world. At such a time it would be particularly tragic if our own Government, the United States, should proceed on the basis of a misunderstanding of what Jews are and want to be. Such steps which would attach the United States citizens of Jewish faith to anything of the apartness, of separate political interests or communal, secular segregation which characterize the old world of fragmented societies and citizenship qualified by faith, would defeat that hope and promise.

3. We are Jews, moreover, by reason of our voluntary association with an ancient and honored religious tradition. Voluntary association is one of the cherished privileges of American life. No American, because of his creed or faith, is to be classified or circumscribed in a way that limits his participation in that individual freedom which is the cornerstone of our democracy. Any formulae or programs that tend to, or actually do, compress us into an involuntary stratification or secular minority in American life, because of our faith, are contrary both to the free spirit of our Judaism and of our American citizenship.

We therefore reject the concepts of a separate, secular "Jewish" peoplehood, embracing all American Jews; or of a separate "Jewish community".

It follows that no individual Jew and no organization of Jews, including our own, can speak for or represent all American Jews.

To maintain this normal, American basis of equality of citizenship we look to our own Government and only to our own Government to oppose on our behalf, any developments in international law or relationships which may, without our volition and on the basis of our faith, deteriorate or make ambiguous or tend to make ambiguous our single nationality status, the universal character of our faith or the voluntary nature of our identification as Jews.

II

The Ideology of a Foreign State and of an Internationally Recognized Political Movement and the Apparent Acquiescence by the United States Government in that Ideology Have Combined to Create Ambiguities about the National Status of American Jews, the Voluntary Character of Their Identification as Jews and the Universal Character of Their Judaism.

The importance of this memorandum and of the chain of events with which it deals require, at least, a brief review of Zionist ideology and of the consequences that have followed the incorporation of that ideology in the sovereignty of the State of Israel.

Even before the establishment of the State of Israel, Zionism considered all Jews, no matter what their local nationality or citizenship, to be one nation. Zionism sometimes uses interchangeably the euphemism, "one people". On the basis of this contention the Zionist movement argued for half a century, in the political forums of the world, that "the Jewish people" wanted -- and needed -- a "Jewish national" state or homeland.

For all of these years there were Jews, in America and elsewhere, who rejected the basic, Zionist concept of a "Jewish" nationality. They therefore opposed the erection, on that concept, of a sovereign political entity which would be considered a "Jewish" state.

Now that the State of Israel exists, however, Jews who continue to reject "Jewish" nationalism wish it well. They believe it is entitled to develop its own, national life for its own citizens. But these American Jews reject "Jewish" nationalism no less today than in the years before the State of Israel existed. They do not want -- and should not be compelled to accept -- any national attachments to Israel. They insist that the creation of a foreign state, thousands of miles from the United States, must not be permitted to alter their American national status by creating, through their religion, a relationship to this new state that is different from the relationship of their fellow Americans of other faiths to this same state.

Zionism argues exactly the opposite. Since it regards all Jews as members of one nationality and Israel as a "Jewish state" it maintains programs for the precise purpose of attempting to impose upon all Jews such obligations to the State of Israel as might reasonably be expected only from nationals, or their descendants, of such a state. So, the two viewpoints, that of the American Council for Judaism and that of Zionism, remain fundamentally opposed today.

The purpose of Zionism is stated officially in the Resolutions adopted by the last Congress of the World Zionist Organization. (The supreme authority of the Zionist movement. The several American Zionist parties are constituent members.)

In August of 1951, the Twenty-Third Zionist Congress, held in Jerusalem, adopted the following statement:

"Task of Zionism

- "1. The task of Zionism is: The Strengthening of the State of Israel; the Ingathering of the Exiles in Eretz Yisrael (Israel); and the Fostering of the Unity of the Jewish People.

PROGRAMME OF WORK OF WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

- "2. (a) Encouragement, absorption and integration of immigrants and Youth 'Aliyah (immigration); the stimulation of agricultural settlement and economic development of the country; acquisition and development of land as the property of the people.
- (b) Intensive work for chalutzit (pioneering in Israel) and hakshara (training for chalutzit)
- (c) A large-scale effort to mobilize the means for carrying out the tasks of Zionism.
- (d) Encouragement of private capital investment.
- (e) Fostering of Jewish consciousness by propagating the Zionist idea and strengthening the Zionist movement; imparting the values of Judaism; Hebrew education and spreading a knowledge of the Hebrew language.
- (f) Mobilization of world public opinion for Israel and Zionism."

To facilitate the performance of these services, the State of Israel, has granted to the World Zionist Organization an official, legal status in Israel itself. The Knesset (Israeli parliament) accomplished this by enacting "The Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency for Palestine Status Law." The unofficial translation of this law is attached as Appendix A.

Pertinent paragraphs follow:

- "3) The World Zionist Organization, which is also the Jewish Agency for Palestine, applies itself, as in the past, to the promotion of immigration into Israel, and directs absorption and settlement enterprises in the State.
- "4) The State of Israel recognizes the World Zionist Organization as the authorized agency which shall continue to work in the State of Israel for the settlement and development of the country, for the absorption of immigrants from the Diaspora and for the coordination of the activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and associations operating in these spheres.

- "5) The mission of the Ingathering of the Exiles, being the central task both of the State of Israel, and of the Zionist movement in our days, necessitates continued efforts of the Jewish people in the Diaspora; and therefore the State of Israel looks forward to the participation of all Jews and Jewish bodies in the up-building of the State and in assisting mass immigration thereto, and recognizes the need for uniting all Jewish communities to this end.
- "6) The State of Israel looks forward to endeavors on the part of the World Zionist Organization to achieve this unification; if, for this purpose, the Zionist Organization, with the approval of the Government and the endorsement of the Knesset, shall decide to enlarge its framework, the enlarged body will enjoy the status which has been granted to the World Zionist Organization in the State of Israel

This law, we believe, makes clear that the State of Israel regards the World Zionist Organization as its legal instrumentality for organizing American Jews -- along with all other non-Israeli Jews -- to serve the State of Israel, as set forth in this so-called "Status Law".

In return for these obligations which the State of Israel attempts to impose upon all Jews with the aid of the legalized Zionist movement, the State, in turn, attempts to confer upon all Jews, regardless of their local nationality or citizenship, corresponding rights.

The keystone of these rights is the Israeli "Law of the Return". The official translation of this law follows:

- "1. Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an Oleh. (Plural, Olim - a Jew immigrating to Israel permanently. (Translator)
- "2. (a) Aliyah shall be oleh's visa
- (b) An oleh's visa shall be granted to every Jew who expresses his desire to settle in Israel, unless the Minister of Immigration is satisfied that the applicant:
- (1) is acting against the Jewish people, or
- (2) is likely to endanger public health or the security of the State ..."

The precise language of this Israeli law is important. It gives the right to "return" to Israel to every Jew, regardless of present nationality, national origin or present citizenship.

An official publication of the Israeli Government, a pamphlet entitled "How to Become an Israel citizen?" (Information Service of the State of Israel, Jerusalem, Sivan 5712 - June 1952, page 3) - (See Appendix B) says, "The Law of Return is without parallel in the legislation of any other country; a Jew immigrating to Israel is considered to be returning to his own state and is therefore, entitled to citizenship as soon as he treads upon its soil." (our underlining.)

On Page 5, the pamphlet says: "Every Jew settling in the country is considered a returning citizen from the very first day of his arrival. (Our underlining).

Again, on Page 7, the pamphlet says, "By coming to live in Israel at any time he chooses, anyone to whom the conditions of the Law of Return apply can automatically acquire Israeli nationality -- inasmuch as every Jew settling in the country is looked upon as returning to his native country." (Our underlining.)

It is clear therefore that the Zionist movement and the State of Israel are integral parts of the same ideological pattern. The Zionist program and specific Israel legislation combine in an effort to treat all Jews, as if they were all part of the same "Jewish" national pattern, having obligations to, and rights in, the State of Israel.

We have always conceded that, subject to United States laws governing foreign nationalist movements, the American Zionist movement has a right to conduct its program.

The State of Israel also has the sovereign right to legislate for its own citizens and to conduct its national and international affairs as it will.

But we submit that this combination of Israeli legislation and Zionist programming and ideology puts upon American citizens of Jewish faith, on the basis of their religion and without their consent and volition, a relationship to the State of Israel which is different from the relationship to that foreign state of Americans of other faiths.

In the freedom of America, Jews may freely elect to participate in this Zionist-Israeli formula for a national relationship to Israel. Or, as we of the American Council for Judaism, they may by public action and voluntary association, reject that relationship. But to the extent that the United States Government acquiesces in the Israeli-Zionist confusion of Israeli nationalism and the religion of United States citizens of Jewish faith, an ambiguity is created about their nationality status and their right of voluntary rejection is impaired.

We recognize that the source of this problem is Zionism and the Israeli "Law of the Return" which makes a distinction between Americans that is invalid, by American traditions and law, because it is based upon religious belief. But confronted with this situation and in order to protect the national status of Americans of Jewish faith, the United States Government has, in several situations, appeared to recognize officially, this same distinction. It is because of this apparent acquiescence of our own Government in this Israeli-Zionist ideology that we now submit this memorandum.

Four examples of such apparent recognition by the United States Government of this invalid distinction between Americans have come to our attention in the past two years.

Three of these four situations are related directly to the legislation or ideology of Zionism and the State of Israel. The fourth situation derives directly from legislation of the United States.

The four situations are:

- (A) The official publication of the Passport Division, U. S. Department of State, entitled "Information for Bearers of Passports" (Edition of January 25, 1951) on page 73, paragraph 46, reads as follows:

"Under the laws and regulations of Israel, it is understood that any American citizen who enters that country on a residence (Immigration) visa and who is within the age groups noted below is required to perform military service either in the Regular or Reserve Forces of Israel. The age groups affected are as follows:

"Male persons between the ages of 18 years and up to and including 49 years; and

"Female persons of 18 years and up to and including 34 years.

"It is further understood that persons entering Israel on immigration visas who are liable or who will soon become liable for active duty in the Regular Armed Forces under the laws of that country (all men between the ages of 17 and 29 and unmarried women between the ages of 17 and 26) are not permitted to leave the country until the required service is completed.

"The Department understands that only two types of Israeli visas are issued by its consulates; visitor's visas and immigration visas. A visitor's visa is generally limited to three months and may be renewed for an identical period should the traveler remain beyond the expiration date. A person who desires to reside for some length of time in Israel, or permanently, must apply for an immigration visa but in so doing immediately subjects himself to the military service should his case fall within the prescribed age limits. It is understood that American citizens who desire to reside only temporarily in Israel may renew a visitor's visa periodically without subjecting themselves to liability for service in the Regular or Reserved Forces.

"American citizens who intend to proceed to Israel are warned that, if they bring themselves within the conditions above-mentioned whereby they make themselves members of the Israeli Defence Force, they may lose the right to receive the protection of the United States. Such persons are earnestly cautioned before leaving the United States to inquire from a diplomat or consular officer of Israel what their status will be after they arrive in that country."

On October 23, 1951, we requested the Passport Division of the United States Department of State to clarify the above paragraph 46 as it applied to an American of Jewish faith. (see Appendix C)

On November 7, 1951, the Passport Division of the Department of State replied that, under paragraph 18 of the same pamphlet, Americans of Jewish faith would be subject to the conditions and warnings outlined in paragraph 46, "Information for Bearers of Passports". (See Appendix D) Paragraph 18, on page 15 of the same booklet, is entitled "Dual Nationality".

The Department of State reply to our explicit inquiry about the status of a United States citizen of Jewish faith says:

"... a person who is a citizen of another country in addition to being a citizen of the United States may become subject to the laws and regulations of such foreign country if he resides therein for a considerable period of time. Therefore, it has been indicated in paragraph 45 of the notice that it is desirable that persons of the category under discussion provide themselves with a visitor's visa as indicating that the residence in Israel is intended to be of short duration and as tending to relieve such persons from liability and possible molestation under the military service laws and regulations of Israel."
(Our underlining)

A further communication was submitted to the Department of State, Passport Division, on November 15, 1951 (See Appendix E) setting forth a case which, in our opinion, could not be determined by the regulation covering "dual nationality". The person making the inquiry, although of Jewish faith, possessed no ancestry that could be traced to the State of Israel and was a native-born citizen of the United States.

To this even more specific inquiry, the Passport Division replied on November 28 (See Appendix F). The opinion, in part, follows:

"... In reply, I beg to inform you that it is the understanding of the Department that persons of the Jewish religion who settle in Israel may acquire the status of Israeli nationality under the laws of that country. The obtainment of a visitor's visa is an indication that the traveler is not remaining permanently or for a considerable period of time in Israel and, consequently, that he is not placing himself in the position of acquiring Israeli nationality ...

"... It is not unusual, in the laws of some countries, that certain classes of persons acquire the nationality of such countries by a residence therein for a certain period of time. When this happens, such persons become liable to the law and regulations of the country of which they have become citizens. While the government might protest against the induction of such persons into the military service of a country of which they are nationals, no assurance whatever could be given to the persons concerned that such protest could be effective in obtaining the release of such persons from the obligations due to the foreign country of which they are nationals. ..."
(Our underlining)

We appreciate that the United States Department of State has issued, in its pamphlet "Information for Bearers of Passports", a warning to American citizens of the possible complications to their citizenship status with which this Israeli policy confronts them. But we submit that in ruling on the specific question of how this Israeli policy affects a United States citizen of Jewish faith, the Department of State assumed, in its letter of November 7, 1951 and again in its letter of November 28, 1951 that an American citizen of Jewish faith "is a citizen of another country in addition to being a citizen of the United States."

This ruling alleges that United States citizens of Jewish faith, instead of possessing a single nationality, possess a "dual nationality". Their American nationality is hyphenated with a nation in which the vast majority of them have never lived, have no desire to live and to which they cannot be attached by any legally or scientifically established ancestry.

This is precisely the presumption of Zionism and the Israeli "Law of Return". We take exception on the ground that it puts United States citizens of Jewish faith, on the basis of their religion, in a relationship to the State of Israel different from that of an American of any other faith.

The Israeli legislation and the implication of the ruling of the United States Department of State either treats the faith of a group of American citizens as if it were a second nationality or this Israeli legislation and Department of State ruling make a distinction, on the basis of religion, between one group of Americans and all other Americans in their relationship to a foreign state.

We take exception to either interpretation. We earnestly request the Government of the United States to examine the problem from our viewpoint, as Americans of Jewish faith, to consider the possible future ramifications of such precedents and to take such steps as are within its power to clarify and/or correct the situation.

(B) The second situation requiring the attention of the United States Government is also created by the legislation or policies of foreign states and results in discrimination against American citizens of Jewish faith. It involves confusion of the religion of such Americans with the nationality of a foreign state.

It is virtually impossible for an American citizen of Jewish faith to obtain visas, on American passports, from the States of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Trans-Jordan and Saudi Arabia. The American passports of American citizens, not of Jewish faith, are honored by these states.

Officers of the United States Department of State have explained that the reason for this discrimination is the existence of a technical state of war between these so-called "Arab States" and the State of Israel.

But the United States is not at war with any of the five states which now discriminate against American citizens of Jewish faith. The technical state of war exists between these states and Israel.

It is clear that these so-called "Arab states" are acting on the assumption of Israeli-Zionist ideology that all Jews are nationally related to Israel. What exists here therefore is a practical example of how acceptance of this ideology makes for discrimination between Americans on the basis of faith because this Israeli-Zionist ideology considers American Jews to have a relationship to Israel different from the relationship to that State of Americans of other faiths.

The United States Government has so far failed to insist that these "Arab states" honor the passports of American citizens of Jewish faith equally with those of Americans of other faiths. This appears to be further evidence that our Government has acquiesced in an interpretation of Judaism, our faith, which relates Judaism to the nationalism of Israel and in so doing countenances a distinction between Americans on the basis of religious belief.

Such a precedent can spread abroad. But it may also lead, in American life itself, to the intrusion of principles which are abhorrent to our democracy. For what is involved here may result in a merging of church and state. As Israel attempts to privilege American Jews, so the Arab states discriminate against American Jews. We take exception to either departure from the American norm of equality of the individual, regardless of race or creed.

(C) The third situation is the Israeli "Nationality Law," adopted by the Israeli Knesset, April 1, 1952. This law also assumes that United States citizens of Jewish faith, because of their religion, possess a relationship to the State of Israel that is different from the relationship of Americans of any other faith.

The provisions of this Israeli law, pertinent to this memorandum, are based upon Israel's "Law of Return". (See above, page 7, for official translation of the "Law of Return".)

The fundamental concept of the "Law of Return" is that all Jews are members of the same nationality, which once lived in the territory now called the State of Israel. The law implements this fundamental concept in the following ways:

- (1) Only Jews are designated as recipients of the automatic right to permanent immigration into Israel.
- (2) The law itself is officially designated as the "Law of Return". Immigration of Jews to Israel is called "returning". The terminology is sometimes expanded to say that immigration of Jews to Israel is a return of "exiles".

The Israeli "Nationality Law" then provides for the acquisition of Israeli citizenship, following immigration based on the "Law of Return". In official translation the pertinent sections of the "Nationality Law" follow:

- "Nationality by return. 2. (a) Every 'oleh** under the Law of Return 5710-1950*** shall become an Israel national.
- (b) Israel nationality by return is acquired:
- (1) by a person who came as an 'oleh into, or was born in, the country before the establishment of the State-- with effect from the day of the establishment of the state;
 - (2) by a person having come to Israel as an 'oleh after the establishment of the State -- with effect from the day of his 'aliya** ...
 - (4) by a person who has received an 'oleh's certificate under section 3 of the Law of Return, 5710-1950, with effect from the day of the issue of the certificate.

** Translator's note: 'oleh and 'aliya mean respectively a Jew immigrating, and the immigration of a Jew, to the land of Israel.

*** Sefer Ha-Chukkim No. 51 of the 21st Tamuz, 5710 (6 July 1950) p. 159

(c) This section does not apply:

(1) To a person having ceased to be an inhabitant of Israel before the coming into force of this law;

(2) to a person of full age who, immediately before the day of the coming into force of this Law, or if he comes to Israel as an 'oleh thereafter, immediately before the day of his 'aliya or the day of the issue of his 'oleh's certificate is a foreign national and who, on or before such day, declares that he does not desire to become an Israeli national;

(3) to a minor whose parents have made a declaration under paragraph (2) and included him therein." (Our underlining)

We call particular attention to the distinctions made by this law between Jews and people of other faiths.

1. Immigration to Israel is granted only to Jews as a right. It is not granted as a right, to people of other faiths. Immigration of a Jew may be transformed into Israeli citizenship, automatically, the moment a Jew sets foot on Israeli soil. This automatic transformation does not apply to people of faiths other than Judaism. They must apply for citizenship by naturalization.

2. To avoid this automatic transformation an American Jew must renounce Israeli citizenship before he obtains his immigration visa and presumably while he is still on American soil. Such renunciation is not required of Americans who are not of Jewish faith.

The Israeli Nationality Law therefore, offers another example of how Israeli legislation results in an involuntary relationship to a foreign state for one group of American citizens, on the basis of their religion, that is different from the relationship to that state of Americans of faiths other than Judaism.

This Israeli policy of making distinctions between Americans on the basis of their religious faiths is inherently contrary to basic American ideals. Toleration of it by the United States Government may lead to further complications for United States citizens of Jewish faith both at home and abroad. We feel it proper therefore also to call this situation to the attention of our Government.

(D) The fourth situation also makes the status of United States citizens of Jewish faith ambiguous. It involves their religion in a legislative process while the religion of no other United States citizen is so involved. We refer to the United States Immigration Act of February 15, 1917 and the "Dictionary of Races or Peoples" prepared by the United States Immigration Commission of 1910.

We call attention to the following facts.

1. Among the national or racial categories by which a prospective immigrant may designate himself to fulfill the requirements of the 1917 Act and according to the 1910 "Dictionary of Races or Peoples" was that of "Hebrew". (See "Dictionary of Races or Peoples", Reports on the Immigration Commission, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate, Document No. 662, pages 73-75, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1911.)

"Hebrew" is described therein variously as a "race" and as a "people". The criteria for this description are sometimes language, sometimes physical characteristics.

Yet, by its own criteria, the official text is excessively inconsistent. It says:

"The Jews have adopted the languages of the peoples with whom they have long been associated."

The criterion of physical characteristics is no better sustained by the following:

"Physically the Hebrew is a mixed race, like all our immigrant races of peoples, although to a lesser degree than most ..."

Reputable scholarship has rejected, completely, the idea of a "Jewish" race.

Furthermore, the authors of this definition which is still used as a basis for our immigration laws, employ the words "Hebrew" and "Jew" in a manner which indicates they considered them to be synonyms.

2. There was no "Jewish" or "Hebrew" nation in 1910 or 1917. Israelis and Zionists have ideological reasons for calling Israel "the Jewish State". But this inaccurate, ideological designation should not be dignified by accepting it in official legal or diplomatic terminology. There is no "Jewish" state now. There was not in 1910 or 1917 therefore, nor is there now, any grounds for special attention to Jews in our immigration laws on a national quota basis or as a separate nationality group.

Eliminating any such basis, a United States Government instrumentality, still in force, appears to draw a distinction between Jews and other people, on the basis of faith. It is reported that the inaccuracies about, and erroneous definitions of, Jews on which this distinction is made are now the basis for Department of State directives for the operation of the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.

Such a distinction is contrary to the basic American principle that a human being's religious faith is, in no way, to be a consideration in his acquisition or retention of the rights, privileges and responsibilities of United States citizenship.

For Judaism is not an ethnic classification any more than it is a national classification. Neither language, culture nor common origin of people who are Jews qualify them -- or their religion -- for either of these classifications.

To legislate that "Jew" is an ethnic group, we submit, would therefore result in discrimination against people of one religious group. It would also deprive Jews of their American right of voluntary association, as Jews. Such action is manifestly contrary to the spirit of American democracy.

III

Practical Evidences of Hazard

As United States citizens we would be justified, on purely technical and legal grounds, in calling these matters to the attention of our Government.

Further justification however is added, and our concern in these matters is amply warranted, by certain practical results that follow from these inaccurate or ambiguous technical and/or legal definitions of Jews and Judaism.

The practical disabilities suffered by United States citizens of Jewish faith whose American passports are not honored by the five states mentioned in Paragraph B , section II, of this memorandum are obvious.

Other disabilities were reported in a dispatch in the New York Times for November 4, 1952 (Appendix G).

The dispatch, in part, states:

" ... Another complication raised by the McCarran Act that worries the Israelis concerns American citizens with dual nationality. These persons may lose their American citizenship if they accept employment from a foreign government, as in the case of experts employed by Israel. Ordinary American citizens may accept such employment without qualms ..."
(our underlining)

We call attention particularly to the following:

1. Only those American citizens "with dual nationality" in Israel face possible loss of United States citizenship. By definition of the Israeli "Nationality Law", the only United States citizens in Israel who come under that qualification are Jews, who have not taken the precaution to renounce Israeli citizenship.
2. "Ordinary American Citizens" are not subject to the possible loss of United States citizenship in Israel. It is inferred that "ordinary American citizens" are all American citizens except those of Jewish faith.

If the dispatch from the New York Times is accurate, our contention that the Israeli-Zionist ideology draws political distinctions between American citizens, on the basis of religion, is warranted. We hope that our Government will take the necessary action to eliminate, if possible these present distinctions and certainly to prevent any future expansion of these precedents.

A further manifestation of the practical dangers inherent in this "Jewish" nationalist ideology is pointed out by an outstanding Jewish publicist, using material published in Israel itself, by a group which continues, in that country, to follow the ideas of the late Dr. Judah L. Magnes. (See Appendix H). The analysis says, in part:

"Until the emergence of Israel, Jews lived in the political world without a unified direction. For instance, during World War I, Jews and Zionists fought in the ranks of all armies, some for Czar Nicholas and others for Kaiser Wilhelm ... The Zionist Organization existed legally in England and in Germany, and no one expected it to take a stand for one side, or the other. This condition has changed completely after 1948. After the emergence of the State of Israel, Zionism could no longer be 'neutral.' It is bound to ONE State which is represented in the political world-concert. Furthermore, through the acceptance by Israel of the Law of Return, every Jew in the world, not only Zionists -- has a right to enter Israel as his Fatherland, even when he is a citizen of another country, and

has not repudiated his own citizenship -- this fact is one of the striking proofs of the tremendous changes which have occurred in the lives of the Jews as a people in general and of the individual Jew in particular.

" ... Let us imagine for a moment that the State of Israel were to unite with the Soviet Bloc -- what would be the fate of Zionists and Jews in the United States and in Western Europe? Perhaps, they would not be immediately placed on trial as 'traitors,' but there can be no doubt that they would become suspects. They would be eliminated from state positions, their freedom of movement would be limited, a sharp control would be placed on all Zionist organizations in particular, and Jewish organizations in general, despite their declarations of loyalty ... And all this would occur also in a democratic country which values the freedom of its citizens.

"Thus, the new situation can be summarized as follows:

"1. The creation of the State of Israel has not only not diminished the danger of anti-semitism for Jews all over the world (as some people have anticipated), but it has increased that danger by introducing new diplomatic and political reasons in addition to the old social, economic and psychological ones.

"2. The attempt made since the emergence of the State of Israel to identify the State with all the Jews of the world has not only hurt Israel by arousing the fears of its Arab neighbors, but it has become a source of new grave complications, confusions and dangers for the Jews outside Israel. Already it has borne bitter fruit in the East European countries by endangering the position of the Jews there. It may well produce similar results in Western countries, including the United States, with a change in the political world situation."

IV

Previous Warnings by the American Council for Judaism

We called these dangers to the attention of the United States Government even before the State of Israel existed.

1. In the very first public statement issued by the American Council for Judaism, nearly ten years ago (Appendix I), we said:

"We oppose the effort to establish a National Jewish State in Palestine or anywhere else as a philosophy of defeatism, and one which does not offer a practical solution of the Jewish problem. We dissent from all those related doctrines that stress the racialism, the nationalism, and the theoretical homelessness of Jews. We oppose such doctrines as inimical to the welfare of Jews in Palestine, in America or wherever Jews may dwell"

2. On September 25, 1944, an official letter was sent by Lessing J. Rosenwald, President of the American Council for Judaism to the then Secretary of State, the Honorable Cordell Hull. (See Appendix J). The letter said, in part:

"Fundamentally, the solution to the problem of Jews, a religious and not a national group, rests on recognition of the inalienable right of the individual. Once that concept of human freedom is unqualifiedly accepted, Jews will require no special measure ...

"...We oppose the establishment of Palestine or any locality as a Jewish State or commonwealth. We regard as fundamentally undemocratic the procedures involved in such an establishment, such as a preferred status in immigration to those of one religious faith and an arbitrary and indefinite postponement of self-government.

"Such proposals will, we believe, embroil Jews now in Palestine in continuing civil strife and place in jeopardy the equality of status of Jews everywhere who are integrated in their respective homelands and do not wish to be party to a Jewish State or Commonwealth."

3. On May 14, 1946, Mr. Rosenwald addressed an official letter to President Harry S. Truman. (See Appendix K.) The letter expressed the American Council for Judaism's approval of the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry -- accepting the report as a whole. Pertinent parts of Mr. Rosenwald's letter follow:

"4. Finally, the Committee's report deals with the fundamental character of the relationship of the Jews of the world to Palestine. This may be, over a period of years, the most important service that it renders. It makes clear what are the acceptable relationships between Jews the world over and Palestine as a proposed state.

"The Committee states: 'Further, while we recognize that any Jew who enters Palestine in accordance with its laws is there of right, we expressly disapprove of the position taken in some Jewish quarters that Palestine has in some way been ceded or granted as their state to the Jews of the world, that every Jew everywhere is, merely because he is a Jew, a citizen of Palestine and therefore can enter Palestine as of right without regard to conditions imposed by the Government upon entry, and that therefore there can be no illegal immigration of Jews into Palestine. We declare and affirm that any immigrant Jew who enters Palestine contrary to its law is an illegal immigrant' ... (our underlining)

4. Gradually, it became clear that partition would be offered as the political solution for the Palestine problem. We, therefore, again requested our Government, in formulating its Palestine policies and in negotiations with the Zionist movement, to take steps necessary to safeguard the nationality status of United States Jews.

One such request was a letter dated August 28, 1946, addressed to Mr. Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, from Lessing J. Rosenwald, as President of the American Council for Judaism. (See Appendix L.) Mr. Rosenwald's letter said: in part:

"...We are prepared to demonstrate that the actual establishment of a Jewish State, based upon the declared viewpoint that all Jews, have 'automatic' rights in regard to Palestine, will, in fact, prejudice 'the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

"We are prepared to demonstrate that such a consequence is inevitable. American citizens of the Jewish faith, for example, as members of a religious group, share fully and equally in American national rights and obligations; but in the event of a Jewish State, they would also be associated in ways incompletely defined, yet unmistakable, with another nation possessing sovereign powers, extending automatic entry rights to Jews who are citizens of other countries and requiring inevitably, reciprocal obligations ...

"This we maintain constitutes a threat to our status as free and equal American citizens.

"We, therefore, petition our Government to exert every effort to make sure that this threat does not materialize ..."

On June 4, 1947, the American Council for Judaism submitted a memorandum to the then Secretary of State, the Honorable George C. Marshall. (See Appendix M).

This memorandum said, in part:

"It is our contention that whatever disposition is made of the Palestine problem adequate provisions must be made to ensure a clear and complete severance between the political structure developed in Palestine and the national rights, obligations, responsibilities and relationship of the citizens of many countries who are Jews by religion.

"We contend that unless wide, all-embracing, and specific safeguards are clearly embodied in the United Nations decision on this problem, millions of Jews - the overwhelming majority of Jews of the world -- will suffer irreparable harm by virtue of a confused status as to their exclusive national relationship to the various countries of which they are and desire to remain citizens ..."

In this same memorandum of June 4, 1947, we pointed out that if the basic Zionist philosophy became the political basis of a sovereign state and if no adequate, international safeguards were created by other nations, serious harm could result to the nationality status and the religion of Jews who were citizens of countries other than the then contemplated "Jewish" state.

The following is quoted from this memorandum:

"5. The Basic Zionist Nationalist Jewish Philosophy

"Basic to the institutions and activities referred to above is a concept that must be regarded as abhorrent to the organized world of nations; the fundamental Zionist claim that Jews the world over, as Jews, have special, automatic rights in regard to Palestine not shared by those who are non-Jews. The application of this principle is made to Jews outside of Palestine: -- to all Jews, without distinction ...

"The perniciousness of this theory is self-evident ... An automatic right to any country other than to that of which one is a citizen invites the query as to whether there is any attachment which might cause impairment of complete allegiance.

"We request, therefore, that international action be taken, in unmistakable terms and with specific safeguards that will protect Jews of the world against invasion of their status as free and equal citizens of the land of their birth or adoption ..."

V

Precedent for Our Request

There is precedent for our past -- and present -- concern with the situations reported in this memorandum and for our request that the United States Government take necessary action in regard to them.

The first instrumentality giving international recognition to the Zionist political claims in Palestine -- the Balfour Declaration -- set a precedent. It is unarguable that there would be no State of Israel today had it not been for the recognition of the Balfour Declaration by many nations of the world, including indirect recognition in a Joint resolution adopted by both houses of the Congress of the United States in 1924.

But it should be noted that the drafters of, and -- presumably -- the nations that recognized, the Balfour Declaration were all cognizant of the dangers inherent in the "Jewish" nationalist plan for Jews who were citizens of countries other than Palestine at the time. Most of these Jews are now citizens of nations other than the State of Israel.

Only an awareness of the dangers to the Citizenship status of these many Jews who reject "Jewish" nationality can account for the Balfour Declaration's specific qualification that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the rights and political status ... enjoyed by Jews in any other (than Palestine) country ..."

Now that there exists a sovereign state actually legislating in conformity with this "Jewish" nationalist ideology, it is essential to translate this principle of safeguards for Jews who are citizens of other states into specific, protective action.

VI

General Principles for Action

It is regrettable that such safeguards were not established prior to the admission of the State of Israel into the United Nations.

The viewpoint of the American Council for Judaism on this subject was noted in the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine:

(Official Records of the Second Session of the General Assembly, Supplement No. 11, Volume I, Chapter IV, paragraph 8, page 40)

"... In the United States, opposition to Zionism is voiced by the American Council for Judaism, which opposes proposals to establish a Jewish State. In its views, such proposals are a threat to the peace and security of Palestine and its surrounding area, are harmful to the Jews in Palestine and throughout the world, and are also undemocratic ..." (our underlining)

The UNSCOP stated specifically that the Zionist plan for Palestine was not to be considered as a solution for "the Jewish problem in general".

Section B, Recommendation XII, Chapter V of the Official Records of the Second Session of the General Assembly, Supplement No. 11, Volume I, page 46, says:

"Section B. Recommendation approved by Substantial Majority
Recommendation XII. The Jewish Problem in General
(Two members of the Committee dissented from this
recommendation and one recorded no opinion)"

"It is recommended that

"In the appraisal of the Palestine Question, it be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general."

The present confusion of status for Jews who are citizens of countries other than Israel would not now exist if specific safeguards had been taken at the time. They should have prohibited the proposed "Jewish" state from conferring rights upon, or exacting obligations from, Jews living outside its borders.

Actual experience now has demonstrated the necessity for the safeguards implied or explicitly recommended, in principle, in the Balfour Declaration, the UNSCOP report and our own earlier analyses. We therefore renew our request to the proper agencies of the Government of the United States for necessary action to make it explicitly clear that the religion of United States citizens of Jewish faith cannot, without their volition, be used to set them in a relationship to a foreign state different from the relationship of their fellow citizens of other faiths. Further, we request that the United States Government will not acknowledge any interpretation of Israeli Law or the laws of the states mentioned in Section IIB of this memorandum which tends to, or actually does, distinguish between Americans on the basis of religion or which equates the religion of one group of Americans with the nationalism of a foreign state.

We recognize, as the responsibility of our Government, the form which such safeguards might take and the technical and diplomatic instruments for accomplishing the desired objectives.

But we do take the occasion to suggest several general approaches to the problem.

1. Once a careful examination of the fundamental Israeli-Zionist ideology is made and the situations covered in this memorandum are examined in the light of this ideology, we believe the United States Government will do all in its power to remove ambiguities and to prevent their expansion into precedents that are in contradiction to American principles at home and abroad.

It can then be made emphatically clear that while the State of Israel and the "Arab States" are entitled to adopt any immigration and citizenship laws their populations favor, the United States Government will require, on behalf of its citizens of Jewish faith, that their right to a single unhyphenated United States citizenship cannot be jeopardized because of their faith. Both Israel and the "Arab States" should be informed that the United States Government cannot recognize the law of any foreign state which is not applied equally to American citizens of all faiths.

2. We are aware that there is a body of American Jews, indeterminate in size, who are advocates for, or satisfied to accept, the imposition on their United States citizenship of a "Jewish" nationality.

We reject that position. We believe that if they were fully apprised of all the facts, the vast majority of American Jews would also reject it. We can however present, officially, only our own viewpoint which we believe to be in full accord with the traditional American position toward Judaism and all other religions of American citizens.

We reject the "privileges" which "Jewish" nationalism offers any Jew, as a Jew, in Israel as we protest against the differentiation "Jewish" nationalism makes in America between the relationship of Jews to Israel and the relationship of Americans of other faiths.

The purpose of this memorandum is to eliminate both such privileges and discriminations and, through unmistakable clarification, to restore that normality of American citizenship which makes no distinction between individual citizens on the grounds of religion.

3. The substance of such clarification of the position of the United States Government should then be embodied in an official, political instrument presented by the United States Government to the Government of Israel and to the "Arab states".

4. For the correction of the fourth situation, described on page 20 of the memorandum, we urge the United States Government to withdraw from all official definitions of ethnic or national categories, all references to "Jews" or "Jewish", or the common synonym "Hebrew". In this connection, we urge a complete revision of the Senate Document of 1910 known as "Dictionary of Races or Peoples". In the nearly half-century that has passed since this document was written, much new scientific knowledge has been made possible an infinitely more acceptable and accurate basis for American legislation.

VII

Conclusion

We reiterate our very great concern with the situations outlined in Section II of this memorandum. It is our firm conviction that the United States Government has a responsibility to protect the nationality status of its citizens of Jewish faith and the universal quality of their faith by removing these ambiguities.

It has a responsibility too to the totality of American democracy wherever, as in these situations, an effort is made, or a category of rights or responsibilities is created, distinguishing between Americans on the basis of religious faith.

Any single one of the problems set forth in this memorandum may appear to be of negligible importance. But we are reminded of a passage from a recent public statement of President Eisenhower commenting on the reports of the Soviet "anti-Zionist" purges. The President said:

"These bitter facts summon every free citizen to renew his awareness of his duty to do all in his own power to honor and to guard our precious civil and religious liberties and to decry, with candor and courage, any violation of them. No violation is too trivial to be attacked. There is no such thing as just a little bigotry -- any more than there can be just a little persecution ..."

We believe the presentation of this memorandum is in the spirit of the President's call for every free citizen "to do all in his own power to honor and guard" our precious liberties and "to decry, with candor and courage, any violation of them" since no violation is "too trivial to be attacked."

We offer every service within our power to assist in any constructive action the Government of the United States may take to meet the situations uncovered in this memorandum.

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So Teach Us to Number Our Days

by

Lessing J. Rosenwald

before

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 7, 1953

The singer of the well-known 90th Psalm measured time with an hour-glass of God. "A thousand years in Thy sight", he said, "are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night".

By such standards the Tenth Anniversary is hardly noticeable. We therefore mark this anniversary with humility as much as gratitude. If we take some pride in what we have done it is a pride without arrogance. It is drastically restrained by the overwhelming realization of what remains to be done.

Tonight, therefore, but little time will be spent on the past. What those years have accomplished is a question each must answer for himself. That the Council has increased in strength is only a self-evident answer, good as an organizational reply. In the final analysis, there are two criteria by which work such as ours may be measured.

1. Has the result of our efforts reflected our principles and convictions? This organization was not founded as an expediency or to contrive a successful, political formula. This is sometimes forgotten even by our friends. Opponents either ignore it -- or forget it -- when they attempt to deprecate or disparage our efforts. It was not our business, in direct negotiations, to influence Israeli or Zionist policies. I think we have influenced both -- indirectly. It is likely that both Israeli and Zionist planners are keenly conscious of the Council's vigilance and its perception of the problems deriving from "Jewish" nationalism. If this is so, that consciousness is due to a realization that we operate on principles; that with us it is not a question of how much "Jewish" nationalism we will countenance.

Unlike the non-Zionists, we need not ask ourselves if we have "moderated" Zionism. We have not sought a common meeting ground.

It is well known that we reject the root and core of Jewish Nationalism and that we strive to create programs for Jews diametrically opposed to it.

We have expressed our own viewpoint, either in opposition or in independent affirmation.

So, one test of these ten years can be made by determining to what extent we have made our principles known to other Jews and to our fellow Americans of other faiths.

We might have done more than the record of these ten years will show, although I count it at least a consistent record. In the years ahead, our limits will be bounded by our resources, courage and integrity.

The second criterion of these ten years is how these principles have lined up with reality. There is nothing wrong about advocating principles in an ivory tower, but few of us, in today's troubled world, can afford this luxury.

Let me remind you we always said that if a Jewish state was created, exceedingly complex problems would surely follow. We endeavored to define those problems to the best of our ability without fear or favor.

Many of our friends - and practically all of our opponents - thought that the Council should wind up its affairs when Israel was declared an independent state in May of 1948. The same confusion prevails in many quarters today.

But the creation of Israel, in itself, could not be the determining factor in deciding whether or not there was a continued need for the Council. The determining factor was what kind of a state Israel would be; whether our earlier warnings would actually come to pass or whether they were simply theoretical fears that reality proved to be groundless. Five years have now passed since Israel was established; a sufficient time to determine whether our forecasts were realistic or not. This will not be merely a self-serving recapitulation. If I indicate that history has demonstrated our soundness, the conclusions should lead to a realization of all that we must still do. Tonight I call up the past for the purpose of offering guidance to this Conference and to assist in the formulation of policies and programs for our second decade.

The Political Arena

Let me turn first to an area of immediate and dramatic importance; a situation of somewhat the same political proportions as existed in 1943-1948 except that today many of the colorations are in reverse.

In 1948 the war had ended. There were uncounted numbers of refugees in Europe, many of them Jews. The Palestine question, ably argued and forced on the attention of the world by the Zionists and the withdrawal of Britain from the Middle East, was headline news. Partition had been recommended -- and been demonstrated unworkable. The United Nations had reconvened in special session to deliberate on the problem. The United States had withdrawn its support of partition.

Our position remained what it had always been; a warning that the creation of a so-called "Jewish State" would wreak havoc in the Middle East, jeopardize Jews living in Arab lands, corrupt our Judaism and complicate the status of Jews who would continue to live in countries outside of the "Jewish State".

But the tide was running the other way. In the vacuum that British withdrawal left, the State of Israel was born. Faced with a fait accompli, the United States and the United Nations accepted it. Needless to say, the American Council for Judaism did likewise.

Then began a stream of propaganda regarding the Middle East that endeavored to emphasize Israel as the country which would serve the best interests of the free world and particularly of the United States. This was not new. Formerly Zionism had argued that British interests in the Middle East would be served by a Zionist State and that a conflict of interests between British colonialism and Zionist nationalism was unthinkable. Dr. Silver realized years ago that the United States would supplant Britain as the decisive factor in Zionism's future. The new propaganda merely replaced Zionism by Israel and Britain by the United States.

We indicated the dangers in swallowing this propaganda line uncritically. From our standpoint the Middle East problem was determined by our principle that Israel was a foreign state, that the special pleaders for Israel among American Jews could not speak for all American Jews. We urged that the Middle East be regarded as a whole; as an area in which all the states and all the people were important in the struggle of free men against totalitarian designs for world conquest.

Today, the Middle East situation figures in the headline news of the world almost as prominently as it did five years ago. Now the tide is running in the opposite direction. Today there are 850,000 Arab refugees. Israel is in precarious economic straits. It has not only limited immigration, but emigration has been, in some months, more than immigration. Egypt is emerging as a dominant, key power of the area. Soviet designs in the area are generally recognized.

The usually well-informed Christian Science Monitor, on February 25, 1953, had this to say:

"Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' first novel experiment in American foreign policy change will be located not in the Far East, but in Palestine where Jews and Arabs still patrol barbed wire frontiers, unmitigated by a peace settlement although fighting ended four years ago...."

"The Dulles policy is to withdraw any special consideration accorded Israel and to regard it as deserving no more consideration than any one other country in the area...."

These same sentiments have been expressed, in recent weeks, in the Baltimore Sun, the Washington Post, and a number of other newspapers in large metropolitan centers. When President Eisenhower received Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia late last winter, he was quoted as saying

that a way must be found:

"to resume the spirit of confidence and trust which had previously characterized relations with the Arabs"...

The same report continued,

"A prime desire of the Eisenhower Administration is to alter the views held by many Arabs that America is showing favoritism toward Israel."

We had previously stated that when events did turn in this direction, the fiction of Zionist separation from the State of Israel would disappear and we would see a recrudescence of political activity by Zionists, in the name of Jews and in behalf of Israel.

In August of 1948 we said:

"There will be an increase of political action in the interests of Israel, with Jews segregated as a bloc along lines of a secondary national interest."

The London Jewish Chronicle, on March 13, 1953, reported in part as follows:

"The American Zionist movement is to renew its political work to counteract the activities of influential pro-Arab groups believed to be influencing the new American Administration in favour of the Arab States. Funds will be allocated by the Agency for this purpose.

"This was decided at a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive..."

"The American Zionist movement will therefore begin a 'campaign of enlightenment' to be arranged primarily by the recently reorganized Zionist Council.

"All these activities will be carried out in consultation with the Israeli Foreign Ministry..."

I remind you that the Jewish Agency is a registered foreign agent and that it derives a substantial part of its funds from the United Jewish Appeal.

We are therefore approaching a point where, despite Zionist and Israeli propaganda designed to equate American interests with Israel in the Middle East, the interests of the two are diverging.

But it is not enough for us to rest on our oars, congratulating ourselves that we foresaw this development and warned against it. The record only sharpens up two responsibilities which face us.

First, we must make it clearer, more explicit than ever, that there is a group of Jews who are not special pleaders for Israel. This we can do by keeping our Governmental officials informed, as we have in the past, and by such public statements as may be necessary. We must increase efforts to spell out to our co-religionists the precise character of this divergence and its possible impact on their lives and institutions if they actively support, or remain passively silent before "Jewish" nationalist leadership or non-Zionist compromise.

Middle East Peace

There is a second responsibility for which we must, at least, be prepared. Peace must come to the Middle East. It is unlikely it will come on Zionist-Israeli terms. Mr. Ben-Gurion has declared, emphatically, that there is nothing to negotiate on boundaries, the City of Jerusalem or Arab refugees. One does not know, therefore, what the basis of peace can be. It is certain that without peace, Israel cannot survive. Of even greater importance is that, without peace, the task of our country in building a defense in the Middle East against Communism is complicated, if not impossible.

And precisely because there is a large and active group of Jews, who insist that peace in the Middle East must be on Israel's terms, there may well be a role to play for a group of Jews, independent and free of this foreign nationalism. No formula is suggested to take the initiative. If there was one, I would not hesitate to suggest that we advocate it.

Perhaps out of tomorrow afternoon's panel discussion may come new ideas. If so, we may then build our record into further service. Certain it is that if part of the work of the American Council for Judaism is to offset "Jewish" nationalist pressures and propaganda on the political front, that responsibility did not cease five years ago. It is possible that in this role we may be of a real service in aiding in the solution of the problem of the Middle East that will redound to the advantage of the people who live there, of our own country and to Israel as well. We are in a position to support any solution that seems right and constructive. We are motivated solely by what are the best interests of the United States. Our effectiveness would be aided greatly by an enlarged membership. The climate of opinion is changing and each of you can contribute much to our work in this field by helping us, in every possible way.

I come back, to the criterion I said I would use for tonight; our record, the cautioning that if a "Jewish" state was created there would follow serious complications for Jews.

Those years before Israel was established, on August 28, 1946, a letter was addressed to Acting Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, which read in part:

"....We are prepared to demonstrate that the actual establishment of a Jewish State, based upon the declared

viewpoint that all Jews have 'automatic' rights in regard to Palestine will, in fact, prejudice 'the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'

"American citizens of the Jewish faith, for example, as members of a religious group, share fully and equally in American national rights and obligations; but in the event of a Jewish State, they would also be associated in ways incompletely defined, yet unmistakable, with another nation possessing sovereign powers, extending automatic entry rights to Jews who are citizens of other countries and requiring inevitably, reciprocal obligations...

"This we maintain constitutes a threat to our status as free and equal American citizens.

"We, therefore, petition our Government to exert every effort to make sure that this threat does not materialize...."

Again on June 4, 1947, the Council submitted a memorandum to the then Secretary of State, George C. Marshall. In this memorandum we pointed out that if the basic Zionist philosophy became the political basis of a sovereign state and if no adequate, international safeguards were created by other nations, serious harm could result to the nationality status and the religion of Jews who were citizens of countries other than the then contemplated "Jewish" state.

The spectre of this prediction recently rose out of the mists that shroud Eastern Europe. A few weeks ago, at the time of the anti-Zionist campaigns in Russia and its satellites, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver agreed that these purges derive from Zionism's foreign nationalism. Here, in this very city, Dr. Silver is reported to have said:

"....I'm sure that at their last meeting, Communist leaders decided to stamp out any suggestion of Titoism or nationalism, to break every nationalist trend, and Zionism is, of course, the supreme expression of Jewish nationalism...."

The same explanation was stated even more clearly by the Ichud group, followers of Dr. Judah Magnes, in Israel. In January, 1953, speaking in its official publication, (this group said) in part:

"Until the emergence of Israel, Jews lived in the political world without a unified direction.... After 1948, Zionism could no longer be 'neutral.' It is bound to ONE state which is represented in the political world concert. Furthermore, through the acceptance by Israel of the Law of Return, every Jew in the world has (without his will) been placed in

a separate status toward the State of Israel, a status which does not exist for any other people. The fact that every Jew -- not only Zionists -- has a right to enter Israel as his Fatherland, even when he is a citizen of another country, and has not repudiated his own citizenship -- this fact is one of the striking proofs of the tremendous changes which have occurred in the lives of the Jews as a people in general and of the individual Jew in particular."

The article pursues the question still further. "Let us imagine for a moment" they say

"that the State of Israel were to unite with the Soviet Bloc,--- what would be the fate of Zionists and Jews in the United States and in Western Europe? Perhaps, they would not be immediately placed on trial as 'traitors', but there can be no doubt that they would become suspect. They would be eliminated from state positions, their freedom of movement would be limited, a sharp control would be placed on all Zionist organizations in particular, and Jewish organizations in general, despite their declarations of loyalty... And all of this would occur also in a democratic country which values the freedom of its citizens...."

In the pre-Israel days, while the Council was cautioning against precisely this kind of situation, Zionists, the UJA, the American Jewish Committee and others were beguiling Jews with the undemonstrable and dangerous persiflage that Israel had raised the stature of all Jews -- everywhere. No one but the Council dared to ask about both the propriety and wisdom of hitching the wagon of American Jews to the "Star of David".

Impact in the United States

But, unfortunately, the impact of the State of Israel and its Zionist contention that all Jews are related nationally to the State have created problems which are not limited to the Jews of the Iron Curtain countries. There has been an impact also upon the Jews of the United States.

Our Department of State has placed its American Jewish citizens in a category of Americans subject to "Dual Nationality" and made them subject to "Dual Nationality" regulations in connection with visas to Israel. At the time, an American Jew applies for a visa to Israel he must renounce Israeli citizenship. The State Department has seen fit to warn all Americans of Jewish faith (in its booklet of instructions to passport holders) that they must exercise due caution in applying for a visa to Israel. If they do not do so, under certain conditions they can be considered as Israeli citizens and even inducted into the Israeli Army. In this latter case they could lose their American citizenship. All of this does not apply to our fellow citizens of other faiths. Similarly, American Jews

often are unable to obtain entrance visas to most of the so-called "Arab States". When asked for an explanation, officers of the United States Government offer the reply that Israel and these Arab countries are still, technically, at war.

Our Government has taken these positions because the Zionists and Israelis together have combined to put American Jews in a relationship to these Middle Eastern countries different from the relationship to those states which our fellow citizens of other faiths possess. Or, if you do not care for that interpretation, then the United States Government has so far yielded, in several situations, to the Zionist ideology that Jews are a minority nationality, identified with a state which has arrogated the right to legislate in behalf of all Jews. What else can be the meaning of a statement such as that credited to Dr. Dov Joseph, Israeli Minister without Portfolio, who said:

"Israel, in setting up her citizenship law, made provisions for citizenship not only for those Jews residing within her borders, but also for those Jews of the world 'not yet within her boundaries'."

The Israelis admit that their "Law of Return" and "Nationality Law" are unique. They are, says an official Israeli interpretation:

"...the logical result of the unique situation of the Jewish people, most of whose members still live outside of Israel, while the process of ingathering has just begun..."

"...every Jew settling in the country is looked upon as returning to his native country...."

These are no longer ideological quibbles. They are a part of the political patterns of the world in which we live. Confronted with them, our own Government, in an effort to protect its Jewish citizens, has felt it necessary to issue special warnings. And those warnings are premised on the Zionist-Israeli ideology that all Jews are members of a single nationality.

Are these not complications of our status? Is the answer as simple as that offered by the American Jewish Committee that we are Americans and the Israelis are Israelis?

Was this the role of so-called statesmanship that lulled our co-religionists into inactivity and to be undisturbed by assuring them that nothing would happen?

I do not know what, if anything, can be done about the situation in the Iron Curtain countries. We can protest against the pleas begging the Soviets to expel Jews -- an utterly irresponsible policy. It is contrary to all past procedures of the Soviet Union and even if the Kremlin should make an exception in this situation, can you imagine the chaos if 2,500,000 Jews were suddenly ejected from behind the Iron Curtain. Certainly Israel could not absorb them.

In three years, Israel has been able to take about 700,000 people, and in so doing has practically wrecked her economy.

More than a possibility is to endeavor to open the free countries of the world, and especially the United States, to much larger immigration for all those now living in over-populated and tyrannical lands. President Eisenhower's recent request to Congress for a larger, temporary quota of new immigrants is a favorable sign and is encouraging. However, it is insufficient by itself. A complete revision and enlargement of the Immigration Act is required to accomplish the absorption of such a vast number of ejected souls who would have to find a haven elsewhere.

We can therefore caution once more against hysteria and again capitalizing on human misery in the interests of high powered fund raising.

But in terms of our own lives and status, we can hope to accomplish more. We are free. Our co-religionists are free -- if they will but resist the efforts to coerce them. By mobilizing strength behind our complete rejection of the Zionist definition of the relationships of Jews to Israel, we can, conceivably, make clear to our own Government our desire and, if necessary, our demand, for our traditional status as Americans with but a single nationality, with Judaism as our religion.

All the weight of American history and instinct will be on our side. But such advantages can be lost through apathy and indifference. Once again then, each of you can join in this work of building something useful and constructive on our record of the past.

The incursions made thus far by Jewish nationalist ideology on our status as Americans are, taken by themselves, not of great moment. Together they are sufficient to indicate a dangerous trend, which must be checked. President Eisenhower, with whom George Levison and I had a pleasant and interesting visit on April 8th made the following significant comments on another occasion, regarding the reports of the recent "anti-Zionist" purges in Russia and her satellites: -

"These bitter facts summon every free citizen to renew his awareness of his duty to do all in his own power to honor and to guard our precious civil and religious liberties and to decry, with candor and courage, any violation of them. No violation is too trivial to be attacked. There is no such thing as just a little bigotry -- any more than there can be just a little persecution...."

Council Memorandum

On behalf of the Council your officers have, as a result, compiled a long, and carefully documented memorandum outlining these incursions.

1. Passport provisions which require Americans of Jewish faith to take certain precautions when applying for a visa to Israel that Americans of other religious faiths are not required to take.
2. Differences between holders of passports issued to American Jews and those issued to Americans of other faiths when applying to Arab countries for visas.
3. The incursions in the Israeli "Law of Return" and the Israeli "Nationality Law" that have thus far been recognized by our State Department and which affect American Jewish citizens only.
4. Discrimination against Jewish immigrants by classifying them as an ethnic group.

This memorandum was presented to the State Department on April 8th and is available here. It deals, in detail, with subjects of prime concern to every American Jew. You may now help yourselves -- and your government -- by studying this memorandum and persuading others to read it. The future status of American Jews may be determined by the results obtained through the submission of this document. With patience and labor we may lead American Jews to energize themselves about these problems in their own lives as they have been energized formerly to influence American policy in favor of Israel.

Only when this trend has been reversed can we rejoice over our record during this past decade for we will have built upon it as upon a chief cornerstone.

"Jewish Community"

It is more than two years since we affirmed that Jews, in the United States, were not an identifiable secular community; that they are free individuals voluntarily professing an ancient and honorable faith. We warned against "Jewish" nationalist efforts to build a community of Jews, simple in design and with a single, unified voice.

A few months later the MacIver Report was released. This found some of the advocates of unity in a battle to preserve voluntary, independent organizations as opposed to the idea of a so-called "Jewish" community where the majority would establish a pattern for all. Suddenly, our "negative" attitude became positive.

Few of those who came belatedly to our position, acknowledged our prior warning. This is of small importance. It is important that our record should inspire us to greater self-confidence and encourage us to blaze new trails toward freedom and the responsibility of the individual instead of seeking recognition of minority group rights.

This struggle is not yet over. The National Community Relations Advisory Council -- the NCRAC -- proceeds with its plan to coordinate the various organizations of which it is composed and to represent something called "an American Jewish community". The Union of American Hebrew Congregations remains in this group. Together with representatives of the Orthodox and Conservative branches of Judaism, they have been delegated and will try to pre-empt work in the inter-faith field. This is an anomalous situation. The NCRAC is dominated by a political, nationalist body, the American Jewish Congress, and yet it is posing as the over-all umbrella for inter-faith purposes. The mere withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League from the NCRAC is significant but insufficient. For if the NCRAC groups follow their declared intent there will be need for active opposition. Our role may well increase. We alone have stood most consistently for the principle that Jews are a religious group; we have entered actively into the religious field; we have rejected the whole principle of a Jewish community and we have demanded an interpretation of Judaism fitted to our lives in the United States.

Philanthropy

In the same area there is another responsibility we will have to assume. It has been many years since, alone, we raised our voice against the packaged fund-raising that passes for philanthropy. Our protest was based on depriving individuals of the freedom of choice in the United Jewish Appeal. The policies now governing the United Israel Funds, the major beneficiary and controlling factor in the UJA, were determined two years ago -- not in the United States -- but in Jerusalem at the World Zionist Congress.

The whole set-up points to the use of the power of the purse to channel American Jewish philanthropy abroad to Israel; and at home into nationalistic endeavors.

I believe any further effort to effect a change in the UJA is futile. I say this in spite of the fact that abroad, Jews are practically ignored if they do not elect to go to Israel. They are abandoned if, having gone to Israel, they elect to leave. And all this in the name of a so-called "Jewish community".

These aspects of our work will be discussed on Saturday afternoon as we meet to consider a restatement of our position. Those who want what has sometimes been called a "positive program" will find here the sign-posts. We may elect only to spread knowledge of our conclusions. Or we may decide to build actively on the basis of them. Freedom can be won, in this area of our lives as in any other area, only with a combination of clear thinking and hard work. We have made -- and are making slow progress. Without active programs, it will continue to come slowly. I do not object. But we can choose a dramatic, tangible procedure of organizing and implementing action.

Religious Education

I am encouraged to make this assertion by the results of our work

in the field of our religious education which will be dealt with in our panel discussion tomorrow morning.

The wide and enthusiastic reception of this work should dispel any lingering doubts that our ideas are not acceptable to large numbers of Jews or that, even if the ideas are acceptable, we are not the proper dispensing agency. This religious work is our first and only departure from purely ideological activities.

A very substantial number of Rabbis, laymen and educational directors who have enthusiastically welcomed the results were not -- and many still are not -- Council members.

This program, as you know, is not a sudden and new inspiration with us. After Israel was established, there began the Zionist-Israeli drive to persuade American Jewish youth to come to Israel. The campaign was a failure and resulted in several exasperated observations by Mr. Ben-Gurion and a fairly bitter fight between the Israelis and the American Zionists. The quarrel was resolved -- at least temporarily -- at the World Zionist Congress. Mr. Ben-Gurion and the Israelis agreed that American Jewish youth must come to Israel only "of their own volition". Mrs. Halprin, speaking for American Zionism, asked for ten or fifteen years before American Jewish youth would be expected to come to Israel in any appreciable numbers. All agreed that chalutzith was the heart of Zionism and that Israel was a "Chalutzith State".

Faced with this realization, which no other Jewish group seemed to appreciate, we exposed the already slanted texts used in religious schools. And we started to create new ones.

The Zionist process of indoctrination, that had been proceeding steadily, under cover, has suddenly been brought out in the open.

The attitudes of our children are involved in this important undertaking.

But we are not without problems and questions even in this field. How far shall we go with this work? To what extent shall we follow the Chicago situation of an independent institution and to what extent shall we try to work in and through existing institutions? Where are we to find the money and the staff for the work that needs to be done? For if this is a contest for our children's minds, let us not forget that it is not a contest in a vacuum. Zionists are spending vastly more on this single phase of their work than we have available for our entire budget. We have not even begun this struggle -- and the responsibilities it has imposed upon us have been overwhelming.

Here is a record that drives rather than relaxes. It opens new doors to great, potential support for the Council. Such support requires knowledge of our principles and program among our members, plus the kind of personal participation now being made by a few in our religious education program.

This then is the record as it stands in the light of the last ten years. It reflects moments of joy and of regret, of confidence and doubt. It recalls memories of men and women in this fellowship, many of them, I am glad to say still with us; still strong in their loyalty and support. In many of our chapters there are groups of young people showing an increasing understanding of, and participation in, our work. Others are gone, for ten years, short as they are in the timelessness of the Psalmist, do not pass over mortals without reminding us of our mortality.

I believe that the sum total of all these joys and regrets, these assurances and doubts, these gains and losses, leaves a healthy balance on the plus side. It is useless to recount the difficulties which have beset us and which in many instances we have overcome. While we might have achieved greater success we have no reason to be discouraged with our progress. Your unflagging loyalty and assistance have turned a desperately gloomy outlook into one of hope and promise. What we have done imposes upon us only a responsibility to do more.

I have been happy to have been associated with all of you in what we have done. There has been much that was moving and warm and satisfying in the fellowship of this Council. The sense of companionship has been uninhibited by political expediencies. There has been a spiritual satisfaction in basic agreement on principles and an independence made possible by your generous support -- and that of the many who could not be here -- which enabled us to speak our hearts and minds during those years of emotionalism. I thank all of you for the support, the confidence, the loyalty that made those years of integrity possible.

We are witnesses today to the tragedy of Jews having departed so far from the tradition that gave the western world its moral and ethical content. Inspired by what we have done in this Council, let us resolve to continue our efforts to the best of our abilities, that we may exemplify again, to the world, that Judaism and that picture of Jews which made our faith one of the pillars of human civilization.

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R E P O R T

of

TREASURER AND FINANCE COMMITTEE

by

D. Hays Solis-Cohen

American Council for Judaism

Tenth Anniversary Conference

San Francisco, May 8, 1953

Because only shortly before the opening of the Conference we learned that Henry Loeb and Henry Moyer would not be able to attend, not only will they personally not present the Treasurer's and Financial reports, but it must also be called to your attention that while the facts are fully known to them, not they, but the National Office, prepared the material contained in this report. Because of their absence and because I wish to save as much as I can of your valuable Conference time, I am combining these two reports.

The significant and variable items in the operations of the Council are intimately related to our regional office structure. In 1949 we set up our first experimental regional office in Chicago. This proved so successful that in 1950 we set up similar offices in San Francisco and Dallas and, as you well know, our task in 1951 was to properly organize and relate these offices to the work of the National Office, in addition to opening another regional office in Richmond. This project was completed during the course of 1952 and I believe it is safe to say that we are now in a position to adequately interrelate the receipts and expenditures of these offices with each other and the National Office. More or less uniform systems have been established which make it possible to report the following figures:

GROSS REGIONAL RECEIPTS

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1952</u>	
Western region	\$37,380	\$37,851	No significant increase
Southwest region	34,193	37,320	An increase in excess of \$3,000
Midwest region	46,307	51,575	An increase in excess of \$5,000
Eastern region	61,254	68,261	An increase of approximately \$7,000
Southeast region		30,448	

Because the Southeast region did not operate as such for most of 1951, no comparative figures are available.

In 1951 the total contributions from four regional offices to the National Office totalled \$116,361. In 1952 the total contributions from these same four offices to the National Office came to \$130,432 involving a net gain of \$14,071. It can be readily seen from these figures that the net financial gain from our regional operations is a healthy one. We have every reason to believe that this situation will prevail in the coming year.

To sum up and to give you some concept of the progress made, net National Office receipts in 1951 from all regional offices and those members serviced by the National Office totalled \$192,795, while in 1952 they came to \$202,667 or a net gain of approximately \$10,000.

In view of these facts you may well ask why our audited report shows a deficit for 1952 in the sum of \$2,123.00, the answer to which is that out of 1952 income we had to make up the deficit incurred in 1951, which according to the audited report is \$10,977.00 but actually was considerably larger in view of the fact that approximately \$7,000.00 of bills incurred in 1951 were paid in 1952. Thus, in addition to paying out of 1952 income a cumulative 1951 deficit of approximately \$18,000.00, carrying on our routine duties, which in a number of circumstances were considerably stepped up, and financing an unbudgeted religious education program which cost \$10,555.00, an operating deficit for 1952 of something in the neighborhood of \$2,000 is perhaps better than could have been expected.

Before giving you the details on how your money was spent, your attention should be called to the fact that gross Council expenditures for 1952 which includes sums disbursed by our regional offices to finance their local operations came to \$297,739.96. I dare say that there are not many of you who a few years back would have believed that the Council would have grown to the point where its collections in a given year would reach the figure of \$295,000.00.

In 1952 Executive Salaries which includes those paid to regional men came to \$98,000.00. Executive Travel including regional costs came to \$16,165.80. All expenditures for Literature, Mailing, Stationery and Postage, Regional as well as National, totalled \$47,257.35. For Regional and National Office Clerical Salaries we spent \$46,754.37. All Council offices spent a total of \$14,519.41 for Rent and Light. Telephone and Telegraph cost us a total of \$5,580.55. This leaves a balance of approximately \$69,000.00 which was spent by the National Office and the five regional offices for a variety of purposes necessary to the operation of the Council. For some of these expenditures the Council has been reimbursed by members as, for example, in the case of luncheon fees and Conference expenses, purchase of books and other items in this category. Completely audited reports for the National Office and each regional office are available for anyone who cares to see them, covering these and all other items of expense.

Here I switch from what would have been Henry Loeb's Treasurer's report to a few comments on what would have been Henry Moyer's financial

report and therefore, some comment on our present financial position is in order. For the first three months of 1952 the National Office disbursed \$64,383.77. For the same three months of this year we spent \$47,341.82. The apparent economy of approximately \$17,000 in this part of our 1953 operation as compared with a similar part of our 1952 operation is the result of the fact that in the early months of 1952 we paid off the deficit incurred in 1951 which was referred to earlier. It must also be said that for the first three months of this year we have been engaging in only those minimal operations without which our work could not go on. It will be up to this Conference to determine whether or not to authorize the expanded activities which some of us deem essential, details of which will appear in the discussion of the Budget for 1953 on Sunday afternoon.

It must also be said that the course recommended by the meeting of the Executive Committee and Advisory Board which was held in Chicago last December to the effect that Mr. Rosenwald in a personal statement to our larger contributors urged them to send us their contributions early in the year, has been most successful and as a result, with only some \$10,000 of outstanding bills, we now have some \$48,000 in the bank. Our small contributors responded most hearteningly to our request for a 20% increase in their contributions, but unfortunately, the small number of our large contributors who make up the bulk of Council income have not as yet followed a similar pattern. It will be up to this Conference to determine whether an increase from gross receipts of \$300,000 to \$360,000 is really necessary and if it is, how this money will be obtained.

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

Expenditures for 1952
and
Estimated Needs for 1953

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1953</u>
1. Executive Salaries (Schedule I)	\$52,399.84	\$49,100.00
2. Executive Travel (Schedule II)	11,064.47	15,000.00
3. Relocation Expense - Personnel	3,131.54	3,000.00
4. Salaries -- Regional Directors (Sch. III)	38,225.54	46,500.00
5. Public Relations (Mahool Advertising Co.)	4,980.00	6,000.00
6. Literature, Mailing and Stationery	23,149.16	31,500.00
7. Postage	7,072.76	9,500.00
8. Organization and Meeting Expenses (Sch. IV)	7,137.44	12,000.00
9. Speakers Fees (Schedule V)	1,877.60	2,500.00
10. Expense Allowances (Schedule VI)	999.96	1,700.00
11. Oppenheimer Pamphlet	347.12	-----
12. Press Clippings and Radio Reports	863.50	1,000.00
13. Recordings of Speeches	42.88	-----
14. ACJ Scholarship	823.00	-----
15. Religious Education & Activities (Sch. VII)	10,555.95	50,600.00
16. Office Expenses (Schedule VIII)	14,393.07	17,000.00
17. Clerical Salaries -- National Office	26,649.14	28,000.00
18. Payroll Withholding Taxes Paid (Sch. IX)	16,414.81	17,500.00
19. Repayment of Loan -- Lessing J. Rosenwald	10,000.00	-----
20. Purchase of Equipment	<u>143.02</u>	<u>1,000.00</u>
TOTAL -- NATIONAL OFFICE	\$230,270.80	291,900.00
Regional Operating Disbursements (Sch. X)	<u>67,469.16</u>	<u>65,260.00</u>
TOTAL	\$297,739.96	357,160.00

EXPLANATIONS

SCHEDULE I -- EXECUTIVE SALARIES

Elmer Berger	\$18,000.00	\$18,000.00
Julius Grad	6,000.00	-----
Victor Raphals	9,499.92	12,000.00
Sigmund H. Miller	10,999.92	11,000.00
Gerald Blank	7,900.00	8,100.00
	<u>\$52,399.84</u>	<u>\$49,100.00</u>

SCHEDULE II -- EXECUTIVE TRAVEL

All airline credit cards are issued through the National Office and all such charges incurred by Regional as well as National Office staff are paid by the National Office.

SCHEDULE III -- SALARIES -- REGIONAL DIRECTORS

Alfred Russel (Midwest)	\$ 3,937.50	\$8,500.00
Jac Wasserman (Western)	8,111.10	10,000.00
Emil Rosenberg (Southwest)	7,419.26	-----
George Hallowitz (Southwest)	2,307.68	10,000.00
B. Budd Tamler (Southeast)	7,450.00	8,000.00
Leonard R. Sussman (Eastern)	9,000.00	10,000.00
	<u>\$38,225.54</u>	<u>\$46,500.00</u>

SCHEDULE IV -- ORGANIZATION & MEETING EXPENSES

This includes cost of annual Conference and National Executive Committee Meetings.

SCHEDULE V -- SPEAKERS FEES

This includes fee for speaking engagements and travel expenses during 1952, and fees for special speakers at meetings.

SCHEDULE VI -- EXPENSE ALLOWANCES

This includes expense allowances for Rabbi Berger and Gerald Blank.

SCHEDULE VII -- RELIGIOUS EDUCATION & ACTIVITIES

Executive Salaries (Rabbi Baron's Salary plus salary of proposed Administrative Director -- 1953)	\$7,500.00	\$18,500.00
Rabbinical Pension Fund (Rabbi Baron)	445.81	600.00
Books Purchased	2,610.14	3,500.00
Books to be Published Fund	-----	20,000.00
Materials and Supplies	-----	2,000.00
Authors Fees	-----	2,000.00
Art Work	-----	1,000.00
Clerical	-----	3,000.00
	<u>\$10,555.95</u>	<u>\$50,600.00</u>

SCHEDULE VIII-- OFFICE EXPENSES

This includes rent and light, cleaning costs, telephone and telegraph, office supplies, subscriptions, photographs and photostats, auditing fees, etc.

SCHEDULE IX -- PAYROLL WITHHOLDING TAXES PAID

Withholding taxes paid and collected appear on the receipts and disbursements side of the audited report and therefore, are included here. This is a bookkeeping entry indicating the sum of money withheld from wages and salary on one hand and paid to the Government on the other.

SCHEDULE X -- REGIONAL OPERATING DISBURSEMENTS

	<u>1952</u>	<u>1953</u>
Midwestern	\$16,533.96	\$17,930.00
Western	16,631.71	13,000.00
Southwestern	10,664.24	9,645.00
Southeastern	8,382.13	7,185.00
Eastern	<u>15,257.12</u>	<u>17,500.00</u>
	\$67,469.16	\$65,260.00

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AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

Expenditures for 1952
and
Estimated Needs for 1953

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11. Oppenheimer Pamphlet	347.12	-----
12. Press Clippings and Radio Reports	863.50	1,000.00
13. Recordings of Speeches	42.88	-----
14. ACJ Scholarship	823.00	-----
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TOTAL -- NATIONAL OFFICE	\$230,270.80	291,900.00
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This includes cost of annual Conference and National Executive Committee Meetings.

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SCHEDULE VI -- EXPENSE ALLOWANCES

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SCHEDULE VII --RELIGIOUS EDUCATION & ACTIVITIES

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Materials and Supplies	-----	2,000.00
Authors Fees	-----	2,000.00
Art Work	-----	1,000.00
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REPORT ON PUBLICATIONS

by

Robert S. Nyburg

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 8, 1953

This is going to be an audience participation report. I am going to do the first part -- you the second, and I fear, more interesting part.

My part should properly start with two ideas which are probably somewhat shopworn but are nevertheless important in the consideration of publications.

The first such idea is that the Council exists largely for the purpose of expressing itself so that the opinions of its members will be known and so that other people may be won over to its points of view. And this is the reason that our public expressions are so vitally important.

The second idea is that there are only three major roads of communication for these ideas. They are: (1) verbal expression through speakers; (2) the press, both the general and Anglo-Jewish; (3) our own literature.

It is a portion of this third category that we call publications. Specifically, this means printed publications and does not refer to any of the material which has been published as religious school aids or the large number of mimeographs which have been put out both in New York and in the Regional Offices.

Sometimes it is fun to play with box car numbers and since this is an Anniversary Conference it might be of interest to tell you that in the four years during which I have had something to do with Council literature and, consequently, have knowledge and records, the Council has published 123 pieces ranging all the way from quite ambitious books of the type of the two "Blueprint" publications to one-page flyers. The total number of copies of these publications has reached the impressive figure of 1,916,000 and they have been published at an average cost of about $4\frac{1}{2}\phi$ per piece.

Lest we should be too smug about these large numbers, I should hasten to add that in the same period of time the Zionist Organization of America, according to their own figures, have put out approximately 56,800,000 pieces of literature, or just about 30 times as much as we have and of course this is just one Zionist Organization of many.

Our publication figures for the past twelve months are very similar to those of the two previous twelve months. The total number of pieces published was 454,000; there were 30 publications the total cost of which was about \$20,200. The average cost per piece being 4.4¢, this cost is up .02 of a cent over last year and is down about $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ from the period ending with 1951 Conference.

I believe it can be fairly said that we have made some strides toward achieving the things about our publications which were called for both last year in Washington and the previous year in Chicago. The emphasis at both of these Conferences was for simpler publications and for greater brevity, both in the publications and in Council News.

As to simplicity, I think we can say that we have made substantial strides. Of the 18 current publications, other than Council News, only 4 could be considered as being at all involved or requiring a high degree of application to understand, and even these 4 were as short and simple as the subject matter permitted. The others are primer type publications which come as close as we have been able to come so far to the ideal of getting our message on the head of a pin.

In one of our most recent publications - "Fifteen Questions And Answers About The Council" - I think we have turned out a piece of literature which simply, clearly, cleanly and effectively sets up our position in juxtaposition to that of the standard criticisms which are made of Council and Council policy. I think it an effective answer to the emotional type of attack which is so frequently made on us.

We have also made progress in achieving greater brevity in Council News. The average Council News story in the past twelve months was slightly less than two pages shorter than the average Council News story in the previous twelve months. In addition to that, this year we have started carrying for the first time stories that are less than page length. Also, for interesting brevity, every Council News now contains the two-page capsulization of important events. I would also venture to say, although of course this is strictly personal opinion, that the content of Council News this year has been more varied and more interesting and readable. You will have an opportunity to disagree with me in a very few minutes. It might interest you to know that we have had the sincerest warm flattery re Council News. The ex-UPA, now UIA, has combined two of its former publications into a magazine somewhat similar in size to Council News, the first issue of which came out last month, entitled "foto facts."

We have also in the past year evolved a more satisfactory method of both distributing our literature and pre-determining the number of copies which should be printed. This has been possible because we have had the alert and active cooperation of the Regional Offices. What we do is to send out a preview either in the form of a proof or an advance dummy of each publication before it is printed and we get back an expression from the Regional Directors as to how effective they feel this particular piece will be in their area and how many copies they think they can use.

The result is that many more copies of our publications are now actually put into the hands of people who are susceptible to them and that we do not have an accumulation of unused copies.

And now I come to your part of this report.

Many major changes and a great deal of the stimulation for publications that we have put out in the past has been the result of suggestions and discussions at the Conferences. We depend very heavily upon you, the most interested and active members of the Council, when you come to these meetings to tell us where you think we have succeeded, where you think we have failed and what we can do about it -- you better than anyone know what literature has been most effective with the people in your localities. You know better than anyone what they need to be told; what will influence them.

So we have made it very easy for you to help us.

There are in the room, and you each should have one, questionnaires which will be of real assistance to us if you will spend a few minutes filling them out thoughtfully.

They will be collected after this meeting and we will try to compile the answers and get you a sort of general rundown before you leave the Conference.

And in the year to come we will give, as we always have, great weight to your opinions.

Essentially it is your beliefs and ideas we seek to interpret and express -- because it is the people in this room and the thousands you represent who are the Council.

* * * *

R E P O R T

of

Committee on Religious and Synagogue Programs

by

Bernard S. Gradwohl

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 8, 1953

I. Introduction

This national standing committee came into existence in 1949 when, inspired by the late Rabbi David Philipson of blessed memory, our Annual Conference declared -- in words still so timely today:

"We believe that expressions of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism free of 'Jewish' nationalism and stressing the universal traditions in our faith are essential to the survival of Judaism in America and to completely integrated lives for our co-religionists here. To the fullest extent of resources available for that purpose, we pledge the American Council for Judaism to assist in the revitalization of such universal expressions of Judaism. We resolve that a committee of laymen and rabbis be appointed by our national executive committee to explore ways and means whereby this concern for our faith may be implemented and sustained as a part of the continuing work of the American Council for Judaism."

Since November 1, 1951 we have had a full-time Director of Religious and Synagogue Activities. The year 1952 saw remarkable progress in the Council's creative work of Religious School textbook analysis, curriculum construction, writing and sponsoring of new textbooks, and opening Schools for Judaism. Rabbinical and lay response and receptivity to these Council achievements, on the part of non-members even more than members, has been more than gratifying; its extent was hardly dreamed of a year or two ago. And 1953 bids fair to multiply these phenomenal successes. Let me be specific.

II. Textbook Analyses

Between two and three years ago, the Council first undertook the analysis of existing Religious School textbooks in response to a growing demand for help, advice, and information from interested and aroused parents and other Temple members belonging to the Council. Since then, non-Council members -- both lay and Rabbinical -- have, in ever increasing numbers, shown an interest in these analyses as well as in our creative work of sponsoring and actually authoring suitable new teaching material.

A collected volume of Religious School Textbook Analyses was prepared for those attending our annual conference in Washington in April, 1952. A second revised and enlarged edition, including an appendix of additional analyses, was prepared immediately after the conference for more wide-spread distribution. Hundreds of copies have been distributed to Rabbis and laymen.

The latest 1952 edition of Textbook Analyses is a mimeographed volume of 184 pages. It reviews in documented detail or otherwise classifies by grade and evaluates by American Council for Judaism standards 113 Religious School texts, pupils' workbooks, and teachers' manuals. Our criteria are fully set forth in an extensive Introduction. They are: the presence or absence, in varying degrees, of indoctrination or slanting towards Zionism, Israelism, "Jewish" nationalism, racism, secularism, or self-segregation -- as opposed to a universal, spiritual, and ethical Judaism for Americans. A breakdown yields the following tabulation of our findings:

Acceptable (A)	10
Acceptable with Reservations (A-)	15
Doubtful (D)	2
Unacceptable (U)	<u>54</u>
 Total Items Analyzed in Written Reviews	 81
Examined and Approved (A or A-) Without Written Reviews	<u>32</u>
 Total Number of Items Reviewed or Otherwise Listed	 113

A newly enlarged 1953 edition of Textbook Analyses is now in preparation. It will review a great many more religious education texts, including a number by Jewish publishers other than the U.A.H.C. and also by non-Jewish publishers. I shall have more to say about this later in this report.

III. Curriculum Construction and Research

Our research in Textbook Analyses was begun and has continued as a direct response to the expressed demands and deeply felt needs of parents concerned with their children's religious education. Every subsequent step and developing aspect of the Council's religious program has been undertaken on the basis of the same expressed needs and with the encouragement of a growing number of interested Rabbis. This applies to the Council's critiques and recommendations of Religious School curricula as well.

(a) Interim Recommended Curriculum

After rejecting so many more textbooks than we could commend, we became aware of a responsibility to outline the kind of curriculum we could approve. Early last summer, therefore, the Council issued a 13-page sequel to the Textbook Analyses volume, an Interim Recommended Religious School Curriculum.

These interim recommendations did not purport to be the last word in model curricula. They were candidly presented as no more than a systematic listing, classification by school grade (not necessarily agreeing with the publishers' recommendations), and evaluation by Council standards of those teaching materials which up to the end of last spring our staff had been able to read and thoroughly examine and to find more or less satisfactory from our point of view. Accordingly, the selections at this stage were based largely upon the A and A- items in our Textbook Analyses. They included also the books and experimental texts prepared or sponsored up to that time by the Council, as well as the first of a great many excellent textbooks our Religious Director had begun to study from non-Jewish sources.

This avowedly tentative and incomplete curriculum was out of balance and lacking in certain types of subject-matter, notably Jewish history, holidays, and ceremonies. The reason was simply that, although our professional staff had analyzed a good many textbooks on these subjects, nearly all of them had regrettably been found unacceptable. There was next to nothing Jewish available for children below Confirmation age on religion itself or about our relationship to God and man. The reasons for this lack are best known to professional Jewish educators both inside and outside of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Christian church bodies and commercial publishing houses, on the contrary, have not been afraid to make this approach to God and prayer and personal religion with children of the tenderest age. There is an abundance of inspiring and appealing material, universally spiritual and ethical in character as well as psychologically sound, which can be put to use either in its entirety or by editing out occasional sectarian passages unsuitable for Jewish religious schools. Reviews and listings of a large number of these publications, including books on the Old Testament far better than anything from Jewish publishers, are being added to the forthcoming new edition of Textbook Analyses.

(b) Provisional Working Curriculum

The next logical step called for by interested parents throughout the country, as well as by Rabbis and others engaged in religious education, was an actual working curriculum for use in individual home instruction, improvised class groups, and established Religious Schools. With the opening up of the Council's own Schools for Judaism last October, we had a further incentive to fill that need without further delay. Last fall the Council completed a detailed and improved 1952-1953 Provisional Working Curriculum. This gave us the opportunity to re-define the general objectives of our Schools for Judaism and to state our specific objectives for each class from Kindergarten through the tenth grade and Confirmation. You will be interested, I believe, in some significant excerpts from the statement of general objectives of this curriculum of our Schools for Judaism:

The entire conception and motivation of these schools is that of teaching the universal values of Judaism -- their origins, their evolution, and their application to contemporary American society.

Because requests for help in improving religious education came primarily from those of our members who are Reform Jews, this curriculum is oriented exclusively in that direction. If and when similar requests come from Conservative or Orthodox groups, we shall be glad to try to comply.

Our approach therefore is admittedly partisan, since we recognize the existence of other interpretations of Judaism. We shall attempt to inform our children of these other interpretations; but the orientation of our schools will be to instill in the children an understanding of Reform Judaism which will lead, we hope, to a firm conviction in, and preference for, Reform Judaism as that which is most consonant and harmonious with American life.

. . . We shall teach Reform Judaism, not in a vacuum omitting an objective presentation of other interpretations, or oblivious of the environmental factors outside of Judaism within whose milieu it developed, but free from the propaganda of politics, nationalism, chauvinism, racism, statism, secularism, separatism, and self-segregation. Our Schools for Judaism reject the all too many textbooks, commonly used in Temples in this country, which indoctrinate pupils with such extraneous ideologies from pre-school through the adult stages of "Jewish" education. Where some existing textbooks, upon careful analysis, may be more or less acceptable with reservations until something better becomes available to deal with the desired subject, we place them in the hands of the teacher -- not the child -- for selective presentation in accordance with our documented Textbook Analyses volume and further specific personal briefing. . .

We hope to make the child's association with Judaism pleasant and to keep it on the level of a spiritual experience. We are concerned, in these schools, with Judaism as a living, enlightened experience. While we believe that knowledge and understanding are important in appreciation of an enlightened faith, it is not the purpose of these schools to turn out academicians. To make the point another way, our objective is to present Judaism as a living and still evolving faith which, if properly understood, can offer spiritual strength in a spiritually rootless age. . .

Wherever and to whatever extent possible, we shall employ the scientific-historical approach to the sources of our knowledge about Judaism. We shall try to avoid teaching children things which, in their public school lives, they may be compelled to "unlearn." Such procedures can lead only to a lack of respect for their faith. We shall not be afraid to tell them that the beginnings of Judaism were humble and faltering; as all men so many thousands of years ago stumbled and struggled toward the good, the beautiful, and the true. We hope to help these children find the exciting drama in the unfolding history of Judaism, so that they may see themselves as a part of an unfinished quest for spiritual stability. We are more concerned with the moving story of Judaism's evolution than we are with theology as such.

Where we tell our children of the history of our faith and of the people who helped create that faith in times gone by, we shall treat the history of these Jews and their Judaism in a proper relationship to world history. We shall not, for example, follow the dreary pattern of most contemporary history textbooks used in most schools, which in the medieval period give the impression that only Jews were miserable, hunted, and persecuted. Without minimizing the tragedies which Jews have endured, we shall make it clear that their fate has been inextricably linked to the world in which they lived and that, although many Jews have been martyred, Jews have not gone through history with the mark of martyrdom and suffering, as a hunted and wandering "people", except as there were basic forces in the world, at any given time, that made for basic insecurities for all men. Only in this way can our children be taught to face and understand problems which may confront them as Jews.

We believe in an American Judaism. That is to say, we believe the enduring truths of Judaism are universal and that, since we are American Jews, we have the right -- and a blessed opportunity in America -- to take the essence of those universal truths and clothe them in the richness and promise and hopefulness of our American lives. Such a process, we believe, will bring to our children that sense of security and identification with American life which all of us hold as our highest goal and greatest privilege. The fusion of Judaism and our American way of life should be the easiest of all the adaptations Jews have made to their environments in all the long history of Judaism. For America herself breathes the very spirit of the Judeo-Christian heritage; and for us, therefore, to emphasize in our Judaism the same universals that have found their way into the bone and marrow of American life is the surest and noblest way for us to identify ourselves as American Jews.

We shall strive for precision of words and definitions of terms, as we work with and teach our children. We shall avoid, for an American Judaism, the loose, collectivist interpretations of Jews as "a people" or as "a community." We shall emphasize for our children that they are individuals; that Judaism, for them, is a spiritual choice; that the only collective concept we recognize as valid for them, as individual Americans and as Jews, is Judaism.

We shall unhesitatingly urge our children to observe those holidays and ceremonies which, because they dramatize an idea central to Judaism, we hold to be valid. We shall equally and unhesitatingly ignore practices and holidays and rituals which have no other purpose than to make Judaism restrictive and limited to something called a "Jewish people". Thus modern conversational Palestinian Hebrew, which has a legitimate place in the State of Israel, has none in a Jewish religious school anywhere else. The minimum requirements of our own Schools for Judaism are encompassed by an acquaintance with and an understanding of such selected classical Hebrew terms and passages from the Bible and prayerbooks as are likely to be of some use and significance to an American of the Jewish faith. . .

With these broad objectives and more specific guides to teachers, we believe Judaism can be revitalized; and with such revitalization we believe it may enrich and strengthen our country in an era of history when, as never before, America needs the deepest reservoirs of spiritual strength of all its people. While we shall know and cherish the past, we shall take from it, in an active way, that which best serves our needs of the present.

To make the Judaism we teach so alive, so challenging, so free, and so liberating as to have it assume the stature of a compelling force is our goal. If we can attain it, we are prepared to leave the future to judge the Jews in whom we hope to create devotion to this faith.

If you are stirred by this challenging and inspiring statement of general objectives as I have been, then I believe you will be still more electrified if you will go on to read the specific objectives and curricula of each grade -- from Kindergarten through Confirmation. Surrounded as we are by all manner of dilutions of Reform Judaism, it is indeed refreshing to note the originality, independence, and bold imagination which characterize and motivate this new working curriculum.

(c) Study of Existing Religious School Curricula

From time to time, members forward to our National Office for study and comment copies of curricula of the Religious Schools conducted by the congregations to which they belong. When requested, detailed analyses and evaluations have been prepared, setting forth how much or how little a given school's objectives, subject-matter, and choice of textbooks agree with Council standards. A necessary by-product -- or rather a prerequisite -- of these studies has been the continuing analysis of more and more teaching material not included (because not originally inquired about) in last year's editions of Textbook Analyses.

The Council is interested in seeing and studying as many such curricula as possible. Our National and Regional Offices have put out a call requesting copies of Religious School curricula from Rabbis and educational directors. A number of courteous responses have begun to come in -- even from sources known to be opposed to the American Council for Judaism. All such curricula will be gratefully received and conscientiously examined; and they will be commented upon if desired.

IV. The Creation of New Textbooks

A frequent plea addressed to the Council last year by Rabbinical and lay readers of our Textbook Analyses and Interim Curriculum went something like this: "Having declared so many textbooks objectionable for American Reform religious educational use, what would you have us do? After all, we have no choice; because there just is nothing else to choose from. It's up to you to write the new kind of books that we need. Give them to us, and we'll gladly use them!"

This tragic deficiency was brought home more emphatically with the preliminary planning and the establishment last fall of our own first three Schools for Judaism. The Council has made a conscientious start in attempting to meet this great need and has already begun to fill in a number of gaps itself. The work proceeds with all the energy at our command. We lack the vast resources of finances and personnel available to do this job as rapidly as it should be done. Here is where we stand to date:

(a) A Partisan History of Judaism

Our committee report last year noted the publication of Rabbi Elmer Berger's A Partisan History of Judaism. Recommended for youth, college-age, and adult study groups as well as individual reading, this book -- along with the Tarshish book and the Council's Textbook Analyses -- is recommended as required reading and background briefing for all teachers in our Schools for Judaism.

The New York Times Sunday Book Review Section of December 7, 1952 selected A Partisan History of Judaism as one of the 275 outstanding books -- out of some 10,000 titles -- published during the past year. Rabbi Berger's book was one of two volumes of Jewish interest included among fourteen under the heading of "Religion".

(b) Not By Power: The Story of the Growth of Judaism

Last year our committee reported the Council's sponsorship of a mimeographed experimental edition of a high school history text by Rabbi Allan Tarshish under the tentative title, The Growth of Judaism. Dr. Tarshish had his book published independently last fall by the Bookman Associates under the title, Not By Power: The Story of the Growth of Judaism. It is of course included in our curriculum. We were gratified to see it announced as the Jewish Book Guild's selection for the month of February, 1953.

(c) Tell Me Why -- A Primer for Judaism

Like the first edition of our Textbook Analyses, the first mimeographing of an illustrated experimental edition of Tell Me Why -- A Primer for Judaism was distributed at last year's Annual Conference in Washington, D. C. Written by a young mother, Mrs. Dorothy E. Bobrow, who until recently was on the secretarial staff of the National Office, this Council-sponsored book is being used widely and with enthusiasm in the primary classes -- especially the fourth and fifth grades -- of our Schools for Judaism and a number of other Religious Schools, as well as at home by parents of young children. Mrs. Bobrow hopes to have it published in revised book form in time for the coming school year. We shall eagerly await word of her success in this venture.

(d) Children's Devotions

Last December the Council issued another new book, a mimeographed anthology of Children's Devotions -- Selected from Various Sources, by our Religious Director, for use by Rabbis, teachers, and parents with children from nursery through high school ages. It is already effectively utilized and is meeting with wide acclaim in our Schools for Judaism and a number of other Religious Schools. We have evidence that one of its aims is definitely being achieved -- encouraging our children to make up their own prayers. As the Introduction puts it:

. . . There is one aspect about the contents of the book which deserves special attention. Too often prayer is conceived only in terms of formal worship and is related to but a limited range of ideas or experiences. This little book will indicate to the children that prayer need be neither formal in its expression nor narrow in range . . .

These prayers and meditations, both in verse and in prose, have been selected from a wide variety of sources -- ancient, medieval, and modern; Orthodox and Reform; Jewish and non-Jewish. Our sole criterion has been their possession of a universal sense of devotion, spirituality, ethical import, social significance, God-quest, and harmony with the highest Prophetic and Rabbinic traditions in Judaism.

(e) Stories About Judaism

Another and much larger textbook-writing project, which is still continuing, was launched last fall by the Council to fill some of the actual curricular needs of our Schools for Judaism. It is arousing considerable interest in other quarters as well. I refer to Stories About Judaism -- with Subjects for Discussion (Things to Think About and Talk About and Do Together), for the fifth and sixth -- and possibly seventh -- grades. It is now being tested in our schools. At the same time it is being examined (like all of our other teaching materials) by hundreds of Rabbis and religious educators and laymen. Chapters have been added week by week and sent out one at a time as they have been mimeographed and illustrated, to accumulate into a complete book.

During the fall and winter of 1952-1953, this procedure resulted in the completion of the first volume of thirteen chapters. The stories center upon the evolution of the faith of Judaism from Abraham and Moses and the great Prophets, through the ancient and medieval Rabbis, to the modern Emancipation from the Ghetto and the state of Reform Judaism today. Future re-editing of this wealth of originally approached and scientifically based teaching material will probably necessitate the dividing up of the thirteen chapters into at least twice as many weekly lessons, thus furnishing an entire school year's course of study in the subject.

With the completion of this first volume of Stories About Judaism, work was begun, without pause, on a second volume. By the end of this spring, therefore, another mimeographed volume about the same size as the first should be finished. This second volume's stories revolve about the general themes that stand out in the universal spiritual and ethical teachings of Judaism. These themes include such Prophetic teachings as brotherhood, peace, justice, mercy, humility, etc. Planned for next year already is an acceptable textbook on holidays, customs, and ceremonies.

(f) Jewish Thoughts for Jewish Youth

For a year and a half or more, Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Professor Emeritus of Jewish Social Studies at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati and an honorary vice-president of the American Council for Judaism, has been working on a book we asked him to write on his distinctive psychological and semantic approach to the spiritual, social, and ethical values of religion in general and Judaism in particular. The tentative title is Jewish Thoughts for Jewish Youth, with ten chapters treating the following subjects: Religion; God; Righteousness; Judaism; Prayer; Social Idealism; Jewish-Christian Relations; War and Peace; Life Everlasting; Maturity. We hope to see it published later this year, or at least made available in mimeographed experimental form. Our Executive Director and Religious Director have worked in the closest consultation with Dr. Cronbach through the several drafts of his remarkable manuscript. They assure us that this is going to be a brilliant and breath-taking book, filled with mature religious insights in language young people can understand, but suitable and inspiring for adults and adolescents alike.

(g) Bible Story Coloring Book

The Youth Section of the New York Chapter of the American Council for Judaism is writing and designing a Bible Story Coloring Book for little children of

Kindergarten age and in the first grade. It employs a new approach for this type of children's literature. The book promises to make Children's first contacts with religious training both pleasurable and pedagogically effective. Pre-publication copies of this book have been prepared for display at this Conference, along with our other teaching material referred to in this report. This coloring book is the first of a series planned by the young men and women in the Youth Section of the New York Chapter.

(h) Religious Services

Early last year the Council produced a mimeographed Children's Religious Service. It was specially written, with a story-sermon. It had previously been experimentally recorded by the Council -- with the participation of a group of children of various ages and of our Religious Director. A whole series of such Jewish religious services for use in children's assemblies is badly needed.

The need and feasibility of producing and recording religious services and sermons for adults unable to join in congregational worship is also under consideration by the Council. The suggestion came last year from some of our members. Your further ideas on the subject will be welcome.

(i) Other Texts and Teaching Materials

I remind you that most of the above-mentioned texts and teaching materials have been created in one year -- or a little more. Others are contemplated or in the planning stage. These include audio-visual aids and home study courses for children, adults, and teacher-training. We should provide home-study courses for adults. Parents would learn while they assist their children. Once produced, the courses would be especially helpful to families not affiliated with congregations. This could also include a frank discussion of the harmonious adjustment of the child to his environment. I have already mentioned the proposed book -- or books for various age-levels -- on religious holidays and ceremonies.

It rests with you, and all your fellow members and contributors whom you represent, how far it may be possible to expand our response to these needs -- depending upon the additional resources you place in the Council's hands.

V. Schools for Judaism

This committee's last annual report quoted from the prospectus and questionnaire which had been mailed out earlier last year to New York Chapter members, proposing an experimental Religious School project. The objectives of this pilot project school have since received prominent notice -- among other ways -- in a cover-illustrated feature article about our Schools for Judaism in last November's Council News, and even more so in Time Magazine for November 3, 1952. Everything in this report so far has been leading up to the demonstration -- in practical action -- of Council principles in our Schools for Judaism. The resultant Schools for Judaism rest upon the firm foundation of Council principles and classical Reform -- or Prophetic -- Judaism.

What we had in mind was a modest model school to test out our principles in practice. Such a School for Judaism was opened on October 5, 1952 in Westchester County, New York, with approximately 20 boys and girls (most of them from non-Council families) in two inter-graded classes taught by three trained volunteers, meeting for two hours every Sunday in various homes in the suburban towns of White Plains, Scarsdale, and Chappaqua, N. Y. Our national Religious Director is in personal charge of this School.

A similar small School for American Judaism was opened later that month in suburban Milwaukee, Wisconsin, with approximately 10 children in one inter-graded class, taught by two experienced volunteers, meeting in a rented public school room. Our Religious Director has made several visits there.

When members of our Chicago Chapter heard about our proposed New York pilot project and circularized our Chicago membership with a similar prospectus late last summer, the response was astonishing. Subsequent parents' meetings -- concentrated in the North Shore region of suburban Glencoe, Highland Park, and Winnetka, Illinois -- literally overwhelmed us. Non-Council members predominated two to one. More than two-thirds of the children had never attended any Religious School. More than four-fifths of the people involved were unaffiliated with any existing congregation. On the same Sunday that our originally projected pilot school opened in Westchester, the independently incorporated Chicago North Shore area School for Judaism opened in Highland Park, Illinois. An entire public school building was rented. Ten classes were organized, from Kindergarten through the ninth grade. There are now approximately 150 pupils enrolled, taught by a volunteer staff of about 20 parents -- nearly all with public school or Religious School teaching experience. The enthusiasm engendered is truly phenomenal. Our national Religious Director has spent many weeks there.

Upon hearing about our Schools for Judaism, a small but determined group of four mothers in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, after detailed correspondence and consultation with our Religious Director, decided to start in one of their homes a Council-directed class for their 10- and 11-year-old children on March 1, 1953. We know that, besides the Rabbis who are using our materials and introducing them into their Religious Schools, there are a number of parents throughout the country who are using our curriculum and textbook material with their children at home.

Our National and Regional Offices have long been in touch with many parents who have made a conscientious study of the Religious Schools of their respective congregations. Armed with our Textbook Analyses, curricula, and Council-created texts, many of these parents have approached their Rabbis, educational directors, Religious School committees, and Temple Boards with individual or group appeals for the elimination of objectionable material and indoctrination and the restoration of classical American Reform Judaism to its rightful place in our Temples and Religious Schools. We have had reports of some gratifying successes. Where such efforts have been tried repeatedly and have met with failure, the next alternative -- that of organizing independent classes or Schools for Judaism -- has suggested itself to those concerned -- many, or most of them, not even members of the Council.

The Council does not enter any local community to promote an independent School for Judaism; nor does it try to take any person away from his Temple or Religious School. The need and demand, and the form of action taken, are all local in origin.

VI. Teaching-Aid Distribution and Response

None of the religious educational material we have produced has been sent to anyone unsolicited. It has been sent out only upon personal request to Rabbis and laymen; Jewish educators, organizations, and institutions; Council members and non-members. Nobody is under any kind of compulsion to stop using the books we condemn in our Textbook Analyses or to use the books we recommend in our Provisional Working Curriculum or have ourselves created or sponsored. But there

has been a remarkable voluntary response and spontaneous receptivity to our efforts and to the Council's contributions in this field.

(a) Some Significant Statistics

The figures here cited cover all of 1952 plus the first quarter of 1953. They may also conveniently be looked upon as applying to the year elapsing between April 1, 1952 and March 31, 1953; since, with the exception of the mimeographed Children's Religious Service, the experimental edition of The Growth of Judaism by Dr. Tarshish and Rabbi Berger's book, A Partisan History of Judaism, our Religious School materials actually were not ready for distribution before our April, 1952 Annual Conference.

- (1) A Partisan History of Judaism, by Elmer Berger. Distribution is handled by the publishers through regular commercial channels, in addition to which 800 copies of the book have been distributed directly by the Council.
- (2) The Growth of Judaism, by Allan Tarshish. This experimental mimeographed edition, of which 300 copies were produced for distribution by the author and the Council, is now in book form under the title, Not by Power: The Story of the Growth of Judaism.
- (3) Children's Religious Service and Story-Sermon. Rabbis and other readers of Council News having asked for 200 copies, our supply is again exhausted and more have to be run off.
- (4) Tell Me Why--A Primer for Judaism, by Dorothy E. Bobrow. Still in a mimeographed experimental edition, 750 copies have thus far been produced--the last 100 being run off in March to replenish our completely exhausted supply. Of the 650 distributed until then, 100 were taken at our last Annual Conference, 50 were offered to a select list of leading Reform Rabbis, 125 were requested by some 200 members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis who were offered the book more recently, 100 are in use in our Schools for Judaism, 75 or more are being used in other Religious Schools, and the rest are in the hands of interested parents.
- (5) Religious School Textbook Analyses. Of this mimeographed volume, 750 copies of the 1952 editions were produced up to the end of March and 675 or more distributed. Of these, 100 were taken at last year's Conference; copies were requested by over 200--or one third--of the total membership of the Central Conference of American Rabbis invited to do so last spring and summer; about 50 have been requested by non-Reform Rabbis, professional Jewish educators, organizations, institutions, libraries, seminaries, publications, etc.; another 25 or more are in the hands of teachers in our Schools for Judaism; and the rest have been requested by parents and other interested readers of Council News.
- (6) Interim Curriculum. Of the 550 copies mimeographed last year, 500 were distributed before it was withdrawn from circulation when supplanted by the 1952-1953 Provisional Working Curriculum. Of these 500, approximately 125 of the 200-odd Reform Rabbis who

had received our Textbook Analyses requested the Interim Curriculum as a sequel; about 50 have been requested by non-Reform Rabbis, professional Jewish educators, institutions and organizations above referred to, etc.; over 25 are in the hands of the staffs of our Schools for Judaism; and the rest were requested by parents and other interested members and non-members.

- (7) Provisional Working Curriculum, 1952-1953. The first 400 sets of this new curriculum and statement of objectives being entirely gone, another 150 were mimeographed in March to meet additional demands coming in. Of the 400 copies, 25 went to teachers and 150 to parents of our Schools for Judaism; about 110 of the Reform Rabbis possessing 200-odd copies of our Textbook Analyses accepted the invitation sent them three months ago to write for this latest sequel; about 25 have been requested by non-Reform Rabbis, professional Jewish educators, the above-mentioned organizations and institutions, etc.; and the remaining 90 were asked for by interested parents.
- (8) Children's Devotions. Of the 300 copies of this mimeographed anthology produced and distributed, the 110 Reform Rabbis referred to above and the 25 non-Reform Rabbis, educators, etc. have recently requested and received the book; 25 are being used by the teachers in our Schools for Judaism; and the rest were asked for by parents and others interested. A new supply has had to be prepared since its exhaustion in March.
- (9) Stories About Judaism. Although considerably more of the first few stories were sent out to acquaint inquirers with the character of the book being produced and mimeographed chapter by chapter every week, upon the completion of the first volume and the start of the second in March, the number of those receiving it regularly had reached 250. Of this number, the above-mentioned Reform Rabbis recently requested 110, our Schools for Judaism are using 100, and the rest were asked for by others interested. The number being run off is constantly having to be increased.
- (10) Not by Power: The Story of the Growth of Judaism, by Allan Tarshish. Although sales of this book are in the hands of the author and publishers, 80 copies have been distributed directly through the Council.

Quantities of all these Council-created or Council-sponsored texts and teaching materials are available for display and distribution at this Tenth Anniversary Conference. We hope you will take them with you; for, better than this report, they indicate both the quality and quantity of the work done in this field. Our Religious Director plans to write personal letters again this Spring to the entire list of 600 and more members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis as he did last Spring and Summer. At that time a third of them requested the Textbook Analyses and were since offered our other teaching aids. The whole 600 and more will now be invited to write in for that volume as revised, as well as for all other Council texts and Religious School curricula. We shall be interested in the response.

(b) Rabbinical Reactions

Of the more than 200 Reform Rabbis who replied to our Religious Director's 600-odd personal letters last year, only four wrote abusive letters refusing even to look at anything emanating from the American Council for Judaism. Nearly all those who requested our material were non-members of the Council. Naturally our own members have been pleased with what the Council has accomplished in this field. I should therefore like to share these reactions with you in the form of some of the many gratifying comments which reached the National Office from non-member Rabbis exclusively:

"As you know, I do not share the philosophy of the Council in many ways; but I would be less than courteous if I did not accept your offer to examine this material."

"It (the Textbook Analyses) is a thorough and helpful piece of work, even though I am not in sympathy with your principal criteria, as you know."

"There has been a great need for new textbooks and a new approach to them."

"I read the Introduction (to Textbook Analyses) to my Religious School Committee. We agreed with your premise that Union of American Hebrew Congregations materials should stress Reform Judaism and need more spirituality."

"I sincerely appreciate the work your organization is doing."

"The Analyses just came and appears to be what we sorely need. It looks to be a stupendous amount of work which none of us could do independently. But I know it will be vastly helpful. Thank you deeply, and I will let you know when I finish it. Send Supplements by all means."

"Thank you very much for the material. I am going over it very carefully and am bringing it to the attention of our Religious School Committee."

"Thanks for performing a constructive service."

"Thanks for Textbook Analyses, which appears to be of value even to 'us Zionists.' Criticism of Union of American Hebrew Congregations books--even from your extreme point of view--is needful and salutary."

"I think your survey on textbooks is excellent--just what Rabbis need who understand their duties as missionaries and teachers of American Judaism."

"I appreciate your courtesy, even though I do not find myself in agreement with your policy."

"Thoughtful selection (in Interim Curriculum) admired, though premise of the non-existence of a Jewish people unacceptable. However, thank you very much."

"I find particularly useful your examinations (in Interim Curriculum) of religious school material published by non-Jewish bodies. Keep up this constructive sort of work!"

"I disagree with your thesis, but I shall always welcome new information from any source."

"You will be contributing greatly to American Jewish Education by encouraging the writing and publication of texts on God, religion, Judaism, etc., for all grades. You are heading in the right direction."

"I have had a great deal of pleasure in reading the book (Tell Me Why-- A Primer for Judaism) and it seems to fill the need of young people very ably. I know that my own daughter responded beautifully to its materials."

"My teachers were impressed with Tell Me Why."

"It's a fine job (Children's Devotions). I'm sure that we will be using some of the material here."

"I have gone over the material very deliberately. I like the volume of Children's Devotions best of all. We needed something like this for a long time. Tell Me Why and Stories About Judaism are also very good, and I shall certainly be happy to receive the remaining stories in the Stories About Judaism volume as, and when, they are ready for distribution... Frankly, I am not in full agreement and sympathy with the program of the American Council for Judaism. But that does not prevent me from welcoming that part of your program which I do find acceptable... But I am in full sympathy with that part of your program which is creating educational material with a religious, spiritual, and humanitarian approach. So long as your educational material continues to maintain and foster this approach, it will meet with wide acceptance and I, personally, will love it... I hope you will accept my frank expression of point-of-view in the spirit in which it is offered, the spirit of appreciation for these fine materials you are producing."

"I am greatly interested in receiving additional stories for your very promising volume, Stories About Judaism. While I differ basically with the procedure and approach of the American Council for Judaism in many areas, I believe this area of religious education in which you are doing this interesting work is an area eminently worthy of energetic efforts and creative endeavor."

"Thanks very much for the material that you were good enough to send us. My wife, who is an educator, has gone over this thoroughly and finds it rather significant. We would appreciate it if you could put us on your list for receiving the additional stories as they are finished."

(c) Other Comments

There have been similar comments by laymen and laywomen, and by Council members -- both lay and Rabbinical. I have not included them here, because I did not wish unnecessarily to encumber this report. Nor have I included any comments on the two books already published--A Partisan History of Judaism, by Rabbi Berger, and Not By Power: The Story of the Growth of Judaism, by Rabbi Tarshish. But I do want to single out these encouraging professional opinions by some of the publishers from whose books our Religious Director obtained permission to include selections in the collection of Children's Devotions:

Mrs. Edith Patterson Meyer, Children's Book Editor of the Abdingdon-Cokesbury Press (formerly with Rand McNally & Company), wrote him upon its receipt: "You have certainly made this a splendid collection of religious and inspirational material." And Robert G. Bowman, of the publishing firm of C.R. Gibson & Company, wrote: "We think it truly an inspirational collection of prayers for children, and we are pleased that you considered prayers from our publications worthy of inclusion in the book."

It was also extremely gratifying to see these eminently fair and objective notices accorded to two Council publications, under the heading of "Recent Pedagogic Publications," in the January, 1953 issue of The Pedagogic Reporter, an Information Bulletin on Pedagogics and Curricular Materials, published bi-monthly by the American Association for Jewish Education:

TEXTBOOK ANALYSES, the American Council for Judaism, 201 E. 57th St., New York 22, mimeographed, 183 pp., 1952 -- This volume presents an analysis of 73 (113) widely used textbooks and miscellaneous teaching materials in the Jewish school, on all levels and in all subjects. Ideological rather than educational criteria are employed in the evaluation of these textbooks. The acceptability of a particular textbook is determined by the extent to which it advances the principles of Reform Judaism as conceived by the American Council for Judaism, namely: a Judaism divorced from Zionism, the concept of peoplehood, modern Hebrew, Jewish nationalism, etc. Of the 73 items analyzed by the authors (in the first edition), 46 were found completely unacceptable, 2 were doubtful, 13 accepted with reservations and 12 accepted without reservation. Available upon request.

AN INTERIM RECOMMENDED RELIGIOUS SCHOOL CURRICULUM, the American Council for Judaism, 201 E. 57th St., New York 22, mimeographed, 13 pp., 1952 -- This is an attempt to present a systematic listing, classification and evaluation of existing textbooks, pupils' workbooks, teachers' manuals and related materials which reflect more or less the educational philosophy of the American Council for Judaism. The materials listed cover the areas of: Bible, the festivals, customs and ceremonies, history, etc., and are suggested for use in schools at various age levels, from pre-school up to high school grades. Available upon request.

VII. The Cost of Our Religious Education Program

This is not a treasurer's or auditor's report; and so I shall not give you a precise financial statement or try to break down the estimated figures of what this program has cost. That has been and will be done by others better qualified than I to do so. Let it suffice for the moment to remind you that the cost of our religious education program includes such items as the annual salary, Rabbinical pension premium, and traveling expenses of our full-time Religious Director, Rabbi Samuel H. Baron, and a proportion of the salary of our Director of Literary Research, Rabbi David Goldberg. No attempt is made, in these costs, to evaluate or prorate the considerable time devoted to Religious School projects also by Rabbi Elmer Berger, our National Executive Director, by Victor Raphals, Assistant Executive Director, by Leonard R. Sussman, Eastern Regional Director and New York Chapter Executive Director (responsible for the organizational and administrative aspects of the Westchester School for Judaism), by Alfred Russel, Midwestern Regional Director and Chicago Chapter Executive Director (responsible for the

organizational and administrative work involved in the large North Shore School for Judaism and the smaller Milwaukee School for American Judaism), and occasionally by other members of our executive staff. However, the cost of secretarial assistance, typing, mimeographing, paper, art work, collating, binding, and mailing must be reckoned in connection with the several thousand pieces of material produced and distributed in our textbook and curriculum projects. We must also add the several hundred dollars spent in the purchase of textbooks to be analyzed, as well as various other miscellaneous expenses incurred.

A graphic little folder, itemizing total 1952 Council expenditures and pointing out the detailed need for an over-all 20% increase in our 1953 budget and contributions from \$283,556 to \$340,267, furnishes us with the following figures: Religious activities--1952 expenditures, \$10,767.55; 1953 needs, \$21,535.10 -- up 100%, to provide new schools, classes, and greater staff service. Religious materials, textbooks--1952 expenditures, \$4,343.75; 1953 needs, \$15,000 -- up nearly 250%, to produce books, materials, games, etc., already authored and tested successfully.

What is proposed is that the combined 1952 religious expenditures of \$15,111.30, comprising 5% of the Council's total 1952 expenditures, be increased 140% in 1953 to \$36,535.10, or about 10% of the Council's total 1953 budget. This is little enough in cost for all the actual and potential good that is being accomplished by our religious program.

VIII. Expanding Our Program

This program has resulted, in large part, from a spontaneous turning to the Council as the agency to fill the concrete need for religious materials free of nationalism. Once we began meeting these needs successfully, it became obvious that new materials, projects, curricula, and other teaching aids had to be created and distributed to fill out our program.

There are now a dozen texts and other materials which we should be planning to produce for immediate use. Interestingly, in this field, the expense of a project does not rise in proportion to the number of people and institutions served. We can produce several thousand additional copies of a game or text for only a slightly higher cost.

The problem at this point includes one of distribution. Now that we are solidly committed to a religious education program, we ought to plan for the widest use of our materials -- and not merely leave the distribution to personal requests (though the number of them has been indeed surprising). In addition to a planned production program, then, we should have a planned "selling" program.

This expansion of our work would require an adjustment and enlargement of the National Office staff. From the one-man department it started out as in November, 1951 with the acquisition of Rabbi Baron as our Director of Religious and Synagogue Activities, what we need now is the authority and the appropriation to build that auspicious and amazingly successful beginning up into a full-fledged Department of Religious Education and Activities. Working hand in hand with the Rabbinical Religious Director would be a lay Administrative Director, assisted by the necessary office help, to coordinate the promotion and production phases with the research and creative aspects of the over-all religious program of the American Council for Judaism. And so, we strongly urge that this Conference authorize such expanded Department of Religious Education and Activities, to operate as before under the general supervision of the Committee on Religious and Synagogue Programs.

This is not to say -- and it is far from saying -- that the growing importance and popularity of our religious educational work can in any way imply that our religious program and projects should -- or could -- supplant the Council's never-ceasing vigilance on other fronts of "Jewish" nationalist activity. Now more than ever, effort is necessary in the secular, political, and public relations areas of American life and thought. Our religious activities supplement and complement, rather than supplant or substitute for, our other activities. Zionism and Israelism have adulterated our Judaism, invaded our Americanism, captured our "Jewish communities," and indoctrinated our youth. It is incumbent upon us to oppose and expose those influences wherever they manifest themselves and to affirm in every respect the deep convictions and high principles of the American Council for Judaism.

IX. Other Religious Activities

Brief mention might be made at this point of some of the Council's general religious activities, other than the many specific projects already reported on at length. For example, during the past two years, pertinent Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur messages prepared by our Religious Director have been published in Council News. Newspaper releases of last Fall's message, distributed to the Anglo-Jewish and general press by our Publicity Director, won wide attention throughout the country and helped gain a hearing for the religious philosophy of the American Council for Judaism. A similar message for Passover was prepared for last month's Council News.

In keeping with our position on the separation of politics and religion or Church and State, in Council News articles in March and October, 1952, respectively: (1) We criticized the role of the Synagogue Council of America in promoting Israeli bond sales. We charged the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis representatives in the Synagogue Council of America with betraying their Reform constituents; we explained that they should have voted against -- and therefore vetoed -- such action, since unanimity is required by the Synagogue Council's constitution. (2) We attacked the principle and policy of selling Israeli bonds from Synagogue and Temple pulpits at any time -- and especially at religious New Year's and Day of Atonement services. The impropriety of exploiting the traditional religious spirit of even such "minor" holidays as Chanukah and Purim by staging shows to sell Israeli bonds was argued by our National Office during the past winter months in a fruitless correspondence with representatives of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

As this Committee report was prepared, the Biennial Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was yet to take place in New York City on April 19-23; and when this report is presented to you, that Biennial will have become history. It should be interesting to note what, if anything, transpired there vis-a-vis the Union's and Council's divergent concepts of a Judaism for Americans.

X. Expression of Appreciation

This report would not be complete without the expression of deep appreciation to Rabbi Baron for his outstanding work as Religious Director during the past year; and to the staff members, generally and individually, for their valued assistance in this important and difficult pioneering job. The kind of progress they have made represents many headaches and heartaches, and a great toll of time and energy in strenuous overtime doses. Contrary to public fancy, such results do not 'just happen.'

XI. Conclusions and Recommendations

It is unnecessary at this point to summarize this extensive report. That was done in a few words on the very first page. This Tenth Anniversary Conference can quite safely reiterate the Resolutions of past Conferences, secure in the realization of how remarkably and rightly they foresaw and forewarned against the precise perils with which Zionism and Israelism have confronted the status of Americans of Jewish faith. Permit me also -- in all humility -- to repeat this Committee's recommendations of one and two years ago; because they are still so pertinent and timely today:

(a) Immediate Recommendations of 1952 (#1--5 repeated from 1951)

1. We recommend the creation of a still larger force of Council members who will serve as Religious School teachers. This obviously dovetails with the necessity for better Religious School textbook material, which we have already discussed in this report.
2. We recommend that efforts be made to arrange programs at which our point of view may be presented at discussion groups or other appropriate meetings within congregations throughout the country.
3. We recommend that Board meetings and annual congregational meetings be faithfully attended by all those who sincerely believe in the concept of Judaism as a universal religion and who will exercise their votes accordingly.
4. We recommend a persistent endeavor to encourage the use of pulpits for sermons stressing the universal character of Judaism
5. We commend the excellent record of Council members in their attendance at the religious services of the congregations to which they belong; and we are proud of their leadership in congregational life as presidents, secretaries, trustees, etc. We recommend that all Council members dedicate themselves to even more active participation in their congregational affairs and religious services.
6. We recommend that the resolution adopted by our Conference last year (1951), entitled "Our Youth," be re-affirmed. We call attention to one specific paragraph which reads as follows:

"We call upon the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and all other Rabbinical and lay leaders in Judaism, to recognize these facts, to review the content of textbooks, and to take the initiative in reforming our Religious Schools so that they will be worthy of the traditions of our faith."

7. We call attention to a suggestion made by the Round-Table on Textbooks and Religious School Problems in its report at our Annual Conference last year (1951):

"As an organized local Council effort, and further to utilize the work of the National Office, it is of utmost importance that every chapter of the Council create a committee to deal specifically with the problem of textbooks and Jewish education."

"Through education of small groups of parents of Jewish children, there is no doubt that strong sentiment against current textbooks and practices can be generated among members of even the most strongly Zionist-dominated Temples. While the Chapter committee on education would provide the stimulus, the resulting organized effort of Jewish parents should not be Council-sponsored or controlled. It should be a non-partisan effort on the part of Jewish parents of the Temple to use their strength in an organized fashion to influence the Rabbi, the Temple Board, and the Temple education committee."

We recommend that the need to implement this suggestion be impressed upon our Chapter leaders throughout the country and that they call Chapter meetings as soon as possible with a view to securing action in their various communities.

8. We further call to the attention of this Conference that the various projects envisaged in this (1952) report require funds over and above the Council's normal requirements. . .

(b) Long-Range Recommendations of 1952

We recommend a serious consideration of the possibilities and problems of the survival or revival of a spiritual, universalistic, and non-nationalistic Judaism -- and what we can do about it. This might involve a study of the trend of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism in America away from religion and towards nationalism -- and a frank facing up to the results of such a study showing what Judaism has become, or is becoming, today. It might involve a study of ways and means by which the Council, through its National and Regional Offices, its Chapters and individual members, might instil in young Jewish men of a non-nationalistic bent an interest in the Rabbinate as a career through which they may serve to reinstate some balance and prevent the American Rabbinate from falling wholly into the hands of those with a nationalistic orientation to Judaism. It might involve more serious attention than we have heretofore given to ways and means by which we may win the young college student on the campus. I think it is well for us to begin to articulate our concern as to the survival -- and revival -- of universal Judaism; for the time may come when, as a tribalism, it will confront those of us who revere it as a faith with a profound dilemma.

(c) Conclusion

Let me conclude by returning to the opening quotation in this report-- repeated from other years. Although the Council appears to be just about the only hope and leavening influence for a return of Reform Jews to classical, Prophetic Reform Judaism, the American Council for Judaism is not just a "Council for Reform Judaism", but more broadly speaking, a "Council for American Judaism" -- not excluding but welcoming among its members like-minded non-nationalistic and anti-Zionist

adherents of a purely religious Orthodox Judaism and Conservative Judaism. For, we say now, as we did in 1949:

"We believe that expressions of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism free of "Jewish" nationalism and stressing the universal traditions in our faith are essential to the survival of Judaism in America and to completely integrated lives for our co-religionists here. To the fullest extent of resources available for that purpose, we pledge the American Council for Judaism to assist in the revitalization of such universal expressions of Judaism. "

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PANEL DISCUSSION

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION PROGRAM

Clarence L. Coleman Jr.

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 8, 1953

My opening statement will differ in two ways, I hope, from the excellent report you have just received from Mr. Gradwohl. Mr. Gradwohl, unfortunately, has been able to enjoy only vicariously some of the fruits of a labor he has performed for a number of years and a viewpoint he has so energetically presented at previous conferences. I say unfortunately, because as national chairman of the Religious and Synagogue Program Committee he has been able to enjoy our progress in this field only through reports that have come to him throughout the year, covering our progress in places removed from his home town of Lincoln. He has had to watch the whole scene and been unable to participate directly in the satisfying work related to any one of these projects, as I have done in Chicago. To that extent my report should add impressions which Mr. Gradwohl was simply geographically unable to obtain.

Secondly, Mr. Gradwohl's report was, by its character, confined largely to an evaluation of our accomplishments during the past year. My responsibility is to attempt to put before this panel, as a basis for discussion together with his report of the past year, some projection of this religious school program into the future; a timid and modest attempt to speculate about future problems -- as well as progress.

Let me first of all then share with you the pleasant part of my contribution; some observations and impressions I gathered this past year working closely with the largest of the Council's school projects -- the School for Judaism on Chicago's North Shore.

1. My most dramatic impression -- and by now it is more than impression, for it has been proven a fact in tangible membership and financial results -- is that the school program has opened the door to a favorable response to the Council in places where we were unable to stimulate interest before.

I want to leave no misunderstanding about my feelings in this regard. Because this vastly increased response is now demonstrable, I do not advocate, for a moment, any reduction of the Council's vigilance in the secular-political field. That, in my opinion, would be catastrophic.

All that I mean to convey here is that the religious education program is something tangible, close at hand, easily seen, although not so completely understood as we might like in all of its ramifications without something of the same careful, precise approach to clarify both ideas and terminology as we have used in the secular-political facets of our work. And there is no valid reason why we should not prosecute this close-at-hand religious program as vigorously as possible, using it as a means -- more successful than any we have yet employed -- to inform people of the Council. At the same time, of course, with integrity and honesty we must in the future, as we have throughout this past year, treat the development of this program with the proper concern and attention it deserves on its own merits.

This was the basis on which we operated in Chicago. Interest in the Council came, in most instances, as an inevitable accompaniment of association and under auspices more friendly and favorable than the usual Council meeting set up for the purpose of proselytizing.

2. The second point I wish to make and it, too, is no longer an impression but a demonstrable fact, is that the mere announcement of a religious school built on the promise to teach a Judaism free of "Jewish" nationalism evoked a response beyond anything we had believed we would have. This was true not only among Council members but among non-members, also. The result has been that many people who did not send their children to any of the existing religious schools and some who were not members of any congregation seized, with real enthusiasm, the opportunity afforded by the Council's school.

In both these groups, the attraction to the school stirred an interest in knowing more about Judaism. Teachers' meetings, parent-teacher association meetings, and just frequent parlor conversation in Chicago's North Shore, frequently turned on some earnest efforts to understand better and more thoroughly this kind of Judaism; from where had it come; what had happened that a generation had lost it; how could it be revived and expanded. One step in attempting to meet these questions authoritatively was the lecture series which Elmer Berger came to Chicago to present.

And I should like to submit it as our practical experience that you cannot discuss the development and ideology of a de-nationalized Judaism without bringing also to those who are interested some understanding of the secular and political problems posed for American Jews by "Jewish" nationalists.

The proper discharge of our obligations to answer competently and thoroughly all of these questions, for parents and teachers as well as children is, in my opinion, a high responsibility and opportunity for the Council in connection with the whole program. As we enter more and more into this work, we must realize that our obligation is not limited to the children, but includes adults, in one way or another associated with the schools, as well.

3. My third impression is that we cannot look for much help from the existing institutions of Reform Judaism. The more the Council works at producing texts and blue-printing curricula, the more apparent it is that we have every advantage in being an independent, homogeneous group that knows what it wants and, even if slowly, knows how to go about getting it.

In the existing materials -- as in the institutions that produce or use them -- there is generally to be found, at best, that ambiguity about Jews and Judaism which leads over the precipice. Council material is sharp, ideologically sure, and its direction is unmistakably clear. At the same time we have avoided grinding any axes or blatant indoctrination.

4. My fourth, pleasant impression can be stated simply -- also now as a demonstrable fact. The Council's school, in Chicago at any rate, has laid to rest the canard that you cannot have Judaism without a "Jewish people" concept. We have demonstrated that it is possible to have Judaism of a universal character because there are Jews who want -- and perhaps I may even say need -- such a Judaism on the basis of their individual, personal spiritual requirements; and certainly that there are Jews who, whatever their own feelings, want their children to have such a Judaism. And we have learned too, even on the basis of the inadequate tools we have been able to produce, that this is a Judaism of sufficient vitality and meaning to interest children. For I dare say, from first hand observation, that the children in our school are, at least

as interested as those in schools where the introduction of much Israeli segregating material and ideas is frequently explained by saying that it makes for the interest of the children.

These, I believe, are fairly substantial impressions on which to proceed and expand this program. But I would be telling less than my part of the story if I left you with the impression that no other thoughts or speculations occupied the minds of those of us in Chicago who have been most closely identified with the school. And so I turn now, as important and somewhat more vexing subjects for inclusion in this panel discussion, to a consideration of some of the problems ahead.

(1) The first problem is real -- and fairly immediate. The Council staff has done a heroic job of assembling acceptable material from wherever it is available and of producing its own material where nothing acceptable could be found. But the fact is that for a full-scale program such as we are operating in Chicago, there are still lapses and they will be even larger and more numerous next year and the years following. I do not know all the answers to the problem of how more blood can be obtained from the stone. How is the Council staff to continue all of its present responsibilities and step up its production of the materials needed for the program?

One thing is obvious. More personnel must be had. How much more, will probably be conditioned more by our finances than by our need, but I believe one of the things this panel can discuss with profit to itself and the Council officers, is the advisability of concentrating any additional personnel, in the immediate future, in this department.

(2) Oddly enough, though by no means inconsistent with this first problem, is my observation that at present, there is not enough need for the Council's creations in this field. Let me make clear what I mean.

As Mr. Gradwohl's report indicated, we have had a response, after less than a year of real operation of this program, that is among the most encouraging things in the ten years of the Council's existence. We have, if I may repeat, not only the three independent schools but a wide -- and I am happy to hear -- growing acceptance of our materials in existing schools.

But there is neither system nor direction to this part of the job. We cast our bread upon the waters and, except for the three independent schools, we must be satisfied with what comes back via postage-paid, return mail.

I have more than once observed that all the time and attention and money which the Council is spending in this field cannot be justified if we are merely to supply the Chicago school and the two, much smaller groups.

Besides, it is bad salesmanship and business to have a commodity which it is now clear many want, and not have at least a minimum sales force to take it out of the warehouse to the customer.

In the correction of generally existing religious school patterns we have a program that, in itself, warrants everything we can do to further it. In pursuing that end we also provide a great many Council people with an answer to a question which I am sure you have all heard many times, "What is there for us to do? Why have Council chapters?"

We no longer have that problem, in any fundamental way, in Chicago.

Chicago was fortunate in having a regional office. To extend the benefits of this program, both for itself and as an organizational project for the Council takes planning and systematic direction.

I believe that if additional personnel can be supplied in the National Office, in addition to helping create new materials, the person selected should be an administrator and organizer for the purpose of expanding the potential market we know exists, for what we have to offer.

I want to make it emphatically clear that I do not believe such expansion must be in the form of independent schools. In some places, as in those where we already have such independent schools, this may be the result. In other places we can attempt to have our materials adopted by existing schools. Sometimes this can be accomplished easily, through mere contact with friendly rabbis by Rabbi Baron. But if we are really serious about extending our influence in this field -- either through independent schools or from within existing schools, we cannot depend solely on the basis of mail contacts which Rabbi Baron finds it possible to establish with Rabbis. Progress calls for informed committees, among Council people and others in many communities; committees which, after informing themselves, will utilize the accepted, democratic procedures of congregational operations to bring our materials to the attention of people responsible for the direction of these schools.

Failure to have them accepted, after that point is reached, may result in the formation of independent schools -- or may not. But the important thing is that somehow we must match field work and planning of field work with the prodigious effort now being made on the creative level by the Council's National Office staff.

(3) This leads me to my third observation in this category of future problems and speculations. We are not, in my opinion, planning to start a new denomination of Judaism. We are reviving -- and extending -- the basic principles of Reform Judaism (for so far only Reform Jews have asked for or accepted our help in this religious education field) as those principles were first seen by the founders of the movement. And, in the process, we have learned that these principles still have vitality and validity to an encouraging number of Jews.

But what shall we do if we cannot persuade the leadership of the existing institutions of Reform to firm up their loyalties to these principles? Or how shall we go about helping them firm up that loyalty?

For we cannot continue to operate in a limbo, saying -- as it is true -- we do not want to create a new denomination in Judaism and yet finding no existing institutions and few, if any rabbis available to lead and direct the Judaism we have already set in motion.

There are some here and others in the Council not here, who are influential in the institutions of Reform. Perhaps they can help. Perhaps we can help them more than we have.

I raise the question -- without knowing the answer. But I raise it because the more successful is our program in the religious field, the more acute will become our awareness of this dilemma and the more urgent our need to resolve it.

I have, by now, taken more of your time than I should have in a conference which has been designed to encourage the greatest amount of free discussion. But in view of the importance of the problem itself, of the advantages this program may have for the Council, of the degree to which the Council has identified itself with this kind of work, there is perhaps no subject of more urgency even though there are others of no less importance to come before you.

It is most important for you to realize that in what it has so far done, the Council has surged into a position of leadership. I, of course, believe that time will also demonstrate we have been leaders in our evaluation of the secular-political facets of the problem. But the time for recognition of our leadership in this religious field is here -- now. And leadership is never an unmixed blessing. It has brought all of us satisfaction and gratification. It has greatly added to the work load of an already over-burdened staff. And, not least, as I have tried to indicate here, it presages even greater problems, responsibilities -- and perhaps controversies -- ahead.

As we in the Council have long known -- there is no easy road to success in this business to which we have dedicated this organization. The religious program proves the rule -- and is not to be treated lightly as an exception. It will either go forward or it will go backward -- and you should be aware that it can appear to go backward if it does not go forward fast enough to keep pace with the responsibilities we have brought upon ourselves by simply starting the work.

I hope therefore that as you take pleasure in Mr. Gradwohl's report and question either him or me about the accomplishments of the past, you will also not be unmindful in this panel of the necessity for facing up to, and attempting to answer, some of the almost certain questions of the immediate future.

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PANEL DISCUSSION

THE POLITICAL AND SECULAR SCENE

THE MIDDLE EAST

by

George L. Levison

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 8, 1953

This panel is supposed to deal with the Middle East, and our relationship to the problems of that part of the world, as Americans and as Jews. Dr. Lazaron will take on where I leave off. His is the more difficult assignment, because what I want to try to do is to sketch in broadest outlines a few basic facts which we must all appreciate if we are to discuss our relationships to the area. Dr. Lazaron has the task of relating those facts to the purposes and principles of the American Council for Judaism, so that at least we can all come to some generally agreed ideas as to, first, whether we of the Council have an interest in the Middle East beyond the interest we have in common with our fellow Americans of other faiths; secondly, if the Council has a unique concern with the Middle East, just what is that unique interest, and, thirdly, what, if anything, we can and should do about it.

Without any further ado, therefore, let me get on with my part of the discussion. The first and, perhaps most important fact that I want to point out is that the Middle East presents infinitely more problems than the one which gets most of the attention of American Jews -- the Israeli-Arab conflicts. To understand and form anything approaching a correct evaluation, we must see the Middle East in its true light in the modern world. We must go back at least a little way in history, and we must recognize that we are talking about population masses of hundreds of millions of people.

Before this audience, it is hardly necessary to point out that a very real distinction exists between Jews and Zionists, between those with a common religious background and a group with common political beliefs and common political ambitions. Similarly, we must understand the difference between Moslems and Arabs.

The Arab world may be said to include essentially the Middle East, with some extensions of population into other areas such as Africa. The Moslem world, however, extends from Casablanca on the Atlantic coast of Africa all the way to the Pacific shores of Southeast Asia.

Every degree of development, from extreme backwardness to extreme modernity can be found in the Moslem world. Never for one moment should we think of those people as inferior. To do that is not only inaccurate but is to invite disaster. Their civilizations are among the oldest on this planet; their literature and arts among the finest man has ever produced, and their religion one of the great examples of man's understanding of himself and the deeper meanings of human life.

Moreover, when European civilization entered the long night we call the Middle Ages, this Arab civilization was virile and enlightened. Among other things, it saved many Jews who, during those years would have been the victims of the continuing inquisitions unleashed by a mad combination of most of Europe's ruling houses and a fanatical church. Where tolerance and absence of racial prejudices are concerned, the people who have lived -- and still do live -- in the Middle East can teach those of us who live in the West, a great deal. And Jews for generations have been large beneficiaries from this attitude. This is not just my opinion, it is the testament of history -- of even Jewish history books written before the modern period of Zionist bias.

II

It is really almost ludicrous to try to state the issues with which we want to deal today in the few words and moments allotted. I only hope all of you have thought enough about the subject to fill in the vast gaps in what I can put before you.

Let us take a look at the world of May, 1953. Man has reached a degree of material development beyond anything ever dreamed of even by our fathers. But with that material development, either coincidentally or perhaps because our material growth has so far outrun our capacities to deal with human values, we are today faced with what must be admitted to be THE great crisis of recorded history.

Man has perfected the instrument of his own destruction.

But that is by no means the only fantastic contradiction of our times. We, who have learned so much about making human life easy and secure, live alongside hundreds of millions who are slaves to totalitarianism, and other hundreds of millions who face the threat of starvation and epidemic as their daily outlook. Those of us who by chance have reaped the benefits of the western world can surely find little comfort in the recognition of how we have failed to bring the barest minimum of those benefits to mankind as a whole.

In my humble opinion, it is our failure on that score which has brought us to the brink of the disaster which we now face.

III

The rise of Naziism, of Communism, of anti-colonialism, of fanatical nationalism; in the Arab world, in India, in North Africa, in Japan, are all related to our own failure to bring the benefits of our Western material development to humanity throughout the world. Maybe we can still save the day, but only by understanding that to deal with these people cynically and as if we were superior because we have more bathtubs and automobiles is to ignite the fuse that will fire the BOMB that will obliterate human life as we know it.

IV

And where does this leave us in our discussion today? To me it points up that none of us, individually or as a member of any group, can sit by and let history carry us along. We must make the history of our times so that our children and grandchildren will know life of a sort better than cannibalism or slavery.

V

With that cheery outlook, let us now return to the Middle East! Almost throughout history the people of that part of the world have been dominated by foreign powers. The First World War brought the end of Turkish domination, to be replaced by British and French imperialism. The Second World War saw the emergence of independence and nationalism. The United States was the champion of the right of self-determination and self-rule.

I had the chance to see what those people felt about Americans. They saw in us their real hope of being released from the shackles of domination. In the Middle nineteen-forties, during and right after the last war, Americans were looked upon by the Arabs as their great friends. Colonialism was disintegrating in the whole area. New, independent states were being created. Israel was possible because of the crumbling of this colonialism. It is only a few short years since Irgunists and the Stern Gang, acting as the advance guard of Zionist-Nationalism, bombed and sabotaged and ambushed their way to the point where the last of British colonialism in Palestine withdrew and an independent Israeli state came to fill part of the vacuum. I mention this only because too many of our co-religionists now are prone to say of Arab nationalists that they are Fascists, or irresponsible or utterly opposed to the democratic principles of the West; that the West cannot take a chance with the states that are led by these people and that the West must concentrate on Israel as the only democratic hope in the Middle East.

Let us remember that five years ago the same might have been said regarding what finally emerged as Israel.

The whole area is in the ascendancy. No one can stop its developing nationalism, nor should we want to. It is a rich, vital part of our world; a slumbering giant, the potentialities of which are staggering. It is in the American interest not to seek ways of frustrating this development but to find the statesmanship in the West that will respect this inevitable tide of national consciousness and win it to our side. There are many ways this can be done. But one way not to accomplish this indispensable objective in the world struggle is to fall into the Israeli-Zionist trap and, forgetting the violence and intransigencies that preceded the emergence of Israel, to write off the Arab and Moslem peoples as without hope for the West because, to some degree, the same phenomena appear in their states.

The United States, which had promised so much to the people of the Middle East, became not the champion of self-determination and self-rule, as it should have, but the power behind what appeared to be a new imperialism and domination.

The rise of Zionism, fanned by the Hitler tragedies and utilization of those tragedies to foster its own political aims, was given the fullest possible support by the United States. You will remember that almost before the State of Israel announced its existence, the President of the United States recognized it. Hundreds of thousands of Arabs who had lived there for generations were uprooted to make room for immigrants from Europe. American private and government funds were poured in to help the new State and to secure its sovereignty. All this in spite of the fact that Israel was created without the will of the United Nations, and has flaunted U. N. recommendations almost at every point.

The Arabs fought a bitter war to try to halt this defiance of the United Nations -- for I remind you that the Zionist organizations declared the independence of Israel in the middle of a United Nations debate reconsidering the partition proposal, a debate in which the United States was supporting reconsideration. The Israelis have boasted that Israel owes nothing to the U. N.; that their state was hammered out by force by their own arms.

The Arabs fought and lost a bitter war to try to halt this new threat. The United States and the United Nations tried to get both sides to stop the war.

But what of Russia?

First, the Soviets fanned the fire by giving arms to both sides. Then they infiltrated the camps of the Arab refugees and incited them by saying it was the Americans' fault that they had been driven out of their age-old homes. Then they brought unrest to Iran through the local Tudeh party, which joined, ironically, with the Nationalists in forcing the expulsion of the British and the shutting of the oil refinery. That meant financial ruin to Iran. In Egypt the center of Cairo was razed in the riots of January 26th last year; a Communist demonstration that came very close to being a successful coup. In Iraq, in Syria and elsewhere, the Soviets through well-planned action have been creating confusion and disorder.

And then the crowning move to capture the Arab world: an anti-Jewish, or at least anti-Zionist purge throughout the Soviet sphere, and the severing of relations with Israel. One of the oldest and best-known Arab sayings is the best possible explanation of what the Russians expect to gain by turning against Zionists, "My enemy's enemy is my friend." By proving that they are anti-Zionist; that they are against the Arabs' enemies, the Soviets expect to achieve Arab friendship.

VI

Which brings us to the next question. What difference does it make to the United States? It is wholly unnecessary to dwell on the strategic importance of the Middle East. So much has been said and written on the subject that it must be clear to you all that in a shooting war with the Soviets, we must hold the Middle East if we are to win. Maybe we could fight a war without the oil from the Middle East, although Europe lives on Middle East oil. But in Russian hands that oil may swing the balance. So, at almost any cost it must be denied them. And then there is Suez and airbases and land and sea routes to the Far East. History proves that the Middle East is the key to world domination; the Russians must get it to win. The Russians have known this from the days of the Czars. The Soviets are closer to realizing this old ambition than any Czar ever was.

Not seeking world domination, but only security and peace and a decent life for all men, we must make absolutely sure that the Middle East does not fall to the Soviets.

And what have we been doing? A pretty fair job of forcing the Arabs into the outstretched arms of the Russian bear!

VII

My part of the program is almost at an end. The final point that remains for me to make is, if we agree after Dr. Lazaron has given his paper, and after we have had a full and complete discussion among all of us here today, that these questions are vital to us as Americans and also as Jews -- let us have the sense and the courage to bring our best efforts to bear to solve the problems. Let us not be afraid to be leaders. NO OTHER AMERICAN JEWISH BODY COMES INTO THIS MATTER WITH CLEAN HANDS. If there is something of value to be done to prove that we understand the true problems, that we and many other American Jews are not tied to Israeli interests, but are only interested in what is best for the American future, then let us resolve here today to do all in our power to help.

And to help does not mean to take an anti-Israel or pro-Arab position. That would be as senseless as the Zionists who dogmatically reverse the process.

What it means, in the first place, is to get at the facts. Jews have a more than usual obligation to do this, for the majority have been only too ready to call Zionist propaganda facts; to supply money for its dissemination; to spread the propaganda themselves as if it were fact. We of the Council have a responsibility to adjust the balance.

Let me give you an example. Israel and the Zionists talk much of peace between Israel and the Arabs. But beneath this talk of peace, certain facts are available to any careful observer. One of them reveals the contempt that Israel entertains for the Arabs in a practise that involves Jews themselves.

I refer to the often expressed contempt of the Israelis -- officially and unofficially -- for the Arab Jews; the Yemenites and the North Africans -- and to the frequent stories of discriminations practised against the Arab-Iraqi Jews. The appeals of Ben-Gurion and other Zionists for American Jews to immigrate to Israel are practically always linked to candid statements that unless Western Jews come to Israel, the Arab Jews will dominate the state.

This is an internal, Israeli matter. It is no business of ours. But if you are looking for explanations to the present problems in the area, put yourself in the place of the Arab peoples and their long and not unwarranted suspicions of the West. Discount, for the moment, their immediate political opposition to the partition of Palestine and the emergence of Israel. Now, faced with the reality, they think they see in Israel not an isolated phenomenon but only the latest chapter in a story of Western invasion that goes back over thirty years. And then imagine with what cynicism they must view Israeli public protestations for peace while, at the same time, there is this policy of contempt for these former citizens of Arab states and publicly expressed fear on the part of the Israeli officials and partisans that Israel may have too many Arab Jews -- not Arab Moslems.

Let us get something else straight; I know of no responsible authority anywhere -- and certainly not any in our own government -- that advocates solving the problem by doing away with Israel. I am, in fact, sick and tired of those who are prone to reply to every broad and objective approach to the problems of this area with the false dilemma, "Well, what would you do -- destroy Israel?" You do not destroy states by formulas, however unwise the formula that established them may have been.

Remember this, too. Those who are today suggesting compromises not always acceptable to Israel are the least likely to want Israel to disappear.

The moderates, whether Arabs, American citizens of Jewish or any other faith and the wisest counsels in our Government, believe that it is best for Israel to face up to the unpleasant facts that remain at issue and then for both sides to find compromises based on dignity and self-respect.

What intelligent and responsible Arab leadership is asking for -- and you should know this -- is American support in the United Nations for implementation of existing U. N. resolutions on boundaries, refugees and Jerusalem.

Instead, at the last session, we supported a resolution calling for direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel. It was another instance of our yielding to Israeli-Zionist pressures. The resolution was finally defeated by queer combinations of Soviet support and Arab-Latin American countries. There are fairly authentic reports that when the General Assembly defeated the resolution, toasts were drunk to Stalin in Arab delegation headquarters in New York and in Arab capitols in the Middle East. How stupid can we be?

Leaving by-gones be by-gones, for there is nothing than can be done at this late date to correct the past yielding to Zionist pressure in Washington from 1948 on. But we must now try to find a new formula to challenge the steady pressure of Soviet influence in the Middle East. It is obvious, against this whole background, that eloquent as it sounds, Israel is not and cannot be the bastion of democracy in the Middle East. At most it may be a bastion. It does not make sense for us to put all of our future in that area in the destiny of a country that is suspected by every other country of the area.

It may already be too late -- in which event there is no hope for the future of Israel either. But if it is not too late, then the most intelligent, long-range plan for Israel and Western influence and prestige requires that Israel shed itself of the suspicion that it is only the latest chapter in the Western invasion of the area; that it turn its face to the Arab states and the Moslem people in whose midst it exists and will continue to exist; that it recognize that Israel is striving for national maturity just as are all of its Moslem neighbors; cognizant of the fact that its national future, at best, will be determined either by the power of the West or the Soviets and that it will be stronger if it makes that choice as a part of the whole area rather than with its inflated appeals of superiority and exemplary democracy, neither of which it really possesses.

The Council's stake and place in all this is for Dr. Lazaron to suggest and for all of you to discuss in the course of this panel. I will close on a note that simply indicates how inseparably a part of our concern all this is.

Some of you have already seen advance preliminary texts of the proposed restatement of the Council's principles. You will hear them presented and discussed tomorrow. There is, naturally, a section covering our attitude to Israel. One part of that section says that simply because the majority of the people in Israel are Jews, it is necessary for the Council to exercise objectivity about the State particularly in view of the fact that every other organization of Jews seems to have either lost objectivity or refused to speak.

I have tried to maintain that objectivity here. I believe objectivity requires more than silence or the customary rationalizations. Objectivity calls for an awareness, on our part as on the part of no other group, of the fact that Zionism is so largely responsible for the tensions in the Arab-Israeli part of this Middle East vacuum and also for recognition of the fact that these tensions are, in many ways, a symbol to the Moslem world. The whole responsibility of Zionist campaigning and of the silent acquiescence of all Jews outside the Council in the years before 1948 cannot be wiped out by the simple declaration that now Israel is a sovereign state. No new era of history started then -- except in the romanticized propaganda of the Zionists. Objectivity calls to us to be aware of this past and alert to the present and puts upon us, as the only anti-Zionist organization of Jews, the grave responsibility to do all in our power to help and encourage the formulation of a Middle Eastern policy for the United States that may fill the power vacuum with the respect and prestige we had in the area before 1948. This will be objectivity -- measured in the pull of history; a service to our country and the free world and, moreover, a practical demonstration of our regard for our faith which is not only of today but which is of many yesterdays and, we believe, if freed from the expediencies of politics, of many tomorrows as well.

Israel and America: How Each Looks to the Other

by

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before
American Council for Judaism
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Americans rejoiced that a home has been found for the Jews who suffered in Slavic lands in the past and especially for those who escaped the gas-chambers of the Nazis. They are glad that another free state has come into the world; they trust that the West has received a stalwart ally in the Near East. America tends to forget the treatment of the unfortunate Arabs who had resided in what later became Israel and were driven forth and dispossessed. She forgets too that while Israel was promptly granted membership in the United Nations, she has refused to accept the United Nations' decision that Jerusalem is to be an international city -- neither Israeli nor Arab. America, through the eyes of its visitors, sees the material progress -- the stately buildings of Tel Aviv, the results of the hard work of its inhabitants in agriculture.

But there are other things that Americans do not see. Their eyes are blinded to the fact that Israel's economic status is extremely poor, that it needs support -- and support in "tremendous proportions" (to quote Nahum Goldmann) from Jews elsewhere, overwhelmingly from the Jews of the United States, and there is no visible end of the need for such support. Indeed, our government will, by June 1953, have given Israel the huge sum of \$293,000,000; besides this there are the funds derived from the United Jewish Appeal (approximately \$100,000,000 annually), the Bond Drive (more than \$150,000,000) and other contributions and gifts which have been conservatively estimated as \$250,000,000 annually. These are no small sums and indicate the extent to which Israel must secure external aid.

The sale of bonds has, in considerable degree, taken place in what we have always regarded as religious centers, our synagogues, even at the time of the High Holidays. It is well in that connection to recall that the Union Prayerbook as part of the Morning Service for the New Year contains these words: "We thank thee, O God, for Thy favor unto this, our land, and for the blessings of liberty and the ideals of righteousness which our nation cherishes. Protect and prosper it." And to that prayer we say with one accord: "Amen".

Most Americans think of Israel as a democracy with a bill of rights similar to our own. They do not realize, they do not know that it is a theocratic state with Orthodox Judaism both represented in the cabinet and alone authorized to marry and to bury. Reform Judaism is treated worse than Christianity and Mohammedanism.

The officials of Israel should be reminded of the statements on religious freedom made by the founding fathers of our nation. Often did George Washington speak on this theme. It will be sufficient to quote but one of his statements:

"If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension, that the Constitution framed in the convention, where I had the honor to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it: and, if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecuion. For you doubtless remember, that I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience."

Benjamin Franklin said in forthright words: "When a religion is good, I conceive that it will support itself, and, when it cannot support itself, and God does not take care to support, so that its Professors are obliged to call for the help of the civil power, it is a sign, I apprehend, of its being a bad one."

Then there is the problem of the unfortunate Arabs driven forth from their homes in Palestine. Assuredly, the inhabitants of Israel who have suffered the vilest cruelty at the hands of brutal Nazis and have become exiles from their homes, ought to show sympathy and give a helping hand to those who have suffered dispossession and exile. They should repeat the words of Virgil, the Roman poet: "Not ignorant of misfortune I learn to succor the wretched." Indeed, the Balfour Declaration to which in the past much emphasis was given, specifically provided "that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

Despite this some 800,000 Arabs fled from their homes, the dwelling place of their people for centuries, before the terror of their Israeli foes. And with slight exceptions return has been barred. If they seek to do so, they are called infiltrates and treated as criminals. They live in most miserable camps from Egypt to Lebanon, dwelling in leaky tents, dressing in tatters, living on dates and flour. The camps are periodically menaced by smallpox, dysentery, typhoid. Mrs. Mark F. Ethridge declares that "their conditions were worse than those faced by the displaced Jews of Europe." For more than four years they have lived in these refugee camps, the seeds of Arab hatred to Israel and its supporters, mainly the United States. The Arabs feel that they cannot get a fair hearing in this country. They fear too that the continual influx of Jews into Israel will inevitably produce a demand for expanded boundaries. And they cannot forget such incidents as that of Deir Yassin where Irgun vented its fury and "the whole population of that village -- women and children, the aged and infirm, as well as the able-bodied men -- were massacred in cold blood."*

*Fayez A. Sayegh, The Palestine Refugees.

It is fair to point out that some steps have been taken to do justice to the Arabs. There is, for example, the assurance of Israel that on March 1 there would be released \$2,800,000 from the blocked bank accounts of Palestinian Arab refugees. This is the first installment of a total estimated as between \$14,000,000 and \$15,000,000. These belonged to the Arab refugees who, in the main, were in camps in the surrounding Arab countries.

Even more important has been the new village for displaced Arabs handed over to the tribe of Arab-el-Guarisb by members of the Israeli ministry. Foreign Minister Sharett stated that "many more" of them are being planned. In the last twelve months 370 other Arab refugee families have been settled in various spots. These acts we commend heartily. It must be recalled that the United Nations instructed Israel to allow the Arab refugees to return.

What the Israeli are doing, does not begin to recompense the Arabs for what they have suffered. More, far more, must still be done for this horde of unfortunates who have been exiled for four years.

I have outlined the picture of Israel as seen by America as well as some aspects not commonly realized by Americans.

In recent days all Americans have been stunned by the revival of the fires of anti-Semitism in Russia and its satellite states, added to the tyranny of Communist totalitarianism, and the hearts of all of us have been filled with the deepest of sympathy. These unfortunates must be aided and those who seek shelter away from the shadow of the hammer and the sickle must be helped. While the group of Jewish physicians in Russia accused of murder has been released and admission made that the charges were without foundation, I see no evidence that anti-Semitism as such has abated. Jews in the Communist states are still in gravest danger. The United Jewish Appeal is using their dread plight as the primary basis for their call for almost 150 million dollars. For example, their page advertisement reads: "The hope that lifts the hearts of anxious millions is the knowledge that Israel's door stands wide open to every Jew in need of refuge." There is not a single word suggesting that the various free countries of the world be asked to receive those fleeing from Communist oppression. Surely, men and women of good will and warm hearts would seek to have our laws made merciful by welcoming thousands of these unfortunates. But I do not stop with the Jews now battered and suffering in Communistic lands. We should open our hearts and our doors to those suffering in Communistic lands. We should open our hearts and our doors to those who seek refuge from the terrors of Communism, whether Jews or Christians. The stream pouring into West Berlin reveals the agony which human beings have suffered, and they deserve our help not one whit less than those harried by anti-Semitism. I feel positive that there are men and women in our Congress who would put forth mighty efforts in behalf of them all. And the utterances of President Eisenhower suggest his sympathy for such a plan.*

Certainly, I am glad that Israel is open to them, but I see no reasons why the Land of Liberty and other free nations should not also welcome them.

My second objection to the advertisement is that it implies that the entire aim of the appeal is to aid those Jewish refugees from Communistic lands, but we know this is far from the case. We should be far happier, were there a simple call for funds (apart from all other appeals) to aid not only the unfortunate Jews but all others as well by seeking escape

* This statement was prophetic, for after it was written, the President urged Congress to grant admission to 240,000 refugees.

from the Soviets and to enable them to start building new lives. We protest against being lured into contributions for Zionism under the mask of philanthropy for those beaten neath the lash of anti-Semitism. Helped they must be -- but it must not be coupled with contributions for a cause in which we disbelieve.

Many Americans unfortunately fail to see the gulf which separates us from the Zionists. The crux of the matter is admirably stated by a distinguished scholar, Professor Albert Guérard, for many years on the faculty of Stanford University; he was born in France but has been an American citizen for years. He says: * "The most dolorous problem is that of Zionism. I repeat that for fifty years I have admired and defended the Jews. . . In 1898, our argument against the anti-Dreyfusists was: 'The Jews are not aliens. They are good citizens, and good patriots. They have their family traditions; but they share our common heritage, and they enrich it abundantly'. And we thought we had won the case. Then mighty voices arose to tell us: 'You are wrong. The Jews are a people apart. They will not, they cannot, be assimilated. Wherever they live, they are dwellers in a strange land.' Who said this? Hitler? Yes, but also Herzl, Weizmann, and -- at random -- Ludwig Lewisohn . . ."

"So, when we had before our eyes the admirable example of Israel as a world-wide spiritual community, men of burning faith and narrow vision attempted to create the very worst kind of nationalism, racial and sectarian, exclusive, fanatic, terroristic, a pattern for what the Germans planned to do in the Lebensraum they had conquered. We are told that the Jews have planted beautiful orchards on ground that the Arabs had been incompetent to use. No doubt, but good agriculture is no argument, the Germans might very well have improved the cultivation of Poland. . . We are told the land is theirs by right. It was theirs by conquest, and they left it two thousand years ago. We are told it is their Holy Land. It happens to be also that of the Christians." . . .

"Zionism has bred hatred, and will breed more. I know there are Jews, and among them those I most respect, who think and feel as I do." **

This able scholar sees the problem clearly and states it well.

How now does Israel regard America? As a powerful and rich country containing not only the largest number of Jews in the world but above all the wealthiest. They feel that their co-religionists owe them unbounded help. After all the Israeli have suffered as a result of their religion; it is only "by the grace of God" that we, in this blessed land, have lived freely and happily here instead of under the lash of brutal persecution, Slavic and Nazi. Interestingly enough they base their appeal for aid on a common religion and yet the specific form of that religion to which many Americans adhere, is regarded as not Judaism at all and is placed in a category beneath Christianity and Mohammedanism. They ask for aid from their brothers in religion and, at the same time, despise the religion which many of the donors profess.

* Personal Equation (W.W.Norton and Co., Inc., New York, 1948), p. 130.

** Op. cit., pp. 131-132

While the United States was the very first country to recognize the state of Israel and then most powerfully aided its entrance into the United Nations, I see no evidence that Israel is ready to accept the decision of the United Nations as to Jerusalem -- indeed quite the contrary. Ben-Gurion has officially declared it the capital of Israel. And in the U. N. struggle against aggression in Korea, Israel has not even sent a token force. But should foreign troops assail her, she will cry loudly for U. N. help.

Yet in addition to financial support, the other most noteworthy help she asks of us -- nay, demands as a right -- is our young manhood, especially those with technical training. This is, I am sure, not realized or understood by our American friends. Of course, if any Jews feel unhappy in this land or prefer to live in a country made up predominantly of Jews, no one will or should interfere. But the claim that Americans whose religion is Judaism, have a duty to leave this land of ours, is a piece of insolence. This country has granted us the greatest of opportunities -- opportunities for economic security, for education from the most elementary to the most advanced stage, opportunities to live as free men and women, opportunities to dwell under our Bill of Rights, opportunities to make the most of ourselves, yes even to serve as executives of some of our greatest states and to sit upon the nation's highest judicial tribunal -- all these and more has this land given us. We should be ingrates if we did not both appreciate this host of blessings and resolve to make the fullest of returns to this country of ours. Indeed for many, many of us the shelter that our land granted us, may well have been the sole means that saved us from the gas-chambers of the Nazis. There is, in short, nothing that we should not do for our land in return. The notion that we should forsake her, take whatever talents or skills we may have, to a land in the Middle East, should be abhorrent to us. Let those who wish go, ungrateful recipients of the blessings they have received here.

There is yet another demand that Israel makes of America. She asks our land to be her special champion. And to this end she calls on American Jews to represent her interests at all times. This applies for example to the platforms of our political parties; she seeks to have them place themselves on record as supporting Israel in its efforts. Grossly inappropriate was it to call upon the two presidential candidates at the time of the High Holidays to state their position as to Israel; this was of course instigated by the Zionists. And these two distinguished men are lured into statements which are unfortunately by no means the whole truth. Thus, Adlai Stevenson, for whom I have the greatest of respect, said: "Democracy and freedom are enshrined there. Faith in justice, in human dignity and in government under law are warmly held there. . . . Nowhere in the world are more generous arms extended to those seeking refuge from tribulation." Tell that, Governor Stevenson, to the thousands of Arabs driven from their homes and living in misery in refugee camps.

All this intrusion into our political campaign is grossly improper.

I resent, too, the statement of Ambassador Abba S. Eban rejoicing at "the reaffirmation by both political parties of their special sympathy for Israel." We have known in the past of cases where the interference of foreign ambassadors in American politics has been bitterly resented.

The United States has no special ties with Israel. In our international relations we should be governed by devotion to freedom and democracy on the one hand and to justice on the other. Assuredly we, as believers in fair play, as a people with a heart, must feel sympathy for the unfortunate Arabs who through no fault of their own have lost homes and homeland. Unfortunately, there are among us those who fail to realize that our foreign relations should be determined from the standpoint of the welfare of the United States -- and solely so. Our religion should not in the slightest serve to influence our national attitude, whatever that religion may be. Religion and politics must be separate and distinct; religion is the relation of the individual to his God.

But even in the religious realm the Israeli forget the commandment which appears in Leviticus: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." And this commandment was named by Jesus, along with that to love your God, as the very greatest commandment. How have the Israeli lived up to it in their relations to the Arabs?

The failure to solve Arab-Israeli relations leaves the door wide open for the Communists. It is generally felt that the anti-Semitism which has recurred in Russia and her satellite states, is at least in part an effort to win over the Arab states. I do not mean that these will necessarily yield to Communism, but it will assuredly add to their reluctance to join in any Middle Eastern Organization (comparable to NATO) in opposition to Communism. In the words of Justice William O. Douglas: "They (i.e., the Russians) think that anti-Semitism is a useful ally in a political approach to many of the people who inhabit that region."

Assuredly the result might well be a grievous blow to the Western world. Involved would be the loss of desperately needed oil; besides it might as a result set up a pro-Soviet bloc in Asia which would constitute a veritable pincers on the center of Asia -- Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Saudi-Arabia, Egypt, Iraq and Iran on the West, Siberia, Manchuria, China, Tibet on the East. We must recall too that the Arab block faces the new trio allied to the West -- Greece, Turkey and Jugoslavia.

The New York Times points out editorially: "As a final consideration it is worth noting that the Russian move was cleverly calculated to make matters more difficult for the United States in the Near East. It will increase tension, exacerbate the Arab-Israeli quarrel and emphasize the already existing resentment of the Arabs against the United States for its role in creating Israel."

What finally should America say to Israel? We do sympathize with those of you who have suffered so deeply at the hands of Nazi and Slavic beasts. We wish to help you and trust that your new home will become a permanent shelter for you and your children.

But we have a right in return to make several demands of Israel, demands that are in the interest of a free world.

First, the absurd notion that Jews everywhere are living in exile and will only be at home in Israel must be cast aside. The problem, as Zionist leaders admit, is that "of arousing Jews to come here (i.e., to Israel) from other lands where they live in peace and security." We ask: "Why should they?" Coupled with this effort is the corollary that "the Zionist flag which has begun to fly above the State of Israel be hoisted aloft over the entire Jewish people." To that I retort: "God forbid!"

Second, the citizenship laws of Israel shall not (in accord with the preceding theory) treat all those born as Jews and presently in Israel as automatically citizens of Israel and at the same time stigmatize as aliens Arabs born in Palestine and descendants of those who have long resided there.

Third, campaigns must cease to lure young Americans away from this land where their ancestors were welcomed and enabled to breathe freely. Let us not forget the outrageous words of Ben-Gurion: "We appeal to parents to help us bring their children here. Even if they decline to help, we will bring the youth to Israel."

Fourth, the use of religious texts, whether for sabbath-schools or synagogues, implying that Israel is the homeland of all those who religiously are Jews, must be abandoned.

Fifth, Jews in this country must stop using their political power to influence our government or either party to become a cat's-paw for Israel. They must not yield to silver-tongued orators. We must all think in international relations solely as Americans.

Sixth, Israel must give full religious freedom and rights to all faiths, not excluding Reform Judaism.

Seventh, Israel should recognize its obligations as a member of the United Nations and accept the decision as to Jerusalem, an action which will prove of great help in the international situation.

Eighth, Israel must care for the Arab refugees, receive them back into Israel, restore their property or reimburse them fully for it, and grant them equality in citizenship.

Ninth, Israel must seek to solve its problems with reference to its Arab neighbor states, not only in its own interest but in that of the Western world, to which Israel claims to belong in spirit.

Yes, let us help Israel but let Israel show that it deserves our help. It cannot ask our aid while taking steps which jeopardize the entire free world.

Help they need -- yes, desperately -- but let them play their part in meeting their own responsibilities.

There are those who claim that the American Council for Judaism is averse to aiding the people of Israel. That statement is false.

How could we fail to be touched by the sufferings of any people who have gone through the fires of persecuion? And above all how could we in our hearts fail to suffer with those whose only crime was the practice of the religion which we also profess? No, we trust that now in the land of Palestine they may at last be free from the nightmare of brutality which has hung over them in so many lands and live peaceably, happily and prosperously neath their own vine and fig-tree. That is without question what we all are eager they attain.

But it is not this that has troubled us. It is the effort to twist and distort our sympathy. Money intended to help them in their economic difficulties is, much of it, diverted into the channels of Zionistic propaganda. The mercy which the Israeli seek and deserve, they are not ready to show to the unfortunate Arabs whose home has been Palestine for lo! these centuries. We resent the effort to set Judaism above Americanism. We belong to both, each in its own sphere -- Jews by religion, Americans by home, shelter and loyalty. We abhor the attempt to lure young Jews from this land under the guise of duty; this is merely a scheme to gain technical skill for Israel. The Jewish youth must realize what mighty opportunities this land has given them and will give their children and their descendants: they must too feel the deepest of gratitude for the status they have secured here. Think of what Jews in this land have been able to attain -- Louis D. Brandeis, Benjamin N. Cardozo, Felix Frankfurter, Herbert H. Lehman, Henry Horner, Adolph Ochs, Jacob Schiff, Henry Morgenthau, Senior, and Junior, Oscar Strauss and Nathan Strauss, Bernard Baruch, Julius Rosenwald, Jo Davidson, Albert Michelson, James Franck, Joseph Erlanger, Selman Waksman,* David Warfield, Yehudi Menuhin, Isaac Stern, Pierre Monteux, Ernest Bloch, Irving Berlin, and George Gershwin. We see that the doors of opportunity have indeed been opened to us. What has been possible for them, proves that there are few barriers for those who have the talent and the will; in attainment there are not many iron doors marked "Jews not admitted". But for what America has done, they have offered their very best in return.

We have a right to ask that, if Israel really seeks to be allied to the West rather than to the Communist bloc, in its acts as a nation it cooperate with the West. Friction between the Israeli and the Arabs is meat and drink to the vultures of the Communist world. Of course, the Arabs should realize that it bodes them no good -- that the Russian wolf (like the one in Little Red Riding Hood) is sharpening its teeth, the better to devour them. Yet the temporary advantage the Arabs anticipate in their dealings with Israel, may blind them to the covert motives that the Kremlin has.

Assuredly this situation bodes us no good -- it still further alienates the Arab world which has deeply resented our part both in establishing Israel and continuously supporting it. Undoubtedly this diabolically clever Soviet move has made the problem of the Middle East much harder.

Israel in self-defense and in her avowed role as an ally of the West, must cooperate with the free nations in efforts to solve her relations with the Arab states. That is the best return she can make for the help and support she has received from the United States. And we, in turn, must seek to aid in their solution, bearing in mind Israel's specific problems but not forgetting those of the Western world.

*To the preceding four Nobel prize winners others like Albert Einstein might well be added; the scientists listed were among those who received the award while residents of the United States.

It probably is true that in this world a state was needed to serve as a shelter for the Jews fleeing the persecutions and the dread fires of the Nazis and their fellow brutes in Communist lands. That was however a need -- a dreadful need -- as a result of the cruelty of supposedly civilized human beings. It was not the solution that was most desirable. At the time of such suffering every land should have said: "Come to us, ye heavily laden: we warmly welcome those who have suffered so dreadfully. We would be faithless to our religion (whatever our creed) if we did otherwise." Not only would every nation have felt that it was fulfilling its obvious duty, but in each land those refugees would have proved among the state's most grateful and loyal citizens and made contributions to the national life which would have enriched it and made its people proud that they had welcomed them. Indeed those who were admitted to the United States have made inestimable contributions; I trust some day a book may be published telling what the refugees from totalitarianism have contributed to this land. Several times in this connection I have quoted the Biblical words: "The stone which the builders refused is become the head-stone of the corner." So has it been wherever generous hearts have without thought of gain sheltered the unfortunate exiles.

To all the suffering, whatever their nationality, whatever their religion, our hearts go out and our purses are open. But as for ourselves, even as the ancient Roman said with pride: "Civis Romanus sum" (I am a Roman citizen), so do we say with even more rightful pride and with overflowing gratitude: "I am an American citizen" and I have no bond or allegiance to any other state. To America we owe all we are and have and we will shape all our actions with an eye solely to the welfare of this land on which rest the hopes of a free world.

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ISRAEL AND JEWISH NATIONALISM:
APPROACHING A SOLUTION

by

Dr. Morris S. Lazaron

American Council for Judaism
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The American Council for Judaism was organized ten years ago because Jewish nationalism, speaking apparently unopposed in the name of all American Jews, threatened to dominate the American Jewish scene. Many American Jews rejecting Jewish nationalism considered Judaism the supreme expression of Jewish life and were determined to defend it against such encroachment. The founders of the Council, laymen and rabbis, agreed that the tie that binds Jews in the United States is our Judaism and that the organization of Jews on any other basis in our country would be a grievous error.

For these reasons we stood aloof from the pressures with which the Zionist state was created; indeed, we opposed the establishment of Israel. Nevertheless Israel was created. Events since then vindicate the foresight of the Council and bring into even sharper focus the truth of the Council's position.

This is evidenced in two areas: The Council recognized the sentiments of tradition, culture, religion and philanthropy that bound many Jews to Palestine -- many Council members shares these sentiments -- but it insisted that for Jewish citizens of this country Israel could never be anything else than a foreign state like any other foreign state. Jewish nationalists make it appear that the Jewish citizens of the United States support the foreign policy of Israel in all its international relations. Secondly, extraordinary efforts are exerted among us to tie us psychologically and emotionally to the state of Israel through the education of our children and through Zionist control of all our institutions.

I shall consider briefly each of these areas of Jewish nationalist intrusion and suggest how Jews may oppose such intrusion.

ONE: Though there have been differences between the Government of Israel and the Zionist Organization of America, the connection between them is an intimate one and the Zionist Organization occupies a position of special significance vis-a-vis Israel. It not only seeks financial support for Israel which is needed and justified within limits, but it attempts to organize American Jews in behalf of Israeli policy which is neither necessary nor justified. It conceives of and attempts to use the American Jewish community as a pressure block for Israeli interests. This in effect isolates us from our fellow-Americans as a solid political enclave within the American scene whose concern is to see that American policy gives Israel preferential support in the Middle East. Let me be specific.

Until recently the United States enjoyed the admiration of the Middle East peoples. We have all but lost it. Until we regain the confidence of the Arab and Moslem world, no effective Middle East defense is possible, for defense is not only a matter of guns, it has to do with attitudes, with the feelings of men, with things of the spirit. Our policy in the Middle East is therefore being re-appraised. We cannot and presumably we shall not play favorites. We must consider the area as a whole.

The Soviet leaders know this. Their break with Israel was probably designed not only to win favor in the Middle East but to embarrass the United States, to bring about tensions between us and Israel and between us and the Arab and Moslem States. Israeli and Zionist policy played into their hands when comparing Soviet anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism to Nazi genocide, it called upon Russia to 'let the Jews out'. This was just what the Soviet leaders wanted. It inflamed Arab fears. It stimulated Zionist pressure on Washington to stand by Israel. All the agencies of Zionist propaganda were exerted in this country to rally Jews to urge Washington to stand behind Israel. Washington was on the spot. This was what the Kremlin wanted. While the Kremlin has vindicated the doctors, it has not changed its attitude to Zionism and Israel. It still uses both to embarrass the United States.

How long can Israel expect special treatment at the hands of the United States? Only so long as our government feels that Israeli policy coincides with the best interests and security of our country and its people and the defense of the free world. This is not cynicism; it is fact. No matter what their feelings for Israel may be all but a small group of American Jews will accept the policy of Washington as their policy, Israeli and Zionist pressures to the contrary notwithstanding.

TWO: The Council's warnings in the second area have likewise been vindicated: Zionist and Israeli attempts to capture the communities, to dominate Jewish education and all our institutions and give to American Jewish life an Israeli orientation.

The recent sessions of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations revealed the confusion of thinking among us. It is true that resolutions were passed for strengthening Judaism in America. But at the same time the Union voted to remain in the Jewish nationalist dominated National Community Relations Advisory Council. It voted also to urge the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League to return to the NCRAC. These organizations withdrew from the NCRAC not only to preserve the important work they were doing in certain areas but because at long last they saw the chasm which divided them in philosophy and method from Jewish Nationalists and Nationalism.

The story of Jewish nationalist infiltration into and domination of our childrens' religious education; the Council's opposition; Zionist tactics of intimidation and censorship are too familiar for repetition here. The recent meeting of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem resolved to make extraordinary efforts in the field of education to claim the minds and hearts of our children.

Every attempt to separate funds for philanthropic and reconstruction work from politics and propaganda has failed.

It is bad enough that we are in danger of being considered a political bloc and that the nationalists are dominant in our community affairs but most tragic of all is that we Jews and our Judaism are in danger of losing the right to speak with moral authority for we have poured our effort and our energies primarily into Zionist channels. Have we lost our capacity for indignation at wrong? Shall we demand justice for Jews alone? What Jewish organization has lifted its voice in behalf of the Arab refugees numbering some 800,000 people? Where in the pronouncements of the Social Justice Commission of the rabbinical conferences and the Union and Synagogue Council is there any mention of the plight of the hapless Moslem and Arab sufferers? Does Jewish nationalism crowd out every feeling of sympathy for any other group than Jews?

What can be done? I do not seek to impose my own opinions on you. I give you only my personal judgment as to what we should do and the spirit in which we should do it. First in reference to Israel.

Although I opposed the creation of the Zionist State, although I believe the creation of Israel to have been a mistake, it would be unutterably sad if it should be destroyed.

I think not only in material terms, of the vast sums that have been poured into Palestine and the almost miraculous achievements of the settlers. I think in human terms. The older pioneers, those who came in the middle period from 1917 to 1933 and those who sought refuge from the Nazi tyranny and found it. I think of the bruised and broken brought to health, of despairs turned to hope; of lives saved, families reunited; of valiant youth given another chance. I think of the love with which the rocky soil was tended so that it brought forth food and the hard labour which made the land blossom and the barren hillsides clothed with young trees which hold fast the centuries old neglected soil. I think not only of the physical courage of the pioneers but of their moral courage, their stamina, their integrity, daring danger, war and death itself. It would be unutterably sad should all this go down in ruin. The Jew has had enough heartache thrust upon him, why should he go forth seeking more?

Even such moving considerations however do not commit me to support Israel so long as the present situation obtains in Palestine and here. Were conditions different -- and they might be -- Israel could win unreserved support of all branches of Jewry, the friendship of the Arab states and the Moslem world, the continued favor of the United States government and the unqualified backing of the United Nations, thus insuring its future against possible disaster and setting its foundations on the impregnable rock of the world's goodwill.

This idea must be amplified.

Israel today is the same landbridge between East and West that it was in Biblical times. The same geo-political, economic factors which obtained then obtain now. It is small as ancient Palestine was small. It is surrounded by hostile peoples as Judea was circled by enemy nations. To the north at that time were Assyria and Babylon; today it is Russia; to the South was Egypt as it is today. Some of these factors are permanent; they cannot be changed. Others are not permanent, they can be changed and therein lies potential hope for the young state.

There will be no security for Israel so long as it is surrounded by

hostile peoples and subject to economic boycott or the threat of war from them. She will exhaust her economy and ultimately destroy herself so long as she spends so large a portion of her own resources, the gifts and investments of friends, the grants of governments to maintain an army for defense, when these monies might be used for land reclamation, the development of industries, the building of houses, the promotion of education and the arts, the elevation of the standards of living and the maintenance of the general welfare. This is a stupendous job and it will not be done through miracles!

The official leaders of Zionism have seldom been sensitive to Arab and Moslem feeling since the time of the Balfour Declaration. It is a singular phenomenon that descendants of those upon whom was enjoined "Remember ye were strangers" should be so deaf to this appeal recited each year at the Passover. Israel even now does not give due consideration to the extent of Arab and Moslem prejudice and hate, brought about, only in part by the recent war between them. It has been so busy justifying itself, grappling with its own problems -- and they were heavy -- that it has failed to take any other point of view into consideration. Zionism as preached and practiced was a constant source of irritation and more. The Irgun was guilty of the terrible crime of Deir Yassin. But it is also true that there were and are Arab murders and killings. One does not excuse the other.

Certain facts remain. Hundreds of thousands of Arabs are refugees. Many of them standing on the bare hills gaze daily on wooded lands and farms which were their homes. Others look into Jewish Jerusalem and can see the very houses where they lived. Their pride has been hurt; revenge rises in their hearts. "What hope is there for us and our children?", they cry. Jews should understand the sound of that cry for we ourselves have uttered it many times in our pilgrimage.

Israel's position is indeed precarious politically, economically and militarily but it is precarious from another point of view not often mentioned, yet a very real factor in the situation: the possibility that Christian sympathy for Israel and the Jew will be exhausted.

The Hitlerian persecutions shook the Christian world. Our Christian brethren could understand the desire of Zionists to build in Palestine a homeland for this stricken people. The excesses of Jewish nationalism since the establishment of the state have not gone unnoticed however. An undercurrent of resentment is rising. It is unexpressed at the moment because, as one Christian friend put it to me: "We feel so keenly the sin of anti-Semitism. The guilt of anti-Semitism is a heavy burden on our hearts for it is anti-Semitism which created Zionism and we can understand the will of the Jew to find security and peace in Israel. Because of our sense of guilt we would do nothing to hurt Israel and we have kept silent when we should have spoken. We are not anti-Semites. But the limit of patience is approaching; and Christian, Moslem, Israeli, Jewish American and world interests are threatened by the intransigence of Israeli and Zionist leadership."

What can be done to retrieve the situation, to prevent the catastrophe of Israel's fall and the destruction of all that has been so sacrificially achieved? What can be done that will be fair to the Moslem, Arab and Israeli and bring about that reconciliation and co-operation in the Middle East which will insure the defense of the area?

The United States and the United Nations must urge that Israel make such substantial gestures to the Arab and Moslem peoples that will convince them of Israel's intention and determination to work with them as a friendly neighbor in the development of the Middle East. Simultaneously the boycott of Israel should be lifted. Those gestures should be:

1. The definition and guarantee of border lines.
2. Restitution of Arab property.
3. Resettlement of Arab refugees who for generations have lived in Palestine.
4. Full and equal civil and political rights for Arabs. The present Israeli citizenship law is discriminatory.
5. Internationalization of Jerusalem under the supervision of the United Nations.

Such a policy will not please the extremists in Israel nor the fanatics in the Arab and Moslem states. But it is the only policy that will eventually bring peace in the Middle East. The extremists on both sides may even resort to bloodshed in their opposition but lacking international support they will fail. The knowledge that the existence of Israel will be guaranteed -- indeed this is the only way it can be guaranteed -- will bring Israeli moderates to support such a solution. International authority must repress the extremist, discourage the fanatic and give the land a chance.

Enduring states are not born mature. They evolve as their inhabitants labor and create together. The political future of the Middle East will be insured in the troubled years ahead only through peaceful compromise of all those racial, national, religious and international forces which center in Palestine. They who say they love Palestine should not insist on any other way. They who in truth seek "the peace of Jerusalem" will find it only in honorable, democratic compromise.

Moslem, Christian and Jew must show regard to the sanctities of our faiths all of which proclaim 'justice, justice shalt thou seek'. We must yield to the spirit of the land itself, holy alike to them all. Then indeed shall the God of Israel be vindicated by the conduct of those who say they believe in Him and He shall become the God of the nations whose spirit, finding haven in Zion, shall go forth from Jerusalem as the spirit of Reconciliation and peace to all the world.

Second - what can Jews in America do to save our communities from Jewish nationalist control?

We need only a band of determined men and women who are willing to take up the challenge. Example is contagious and the tide of events flows with us. One man who asserts himself can save a community. One community can serve as example to many others. American Jews must rid themselves of living under a pall of fear of the Zionists. They must reject the easy rationalizations with which they have so often justified their lack of moral courage to oppose them and the equally easy rationalizations which prompted them to give the nationalists their support.

What I am proposing is a revolt of individuals and community leaders, rabbis and laymen against Jewish nationalist dominance of American life. Jewish nationalism in Israel is normal and proper unless it develops the fanaticism of chauvinism. Jewish nationalism has no place in the American scene whether it works openly or in the guise of education and philanthropy. Wherever Jewish nationalism lifts its head I call for a firm, clear and uncompromising opposition, without name-calling, recrimination or bitterness.

What will happen to Jewish unity? There is no unity among Jews today except such as is imposed by nationalist methods. It is a spurious unity. But there is a basis for unity. Let us keep our differences but unite where we can unite: on a practical, statesmanlike program. Let us have done with parties and politics which becloud the universal issues at stake. There is no reason why American Jews should not be pro-Palestine, but America and not Palestine should be the focal point of our interest. Judaism not Zionism, God not Israel should have primacy in our thinking.

In Arnold Toynbee's latest book he makes the point that the West went into the East twice and failed. It moved into the East nearly 800 years ago with the sword and conquest of the Crusades and though it carried the cross in its hands, it failed. The West again moved into the East nearly two hundred years ago with its technological revolution but the East rejected the West a second time. It wanted something more than Western technology to satisfy the profound craving of its spirit which for so many centuries had wrestled with the problems of human life and destiny. The East said our miserable, hungry millions must be fed and clothed and housed and educated but not at the expense of the mysterious and compelling claims of the human soul. We cannot trade or barter our empire of the spirit for your washing machines and electric gadgets. Until the West goes into the East with some synthesis of idea and practice, of faith and conduct, the East will refuse what the West has to offer. Judaism and the Jew came out of the East and after nearly two thousand years of experience, the circumstances of history brought about a return migration to the East. But what has this eastern migration of the Jew brought to the East? The last quarter century tells a story only half good and part glorious.

Is not this the time of opportunity for the Jew to take into the East, wrought out of his long pilgrimage, the very synthesis of dream and actuality, of faith and works, of technological advance permeated with the prophetic spirit of justice and compassion? Israel in Palestine may well become the advance guard of an army that brings not division, but cooperation; not prejudice, but compassion; not conquest, but justice; not war, but peace.

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PROPOSED RESTATEMENT
OF THE POSITION OF THE
AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

by

Moses Lasky

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 10, 1953

The American Council for Judaism is an organization of American Jews. In order to make clear its purposes, the reasons for its existence, and the objectives it seeks to attain, it is necessary first to state its understanding of Judaism and of the word "Jew".

The Council's view of these matters is not a creation of its own. On the contrary, its interpretation is an ancient one and is in the direct line of Jewish development in the United States since colonial times. Unquestionably there are other interpretations and other definitions, but the members of the Council have selected the views, interpretations and definitions that seem true to them, and have joined together to forward what they believe to be the course and development of American Judaism and American Jews.

Judaism is a religion and
Jews a voluntary association

Judaism is a religion, and what makes one a Jew is adherence to that religion and voluntary identification with the fellowship connected with it.

We are aware that many people, both those who regard themselves as Jews and those who do not, will classify one as Jew merely because he is descended by birth from Jews. That view is a sociological fact. But it is a view that has no place in this country and in this age. We hope for its elimination.

Jews were never a race. In times other than our own, they may have been, and in lands other than the United States they may still choose to be something more, less, or different than the adherents of a religion: a nation, a culture or an ethnic group.

We, in the United States, in the Twentieth Century, accept none of these other identifications of either Judaism or Jews. Judaism is a religion and the group known as Jews should be, and should be recognized as, a free association composed by acts of individual choice.

In saying this, we must avoid misunderstanding of what we mean by "religion". Judaism as a "religion" means both less and more than might superficially appear.

I. THE RELIGION OF JUDAISM

Judaism as a religion is less than might superficially appear, for it requires no formalisms

Judaism may appear to be less than is commonly understood by the term "religion", because it requires no formalisms and is uncommonly free of dogmatism.

This is not a formalistic age. Many people are indifferent to organized religion, unattracted by ceremonial, ritual, group worship or form. One may be religious without any of these. It is enough to accept religion as serving two broad purposes: (1) giving significance to human life and some definition, both satisfying and understandable, of the relationship between men and between man and the universe, thereby giving answers to personal perplexities; and (2) elevating social conduct and standards, thereby surmounting the personal and becoming a social force.

Central to religion is a belief in God. The relationship between man and the universe is through God; brotherhood of man, which defines the relationship between men, implies a fatherhood.

In Judaism ideas about God have changed over the ages, as mankind grew to greater comprehension of the universe and of moral truths. But, throughout the development of this understanding, belief in the Oneness of God has been cardinal to Judaism and inseparable from it.

Judaism tolerates a minimum of theology. Affirming that God is One, it leaves open to every man his own answers to the question of God's nature and the meaning of His Unity. Beyond this it requires no particular view of God.

As a corollary to the attributes of God, Judaism has always concerned itself with the conduct of man. From an early date it has possessed a marked ethican flavor, a peculiarly intensive moral outlook, an insistence on even-handed justice, on the integrity of the individual and the sanctity of his personality.

A Jew may accept more religion than this. If he does not, he is still a Jew, so long as he accepts no less.

Judaism is an
Historical Religion

Another cardinal fact about Judaism is that it is an historical religion. It came by its visions of God and man through ages of growth and change and a rich blend of human experience. Its roots are deep in the antiquities of the human race. Successive centuries, many nations and the Jews who dwelled there -- Egypt, Babylonia, Spain, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and now the United States -- have contributed to its content and character, just as Jews and Judaism have contributed to the civilization of all these times and places. In this process of intermingling and growth Judaism has assumed many forms, responsive to the challenge of the civilizations where Jews have lived.

And so there has been an orthodoxy of Spain and an orthodoxy of Eastern Europe, a German Reform Judaism and an American Reform Judaism. These orthodoxies have been different, and the most liberal of German Judaism was never as liberal as American Reform. But all these forms of Judaism held

certain central truths in common, and each created for itself the formalisms and ritual that expressed those truths for the time and place and in words that fitted the current modes of thought and the current emotional and intellectual outlook.

From Colonial times American Jews have been developing an expression of their own American Judaism. That development has been slowed by the great immigrations in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century and the early part of the Twentieth and later by the upsurge of Zionism, but American Jews are taking up the task again, in an unbroken continuity. To do this they must and will continue to disentangle the central truths of Judaism from the various forms in which they have been expressed historically, isolate them as a chemist might do, so to speak, and then re-express them in terms that have meaning for our time, our civilization, and our manner of thought.

From the standpoint of the American Council for Judaism the differences between Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism are not the relevant points of distinction. Some American Jews will continue to believe in divine revelation as the core of their faith and in divine command as the guide to their conduct. But it will be a progressive revelation in which they believe, and they will distinguish between the revelation of things eternal and the casual accretions which, in all religions, are the mark of the successive periods during which man has received the divine message. Other American Jews, also as in the past, will see their faith expressed in terms other than those of direct or immediate divine interposition, but they too will make the same distinction between the eternal and the transient.

The American Council for Judaism is open to all American Jews, whether Orthodox, Reform or whatever grade between, who believe in this distinction and in the correctness, the necessity and the inevitability of the task of isolating the central truths of the faith and re-expressing them in modern terms.

Judaism endures and its continued existence is justified because it was transformed into the Universal

Before the literary prophets, the religion of the Hebrews was a tribal faith like many another. Those prophets began the transformation of Judaism by which it acquired the qualities that made it endure. This they did by universalizing the concept of God, and stating a code of human conduct of commensurate breadth, applicable to all men. The transformation was completed with the destruction of the Second Temple when Judaism was released from dependence on altar or geography, and its destinies freed of transitory glories.

This transformation is the unique and distinguishing contribution of Judaism to the development of man. To preserve and advance its universal ideals are Judaism's sole warrant for continued existence.

The nature and place of the particularisms of Judaism

But concurrently with its universal qualities, Judaism has possessed particularisms. The future course of the faith cannot be rightly appraised unless we realize that these particularisms are of two types. Many are transient accretions which can be shed. They reflect the life of the adherents of Judaism in the many places and ages where they lived, and they dramatize the continuous interaction between Judaism and the civilizations in which it has

been set. In different countries and at different times and often in the same country at the same time, Jews have observed different particularisms or the same ones in different ways.

There are other particularisms that may be treasured, because they impart an emotional content and concrete expression to Judaism's universal ideals, give Judaism a cast or flavor, assist in distinguishing it from the great daughter faiths that share its universal ideals, and save it from being merely a desiccated religion. They mark out the legitimate religious differences which all liberal men respect as part of their liberal heritage. Nonetheless they are not the substance or the distinguishing characteristics of our faith.

The distinguishing characteristic of Judaism is that it may be stripped of all particularisms and still maintain its integrity, for the particularisms of Judaism are customs and ceremonies, not doctrine, while other religions have superimposed upon their universal qualities other elements which may not be stripped away without denuding them of their individuality. Thus Islam may not be stripped of the belief that Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah, and Christianity may not be stripped of the personality of Jesus, however regarded. The essential doctrines of Judaism are the Shema and the evolving moral law, and these are universalisms, not particularisms. As the religion of the Shema and the moral law, Judaism has a freedom and capacity for adaptation and growth that mark it off from other faiths that are tied to other dogmas or other doctrines, or that view their great figures as indispensable personalities.

One of the tasks of an American Judaism is, as it has long been, to release Judaism from ties that hinder that capacity and freedom.

Since particularisms are an expression of the central truths for a given time, place, and outlook, an American Judaism may and probably will create new ones out of the American experience, and it may also find many past particularisms admirably fitted to it. Some American Jews may cleave to more, and some to less, of them. The American Council for Judaism is for both such groups, so long as they know what they are doing and why they are doing it.

The vital thing is to appreciate the distinguishing characteristic of Judaism, to be aware that none of the particularisms is of its substance, and to realize that the classification of the particularisms into two groups can be made, all with fidelity to the faith. To state which particularism will be retained and which discarded, would be prophecy. Perhaps the most notable particularism has been observance and sanctification of the Sabbath, but the idea of a Sabbath may now be regarded as well-nigh universal and in its own way has become a permanent part of Western civilization, for which that civilization must thank Judaism. Beyond the Sabbath, the particularisms to be retained are probably such as are derived from the core of Judaism's tradition -- religious holidays, the Torah or law as the symbol of central authority in Judaism, and the synagogue as the center of worship and learning. The others are largely either embellishments of these primary particularisms or else relics stubbornly surviving from a time prior to the great transformation of Judaism.

This appraisal of Judaism indicates that there is a clear distinction between the essence of Judaism and institutionalized Judaism. The accepted ideals of the United States are saturated with the influence of an ethnic and morality commonly called Judaeo-Christian. Like numerous Americans of other faiths, many Jews find their spiritual needs satisfied outside the walls of any sectarian institution in the fellowship of non-sectarian groups pursuing justice. Those who so practice the ethics of Judaism and, in so doing, accept the minimum of theology it requires are as much entitled to call themselves Jews as those who observe any set of formalisms.

The Synagogue

For those who want and need institutionalized Judaism, the synagogue must be the first among the particularisms to be treasured. In place of the authority of a single personality that has been central to other religions, Judaism's cohesive force has been knowledge of its universal moral law, precepts and tradition -- in a broad sense, its Torah. Learning and the study of the Torah have been one of Judaism's characteristic modes of worship, and the synagogue has been the institution manifesting this mode in an atmosphere intended to be related to God. Except for strong spirits, the survival of the faith requires an external manifestation. Consequently those who feel no need for the synagogue for themselves may see need to support it. But conversely, and precisely because the synagogue's claim to importance derives from the nature of Judaism as a religion, the synagogue must remain free of racism, nation, and ethnic involvements.

Judaism as a religion is also more than might superficially appear

It is because of its essential simplicity and universalism that, to those who are not adequately informed of its history, Judaism might appear to be less than religion is often understood to mean. But it is also something more.

Judaism is an historical religion. Throughout its long history its adherents, by virtue both of outward pressures and hostility and inward choice and persistence, have shared similar experiences and sacrifices because of it. As a result, a fellowship and set of associations have become attached to it. They are no part of Judaism in logic or necessity, but they are by force of history, and they are accepted emotionally.

An attachment to the history of Judaism and of the Jews of all eras who have contributed to its evolution is a form of Jewish identification. From the origins of the faith until our own day sensitive minds have shaped and formed its concept of God and its expressions of moral responsibility. They began a proud tradition. We honor that tradition and those who first brought it into being and then preserved it, so often in pain and suffering. This history is therefore important to us. It is an inseparable part of our consciousness, and we are part of a fellowship with all those who share the same history.

But these associations and this fellowship cannot stand by themselves. Other than as an incident of the religion they are meaningless; they are naught. The fellowship is a religious fellowship. It may constitute something different than a church or creed. If it is a community, it is a religious community. It could have been, and often was, described by the name of "Israel", when that term referred to a spiritual continuity and before it was adopted as the name of a political state.

There is still another truth we must not overlook. We stand in the Jewish tradition, not merely as heirs, but also as contributors. It did not fossilize before our time, as Toynbee claims. We shall hand it on but we shall leave our mark upon it. What will that mark be?

There is still a third truth to remember. More than a small part of the tradition is pride in the continuity of a way of life that rejected and rose above political power, military achievement, and identification with geographic location. As citizens, subjects, or members of the many states and nations in which they lived, Jews shared and participated in such glories and identifications. But this participation was not as Jews, for Judaism and

being Jewish were things of the spirit. If now we depart from that continuity or countenance a departure, we do not preserve the tradition, we destroy it.

In an effort to epitomize the foregoing intangibles, not susceptible of precise definition, terms like "Jewish people" and "people of Israel" were used. In the past these were always spiritual generalizations, representing a continuity in history and a community of people that had been able to survive precisely because it was spiritual.

Of recent years there have been those who have wished to transmute this spiritual commonality into a secular, separatist community, a nationality or a nation possessing ethnic peculiarities. To disguise the transmutation, they have transmuted the terms themselves. By applying the name "Israel" to a political state, they have subtly altered the meaning of "people of Israel". And the term "Jewish people" has been transmuted into "Jewish Peoplehood", a base mintage, vibrating with overtones of folkhood. The secular interpretation it conveys has been untrue for two millenia. In the United States in the Twentieth Century it cannot be countenanced at all.

The intangibles are subtle colorations of the religion. Like the religion itself, they are personal and vary in intensity from one Jew to another. Every range of intensity is permissible, so long as it does not reduce Judaism's universalism to something less, and thereby subvert the true Jewish tradition.

II. JUDAISM AND THE PLACE

OF THE JEW IN AMERICA

This is the background of Judaism as it has developed in the United States. It is the background against which the American Council for Judaism states its views about the future of Judaism and the place of the Jew in this country.

The Council seeks an identification
with the Jewish tradition harmonious
with the promise of America

The Council is an organization of Americans seeking active and conscious identifications with the Jewish tradition. But the identifications it seeks are such as will harmonize with the hope and promise of American life.

The Jew in America is a doubly fortunate person. The tradition of Judaism is his inheritance. But he has also inherited the tradition of freedom and individuality to which the French and American Revolutions gave expression and which is still unfolding in the United States.

The formation of the United States promised a new order of the ages. In that tradition man is not a mere cell in an organism; he is an individual, important in his own right, and the groups to which he belongs and through which he acts serve his individual ends, not he theirs. In the same spirit and the same tradition a Jew should not be a member of a Jewish community by virtue of birth or other organic force but an entity who voluntarily seeks to be identified as a Jew in one aspect of his life -- his religion.

In the new order of America, the Jew had the chance to enter into the life of the occidental community, as an integral part of it, while affirming his ancient, spiritual beliefs. He has received the rights and privileges of the American community. He may justly expect to do so even more fully in the future.

We seek an
American Judaism

We have twice used the word "seek". We emphasize it. Here in the United States, in an era when this nation is the dominant force for freedom, American Jews must and will create a form of Judaism as singularly related to America as other Jews, in eras dominated by other cultures and in other nations, created Judaisms related singularly to those environments. In terms of rationalism it is logical and natural that American Jews should do so; in terms of prophecy, it is manifest destiny; in terms of the believer, this is part of the divine purpose. One may phrase this truth in whatever way seems natural to his spirit.

American Judaism must parallel the still unfinished process of American democracy. It must draw new inspiration from the American milieu and in turn give to America from its own well of spiritual resources.

In their long history, Jews have expressed various and sometimes inconsistent ideals and aspirations. One may find them all in Jewish literature. One must select and choose. Those that are consistent with the new American order should be intensified; the others should be dropped. Fortunately, the noblest in Judaism and therefore in the history of Jews can be welded without a seam with the noblest American tradition.

But the welding of the two traditions can come only if the Jew considers himself as an individual, integrated into an American society founded upon individual rights and responsibilities, seeking no special privileges or immunities, asking no special status or favors because he is a Jew or for the Jewish group or as parts of a Jewish community, a "Jewish civilization" or a Jewish "peoplehood".

There are some who fear that we cannot be Americans if we retain our Judaism, and others who fear that we will lose our Judaism if we are fully American. Both fears are baseless, springing from failure to remember the essential nature of Judaism as a religion of universalism adaptable to time and place. The danger is not that we shall lose Judaism but that we shall lose our Americanism by importing the kind of non-religious separatisms that were born in pre-democratic or pre-western theories of Jewish race, nationality or secular community.

The positive and the negative

Avoidance of what is wrong is thus a positive aspect of seeking that which is right. When what is wrong is currently trying to dominate our lives and pre-empt our faith, avoidance must become opposition. In such a context, active opposition is not only a virtue, it is a positive quality. To appease, ingratiate or to flee controversy is negative.

We oppose Zionism and secular withdrawal

It is precisely because we positively seek an American Judaism that we are compelled to oppose Zionism, for Zionism leads to a secular separation as the end result of its basic principle that Jews are a nation.* By these teachings Zionism, in our belief, will betray the essentials of Judaism and retreat into a fictitious past.

Exponents of Jewish racism or Jewish nationality are necessarily exponents of a Judaism that shrinks from its universal breadth to tribal particularisms and emphasizes secular differences. The shrunken religion delineates a nation, a race, and a status of secular withdrawal. The belief that Jewishness is part of a nation or race leads to a shrunken religion.

* Zionism advances the six characteristic claims of nationalistic movements; the claims of a common ancestry, common political interests, common national territory, common culture, common language, and a common national religion. By employing these claims, it leads to a secular, national segregation of Jews in the United States.

American life, in its freedom, will tolerate that status and that Judaism. But it will wall them off and pass them by. A status of Jews as a separate community "with an overriding interest in its own welfare" and a Judaism shrunk to fit, are inimical to a full and dignified life for Jews in the United States. They will create unnecessary tension between Jews and their fellow citizens, to the detriment of Jews. They will also -- to the detriment of America -- deprive America of much that the Judaic part of the Judaeo-Christian tradition has to offer American society but which it can impart only if Jews, as individuals, merge into the nation's life.

We therefore oppose all ideologies and organizations be they Jewish or non-Jewish, that regard Jews as an identifiable secular minority.

The American Jew must demand and receive from the American society all the rights of individual Americans. He has a right to expect them. But he must demand no privileges and accept no restraints of a separate group whether pressed upon him from without or tugging on him from within. If differences with our fellow men, stemming from the nature of the religion and the preservation of the Jew as an identifiable religious group, impose burdens, the burdens should be gladly borne, and there should be no complaint, for they will be the result of choice. But Jews should not multiply differences between themselves and Americans of other faiths that are no necessary part of Judaism.

In this pattern, Jews can live a fully integrated secular life and yet hold fast, as a matter of private and personal preference, to the Jewish faith, observing whatever interpretation of Judaism appeals to them.

We oppose the
"Organic Jewish community"

Our quest for an American Judaism also compels us to oppose the idea of an "organic Jewish community" in the United States, however rationalized in terms of "efficiency", "unity" or "democratizing the community." Democracy gives to everyone the freest right of individual choice. Only when a single decision or course of conduct is necessary does it apply the principle of obedience to majority rule. That principle presupposes that a group exists or ought to exist where a single rule of conduct must be had. Since it is heresy to say that Judaism as a religion requires a single or authoritarian organization, those who speak of "democratizing the Jewish community" tacitly conceive of American Jews as a secular and separate group and one so beleaguered by enemies that it requires a solid front. Such a conception we reject as false. It is contrary to the American ideal of a society in which human and civil rights are assured all citizens.

Which should be new,
the wine or the bottle

We oppose Zionism and secular withdrawal; we oppose the "organic Jewish community." And we oppose new wine in old bottles.

The essence of American Judaism may be said to be old wine in new bottles. The content, the essential spirit which gives warmth and strength, remains the same, ripened with time. The container is modernized and made more attractive.

But Zionism has increasingly emptied the old wine and filled the old bottles with new content. Step by step it has taken essentially religious concepts, customs, ceremonies, institutions and appeals and changed their meaning to a secular and national one.

Old wine in new bottles is attraction and preservation. It preserves the faith by holding to it those who might otherwise fall away, unable to see the contents because of cobwebs and illegible labels. New wine in old bottles is deception and destruction. It palms off one set of ideas under the trademark of another; it destroys the faith by replacing it with secular values.

The examples are legion. The name "Israel" is detached from a religious concept and attached to a political one. Religious schools are used to teach nationalism. Synagogues are used to float national bond issues. Religious holidays are used to celebrate occasions of national-political significance. Jews are called anti-Semitic. Two glaring examples are the subversions of Hebrew and charity.

Hebrew has had a place in Judaism in its prayers and its rituals. It is one of the particularisms treasured in varying degrees by different Jews and different groups in Judaism. But its place has been that of a link in a religious tradition, not that of a national tongue. It marked a faith, not a folk. The treasured Hebrew was the historical Hebrew of Sacred Writ, not the modern language of the State of Israel -- the language of a traditional literature, not of the politics or culture of a new state.

The subversion of Charity and Philanthropy

The Hebrew words for "justice" and "charity" are the same. Charity is a practical manifestation of Judaism. As such it views all men, whether Jew or not, as equal objects of its regard. Many American Jews have been prominent in voluntary non-sectarian philanthropies that have helped to build the United States.

Moreover, throughout history Jews have cared for other Jews, and increasingly in the last half century American Jews have been called on to carry the burden of alleviating the sufferings inflicted upon Jews in less democratic and less enlightened societies. Because of the fellowship with other Jews already noted and described, Jews more readily than others have sprung to the assistance of Jews, wherever situated. It is right that they have done so.

Faithful to an American Judaism, we wish to discharge the obligations of charity. Yet, with distress, we have seen great philanthropic institutions of American Jews infiltrated and finally dominated by Jewish nationalists. As a consequence, the meaning of the philanthropy has been subverted from its traditionally religious significance.

Jewish nationalism conceives of Jews outside the State of Israel as related to that state in a national bond. It conceives of all Jews, wherever they live, as "a nation", of American Jews as a minority group in the United States bound secularly to all Jews everywhere, and all Jews bound to the State of Israel.

Under that view, philanthropy ceases to be a voluntary response to a religious impulse and tends to become a kind of tax levied by a nation on its nationals for its national support.

These assumptions, and the program and propaganda that flow from them, are an assault on the status of Jews as individuals, as Americans, and as participants in the American society.

Philanthropy without subsidy
for a false philosophy

Since philanthropy is part of the religious tradition of Judaism, we desire to help less fortunate Jews abroad. But we must find a way to do so without at the same time subsidizing an ideology concerning the relationship of the Jew to himself, his neighbor, his country and the universe which we believe to be contrary to the true concept of Jewish history and to the soul of Judaism, and without commingling philanthropic funds with those used to finance activities that should be the national responsibility of a foreign state. Because of our basic views of Jews and Judaism, we are restive with the present American Jewish philanthropic structure and look for its reorganization so that any American may fulfil his charitable desires toward Jews, anywhere in need, without being untrue to his conscience.

Let there be no misunderstanding. We deny no right to Jewish nationalists to seek financial support. We seek only the equal right not to be compelled to support nationalistic ideologies in order to fulfil our religion.

Our relation to the
State of Israel

American Jews, seeking an American Judaism, confront the issue of their relationship to the State of Israel. This they must do, because the Zionists treat Judaism as bound to that State and philanthropy as the servant of the State.

The Council did not favor the creation of the State of Israel, for of its very nature such a State rests on basic views of Jews and Judaism that we do not share. However, we are concerned with the future, not the past. The State of Israel exists; we wish it well, but we regard it as we do any other foreign state -- with two exceptions, each springing from the fellowship of Jews:

First, most of the people of the State of Israel are Jews and so part of that fellowship, and a natural tendency of any fellowship is to warp judgment. American Jews must therefore be careful to be objective about the State of Israel. Since almost every Jewish organization in the United States has cast objectivity aside, the Council finds itself with a special duty. Since without justice Judaism is nothing, since Zionism treats Judaism and Jewish nationalism as equivalents, since non-Zionists will not speak, the Council must be alert to see and say that the unjust is nonetheless unjust, the mundane is still the mundane, wherever found.

Second, by manipulating the fellowship for counterfeit purposes, Zionism is using the State of Israel as a base to advance its twin concepts of Jewish nationalism and a shrunken Judaism matching it. It uses the State as a sort of haven north of a Yalu River to subvert our American view of Judaism and to herd us into a new ghetto. We shall not bomb north of this Yalu, but we must keep watch along the river line.

We try to distinguish between the State of Israel and the people who live there, for the State is just another foreign state but most of the people are not just citizens of a foreign state; they are members of our religious fellowship. We regard them with the same warmth as we regard Jews elsewhere throughout the world, and we wish to help those in need as we would Jews anywhere in need. But our regard and our wish are being frustrated by the fact that the people of Israel and the state are attached to Zionism, the essence of which is nationalism, and the result of which is hardships, problems, and

difficulties that ought never to exist. As the fellowship of Jews springs from the religion, it would be a subversion to violate our understanding of the religion in the name of a counterfeit fellowship permeated with Zionism.

But Zionism will some day vanish, unless Judaism has lost its strength. Or the State of Israel can shed its Zionism. If these events should happen, the fellowship would be free to express itself toward the people of the State of Israel.

III. THE WORK AND PURPOSE OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

The American Council for Judaism was organized and exists to advance and promote the foregoing views about Judaism and Jews.

It is not a "defense agency" or a "community relations council", as those terms are used to describe organizations combating anti-Semitism and promoting intergroup harmony, and it does not seek to intrude upon the work of such organizations. But it does seek to infuse their work, as well as that of others, with its concept of Judaism and the Jews. That concept, if acted upon, will make their work infinitely simpler. The Council recognizes the existence, past and present, of diverse viewpoints from which Jews seek to meet the problems that hold particular significance for them. Believing that decisions now being made by Jews from day to day will shape their lives and their future institutions, the Council tries to foresee the consequences of meeting these problems according to one or another of these viewpoints. Its approach to them is, we believe, more realistic than that of any other American Jewish organization.

The American Council for Judaism is not a religious denomination, and it does not seek to intrude upon the Synagogue. It is a society of laymen and rabbis which hopes to re-infuse all Jewish denominations with its concept of Judaism, a concept once widely accepted in this country. The Council's principles are equally compatible with the outlook of those who feel a need for institutionalized worship and those who do not. For the latter it seeks to furnish an understanding of Judaism and a program that offers a valid identification with Jewish tradition. For the former it seeks an expression that is not only true to that tradition but is also true to the American way of life. Its concept is compatible with Reform Judaism and with traditional Orthodoxy.

The Council hopes that once the issues of this problem are clarified, most American Jews will agree with it. It speaks only for its membership and holds that no organization or individual has the right to speak for all American Jews. It sustains a vigorous campaign of education on behalf of its principles. It encourages full and free debate. It regards efforts to blur the current differences of opinion or to rationalize them out of existence as a disservice. Such practices tend to prevent clarification and, thereby, solution.

The Council does not shudder at the thought that fellow Americans who are not Jews may know of these important differences of opinion. It regards the hush-hush of "public relations" men as misguided. The freedom of America permits Jewish nationalists and the proponents of Jewish separatism to advocate their philosophy. Since they fully utilize that freedom, and their philosophy leads them to convey the impression that they embrace all Jews, the only practical answer is public dissent and the public expression of our own philosophy.

The moral obligation of freedom is to choose -- after knowledge. The Council therefore urges all American Jews to inform themselves of the various ideologies that seek to shape their lives -- and then to choose.

The Council is the only organization that consistently champions the philosophy of individual freedom and cultural and secular integration of American Jews coupled with a retention of the Jewish religious tradition. It welcomes to its membership all those who agree with its principles, including those who, so agreeing, do not approve of all its methods at all times but are willing to offer their advice and service to help it more effectively attain its goals.

We regard the foregoing statement as a first outline of an American Judaism. We invite all who are in sympathy with our efforts to help us improve it, correct it if necessary, and in the course of time fill it out and draw out its meaning and its consequences.

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PANEL DISCUSSION

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESTATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

THE NEW SECULAR ORDER

by

Dr. Moise D. Levy

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 9, 1953

Mr. Lasky's paper covers a wide territory. This is as it should be. For he has attempted a restatement of principles for this organization as we pause, during this conference, to survey where we are, whence we have come and whither we are bound.

And if any one thing is clear from such a survey -- and it is reflected in the breadth of Mr. Lasky's effort -- it is that the interests and concerns of this American Council for Judaism no longer (if they ever did) "stop on a dime". We are not limited in our concern to a knothole evaluation of "Jewish" nationalism, defined in restrictive and therefore unrealistic dimensions. The problem does not originate with Israel, nor is it limited to the organized movement of Zionism. These are but the most obvious, dramatic manifestations of a problem that goes much deeper and extends much farther.

Dr. Silver himself has expressed this viewpoint, in connection with quite a different setting, in the course of a fairly recent address in this city of San Francisco. "...Zionism," he said, "is, of course, the supreme expression of Jewish nationalism." It may be properly inferred, I should think, that Dr. Silver's use of the superlative indicates his own belief that there are aspects and manifestations of "Jewish" nationalism of a lesser order than Zionism.

Mr. Lasky's paper, approaching the problem from a diametrically opposite direction, implies agreement. "Jewish" nationalism is bigger than Zionism. It can be said to be any form of secular, corporate existence for Jews. Mr. Lasky's paper therefore is an expression of opposition to secular separatism for Jews and it suggests the alternative approach of limiting separatism to religion. Where it is necessary for Jews to function as a separate group, in areas other than the religious, Mr. Lasky urges the suffusing of those functions with the religious, the universal rather than the secular and the politically restricted.

So the paper runs the gamut from the synagogue, to philanthropy to what the defense agencies have come to call "community relations". The Council, in itself, may be a specialist in none of these, although in some, where no other agency is serving Jews on the basis of universal and religious principles, the Council is beginning to program actively as something of a specialist. But its primary objective is to suffuse existing organizations with its basic viewpoint. If that cannot be accomplished, after example and patient negotiation, we shall do the best we can at performing these services ourselves.

The popular appeal which Mr. Lasky's paper has had among all of our membership that has been privileged to see it so far, indicates, I believe, that we are ready to take this position. It is a fearful responsibility. It implies a whole program for Jews in the United States -- or potentially such a program

except as other organizations may perform needed services within the pattern of our basic principles.

I hasten to add that as I have known the Council since its inception, this widening of horizons is not new. From the very first, our opposition to "Jewish" nationalism was grounded on broad, philosophical principles that expressed a total divergence from the philosophic basis of "Jewish" nationalism. At the beginning of our organizational career, we joined the issue at a single point; the question of Zionism and Zionism's national aspirations in Palestine. But the jointure was not arbitrary or categorical. It derived from general principles which were expressed in the very first, public statement of the organization.

Mr. Lasky's paper could not have been written until now. For while logic dictated to us that "Jewish" nationalism would continue even after its aspirations in Palestine were determined one way or another, we could not be positive. Now we know that our logic led us to accurate conclusions and Mr. Lasky's paper is the next logical step; our total answer to the totality of "Jewish" nationalism's secular segregation of Jews not alone in Israel but everywhere that Jews live.

I should say therefore that in -- and between -- the carefully written lines of Mr. Lasky's statement is to be found -- for us -- the shape of things to come. And so it is essential that we understand not only the words of that paper but the forces and meanings behind the words, as well.

My responsibility this afternoon is to expand somewhat, for the purpose of a free discussion with you here, the implications of a phrase in Mr. Lasky's statement; a phrase which those of us who heard the prelude to this paper in Washington a little over a year ago heard Mr. Lasky use for the first time. The phrase is "the new order of the ages". It is a phrase that is used in this restatement and which was used last year also in a context of the French Revolution and the early years of the United States of America.

Now aside from the fact that it is a thrilling, exciting combination of words, Mr. Lasky really makes this phrase -- and the period it describes -- the point of departure for his restatement of Council policy.

I am sure Mr. Lasky will not feel in any way neglected if I point out that his statement today is not the first time a Council spokesman has related the principles of this organization to that period, three quarters of the way through the 18th century. Back in 1945, at the first annual conference of this group, Elmer Berger said:

"...Our traditions reach back to the middle of the eighteenth century; to a century and a half before Zionism became an organized movement among Jews. Western Europe and America were stirring with the revolutions which heralded a new era in the history of man. The fundamental principle of that new era was freedom, based upon the belief that individual men were endowed with certain inalienable rights..."

"...Great liberals in France, in England and even in Germany waged endless battles for full participation by Jews in the lives of these states; founded upon the revolutionary doctrine

of individual rights. And where freedom prevailed for all men, it prevailed too for the Jew. The principle upon which the Jew was admitted to that freedom was the universal principle of the new world; the recognition of inalienable rights in INDIVIDUAL man. It was a great liberal, Clermont-Tonnere, a member of the first Assembly of the First French Republic, who clearly enunciated the principle in these words, "To the individual Jew, everything; to the Jews as a nation, nothing."...

The idea was further developed in Dr. Berger's book, "The Jewish Dilemma".

And as I trust Mr. Lasky will not feel neglected if he is not credited with this idea as a revelation, so I trust Dr. Berger will admit that he did not invent the idea either. The fact is -- and it lends strength and tradition and prestige to our position -- that the so-called period of emancipation is recognized as a dividing line in the history of Jews. Mr. Lasky's and Dr. Berger's service has been that they have called that division to public attention at a time when, for reasons I need not detail here, prevailing opinion among Jews has attempted to throw a curtain over any divisions among Jews. Worse, some devotees of "Jewish unity" and "Jewish peoplehood" have expressed public regret at the emancipation. Sometimes this public regret is explicit, as in the frequent utterances of Ludwig Lewisohn. Sometimes it is only implicit, as in the not infrequent reminders from Zionist sources that it can happen in America. It is explicit, too, in Herzl, the founder of Zionism, who warned that wherever Jews went they would create anti-Semitism.

The documentation could be extended. But it is clear that where "Jewish" nationalism and the Council divide is in their fundamentally different appraisals of the hope and promise of "the new order of the ages".

In that new order, as Mr. Lasky pointed out,

"...man is not a mere cell in an organism; he is an individual, important in his own right, and the groups to which he belongs and through which he acts serve his individual ends, not he theirs. In the same spirit and the same tradition a Jew should not be a member of a Jewish community by virtue of birth or other organic force but an entity who voluntarily seeks to be identified as a Jew in one aspect of his life -- his religion..."

Now, what has all this to do with "Jewish" nationalism and the Council? Or, to put it another way, how or by what logic or right does Mr. Lasky make the transition from the individual rights granted Jews -- along with all other men -- to the firm statement that "a Jew should not be a member of a Jewish community by virtue of birth or other organic force but is an entity who voluntarily seeks to be identified as a Jew in one aspect of his life -- his religion."

This is the crux of the Lasky paper. And to understand this crux, we must take a look at the period of the birth of this "new order of the ages".

Before the French Revolution and the birth of American democracy, Jews were generally regarded as one of the castes in a feudal and medieval world. They were hardly regarded as a nation. They were a caste because of their religious divergence in religiously centered and dominated states. But the fact that they were treated as a caste, even if because of religion, resulted in their living in ways that made them a "nation within a nation".

They lived as separate corporations. A less polite word was "ghetto". There they lived entirely Jewish lives. For the most part every aspect of their lives was regulated by Jewish laws administered by Jews.

Now those whose ideology in Jewish history is best served by making it appear that Jews have been singled out for persecution ever since they ceased being a nation in ancient Palestine have presented a distorted picture of the ghetto. Actually, there were Jews who favored it -- as the Jews of Holland who resisted emancipation in 1795. Dr. Salo W. Baron, anything but a member of the American Council for Judaism, but recognized as one of the outstanding contemporary Jewish historians, says in his "Social and Religious History of the Jews",

"...A Jewish quarter in ancient Alexandria or Sardes, in medieval Cairo or Cordova, carried no connotation of inferiority. In fact, Talmudic rabbis and even more vigorously some Karaites (a sect in Jewish life at that time) insisted upon separatism on practical as well as ritualistic grounds."

Again, the same author says:

"In 1492 there was enacted in Portugal the first general law regulating ghetto life. Although adopted at the request of a nationwide Jewish deputation, its main provisions were very harsh... In Verona and Mantua the erection of the Ghetto walls was long after celebrated by the local community in an annual festival modeled after Purim."

Official Jews therefore, you must remember, were inclined to favor the ghetto. It represented something of a privilege to them.

In charge of these walled-off corporations were men who were the products of their age; theocrats, tyrants, advocates of rigorously disciplined communities in which the individual was completely lost.

Elsewhere, Dr. Salo Baron says of the ghetto:

"...What it lacked in police or military facilities for law enforcement, it more than compensated for by super-natural sanctions of religion, which made of every deviation from the norm, however slight and however secular in character, a serious offense against religion. Even the offender who felt he was sure to escape earthly justice, was likely to be troubled by conscience, haunted by fears of supernatural damnation."

This is a theme which deserves more attention than I have time to give it here. I quote a final sentence or two from Baron:

"Nevertheless, the widespread belief that Jewish life in medieval Europe consisted in an uninterrupted series of migrations and sufferings, of disabilities and degradation, is to be relegated to the realm of popular misconceptions. The Middle Ages were neither in themselves the dark ages they were once thought to have been; nor were they as dark for the Jews, in comparison with the rest of the population, as is still widely believed..."

The life of the medieval Jew therefore was not the vale of tears our popular historians would have us believe. Much of the segregation was self-elected. It was as much a privilege granted Jews as the privileges that were granted the clerics, nobility and the guilds.

Small wonder then that when there moved through Europe the first breath of "the new order of the ages" great liberal spirits should have demanded the termination of these privileges for Jews as well as the termination of other privileges that had fragmented European society. To be sure, in some places, the privilege of segregation had been turned into the bitterness of discrimination. And where this had happened, liberal architects of the new order, imbued with their plans for an egalitarian society, demanded that equality include also the Jews.

So, from either motive, the feudal separatism of secular Jewish corporative organization was to go. The Jew was to emerge from the caste society, to leave behind his separateness in all aspects of his life but his faith. And let it be emphasized that none of the emancipators, Jews or Christians, ever considered asking Jews to give up their faith. On the contrary, in this "new order of the ages" where church was to be separated from state, the religion of the Jew was to interfere with his equal status no more than the religion of any other citizen. And precisely because the new society was to be one in which church and state would be separate, the Jew was to be permitted to bring with him, into that society, no more of his ghetto way of life with its own secular authority and laws, than any other citizen wanting the equality of the new order.

Now Jewish nationalists have called this compact unfair. This charge is more a condemnation of "Jewish" nationalism than of the new societies. For it admits the incompatibility of their philosophy with the way of life that undergirds the Western ideals of democracy, founded on the rights of the individual. What the compact demanded and what "Jewish" nationalists thought unfair about it was that it explicitly and vigorously withdrew the corporate privileges to a separate Jewish peoplehood which had obtained in the pre-democratic states.

One would think that the explanation of Mr. Lasky's point could stop here. Yet if that were possible, there would be little reason for him to have introduced it into a paper in 1953, particularly when that paper is designed to deal with the future more than with the past.

Actually, of course, we know that the problem of separate, secular corporativeness for Jews is a problem still with us. To us, in the Council, it is the problem. The corporate entity of the State of Israel and of the Zionist movement is only one facet.

And so we have next to explore, for a moment why, after a century and a half, we are still confronted with this problem.

There are two basic reasons. First, the libertarian ideas of the French Revolution did not touch all of Europe. From Germany eastward, they were thrown back and even the might of Napoleon could not penetrate what even then was a curtain of darkness, of ethnic-centeredness, of romanticisms that held out against the rationalism of the West. And on top of these rejections of the West's rational nationalism, there came to Europe in the 1870's the intense movements of nationalism. What had been privileged segregation in feudalism now became exclusion from nationalisms based upon race, religion, cultures and ethnic origins. And Jews literally became nations within nations. As such they were hounded and persecuted. Those who could, fled. Those who had to remain -- or

who chose to remain in those countries of the dark corridor -- took to themselves the ways of the romantic, ethnic nationalists who lived around them. And they created a romantic, ethnic nationalism that was a carbon copy, in every way, of the nationalisms of Eastern Europe.

I pause here for a moment to underscore another point in Mr. Lasky's statement. To relate this East European "Jewish" nationalism to Judaism or to the traditional Jew's Messianic conception of Zion is a distortion which could have been practiced successfully only on a group of Jews as uninformed as the Jews of America. Say what one will, the "Jewish" nationalists of Eastern Europe were, for the most part, under no illusions about the secularism of their movement.

In any event, the pattern of secular, corporate separateness existed in Eastern Europe. And it was imported to America, as Mr. Lasky points out, by the great wave of immigration from that area early in this century.

The second reason why we are faced with the problem in America today is that such secular separateness, in America, serves the cause of organized Zionism well; and organized Zionism, in the last two decades, has become the dominant factor in American Jewish life although not always in a direct and obvious way. But when you add to the organized Zionist movement, the UJA, the non-Zionists who do Zionist bidding, the Jewish community centers and other infiltrated organisms, the pervasive character of "Jewish" nationalism becomes clear.

And it need not be labored here why "Jewish" nationalism has kept alive, fed, and exploited the tendency to separate, secular corporate existence which the East European immigration imported to the United States.

So the issue remains joined. Perhaps instead of talking about "Jewish" nationalism or Zionism, the Council should make clear that its point of divergence from most other organizations of Jews is over the question of this separate, corporate existence at the secular level. Then it could hammer away at this crux of Mr. Lasky's paper which is that the "new order of the ages" cannot -- I stress the word cannot rather than should not -- tolerate this secular separatism.

It cannot tolerate it because it is a reversion to pre-democratic principles; because it subverts the whole spirit and morality of the democratic world. It fragments societies at places where a united, free people cannot be fragmented and remain strong in their freedom. It substitutes the corporation based on birth or differing ethnic background or faith for the rights of the individual.

It is against this background that we must evaluate the contemporary responsibilities of the Council. For the corporate political body of a Zionism committed to Israel is not the only corporate secularity on the American Jewish scene. We are faced with a growing authoritarianism in the National Community Relations Advisory Council. Here is a group aspiring to speak for an anomaly called an American Jewish Community. We see the Union of American Hebrew Congregations being integrated into this authoritarianism for the purpose, mark you, of fostering better interfaith understanding. What a contradiction of terms! We see a UJA publicly admitting that its alleged philanthropic receipts are a necessary part of the economy of Israel. We even see defense organizations, no longer defending the status of the Jew as an individual but becoming apologists for Jewish secular differences by arguing that America is a society of pluralistic cultures and that Jews may hold to cultural apartness as one of many ethnically and culturally separate groups.

To all this we should turn our attention. These, as I see them, are the implications of the crux of Mr. Lasky's paper. And Mr. Lasky, being what he is, was under intellectual and moral compulsion to make this the crux of his paper. For, as he pointed out, the man he is today, as an American Jew, is the result of two forces. The one is the prophetic, universal tradition of our faith which we heard discussed on Friday afternoon. The other is the great, new secular order which comes to us from Locke and Voltaire, from Milton and Rousseau, from Thomas Paine and Jefferson, from the French Rights of Man and the American Bill of Rights.

This is our heritage. In it we need sacrifice nothing of our Judaism. Rather, this heritage and the universality of our Judaism combine in this organization, as they did in Mr. Lasky's address a few moments ago, to compel us to beat down the walls of the spiritual ghettos that still exist. We want none of the discriminations of Eastern Europe. We want none of the privileges of the feudalistic "Jewish community". "Jewish" nationalists want the second and are prepared to risk the first.

When we see the Council in this broad way, we shall see it whole; its whole responsibility and its whole opportunity. We shall understand the forces arrayed against us -- knowing that they are of long standing and deeper than the headlines of the daily newspapers or Mr. Ben-Gurion's latest pronouncement. We shall see our work then as an integral part of mankind's great struggle to perfect this way of equality which we call democracy.

I am moved to call to your attention a part of a remarkable document which comes to us from one of the Jews of France who lived at the time of the Revolution. Standing, as he did, on the threshold of this "new order of the ages" he saw clearly what needed to be done by Jews so that they, together with all men who had inherited pre-democratic ideas of privilege or discrimination, should be able to participate fully in the new societies. In 1791, Isaac Berr, in a public letter (I emphasize to those who fear to state clearly our position that it was a public letter) said to the Jews of France,

"At length the day has arrived on which the veil is torn asunder which covered us with humiliation. We have at last obtained the rights of which we have been deprived for eighteen centuries...

"...Let us examine with attention what remains to be done on our part...and how we may be able to show in some measure our grateful sense...

"The name of active citizen which we have just obtained is without doubt the most precious title a man can possess in a free empire; but this title alone is not sufficient; we should possess also the necessary qualifications to fulfill the duties annexed to it. We ourselves know how very deficient we are in that respect... We must then, dear brethren, strongly bear this truth in our minds; that, till such a time as we work a change in our manners, in our habits, in short in our whole education, we cannot expect to be placed by the esteem of our fellow citizens in any of those situations in which we can give signal proofs of that glowing patriotism so long cherished in our bosoms.

"God forbid that I should mean anything derogatory to our professed religion... But I cannot too often repeat to you how absolutely necessary it is for us to divest ourselves entirely of the narrow spirit of corporation and congregation, in all

civil and political matters not immediately connected with our spiritual laws. In these things we must absolutely appear simply as individuals, as Frenchmen, guided only by a true patriotism and by the general good of the nation.

"We must...avail ourselves of the resources offered to us by sending our children to share the advantages of national education in public schools... By means of that union in schools our children, like those of our fellow citizens, will remark from their tender youth that neither opinions nor difference of religion are a bar to fraternal love; and that everyone naturally embracing the religion of his father, all may, in fulfilling their religious duties, fulfill also that of citizenship.."

With due respect to Dr. Berger and Mr. Lasky, I submit that here in this document, is the antecedent of their thinking. And I submit to this American Council for Judaism that, faced as we are with an exactly opposite trend, here too is our charge, our direction, our positive goal for as far ahead as we need to see now on this, our tenth anniversary.

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VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

by
I. Edward Tonkon

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 9, 1953

We have just been privileged to listen to a most brilliant essay. It represents a veritable millenia of hours of studious personal research and a back and forth consultation with the best minds of the Council and in its final form reflects Mr. Lasky's unusual erudition. I know I express the very sincere and abiding thanks of all of you to him for his labors in this God's vineyard.

He would however be the first to warn all of us against losing sight of the real objective of the American Council for Judaism, as an educational organization which came into being out of necessity - a necessity caused by purposeful confusion of the very nature of Judaism as a religion. He would likewise admonish vigilance on our part, lest in the abysmalities of theological casuistry and exiguous differences of form and practice within Judaism, which can well become somewhat abstract in nature, that we forget our real purpose and our real quest and our real responsibility as an educational institution. Essentially our task is to teach what constitutes a Jew and just what constitutes the religion of Judaism.

The masterful paper we just heard stressed three basic principles involved in our identification as Jews as we in the Council acknowledge and welcome that identification, and it is my assignment to discuss but one of these. However before doing so, I should like to observe that in Mr. Lasky's "evolution of theology" he has stated Judaism's present status without too much reference to its long development alongside the development of other religions. I suppose it is his courtly appreciation of the amenities of the occasion as well as his innate legal understanding of terminal facilities that precluded his elaboration of what I think is necessary to state in this whole discussion that in the development of the Israelitic religion both rationally and as to ethical content, it was not a little influenced by other contemporary developing religions and cultures. While Judaism never became absorbed, it absorbed; while it never became assimilated, it assimilated and today its faith, its reason, rationale and ethical content is therefore the result of what Biblical science calls "acculturation".

While Judaism reached an elevation and ethical approach in the prophetic age which has never since been surpassed, the prophets wittingly or unwittingly found a religion of legality and adaptability as well as of moral and ethical values. Their stress upon spirit instead of form is today the real basis of Judaism. I hope I shall be forgiven for taking time to discuss what might not be within my realm but I sincerely feel that we must fully understand the background of the development of pristine Judaism if we are to be successful in our educational efforts to disassociate the distorted political aspects and the "nation" concept.

Now as to the three principles involved in our identification. Two of these principles can be stated positively. One is that we are Jews by religion, with emphasis upon the universalisms of Judaism. The other is that our identification as Jews is one of voluntary association and choice. One principle must be stated negatively. It is that we are not a national, ethnic or other secular separatist group. To those who are squeamish, let me with understanding for their squeamishness, say that we cannot avoid the negation nor should we try to evade it. There are powerful forces actively affirming that which we negate. There are also powerful inertias among the masses of people which tend to support the contention - without thinking about it - because for a thousand years a benighted Europe treated Jews like a "nation within a nation". There were Jews then as there are Jews now who enjoyed the designation and cherished it as a virtue. So the negation of "Jewish" nationhood is an important and indispensable part of our work. The negation therefore is really positive for the negation of something wrong is a positive action.

It is however not my purpose to, at this time, deal with this negation. My purpose here is to discuss one of the inherently positive principles stressed in the paper - that of voluntary association and choice.

Tomorrow morning, I hope we shall thoroughly discuss the entire paper and adopt in abridged form its undiluted essence as a formal platform of the Council. Much of the reasoning process will be deleted and we shall be confronted, in many places, with conclusions only. We ought to understand those conclusions thoroughly and we should be prepared to discuss them intelligently as they are brought under attack - as surely they will be.

Of the three basic principles upon which the whole structure of the essay rests, that of voluntary association is perhaps the least well understood in all its implications. Those ramifications run the gamut from semantics to overt actions and programs of Jews in the United States today. We ought to understand them, completely. Merely to say that we are Jews by voluntary association is not enough. When pressed, even the Zionists say theirs is an association of voluntary membership - which, of course it is. Zionists also say they believe in integration. After ten years, however, we of the Council should know that when Zionists use these terms they simply do not mean the same things we mean when we use them. We cannot afford to be confused by labels.

It may be well, as a starting point, to inquire into the historical antecedents of the subject. As history is measured, the right of voluntary association is largely a modern liberal idea. Medieval society precluded the privilege, largely by assuming that by birth, or faith, or occupation, a man's caste was pre-determined. The right of voluntary association therefore is related to two great principles of the libertarian world of which we are a part.

- (a) Human freedom and the privilege and responsibility of free men to choose their course of action based upon reason and information available to them in a free society, and

- (b) The dignity of the individual and his inalienable rights to live as the supremely important unit of free societies. In freedom, this individual was free to join those voluntary associations which he selected by choice because he believed they would advance his human dignity. He was also, equally free, to refrain from associations which he felt - rightly or wrongly - reduced his human dignity.

Now this condition did not always prevail among men. It did not prevail for Jews as it did not prevail for labor or the emergent capitalist class in the Middle Ages. In a way, it did not prevail even for the nobility of those stratified societies. Jews did not suffer alone for electing, as they usually did, an association against which there were sanctions and strictures.

The fact that the early American colonies were populated so largely by religious refugees and that the early United States welcomed so many political refugees is history's most eloquent proof that the deprivation of the right of voluntary association was practically universal. Or, to put it another way, it can hardly be said that it existed at all.

But the great new order referred to ushered in that right as one of its cornerstones. The proclamation of the right did not mean it was fully realized. It is not even fully realized today. Realization of it is one of democracy's items of unfinished business. And so our consideration of the problem here is not exclusively a Jewish problem, in its broadest aspects. It is simply a Jewish aspect of a large, American problem.

Now there is one facet of the problem to which Jews have paid a large amount of attention. To the extent that anti-Semitism limits - or attempts to limit - the right of Jews to voluntary association, Jews have been alert and have designed programs intended to challenge such restrictive efforts.

These are called "defense programs" and they, too, run the gamut of meeting restrictive efforts aimed only at Jews, on all levels from semantics to programming in more concrete ways. It is not my purpose here to give a full evaluation of these programs but I should like to say in passing that I have always felt that it would be far more effective and more in consonance with the universalistic aspects of Judaism, if such efforts were pooled with organizations that are concerned with removing restrictions of any and all kinds that lead to bigoted attitudes among all peoples, regardless of color, race, or creed.

We object to limitations on our social life, because we are Jews. We object to restrictions as to where we can own property. We object to designations of Jews that imply their activities, politically, are restricted by considerations of a limiting factor other than those placed upon all Americans. We protest against the deprivation of opportunities for work and education when those deprivations of what should be voluntary choices are based on the fact that we are Jews.

Without indulging in a discussion here of the defense techniques which are employed, let me say that, in principle, efforts to prevent Jews from being deprived of their right to exercise their volition in these areas are valid. We sometimes lump all of these things together in one or both of two terms that, in my opinion, are much over-worked. The slogan makers are always reminding Jews about prejudice and more particularly about the specific prejudice known as anti-Semitism. But the two terms have been so labored and tortured that they have lost real significance. We probably can never get at all the prejudices of man as long as man is a human being. Even we Jews have some prejudices although it would be difficult to detect them in all the propaganda we put out, in one way or another, on the subject. But what we can work toward - and what we can probably enlist the help of other Americans to work toward - is the reduction and eventually, perhaps, the elimination of those situations where the right of Jews to voluntary association and the exercise of their volition in aspects of living where they should be entitled to voluntary choice is reduced or deprived entirely because prejudice spills over into what might be called the public domain.

But there is a phase of voluntary association and identification as Jews to which Jews - except for this American Council for Judaism - have paid too little attention. If we want - as we do - the right of such free association then, like all other rights, there follow corresponding responsibilities. The responsibility here is to live and act as if we really are a voluntary association.

With increasing prevalence, Jews have failed to do this in the last quarter of a century. The failure is the result of a combination of many circumstances. Only a few of the more obvious complexities can be listed here.

1. There has been an organized group - among Jews - to whom voluntary association with Judaism, as free individuals, represents a threat. I speak, of course, of the "Jewish" nationalists. Organized Zionists are only a fraction of these segregationalists. Included also are the "Jewish community" advocates, the fund-raisers and even some of our religious organizations.

Note that if you are - because born a Jew - a member of a Jewish nation or community, you have reverted to the medieval notion of limiting a man's choice by his blood or birth. Note also that if the kind of Judaism you promote is limited to some common denominator called a "Jewish people" and if that religion must bear in mind the majority sensibilities of a so-called community or nation, you make the individual's or the congregation's spiritual values subservient to a mass larger than the group whose spiritual integrity should be the primary consideration of the religious institution.

Joseph Wood Krutch, writing recently in the Saturday Reivew of Literature, about the near "demise" of the "gentleman and scholar" and the rise of the "common man", asked the question, "Can we have an Age of the Common Man without also having an Age of the Common Denominator?", and concluded by saying, "ultimate responsibility for the future rests with the thinkers and the educators whose most important

social task at the moment is to define democratic culture in some fashion which will both reserve a place for uncommon excellence and, even in connection with the largest masses, emphasize the highest rather than the lowest common denominator." It seems to me that this is just as applicable to religion and for our concern in Judaism.

This happened in Reform Judaism in 1937 when the drafters of the so-called Columbus Platform said Judaism was the soul of a body limited to Israel - meaning the Jewish people, at that time. Ever since then, Reform Judaism has feared to be a denomination for a group of Jews with a definite ideology and interpretation of Judaism. It has become instead a lowest common denominator for people who are just no longer Orthodox or Conservative. I could not be classed as an authority on orthodoxy or conservatism, but it is my impression that they are not much different in outlook. Instead of firm and convictioned principles, they both have an eye on as many Jews as possible who are just not linked up in some other denomination.

Now all these restricters of the right to voluntary choice and association fear those Jews who deny any obligations to a so-called "Jewish community" and enter into voluntary organizations, speak only for themselves, but say what they mean. So the Council is unpopular in almost every place in Jewish life where there is little thought given to these problems. For the Council is really a voluntary organization. It owes no community projects anything. As no other group, it has asserted the right of voluntary association - and reacted with the corresponding responsibility of using that right to exercise and declare publicly its free choice. This is treason to the restricters of this voluntary right. Conflict between the two is inevitable.

2. A second reason why the restricters among Jews have had a field day is that the masses of Jews, like all masses of people, are less than vigilant about their rights. They exchange rights for slogans and leaders for phrase makers. The constant criticisms of the Council that it is disturbing the peace and that it refuses to acknowledge the need for something called "Jewish unity" are superficialities. What these people really mean - although they do not know it themselves - is that we have refused to sell our right of voluntary association and identification as Jews to those who would substitute community or national rights.

It is preposterous to talk about a majority opinion among a so-called American Jewish community. Who comprises this community and what is its authority and who has determined its majority opinions and by what measure?

American Jews have lost some of their liberty because they have asked for the right of voluntary choice from that part of our world that is not Jewish. But they have failed to exercise that right when to do so entailed conflict with the restricters and deprivors of that right among Jews themselves.

This same, so-called "Jewish community" calls for a separation of church and state in the larger American scene. It has legal right on its side in so doing. But the same fictitious entity of a "Jewish community" is eloquently silent about that peculiar combination of church and state known as Zionism.

I mention these paradoxes because they are not accidents. The restricters of voluntary choice are also the protagonists for economic sanctions, suppression of any but "party" line speech or press and alliance of church and state - among Jews. To the rest of the world they are self-advertised "liberals".

The great majority of American Jews are prepared to practice their liberalism in absentia, insofar as these problems are concerned. They have however refused to stand out against the deprivations of voluntary rights and choice practiced by other Jews.

3. A third reason why these deprivations have been so successful has to do with carelessness in language. Those who favor Jewish separatism use the device of language effectively. Instead of speaking of Jews, they speak of a "Jewish Community". Instead of speaking of Judaism, they talk of Jewishness, not the "Jewishness" implied by the covenant and the mission of Israel, but a "Jewishness" characterized by mores of the era of the Ghetto, of gesticulations, foods, etcetra that are indigenous to a particular country and not the moral and ethical facets. Instead of speaking of Jews, they talk of "the Jewish people" but not as the "People of the Book", that we are.

The cumulative impression on the public opinion of the United States is to encourage a consideration of Jews as a separate collectivity, rather than as individuals. And to the extent that this opinion prevails, the right of voluntary association and choice are also reduced and there is substituted for them the concepts of caste and a collective will of this fictionalized entity.

Let me give you a couple of examples. No one could object if the people interested in selling Israeli bonds were to hold a conference for the purpose of promoting such sales. But we never witness such a simple meeting. We are treated rather to "leadership conferences" where the nation's press is told "representatives of X-number of Jewish communities were present." The U.J.A. does the same thing.

Now since Jewish is a more inclusive term than bond salesman or U.J.A. solicitors, these people infringe our right of voluntary association and choice. We have therefore only one recourse, if we wish to remain Jews. We must object - protest.

I submit this is no negation. It is a simple, elemental, positive affirmation of our American right. If we do not exercise this right by discharging its corresponding responsibility, we may lose the right.

4. Finally, I should like to point out to you another fear that motivates those who would restrict this right of voluntary association and choice. They fear that if Jews are too free to exercise such volition they will cease being Jews. For let us face the issue squarely. The ultimate logic of Mr. Lasky's paper is that if one no longer wishes to be a Jew, he should be free to terminate his association. Contrarily, anyone who wishes to become a Jew, no matter what his previous faith or national origin, may do so by the simple act of choosing such an association, and this has always been true.

The fear of complete emancipation as a prelude to assimilation is not new. There were Jews a century and a half ago who resisted the dissolution of the ghetto because they felt the ghetto preserved Jews and Judaism.

There is more than a little of this among the modern collectivists among Jews. Israel proposes to save Judaism if only all the resources of Jews outside of Israel are focused on that country. It might save some people of the Jewish faith but it cannot save Judaism, for Judaism is a thought. A new N.C.R.A.C. is to be the supreme arbiter of what is good and what is bad for American Jews. And, oddly enough, suddenly the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League find that voluntarism rather than community responsibility is the basis of their work. Oddly enough, too, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations which once represented the body of Jews most vigorously opposed to authoritarianism, is now more firmly established in this N.C.R.A.C.

It is therefore fairly clear that organizational expediency dictates most of these actions and that American Jews lack any full appreciation of the significance of this right of voluntary association and choice, as Jews.

This lack also minimizes their appreciation of the value of the American Council for Judaism. For alone, among Jewish organizations during this past decade, by action and through precision of language, the Council, on principle, has adhered to this basic American principle. We believe in a free Judaism in a free market of ideas. We have faith in Judaism and are not afraid that if it is a free faith it will evaporate. In order to preserve it, we are not satisfied to wall it in - and Jews with it - with peoplehoods, national obligations to a foreign state. We resist coercion in the assumption of Jewish responsibilities - and I stress this point - because we believe Judaism is a religion and its responsibilities are moral responsibilities. Only in terms of city, state, or national responsibilities is coercion considered proper. We call philanthropy, philanthropy - not a tax, as the Jewish merchants of high pressure fund-raising consider it. And we look upon Judaism not as the witches' brew of national culture, of which religion is only a part, as the collectivists consider it. Judaism to us is a free, spiritual expression of absolutely free men. They come to it voluntarily. And, in turn, we believe it should help them make these free, voluntary moral choices that are at the heart of our whole American way of life a corollary of Judaism's universality.

Again, with all deference to Mr. Lasky's brilliant paper, I call your attention to the Council's long-standing defiance of the several restrictions on voluntary choice which, for the most part, other organizations of Jews seek to impose.

In 1949, we resolved officially:

"One fundamental moral principle common to both Judaism and Americanism is the inalienable sanctity of the individual and his conscience.

"We denounce the use of coercion and intimidation in fund-raising and in the discussion of public issues.

"We call upon our co-religionists to conduct all organized efforts for fund-raising and for creating public opinion with the most meticulous regard to the basic freedoms of America and Judaism respecting the individual's freedom of conscience."

In 1950, we said:

"It is fundamental that no organization or group of organizations, including this one, has the right to speak for all American Jews. In particular, we resent the practice of Zionist organizations or others, in issuing statements in behalf of the 'Jewish community' of a city or of the nation. We emphatically deny their right to speak for anyone but their own members."

In 1951 we expanded the idea to say more clearly:

"A fundamental premise of the American Council for Judaism is the American concept of individual rights and responsibilities.

"This ideal of individual rights is the basis for unity of all people of America and the principle which, through the 'melting pot' of American society, is creating a unique American nationality compounded from the diverse origins of its citizens.

"The well-being of all Americans lies in the full participation of the individual, as an individual, in the whole life of the country. The effort to organize Jews into a distinct 'Jewish community' conflicts with this basic element of the American tradition and fosters, in America, the concept of organized minorities similar to those existing in Eastern Europe.

"We, therefore, reject and oppose the concepts of a separate 'American Jewish Community' and the corollary of separate 'Jewish rights' in America.

"We reaffirm that no organization of Jews, including this one; and no group of Jewish organizations and no individual Jew, has the right to speak for all American Jews."

Last year, basing our position on the MacIver Report, we said:

"That direct promotion of an integrated life with other Americans and the removal of obstacles to integration, arising from within the Jewish group itself, are of equal if not greater importance than the removal of obstacles created by other groups.

"That outside of their religion Jews do not and ought not to possess a unity in interest or objective."

We are therefore, no newcomers to this position. Mr. Lasky has eloquently summarized and climaxed a trend that motivated the Council's very organization ten years ago; a trend of which we became clearly conscious four years ago and singled out for special mention and which we have been articulating more clearly ever since. I am delighted that it is incorporated as one of the three bases for our identification of ourselves as Jews.

In many ways, this one of the three principles makes the opposition to the Council understandable. We are the breath of freedom and democracy in a so-called Jewish community that reeks with the authoritarianism of medieval times. The way of the libertarian revolutions against the medievalcrats was not easy either. Also, much of what we do that is called negative is negative only because so much of what else is done by Jews is in the pattern of deprivation of this right of free, voluntary choice by the individual. So we are opposed. But in our opposition give force to the most positive affirmation of a basic American right. Let us not relent our efforts.

And finally, let us be careful of our language and our actions. When we think, let us think as individual Americans. When we speak let us avoid the cliches and the pat phrases. And when we act, let us act like free men, treating the suggestion of Jewish community disciplines or responsibilities with the contempt such ideology deserves. For we wish to be free and to maintain our freedom. And the reason we wish to be free is to be able to participate, on the widest possible level of American life, on the basis of free, voluntary choice and association. How can we expect others to honor that right if we do not exercise the responsibility that goes with it, ourselves? I am all for meeting anti-Semitism wherever it may be found. But I submit to this audience that if anti-Semitism means, in practical terms, the deprivation of the right of voluntary association and choice because one is a Jew, then the "Jewish community" advocates, the "unity" proponents, the "nationalists" are no less guilty of assaults against the individual Jews than the recognized anti-Semites. And if to stand out against these pressures and coercions, to give our charity where we will, to say what we believe on political problems, to have a Judaism that is for us - and not for a mythical "Jewish people" - if all this is negative, then let us be the greatest negators in the world, as are the Ten Commandments. I am weary of arguing with adjectives. And the world is in too parlous a state to distinguish between tyrannies - whether they be inspired by Gerald Smith or come from the political morality of Herzl. Both belong to the Middle Ages. If mankind is to survive it will have to be by greater - not less - freedom; by more individual freedom, not more statehood; by man's voluntary acceptance of responsibilities as a member of a free community not through black-mailing him into submission into a community of blood, doctrinaire ideology or sacred earth. I believe the American Council for Judaism challenges these medievalisms as no other organization of Jews. It knows what being a Jew by voluntary choice and association means and its membership has demonstrated it knows how to carry the burdens of freedom as well as rejoice in its privileges.

The American Council for Judaism also understands and glories in Judaism and its teachings of the one God, of unity, brotherhood, peace and a Messianic era in God's time. It also understands the Mission and therefore regards the dispersion as Providential and we further understand that our destiny lies in our religious practices and teachings as a voluntary religious group. To such an undaunted, unobstructed view we here on this 10th Anniversary of the founding of the Council rededicate and reconsecrate our efforts and our purposes to their ultimate realization for the good of all mankind.

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JUSTICE AND CHARITY ARE THE SAME

by

Harry Snellenburg, Jr.

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 10, 1953

The title of this paper, "Justice and Charity are the Same", is taken unchanged from the language of a section of Mr. Lasky's report headed, "The Subversion of Charity and Philanthropy". The salient paragraph from Mr. Lasky's paper says:

"Philanthropy without subsidy
for a false philosophy"

"Since philanthropy is part of the religious tradition of Judaism, we desire to help less fortunate Jews abroad. But we must find a way to do so without at the same time subsidizing an ideology concerning the relationship of the Jew to himself, his neighbor, his country and the universe which we believe to be contrary to the true concept of Jewish history and to the soul of Judaism, and without commingling philanthropic funds with those used to finance activities that should be the national responsibility of a foreign state. Because of our basic views of Jews and Judaism, we are restive with the present American Jewish philanthropic structure and look for its reorganization so that any American may fulfil his charitable desires toward Jews, anywhere in need, without being untrue to his conscience. . . ."

Today was not the first time this Council has objected to the commingling of funds for philanthropy with those used for "activities that should be the national responsibility of a foreign state." Nor is today the first time that this Council has considered ways and means to bring about such an undebatably right and moral formula for discharging our recognized responsibility to those who need our help.

This section of Mr. Lasky's paper dove-tails perfectly with a motion on this subject, tabled at our 1952 Annual Conference in Washington. I have therefore been invited to speak again on this subject, as a part of this discussion of Mr. Lasky's paper and also as chairman of the committee whose report was discussed and tabled last year.

The background of last year's committee report is as follows:

At a meeting of the National Executive Committee in Dallas, Texas, November 18, 1951, the President of the American Council for Judaism was authorized to appoint a committee

"to explore the possibilities of, and to suggest procedures whereby, the Council may provide a way, to those who desire to use it, for making philanthropic contributions without being compelled to support ideologies with which they disagree."

This committee reported to the Council's 1952 Annual Meeting on April 5, in Washington.

That report, unpublished, is on file. As chairman of that committee, I pointed out in my report,

"that this committee was not charged with the responsibility of presenting a decision either for or against such a philanthropic program, or the formulation of a final plan for such a program. In the letter inviting the members of the committee to serve, Mr. Rosenwald said, 'Please note that your acceptance of service on this committee signifies your agreement only to the principle of discussing this subject in Washington and assisting in the provision of some kind of a memorandum as a basis for such discussion.' "

Our committee attempted to make, and I believe succeeded in making, a comprehensive analysis of the reasons for and against the project, based upon Council principles, the situation in the UJA and local welfare funds and the opinion that we knew to exist among Council people.

The report also suggested three possible ways in which the Council might create, or be instrumental in creating, such an acceptable philanthropy, if there was agreement, in the first place, that the Council should enter this field. The three possibilities suggested were:

- (a) A council-sponsored and directed auxiliary organization, not unlike the religious schools we are operating.
- (b) A completely new organization, independent of the Council.
- (c) The Council to seek out proper and acceptable existing organizations, serving purposes our membership was interested in helping and actively encouraging support for such organizations. But the Council would not handle any of the funds. They would be sent directly to the recommended organizations by the donors.

It may be a testament to the fairness and objectivity of the report, as it covered the reasons for and against the initiation of such a project, that at the end of a long discussion, the whole question was tabled until the next Annual Conference, which is this meeting in San Francisco.

It is therefore on the basis of that tabling of a decision on last year's report, that I rise now to present the question again to the membership of the Council.

I shall add nothing more to that report of last year, except to give two examples, indicating that the situation in the UJA goes from bad to worse; that, indeed, there is no realistic basis for hoping any corrective within that organization can ever again make it an institution acceptable to us, on principle.

The first example relates to the 23rd World Zionist Congress, held in the summer of 1951. Here, at a meeting of the highest authoritative body in Zionism, the structure of this supposedly American philanthropic agency -- the UJA -- was determined. I say this because although the Zionist Congress can legislate for only the United Palestine (now called the United Israel) Appeal, this beneficiary of the UJA receives the lion's share of the money raised.

In the 1952 campaign, for example, out of a total collected and available for distribution as of April of this year, of \$65,818,136.93, the United Israel Appeal received \$43,469,061.84 and the J.D.C. received \$19,244,780.20. Some \$3,000,000. was also received by the United Service for New Americans. But the Zionist funds receive approximately 66-2/3% of the UJA collections. The percentage increases in favor of the Zionist funds as collections pass the \$55,000,000 mark.

Over a period of several years previous to the 23rd World Zionist Congress, American Zionists had claimed that the United Palestine Appeal was "the fund-raising arm" of the Zionist Organization.

At the Congress a series of resolutions was adopted officially confirming this contention and indicating the complete control of the United Palestine Appeal by the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization.

As a result of the actions taken by the Zionist Congress, the Jewish National Fund ceased to be a direct beneficiary of the United Israel Appeal. The Palestine (Israel) Foundation Fund became the sole, direct Zionist beneficiary of the UJA, through the United Israel Appeal. This reorganization was ratified, in the fall of 1951, by the American United Israel Appeal.*

* To use the precise language of the Zionist Congress, to which American United Israel Appeal endorsement was given,

"...The Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) became 'the sole Fund of the World Zionist Organization for the purpose of engaging in fund-raising campaigns for Israel in the Diaspora.' "

The following few sentences are direct quotations from the official resolutions of the Zionist Congress, spelling out this transformation.

"The vast efforts that the Jewish people and the Zionist Movement are required to undertake in order to consolidate the State of Israel by means of the Ingathering of the Exiles and their absorption in the country, make it necessary for the World Zionist Organization to rally the Jewish people everywhere to a financial endeavor commensurate with the great tasks of this historic epoch. The 23rd Zionist Congress looks upon the Keren Kayemeth Leyisrael (Jewish National Fund) and the Keren Hayesod as the instruments for the fulfillment of these tasks.

"...Fund-raising campaigns shall continue to be carried on under the names by which they are known in different countries, and the Keren Hayesod, as the financial instrument of the Zionist (Jewish Agency) Executive, shall direct, from Jerusalem, all the activities connected with such campaigns."

Add to these, one further Zionist Congress resolution, as follows:

"This Congress favourably regards the idea that educational institutions in the Diaspora may benefit, to an extent agreed upon by all the bodies concerned, from the funds of the Zionist fund-raising campaigns conducted in the Diaspora."

In The Jewish Chronicle of London, for March 13, 1953, there appeared the following, spectacularly candid despatch, date-lined Jerusalem:

"The American Zionist movement is to renew its political work to counteract the activities of influential pro-Arab groups believed to be influencing the new American Administration in favour of the Arab states. Funds will be allocated by the Agency for this purpose.

"This was decided at a meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive here this week when the American members -- Drs. Nahum Goldmann, Israel Goldstein, and Emanuel Neumann, and Mrs. Rose Halprin -- reported on the new trends in America's foreign policy in the Middle East. The reports, which have caused grave concern here, affecting as they do Israel's political and economic future, described the situation as 'very serious, though not desperate'...

"...The American Zionist movement will therefore begin a 'campaign of enlightenment', to be arranged primarily by the recently reorganized Zionist Council.

"The Council's first task will be to convene a conference of all sections of American Jewry to mobilise new forces for the campaign and to devise new methods of work.

"All these activities will be carried out in consultation with the Israeli Foreign Ministry..."

It seems almost unnecessary to point out the implications of this story. By surrendering control of an alleged American philanthropy to a foreign agency, American Jews are in the utterly fantastic position of having some of the funds of that philanthropy being used to wage a political battle against our own government.

Mine is not one of the privileges of an address to this Conference. On the basis of the tabling of a decision on the report of my committee for last year and in the light of new evidence of a further deterioration of American Jewish philanthropy, I raise only two questions:

1. Is it any longer realistic or a sufficient discharge of our responsibilities to pass resolutions expressing a forlorn hope for a reorganization of the UJA, and
2. If it is not enough and not realistic, are we of a mind to offer a modest, but realistic alternative?

I am not suggesting we come to a final decision and formula at this Conference. This is obviously a question requiring the most careful thought and blue-printing. But we can, at this Conference, move to instruct our officers and Executive Committee to appoint a committee and urge that a preliminary report be presented to our mid-winter Executive Committee meeting. Then a final report could be presented to our 1954 Annual Conference.

I believe this Conference cannot adjourn, with a feeling of having faced up to the Council's responsibilities at all levels, without facing up to these questions and a discussion of the proposition of having the Council consider seriously the initiation of a program which may lead to an acceptable, philanthropic institution for those American Jews who desire it.

* * * * *

The American Council for Judaism

Tenth Anniversary Conference

The Palace Hotel
San Francisco, Calif.

May 7, 8, 9, 10, 1953

Panel Discussions
Saturday Afternoon

May 9

THE PUBLICITY QUESTION

by

Gerald Blank
Publicity Director

I

It was with mixed emotions that I listened to the magnificent re-statement of Council principles which Mr. Lasky presented to us at luncheon a little while ago. One part of me was responding with enthusiasm to the thoroughness, the clarity and precision with which the ideas it contains are arranged and presented. The other part was already wrestling with a familiar problem -- the problem of how to take those ideas and translate them into the kind of language, slogans and symbols which great masses of people will be able to understand quickly and easily.

Mr. Lasky's statement of Council principles is, in a way, an answer to some questions that have been bothering me practically since I took on the job of Council publicity director. The questions go something like this:

"How come Zionism gets so much publicity and anti-Zionism so little? Look at all the publicity the Zionists get -- pictures and columns of space in newspapers, radio and television coverage -- all the rest. If the Zionists can do it, why can't we?"

I suppose, as the Council's publicity director, that I should know the answers to these questions. Frankly, I have a couple of ideas about them, but the final, absolute answers will, I fear, elude all of us for some time.

II

There was a time when I thought I knew the answers. Before coming to the Council, I had been a newspaperman in New York City. I was therefore familiar with the devices used by most organizations to get their point of view known to the public. I used to be on the receiving end, so to speak.

As a reporter I was continually barraged with invitations to press conferences, and with urgent requests that I attend this or that cocktail party to meet a distinguished celebrity with a point of view to get across. Every mail delivery brought stacks of photographs of beautiful girls in bathing suits. It turned out that these girls had been elected Miss National Biscuit Week, or Miss World Brotherhood Week, or the girl the senior class of the local barber college had voted the one with whom they would most like to be cast adrift on a desert island. And a surprisingly large percentage of the news stories and pictures printed in my newspaper, at least, originated from this sort of material showered upon us by hordes of hard-working press agents and publicity representatives.

To me, as a working reporter, therefore, the problem of getting publicity for a product or a point of view seemed simple enough. I had noticed that the Zionists used most of the tried-and-true methods that are the stock in trade of press agents in every field. And I had noticed that the Zionists consistently seemed to be getting more and better publicity than the anti-Zionists. Obviously if the anti-Zionists wanted publicity, all they had to do was adopt the same publicity-getting methods as the Zionists.

At first there did not seem to me to be any good reason why the Council should not do so. After all, I reasoned, both Zionists and anti-Zionists aim their ammunition at the same people. We approach from different and opposite points of view what is essentially the same problem. The fields of our interest are virtually identical. Why, therefore, should we not employ the same means of telling our story to the public?

Of course, I recognized that there might be one difficulty -- we don't have as much money as the Zionists -- which is an understatement. But then I came to realize that lack of money wasn't the only thing standing in our way.

Let us suppose for a moment that we did have all the money to spend on publicity that the Zionists have. Could we then do the kind of things the Zionists do to get publicity?

III

Consider some of the specific things the Zionists do:

A few months ago there appeared as a guest on a nationwide radio and television quiz show a pretty young lady in the uniform of El Al Airlines, which ply between the United States and Israel. The famous comedian who joked with her for a few minutes on the air said absolutely nothing about "Jewish" nationalism; he did not discuss the rights or wrongs of Zionism; he did not touch upon the implications of the existence of the State of Israel as far as American Jews are concerned. Yet, without a word on the subject being mentioned, a definite impression was created, an impression of incalculable value to the Zionist cause.

Now, suppose the Council had the kind of money and publicity organization it takes to work out a similar stunt. What could we provide in place of a hostess on the El Al Lines? How could we possibly use those few minutes to get our ideas across as effectively as that young lady, probably without even realizing how effective she really was, got across the ideas of the Zionists? I think you will agree that by the time we had just gotten around to defining terms, our time on the air would have run out.

Take another example. The United Jewish Appeal recently purchased full-page newspaper ads containing a beautifully drawn picture of a worn pair of shoes. Before you read one word of the text underneath that drawing, a powerful impression had been made on you. The drawing itself spoke volumes, simply because it had the power of suggesting the things spelled out in the text below.

Suppose the Council could afford full-page newspaper ads on a nationwide scale. What sort of picture could we possibly show that would tell so much, so quickly, and so effectively about our principles?

IV

The point should be clear. The problem for the Zionists is simple. They have a few, elementary ideas which they promote in a variety of complex and ingenious ways. It makes little difference that the ideas themselves do not stand up to critical, intelligent analysis. It is enough that the ideas are simple and that they can easily be reduced to slogans, cliches and dramatic, arresting illustrations. They appeal basically to the emotions rather than to the intellect.

But what about us? The ideas of the Council -- or the ideas stemming from the anti-Zionist point of view -- are not simple. They cannot easily be reduced to slogans, cliches, or arresting, dramatic illustrations. They cannot be personified by means of a pretty girl in the uniform of an airline hostess. Above all, they appeal basically to the intellect, not to the emotions.

Once you recognize that anti-Zionism is not a simple idea, you see what a dilemma we face when it comes to obtaining publicity. Publicity is, after all, a means of imparting information to a mass audience. Masses of people resist the complex. Ideas that masses of people will accept are ideas which can be understood only by the lowest common denominator among them.

V

Now, there are two courses open to us. The one we have pursued so far has been to accept the fact that the things we have to say must be said with great clarity and precision. The Zionists, on the other hand, make a point of being imprecise, of blurring the issues, of throwing up verbal smokescreens to hide the real meaning of the things they say.

The Zionists, in their publicity, for example, describe Jews outside Israel as "foreign citizens" of that State. What that means, nobody knows. But the vagueness of the term, instead of embarrassing the Zionists, is actually a great advantage to them.

The Zionists can take the very name of "Israel" which, for two thousand years had a precise meaning -- a fellowship of human beings throughout the world sharing certain basic religious beliefs -- and destroy that precise meaning by applying it to a secular State, with an army, a bureaucracy and economic problems.

The Zionists, in fact, can say one thing today and another thing tomorrow. They can confuse, instead of clarifying. They can be vague instead of definite. They can obscure issues instead of illuminating them. And all this confusion, emotion, obfuscation and double-talk which characterize their publicity actually increases its effectiveness.

The Zionists, in other words, thrive on confusion, on inconsistency, on concealment of the real meanings of the slogans they project, on the use of emotion and the distortion of truth. It is a melancholy reflection that a philosophy characterized by such features is actually ideal from the point of view of obtaining publicity in the mass media.

VI

Fundamental to the Council's point of view, however, is an insistence upon precision, on logic, on the plain statement of the truth, no matter how painful that truth may be. Before we can even begin to explain our point of view, therefore, we must clear the ground of the accumulated debris of fifty years of Zionist success in littering it with confusion.

In this description of the nature of Zionism and anti-Zionism you have, I think, the answer to the question: How come the Zionists get all the publicity? The answer, basically, is that they get most of the publicity because, in addition to having plenty of money, the ideas they have to sell can be packaged in simple, easy-to-understand, emotional, palatable units.

I said that up to now the Council has been hampered in its efforts to get publicity because basic to our philosophy is an insistence upon precision. The question we ought to consider now, perhaps, is whether we are not making a mistake in sticking to that principle.

Would it not be advisable, perhaps, to reach some sort of compromise in our handling of publicity for mass consumption? Could we not reduce some of our principles to easily-remembered, easily-understood slogans, even if that meant a certain sacrifice of precision? Might it not be a good idea, occasionally, to appeal to the emotions of the masses instead of always presenting them with the naked, unvarnished and ugly truth?

VII

To ask these questions, I think, is to answer them. We could not do these things without ceasing to be what we started out to be. As soon as we permitted ourselves to blur the distinctions between the truth as we see it and the kind of truth that masses of people will cheerfully accept, we shall find we have sold our birthright for a mess of pottage.

In the National Office we are all too familiar with a recurring complaint concerning Council pamphlets, publications and literature. People tell us they are too long, too difficult to read; that nobody will bother to wade through them. So, every time we start work on a new pamphlet, or prepare an article for Council News, we tell ourselves we shall try to keep it short, simple and easy to read. My own newspaper training, in addition, was all directed toward keeping copy brisk, concise and capable of being understood by people in a hurry.

Sometimes we do succeed, at least partially, in boiling down excessively long manuscripts. But in most cases we find it simply cannot be done. The first draft may actually be short and simple. The only trouble with it is that it just does not delineate Council principles accurately enough. So we find we have to put in a qualifying phrase here, an explanatory sentence there, and rewrite another section entirely.

Before long, we find we have another typical piece of Council literature. I generally find myself looking at it mournfully, just before sending it off to the printer. It is not short. It is not simple. It is not especially easy to read. On the other hand, it is logical. It is precise. It says exactly what we mean. And, whether it is read today, or ten years from today, it makes sense.

More importantly, it will not crop up, a year from today, to embarrass us because it generalizes too freely, or makes easy, ill-considered predictions concerning the future. Unlike the published statements of certain other organizations, it does not contain words we shall some day have to eat. On the contrary, it probably contains abundant material which, in the future, we shall quote with pride because it will be even more pertinent then than it is today.

VIII

Let's face it. In publicity, as in our other fields of operation, we have a tough job to do. By comparison, the task of the Zionists is easy. We have to abide by a set of rules they threw away a long time ago. For a long time, still, we must be satisfied with the knowledge that in any given group it will always be the minority, rather than the majority that can even understand what we are talking about.

This is about all I have to offer, in my capacity as a professional, on the subject of Council publicity. Perhaps in your discussion you may care to address yourselves to the problem of whether there are ways and means that we have so far overlooked, of increasing the effectiveness of our publicity without -- and this is a very important qualification -- without any sacrifice of precision, or logic or consistency. Being only human, I am quite willing to concede that there are such ways and means. I hope you will point them out to me.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

R E P O R T
of
P O L I C Y C O M M I T T E E
by

OR
D I S T R I B U T I O N

D. Hays Solis-Cohen

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 10, 1953

This report grows out of a discussion held last year in Washington, during our 1952 Annual Conference. A committee was appointed, with a fairly general term-of-reference, to examine Council policy and, where possible, to make recommendations for the future. I plead dereliction in that I have been unable to meet and discuss this report with my committee. The observations contained herein are, therefore, largely personal although I have taken into consideration a number of suggestions and ideas made by Council members during informal conversations.

Part of the responsibility that might otherwise have belonged to my committee was assumed in the drafting of the paper by Mr. Lasky and the coordination of that paper into a major part of the report of the Resolutions Committee. If we do not have new policies -- we have at least a reformulation of those which have prevailed in this organization since its inception.

Part of the difficulty in dealing with my responsibility has been that the principles of the Council are clear. I think no one wants to change them or yield on them. It is in the implementation of those principles and in their refinement for purposes of our educational and publicity work where the difficulties arise. The substance here is sometimes elusive and subjective values enter. I have therefore, after much thought, confined my remarks to some fairly broad principles. They may evoke discussion here and from that discussion may come more specific directives that are the will of this Conference; or, at least those charged with the administration of the Council and the implementation of its principles, may acquire here a feeling of tone and emphasis, which may be, after all, the heart of the matter.

Broadly speaking, two problems are involved:

1. Basic principles, and
2. Publicity or dissemination of specific information deriving from, or related logically to, those principles.

I have already referred to the first of these categories. The concerns frequently expressed about Council policies are almost never those of basic principles. Mr. Lasky's paper clarifies -- it does not alter or change. I, myself, have nothing further to add to what has already been said on this subject during this Conference.

It is in the second category -- implementation, publicity, application of the principles -- where we have divergences of opinion. Perhaps the problem could be characterized as "tactics".

I

In considering problems in this area, I think we must agree to certain assumptions:

1. There is a group of Jews who believe Judaism has a national aspect. For them, many of the things we see as problems do not exist; or, if they do exist as problems, they are prepared to take the consequences of their beliefs, whatever they may be.

By and large, the Council has no appeal to this group.

2. There is another group -- the largest of all probably -- who are confused. If they are not supporters of the Council, there is no reason to assume either that they accept the additions of "Jewish" nationalism to their Judaism.

Here we do have a major responsibility. We have, as our primary obligation, the job of demonstrating the validity of a Judaism free of "Jewish" nationalism and of pointing out the consequences, in America, of "Jewish" nationalism's practices. Then, perhaps encouraged to do so by our focusing attention on issues, these people may make up their minds, one way or the other.

3. Finally, there is the Council membership itself. Here, of course, in the administration of the Council within the framework of our basic principles, lies the greatest responsibility to a group. These people need not be convinced of the basic soundness of the Council's principles, since their membership in the organization already indicates such agreement. But the complexities involved in the maintenance of these principles in the face of new and specific issues and problems should be called to the attention of our membership. Otherwise, we may try to operate the Council in a vacuum.

The Council through its administrative staff has studied and developed a program for action having in view all these areas. Whether or not and to what extent that program is satisfactory is for this Conference to decide. But it is a positive program if to defend our position and to disseminate information that is pertinent to that defense is a positive work.

In the field of child education you have heard in the report of the Chairman of the Religious Committee what steps we have taken to counteract the indoctrination of youth with the idea that Judaism has a nationalistic aspect.

In this field of child education our work must go on. If possible, we must prepare a new generation which will not gullibly accept a blurring of the spiritual with the mundane; of our Judaism with a foreign nationalism.

In this field, as I think our panel on Friday demonstrated, we are making headway in reaching into the second group of American Jews; those who do not see the consequences of "Jewish" nationalism and are therefore confused by efforts to evade the problems we see.

In the field of adult education our program is limited to the preparation of material for the Chapters, and it is generally left to the Chapters to determine how this material may best be used.

Probably much of the misrepresentation to which we are subject stems from the lack of adequate adult education programs. Thus far, however, your Executive Committee has not had the funds to provide such facilities.

There are however, a few suggestions I can make. They involve largely your own initiative in using the material which has already been developed and which will undoubtedly be developed in the future.

1. Read Council News. It has many faults which are not my responsibility to discuss here. But there is hardly an issue which does not cover at least one, important development in the field of our interest. It is a reliable source for documentation for while it editorializes our viewpoint, it rarely does so without a precise reference to the sources. And while our desks are filled with organizational mail of all kinds, Council News has the indisputable virtue of being the only publication airing many of these problems.

2. Engage the National Office in personal correspondence. If you have questions or problems in the general area of the Council's interest, ask the National Office's opinion. You will, I assure you, receive detailed and considered replies. You may not always agree. But you will usually find stimulation.

3. Try to organize small discussion groups of your own. Every Council meeting need not have a "personality" and a thousand people. The National Office has all kinds of background information and much can be learned in an evening of discussion with a group of friends in a living room.

4. Have at least a couple of larger Council meetings a year, with a competent spokesman from the Council's official family.

These will not answer all the problems of chapters but they will fill some gaps in our adult program at the present time and they will further our work of making knowledge available so that we -- and others -- may choose between these ways of life as Jews with the advantage of as much knowledge as possible.

II

With these broad techniques of implementation, there are few disagreements.

It is in the field of the substance of the publicity we make available -- our educational materials particularly for the adult education level -- where there are differences of opinion.

In discussing this phase of our work, there are, broadly speaking, two viewpoints in the Council.

One group feels that the majority of American Jews do reject "Jewish" nationalism; that they are not politically illiterate about the problem. But they see the Council as a religious organization. They are disturbed by our expositions of Middle Eastern politics. They are constrained, by their own feelings, to avoid raising issues that may complicate and make more difficult the position of the State of Israel. This does not mean they are, in any way, prepared to yield either their American status or to subrogate the interests of the United States. Where either of these becomes involved, this group agrees that the Council has a responsibility to take corrective action. But they feel what we sometimes go beyond that action, based on these considerations, requires.

These people say we have concerned ourselves with the politics of the Near East. We have given expression to our views on the subject of internationalization of Jerusalem and of American economic aid.

There are many in the Council who have expressed disagreement with this policy. They believe we ought to express our views privately on such subjects or as part of a non-sectarian association with other Americans who hold them, on the theory that they are not and ought not to be an expression of interest as American Jews but rather as expressions of our political and national interests. Invariably the viewpoint we express is hostile to Israel, and to many in the Council this seems to parallel the follies and evils of other subgroups who do exactly the reverse; that is, who support every action of Israel. Those who feel that way say the wrong behavior of any subgroup does not justify our subgroup in doing things we should not do as Jews.

They refer to certain of our publications reporting an apparent change of policy toward Israel on the part of the new Washington administration. They point out several pages of Council News were devoted to describing a national policy of apparent greater sympathy for Egypt and other Arab states of the Near East, and they regard this as an example of our pre-occupation with political developments that are and should be at best only at the periphery of consciousness. Some of those who criticize this particular number of Council News said it gave them a disagreeable sense that there was something gleeful about the report and that there was an undercurrent, smug and unpleasant, an "I told you so" attitude. The ladies and gentlemen who hold this view are, I am sure, not less devoted to the principles of the Council for having these reactions.

At least we ought to consider, if members of our subgroup have these reactions, what the effect must be on the minds of those who are not as familiar as we are with the high and sound principles for which the Council was established.

On the other hand, there are those in the Council who have an answer for these objections which, in their viewpoint, derives organically from Council principles.

The position of the Council appears to be anti-Israel, they say, because there is a group which claims to speak for all Jews and which invariably takes a pro-Israel, favored-nation policy. The Council, this

second group says, has not opposed American aid to Israel. It has opposed Zionist pressure tactics which make it appear in Washington that aid for Israel must be maintained at a certain level because American Jews, represented by the American Zionist Council, want it so. We took our position on the internationalization of Jerusalem, they say, because the Zionists insisted that American Jews wanted Jerusalem incorporated into Israel for religious reasons. We did not offer our own solution of the Jerusalem problem. We simply said there was no religious reason, in Judaism, why the United Nations resolution could not be implemented.

This second group also justifies occasional reports on changing climates of opinion in the United States regarding the Middle East because, they argue, Zionists talk as if all Jews believed that Israel must be the center of American attention and because by talking only about Israel and as if Israel were the most important state in the Middle East, American Jews are really asked to formulate an opinion in a one-party atmosphere.

It is important, this second group argues, for American Jews to know that serious thought is being given to a change in American policy and to what prominent Americans think about that change for with the greatest amount of information, Jews may then avoid making a decision which could politically isolate them.

Which viewpoint is correct and which serves the best interests of the Council -- and its highest principles?

You will have to determine whether the present policy in this regard meets with your approval or whether you believe it ought to be modified.

I think modification will prove difficult for the policy by which one thing is selected, stressed and emphasized, is the day-to-day routine work done by the staff. The good intentions of the staff and of those to whom the administrative responsibilities are assigned are not to be doubted, but their very zeal, drive and determination to get things done, in the minds of many of us, lead to procedures and attitudes which mar policies.

If you are not satisfied, then you ought to give thought to the fact that our present organizational structure is such that two different functions, one of counselling and one of administration, are performed by one and the same person. Thus a strength of feeling in regard to principles and policies, which it is the right of every staff man to have, must be expressed in the executive administration. Indeed it would be surprising if it were otherwise, for, if one who is strongly partisan and deeply feeling about a subject is entrusted with the administrative task for policies that represent an acceptable common ground of various viewpoints, he is put in a quandary. If he leans backwards, he is doing an injustice to his own principles. If he sticks to his principles, he may distort and do an injustice to the accepted policy.

There is, of course, no perfect solution for this problem.

There are criteria perhaps for judging the results but perhaps no ready solution for practical operation. Are the results accurate and truthful? And, short of lending to a catastrophe for Jews, are accuracy and truth -- even if not always pleasant -- part of our responsibility to our principles? It is, I think, noteworthy that in the millions of words the Council has published there have been many disagreements with those who oppose us over interpretation but few, serious charges of error or inaccuracy. Granted our partisanship -- and that is something we can ignore and remain steadfast to our purposes -- are accuracy and truthful reporting any criteria?

Yet it might be desirable to divide the functions and assignments of personnel more precisely, so that one who is in fact a consultant on policy shall not also be entrusted with the task of administering policies, particularly when the policies may very well include some to which he cannot give whole-hearted consent.

It was pointed out at our Conference in Washington last year by our Executive Director in the very provocative paper which he delivered that there has been a development of a professional class in Jewish life which has taken over the power it is incumbent on an informed lay leadership to exercise, and that lay leadership to be effective must devote more of its time and energy to the administration of policy, so that the bureaucrat, the administrator, the executive does not become the paramount influence, and so that the lay leaders do not yield, by default, their thinking, direction and influence to the executive refusing to take the trouble to familiarize themselves with, and check the routine procedure in, which principles and policies find expression. Thus our Executive Director is fully conscious of the problems involved on this score in implementing Council policy. The point is we should have a literate lay leadership willing to give of its time for other purposes than the mere mechanics of fund-raising.

Here a suggestion may be in order for the creation of a number of standing committees to deal with the several, easily departmentalized work of the Council. They should be small committees, of people prepared to work in the formulation of policies. If they are not that, the idea has no merit for the responsibility of counselling with incommunicative committees can only frustrate and complicate work even more and so compound the problem. In any event, this Conference should decide the degree to which it wishes to see the Executive and Administrative functions departmentalized and the formula that eventuates should be realistic, in terms of human capacities and financial capacities.

III

No report on policy would be complete without some reference to further work based on the Lasky paper.

Without committing ourselves I think we ought to seek the opinion of scholars on the adequacy of the restatement of Council principles. The problem here, of course, is where to find the independent scholars for consultation. Perhaps such advice can be obtained from some of the

scholars we know by asking for "off-the-record" opinions. We should also submit the document to sociological experts to advise us on its implementation. Here the problem is not so difficult, for sociology is a science.

Pending these reports we should limit our activities in all but the religious field in the following manner:

When we give expression to our viewpoint we do so in a manner that will not add to the complexity of Israel's problems, but that we do not relax our vigil on the "Jewish" nationalist encroachments on the position of American Jews vis-a-vis their fellow citizens. This leaves open for future consideration any course of action in relation to specific problems if and when they should arise.

We should also continue without any rigid policy as to fund-raising, analyzing and informing but not advising to give or not to give. But we should order a study to determine the present extent of the Zionist or other undesirable controls over local and overseas philanthropic fund-raising and expenditure.

We should continue the support of our Chapters and put at their disposal every facility possible to help them in growth and dissemination of our viewpoint. Finally, we should develop a technique for reaching into the colleges, so that young men and women of college age may come to understand that Judaism has far more to offer than the Zionist negators would have them believe and has many more attractive aspects than secular nationalism. In this way they may become conscious of their spiritual heritage and we may help them seek and find an interpretation of their lives as Jews that is in harmony with the spirit, hope and promise of the America we love.

* * * *

THE COUNCIL'S TEN YEARS -- AS I REMEMBER THEM

by
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American Council for Judaism
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I am happy to be here in San Francisco and grateful for these few moments to tell you what these ten years with the Council have meant to me. I am not accustomed to formal speech-making. What I have to add to this tenth anniversary conference is in the nature of random memories; a few of the highlights of this decade; what the newspapers sometimes call "human interest" stories. Perhaps you might think of it as the "woman's page".

It is inevitable that I will talk much about Lessing. I cannot help it. I have seen these ten years of the Council largely through his eyes and many of my impressions about these years are inseparably related to those qualities which Lessing has, for which I know many of you have often expressed appreciation and about which I have had the good fortune to know for longer than the period when they have served the Council.

I suppose the beginning of the Council, from the perspective of the Rosenwald household, goes back a number of years before the Council was actually formed. Late in the 1930's, Lessing began to wonder about the use of U. J. A. funds; to inquire whether or not these funds were being used for legitimate philanthropic purposes.

I remember one afternoon when Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver came to our home with crates of books which were supposed to give Lessing answers to some of his questions. In his usual thorough fashion, Lessing studied and delved and asked the advice of accountants. But the effort supplied no satisfactory answers. If anything, Lessing was more confirmed than ever in his belief that, through the U. J. A., American Jews were being led to support a nationalist movement with political ambitions in a far distant country.

We did not fully realize then that on somewhat different grounds, others were beginning to grow restive with the drift to Zionism among American Jews. But several years after Lessing's conference with Dr. Silver, something of the results of this other dissatisfaction confronted us when Dr. Fineshriber, our Rabbi in Philadelphia, phoned Lessing and said that a group of his colleagues would like to meet with him and discuss the possibility of creating an organization of Jews to resist Zionist efforts to stampede both American Jews and the American government.

So the two lines converged one night in the library of our home in Jenkintown. There, Dr. Morris Lazon, Dr. Fineshriber, Rabbi Reichert and Elmer Berger told Lessing and me the story of the Atlantic City meeting of Rabbis in 1942, the decision of some of those Rabbis to attempt to create an organization and their realization that, to be effective, the organization would have to have the support of laymen all over the country. Lessing remembered well Dr. Lazon's and his own efforts to do something constructive when the U. J. A. and the J. D. C. first merged their fund raising.

So Lessing was immediately interested in the proposed organization but expressed serious doubts as to the wisdom of his assuming the leadership. There were many reasons for his doubts. Chief among them was his opinion that because he lacked organized religious training he would be hampered in the work, and so might hamper any hoped-for expansion of the organization.

Here, I cannot help saying -- and on a personal note -- that the Rabbinical delegation confirmed my conviction that Lessing's beliefs and his lack of formalized religious activities would not be a handicap in his usefulness to the Council.

After we had settled, with reasonable satisfaction, the more or less personal reservations that Lessing had about taking the Presidency of the Council, he raised two further, important questions. How would our nation's government look upon such a movement, caught up as we were, in history's worst war? I think I recall the conclusion of that meeting correctly when I say that Lessing finally said something like, "I will do it if I can be sure that the Government thinks it would be advisable -- or at least offers no objections."

Dr. Lazaron knew Sumner Welles who was then an Undersecretary of State. An appointment was arranged. Lessing returned from Washington and accepted the Presidency of the Council although it was not until years later, when Mr. Welles was no longer in office -- in fact, when he had become a spokesman for the Zionists -- that Lessing told anyone, to my knowledge, of what had transpired at the Washington meeting. I think you will be interested to hear it now -- although a few of you may know it. Mr. Welles told Lessing that the formation of an organization like the Council was not only something to which the Government would not object but that it was vitally necessary and it would be a distinct service which could be considered a high responsibility. I cannot vouch for every word in that paraphrase, but I know I have given the sense of Mr. Welles' comments.

The other reservation had to do with our family, where it is customary to discuss most problems of this kind with the children. Lessing told them of his inclination to accept the leadership of the Council and, prophetically, predicted he would be subjected, through misunderstanding and misrepresentation, to much censure and that all of us might feel the effect. Again I must say, with what I hope is a pardonable pride, that the children agreed Lessing must live up to, and stand by, his principles.

So began the really active career of the American Council for Judaism,

A tiny office was established in Philadelphia ^{in a building} owned by a good friend and early supporter of the Council, Jerry Loucheim. Elmer Berger and a secretary were the staff. By now it was April of 1943 and I have some fairly clear memories of long sessions in Lessing's office and of frequent meetings in the Warwick Hotel in Philadelphia as the first little group struggled to put down in black and white a statement and a platform on which the Council could stand.

Occasionally the drafting sessions would begin in the morning in Lessing's office and continue through lunch and, when possible, I joined these serious authors. There were many references to history and points of religious interpretation involved in the preparation of that first statement

and frequently, at these sessions Lessing would pursue a point until he thoroughly understood it in all its ramifications.

Somewhere in the middle of this deliberate effort to write a statement, the spectre of a deadline jumped up. LIFE Magazine had carried an article by King Ibn Saud and another by Dr. Stephen Wise on the Palestine problem. Lessing believed that even though the Council was not completely ready to walk on the stage of history, it was necessary to make clear that there was a third viewpoint when a publication of such prominence took up the Palestine question. So there was a visit to LIFE and an eager acceptance of our article.

Letters came in from all over the country. In all probability, many of those letters received must have been written by you. For shortly after the LIFE article appeared there began a series of pioneering trips all over the country for Lessing and Elmer. They were armed only with determination, a tentative public statement, the names of a few friends or organizations who might be interested, and the names of people who had written favorable letters to LIFE.

So began the second phase of the Council's organization; the enlisting of responsible citizens who would permit their names to be published along with the statement. As I look back now on that period, it seems to me Lessing's life was divided between ringing doorbells and writing letters. And here again I inject a personal note, which some of you may have observed. Lessing felt then -- and still feels -- that whenever it is humanly possible, letters should be personal. He still spends long, tedious hours personally reading and signing Council mail.

Finally a list of signatures to the statement was assembled. This was mid-summer of 1943. The American Jewish Conference, you may remember, was the talk of the hour among Jews. At least in the East, voting booths were set up in the larger cities and there were street campaigns for candidates. Lessing made a last effort to persuade the American Jewish Committee not to participate in the Conference; not to endorse the principle of so obviously a separatist, political machinery, regardless of what action it might take. The appeal failed.

There was another long meeting in the library of our home on a Sunday. When should the Council's public statement be released? Lessing had talked to Arthur Sulzberger of the New York Times and Sulzberger had advised waiting since, he felt, that the American Jewish Conference had a prior claim on newspaper space devoted to matters of Jewish interest.

It was apparent that the Conference was another occasion -- and a major one -- for Zionist propaganda. It was decided that this was the moment to challenge it. On the following day -- the opening of the American Jewish Conference -- the Council released its Statement of Principles.

The rest of that early chapter is history. The statement was given nearly half a page in the Times and wide publicity elsewhere. It disrupted the well-oiled machine of the Conference which spent the entire first afternoon listening to attacks on the newly announced American Council for Judaism.

The pattern for abuse, misrepresentation and debate of everything but the issues was set at that unrehearsed session of the American Jewish Conference. They are quieter today but the scars of those early years are

to be seen in many places. I will not say the unfair, personal attacks did not hurt Lessing. They were bound to. But as he talked about them in those days, I really believe he was even more hurt and shocked by the irresponsible slanders made on the early Rabbinical members of the Council. Men who had served Judaism with distinction were called irreligious in attacks that were venomous and bitter.

I recall, too at this time, that Lessing decided to urge the Council not to spend its meager resources in answering the attacks but rather to continue forcing attention to the issues by stating our own principles. I think that policy, gladly adopted by most of the Council although with some dissent, is now paying dividends. For we have left, in these ten years, a consistent record rather than a controversy over personalities and motives. Sometimes we have perhaps appeared unwilling to fight back. Actually, we have fought back in a most intelligent way -- on our ground, not on the irrelevancies where the opposition tried to lead us.

Lessing was seriously troubled by the economic pressures brought against people who subscribed to the Council's principles. I believe you know he never objects to honest disagreement. In our own family, there are many different viewpoints on important issues. But we each respect the right of the other to his own opinion. It has been hard to see some of our friends who have frequently not been allowed the privilege of thinking for themselves, or expressing their true beliefs. If they were inclined toward the Council viewpoint they did not feel free to join in the activities and some asked to have their names withdrawn from Council lists because of personal reasons.

The pressures against the Council were so many and so vicious that often we wondered what the outcome would be. Today I have no more doubt. You have withstood the ordeal.

And now I skip a few years. The drama of the early months began to level out into a fairly smooth organizational operation. There were constant problems but there were growing numbers to meet them. The Council was becoming an influence, in quiet places in the American scene. And I must say, in some places that were not so quiet, Council spokesmen took everything that hysterical and often staged mass antagonisms had to give -- and came back for more. It became clear we would not be bullied out of existence.

A well remembered incident was the debate Lessing had with Rabbi Heller in Philadelphia. It was a truly frightening affair. Lessing, the amateur, attempted to argue the case in a simple, direct and honest manner. Rabbi Heller, on the other hand, pulled out "all the stops" of his brilliant oratory -- not so much on the matter debated as it was a denunciation of the Council. It was the first time I heard the "Hatikveh" sung. Rabbi Heller was cheered. Lessing was hissed. This made a profound impression on me as I considered the respect and applause with which Lessing was greeted only a few short years before when he was President of the Federation of Jewish Charities.

The tragic problem of the human beings uprooted by war seemed no closer to solution. And as the war came to an end, Lessing became more and more concerned with this aspect of the problem. In 1946, he testified before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization where he opposed the so-called Gossett Bill because he believed that the reduction of American immigration quotas "was against the interests of the United States".

I remember vividly when Lessing was asked by the Government in 1947 to go abroad with other businessmen, to observe conditions in Europe and to bring back suggestions. He asked for the privilege of visiting D. P. camps so that he could bring home an objective report. He did have meetings with the heads of D. P. groups in numerous cities. He visited many D. P. camps. His reports are on file and this is not the moment for me to remind you of their contents.

I mention the episode only because it comes back to me as another dramatic example of Lessing's conviction that only facts could help to solve the problems that were facing and are facing humanity, and his determination to aid humanity in any and every way within his power.

It was clear to Lessing that the Council, as such, could not engage in any of the necessary political work that would be required if our own country was to take any enlightened action in this field. And so, for over three years, the Council program was in a secondary position as he threw himself into the work of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons. Those efforts brought some results although not wholly satisfactory. Nevertheless, well over 300,000 persons are now settled in America due to this effort. Meetings took place in all parts of the country. Not a day went by without some excitement or disappointment. The Council was one of the very few Jewish organizations backing this program, partly because Jewish immigrants did not predominate in its plans for opening our doors to all people who wished to enter and partly because most Jewish organizations focused their attention on Palestine. Once again we may be asked to help, not only for humanitarian reasons, but now because these human dislocations are breeding places for communist exploitation. How gratifying it would be to have Council members acting as individual Americans, be among the active participants in planning wise legislation to meet today's problem.

And now, in fairly recent months I have watched Lessing take an increasing interest in the Council's religious education program while keeping, undiminished, his understanding of the political and secular problems and his conviction that the Council must take action, where necessary, in these fields. So the burdens of Council work increase with the Council's responsibilities.

I have not included here the long, sometimes tedious hours, that Lessing has spent meeting with and listening patiently to representatives of other organizations with different viewpoints. But let me just say that there has never been a time when Lessing, sure of his own convictions, would refuse to discuss the problem with which the Council has been concerned.

This conference has been a highlight in many ways -- there has been a glow in your faces that we have found full of warmth and friendliness. How can I convince you that your belief in the Council program is the great inspiration which keeps it alive. It must never be thought of as static. It has given Lessing, I'm certain, many satisfactions that you cannot conceive. Each gathering has its own color and life. Lessing comes away from these meetings filled with new ideals and ideas -- new friends and a happy feeling of having been with old friends. When one believes as he does -- when one's faith in a cause is backed up by a group such as this one -- how could one consider this a chore? I look to the future as I am certain Lessing does with renewed spirit and a pride in this program which cannot fail -- it is alive and vital. You have watched it grow. As the Council goes into its next decade you will find more followers to march on the road you have cleared. It is straight and honest and true. With devotion to these beliefs, I am ever thankful I have been allowed to share this wonderful experience with you and with Lessing.

5 AND 5 MAKE 10

by
Henry S. Moyer

American Council for Judaism
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At the 7th Annual Conference I assumed the responsibilities that go with being Chairman of the National Finance Committee. Wherever I have gone for the Council during these two years -- and I have probably become the most traveled Finance Chairman in our history -- people usually assumed that I was coming to talk about money. I can't imagine why they would think that. To their surprise, however, they soon discovered that I devoted myself almost exclusively to the impact of Jewish nationalism on the lives of American Jews.

I have operated on the theory that if Jews know the score -- if they understand how serious the Jewish nationalist danger has become, how well financed it is and how poorly financed we are -- they will provide the increased financial support which the Council so sorely needs.

My subject today is entitled "Five and Five Make Ten" because the ten years of the Council which we mark by this Tenth Anniversary Conference, divide themselves into two even halves; five years before the establishment of the State of Israel, and five years since May, 1948.

The First Five -- Prognosis

The first five years I call the period of theory and speculation.

Although we did try to suggest ways other than the "Jewish" nationalist plan to solve the D.P. problem, we also urged a separation of so-called philanthropic funds from those used for political purposes. But for the most part we simply analyzed and predicted and speculated about what would happen if the vast majority of apathetic Jews allowed the "Jewish" nationalists to put over their plan, while "non-Zionists" continued to say they were handling the situation "from the inside". There was no "Jewish State" during that period. We speculated on the probable results following the creation of a state. And we speculated that the product we had to sell -- our ideology -- would be in greater demand when the impact of the "Jewish State" became evident. In those five years you and other members of the Council risked only guarded amounts in your financial backing of our speculation. This talk and this Conference would not now be taking place if those five years had proved to be a history of blunders, of faulty prediction, of unnecessary foreboding.

Actually, not a single organization called the turn as we did ten years ago and have continued to do since. We saw a separatist, self-segregating "Jewish" nationalism behind the movement for a "Jewish State", and we said it would tend to make us a national minority in the United States, changing our status from that of free, individual Americans voluntarily professing Judaism as a faith. We dissented publicly from the philosophy that we believed would create these conditions. While it was a small but clear voice we raised, raise it we did -- and the records available in cold print in thousands of places for posterity to see, prove that it was a true one.

All this we did before Israel was a state. Do you know with how much money we carried on that work for those first five years? A tenth anniversary is a time for inventory and I therefore took the trouble to look at the audited reports of the Council for the years of 1943 through 1948. The total figure for setting up and running the organization for those five years was only \$663,929.91. Think of it -- in those years the Zionist Organization of America had a separate organ called "Unity for Palestine" created only to oppose us and for one year, this one Zionist function was budgeted at \$500,000; practically as much as we had to spend for all of our work for five years.

Actually, we operated our business on a shoestring. Those years could have been called "Operation Bootstrap", for we did the impossible. It is idle to ask oneself if we had more money, could we have done a better job? Could we have been successful where we failed? I seriously doubt if vastly increased funds could have stopped the Zionist juggernaut. Had the Council been started 25 years earlier, at the time of the Balfour Declaration, perhaps it could have been slowed down.

Our first five years ended during the year of the creation of the State of Israel. Many of our followers never actually understood what we had to sell, so to them the establishment of the State signified utter failure and the end of our usefulness. Much of the second part of my talk should particularly interest them.

The Second Five -- Diagnosis

I said that our first five years were a period of speculation. Now I submit that the speculative period ended in 1948 when Zionism established its so-called Jewish State. Then the analyses of the Council were no longer academic, no longer theories or mere ideology. The prognosis had become the diagnosis. It ended, you might say, when our market conditions changed. We have the same product but it has become more acceptable even though we are still operating on a very limited advertising budget.

Let me give you a few examples of what is meant by changed market conditions.

Did the creation of Israel leave the nationality status of American Jews unchanged, as the American Jewish Committee and the Zionists said it would, or did it somehow alter that status as we predicted?

Since its inception Israel has taken great pains to create the impression that it represents all Jews nationally, behind a camouflage of political separation. It claimed that all Jews are one body, connected with the State whether they like it or not. Jews have been given rights in Israel and have been made responsible for it. This has been accomplished in various ways.

Has not Israel's Law of Return given to all Jews the right to "return" to Israel as their birthright and bestowed upon Jews a special status that our fellow-citizens of other faiths do not have? Doesn't the Nationality Act make all Jews potential citizens of the Israeli nation whether they live in the state or not?

The concept of Jews in exile has been promoted by Zionists for generations, but until the establishment of Israel it was an academic question. Now it has become a serious problem and other organizations also recognize the need to do something about it.

Many religious Jews might have opposed the "Jewish State" idea had they known that the religious name "Israel" would be adopted as the name of a political state. They would not want to equate the religion of Judaism with the politics of Israel.

Since 1948 there has been a deliberate confusion between Jew and Judaism with Israel and Israelism. Therefore the American public, naturally, has failed to differentiate between them.

When, before 1948, the Zionists arrogated unto themselves the right to speak in the name of all Jews, it was annoying but not serious. Today we can no longer ignore the fact that Israel, a foreign nation, speaks for American Jews as though a hierarchy had been established. The diplomatic representations of Abba Eban, Moshe Sharett or Golda Myerson are not limited to Israelis, as almost any daily perusal of headlines in The New York Times can verify. They use the platform of the United Nations for the promotion of world Zionism as the liberation movement of the Jewish people. The protective attitude over Jews outside of Israel adopted by the leaders of the State of Israel fits in perfectly with their desire to champion the rights of, and be the spokesman for Jews throughout the world.

In his U.N. talk on April 16th, Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban opposed Soviet anti-Jewishness as if that problem was the private property of the country he represents. He said:

"But Israel will speak with a special sense of intimate responsibility on behalf of Jewish security and honor wherever they are threatened. We are sons of the Jewish people. . ."

Before the establishment of the State, all Zionist efforts might have logically been rationalized as humanitarian, despite Abba Hillel Silver's slogan that "Zionism is not refugeeism", that "the two-hundred-year-old Jewish dream was not to rescue just a few hundred thousand homeless Jews." Zionist political pressures on our government officials for partition and other programs designed to aid the creation of the State, could have been ascribed to the needs of the refugees. But today Israel dictates policy and practise in the operation of so-called American institutions. The U.J.A., Bond Campaigns, National Planning Conference, are national planning and financing for Israel. Yet Zionism insists on maintaining its humanitarian camouflage.

It was recently disclosed that the Jewish Agency plus the Israeli Foreign Ministry will direct the renewed political activities of the American Zionist organizations to fight the change of Middle Eastern policy by the Eisenhower administration. The significance is, that the Jewish Agency, a registered foreign agent, is financed in large part by the U.J.A. It is now, in turn, financing a political campaign against a policy of our own Government.

And while Ben-Gurion's threats to grab American Jewish youth with or without their parents' consent, may momentarily be soft-pedalled as inexpedient, the Jewish Agency continues to finance the indoctrination of our impressionable youth to give up their citizenship in the United States and immigrate to Israel. The recent Status Law clearly sets forth the purposes of Zionism: "The mission of the Ingathering of the Exiles, being the central task both of the State of Israel and the Zionist movement." This effort to detach our American youth from their continuing identification with the United States creates particular problems for them, and results in public confusion as to the national interests of American Jews.

Has the rise of the State of Israel corrupted our Judaism? Or should I not carry these examples to a point of such obviousness that it insults your intelligence? Have pulpits been used to sell Israeli Bonds? Are Israeli holidays observed in synagogues? Has a rash suddenly broken out in our rabbinical seminaries -- Reform, Conservative and Orthodox -- which puts a high importance on American rabbinical students spending a certain amount of time in Israel? These are just a few of the altered conditions since the creation of the State of Israel which plot the change in the market in which our ideas must be promoted. These changed conditions spell a greater need for our product.

The Next Ten -- Treatment and Cure

Yes! Speculation is over. The business that began on a shoestring turns out to be a going concern. Our product is good, and with the change in market conditions we should take advantage of the new demand and increase our advertising allowance. We should push our advantages. This is the period for sound investment, so that we can properly market our improved product through an aggressive selling campaign. And in respect to the product, let's look at some of the improvements which should help us in our marketing.

First, you have heard enough about our religious education program from Bernard Gradwohl and others to objectively evaluate it. I need add nothing. Look at the schools we are running. Talk to Buddie Coleman and see if we have not produced a product of really superior quality. And with what? How much money -- capital -- did we have last year to invest in this program? Would you believe it -- \$10,555.95 was the munificent sum we could afford. And it must be said that a substantial part -- half of it -- came from two citizens of San Francisco who had the vision to see that we had something to sell.

Did the rest of you back your speculation of a few years ago with an increased investment?

Was it worth anything to you as a member of the Council and as a Jew, to have TIME Magazine consider the Council's story worthy of a major report? As American policy shifts in the Middle East, is our product becoming better known in knowledgeable circles? And haven't some of our products been bought on the "Q-T" by certain Jewish organizations that have previously labelled them axiomatic and unfit for their consumption?

Yes, we have improved our product, too. And so on our Tenth Anniversary we stand in a position which any business man would envy. We have a monopoly, an exclusive, on a superior, a unique product peculiarly needed and suited to a new market. But financially we are acting not like business men, but like pushcart peddlers. Many are still supporting this work in the same guarded proportion they did ten years ago. Some have even reduced their support. Some let two or three years go by between contributions. Some -- all too few -- have backed their own early judgment by increasing their support. Without them, this effort would have collapsed.

I have figures to prove that we have not adequately backed either the improved product or the greater need for it that was created by a changed market.

In the years 1949, '50, '51 and '52, we spent a total of \$853,339.33.

In this period we have added four regional offices and a Religious Director. You know how that increased our overhead. I remind you that without these new projects the simple cost of doing only the same things we did before 1948 has increased enormously. Our 1949-1952 dollar, like yours, will buy less than 75% of the 1943-1948 dollar. Add these two factors together and you will understand the financial contortions through which we went. At the same time the millions of dollars which Zionists have spent in that period gives them a residual backlog of effective support and public attention.

We are not carrying our burden. We are the rather sorry spectacle of a group that guessed right and appears either not to have enough sense to know we were right or, if we do know we were right, not enough guts to back up our beliefs.

Since my retirement, I have been spending two or three days a week in the National Office. I can give you some first-hand information.

Do you know that we are not paying even the salaries allowable to some of our executives under the modest scales established by our Personnel Committee? Once a man goes to work for the Council he probably cannot ever work for another Jewish organization. Yet, not a single employee has a contract. This past year we had almost a complete turn-over of our stenographic staff in the National Office because we feared certain minor increases would make other upward adjustments necessary that would cost us a couple of thousand dollars a year?

Do you know we have four books ready to be published? All we need is money. Do you realize no member of the staff and no volunteer has ever gone, at Council expense, to any place abroad to investigate first-hand conditions we talk and write about? Do you know we have youth groups growing like Topsy -- out of sheer agreement with the Council -- and cannot afford to employ a skilled director? Do you know the National Office has the most beat-up, patched together furnishings you have ever seen? I have seen these things -- at first hand.

We simply must face facts. First, there is no one person whose single contribution is the prime source of support for the Council. However, it is a fact that one percent of our members provides as much as 45% of our income. Or, to put it another way, a bloc of 65% of our members contributes only 15% of our dollars. This is a common situation among membership organizations. Yet it poses a special problem for us. We want, need and appreciate the devoted support of our small contributors. But to the 1% of our members who provide almost one-half of our income, we must direct this frank appeal and ask them to face the facts.

If the Council is to pay its way -- if we are to meet the increased demand for our improved product -- that 1% of our membership must take these words to heart. We have asked for a 20% increase in contributions this year. A large number of our small contributors have responded. It would do your hearts good to see the checks come in for \$6 instead of \$5, for \$12 instead of \$10, for \$30 instead of \$25. This same devotion ought to be displayed by our larger contributors who must increase their gifts in proportion. In no other way can the Council meet the present demand. In a word: the future of the Council's expanded program rests largely on the shoulders of 1% of our members. If this Council settles back to deliver only \$250,000 a year, you will have betrayed yourselves -- yourselves, I say -- as few reasonable people have ever betrayed themselves before.

Are you still getting your money's worth? I say yes, plus a substantial bonus.

Now, this has been strong talk. I think the facts of the situation warrant it. But it will be in vain -- and make only for an offensiveness which is not intended -- if it remains merely talk.

I have hoped to provoke discussion here of how you can help -- either by increasing your own contribution or selling the idea of larger contributions to others.

In that latter connection let me briefly refer to a member who contributed \$2 regularly for six straight years. When he was made aware of the true financial picture, he contributed \$250. He did not know that we needed money. How many members like this do we have? How many do you know personally? What can you do about it? I hope you are asking yourselves these questions.

We have time, this afternoon, to discuss ways and means. If I cannot answer your questions there are others here who can. But before any such help will be beneficial, there must be a realization that we cannot continue to spin miracles out of nothing; that we need money -- real money; that we deserve such money. If we look for it with that frame of mind, we will find it.

While "Five and Five Make Ten", let me say to you that the five years of this Council before, and five after, the establishment of Israel has added up to much more than ten, in terms of results and work produced. But you cannot, forever, get more than you pay for. We enter now a new decade. We enter it with experience and momentum which we did not have in 1943. Can we not, in a kind of resolution of heart, declare to ourselves that for the future -- starting right now -- we shall do all in our power to see that ten years from now we can say we had both the vision, and the down-to-earth grit and guts and common sense, to back up that vision?

It has become clear that we have grown beyond the stage of speculation. You must help us become a real, going concern.

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A Decade Is Only Time

by
Elmer Berger

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco, May 10, 1953

Early in January the competent and stem-winding chairman of the Conference Program Committee, Jane Blum, asked me if I would consider the invitation to speak tonight an honor for my ten years of service to the Council. Although the honor is unnecessary, it is much appreciated.

These have been ten good years. They have been filled with the kind of hard, lean adventure that distinguishes man's quest for freedom and his exploration of new frontiers. They have been years of the bitterest disappointments. But they have been years too in which, despite the disappointments, I cherish the work of our hands and the meditations of our hearts among the richest and most honorable activities of my life.

This decade has been -- for me -- a partnership and a comradeship welded of principles and conviction. It now has the length of ten years, a breadth of Council influence that has reached even to far-off lands and a depth, I hope, measured in the recesses of human spirits and the tried and tested convictions of human minds and souls.

I count it a privilege to speak to this Tenth Anniversary banquet. I am gratified to be on the platform for the modest but unsurpassedly deserved tribute to Lessing Rosenwald. I am glad to be an official part of the warm fellowship of this evening -- now that the burdens of the Conference have been put aside. And I am somewhat sentimental at this moment which is both the end of a decade and the beginning of a new era, indeterminate in length and not completely charted for course.

These are the intangible increments which have led me to consider my work "as a privilege, not a right" to use the words with which President Eisenhower described public office in his State of the Nation address. Above all other considerations, it would be my most fervent prayer tonight that the ultimate summation of this decade of Council work would be the same for each of you.

I am therefore honored to speak here tonight and humbled by the hope that I may honor the honor.

It would be pleasant to indulge longer in such subjective evaluations and sentimental reminiscing.

But there is still too much to be done and too many questions remain unanswered. To sit back, with one's feet on a desk, reminiscing only about the past is for the old and well-lived. It would be unbecoming at the age of ten. It would bespeak a confidence and a satisfaction which the world about us would deny.

An Open Society

I have long regarded our work as a capsule version of the larger struggle engaging the attention and energies of free men -- and directly related to that struggle. I do not know what we have been about if this has not been a struggle of individuals against collectivism; of precise and honest language against propaganda; of clear talking and clear thinking people against the fellow-travelers; of men believing in an open society against men who believe or acquiesce in a closed society.

We have vigorously rejected the fantastic notion that we must abide by the fabricated opinions of an indeterminable majority of a "Jewish people". We have rejected not only the theory but the practice of medievalism which regards Jews as some kind of an exclusive fraternity, with family linen on public issues which should not be washed in public. This kind of fantastic, medieval logic can serve only -- as it has -- to support the medieval suspicion that Jews are precisely such a fraternity.

We have done men the dignity of treating them as adults. We have told adults the facts and asked in return only the adult activity of exercising freedom for an adult choice. We have urged an open society with a Judaism welded to the hope and promise of American life. We have had the faith that, offered **such a Judaism, Jews will not flee their heritage.** We have expressed that faith in our countrymen of other faiths which we ask from them. We have acted and spoken as if we were a part of the totality of the American people, believing that they were entitled to know, in the open covenants of democratic life, our opinions on problems which the American system has traditionally held were the concern of all the people, regardless of race or faith.

These are the marks of a liberal society, composed of free individuals, prepared to take their rights in, and responsibilities to, that society as full members without improper reservations in favor of a fragment of that society splintered off on the basis of faith or race by either segregationist Jews or others.

I trust my fellow Americans and, as a Jew, I will try to sear out of so-called Jewish life anything which I cannot trust them to know so that they may trust me.

By these standards of mutual trust in the fraternity of American life and in the covenants of an open society, we may call this decade a success. What we have wanted to do -- we have done. We wanted only "the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience" which Milton, in his Areopagitica, placed above all other liberties. In a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" we have declared publicly "the causes which impel us to separation" from a secularized, politicalized counterfeit of Judaism, to use the language of the Declaration of Independence.

If these actions be negative, let the accusers demonstrate how, by the traditions of our whole American way of life. Let them cite to me not Herzl or Ben-Gurion or even Abba Hillel Silver, but the titans who built, with idea upon idea, this America -- the greatest of all experiments in human freedom.

And yet, despite these successes and the integrity of our position, there is in many minds here tonight the haunting, troubling question, "Why, if we have been so right, if our analyses have been so correct, have we failed to attract a larger membership?"

More Problems

From Iraq to the United States, the active support or passive consent given to the Zionist program, including many activities of the Israeli state, have created more problems than have been solved. In carefully reasoned conclusions we predicted this. And yet, in terms of numbers, it would seem that the Zionists and appeasers were right and we were wrong.

I am prepared for The National Jewish Post and the rest of the Zionist-controlled and dominated so-called "Jewish" newspapers to say that the Executive Director of this organization has made a public confession of failure. This is not so. Nor do I care what they say. I repeat my strong and confident claim that in the hearts and consciences of the membership of this Council, our work has been a success and there are many encouraging indications of increasing success.

Whenever I try to evaluate the Council on this level of numerical growth, I think back across these ten years to one of the early, formative meetings in a room in the Warwick Hotel in Philadelphia. The brilliant, able chairman of this dinner meeting tonight, Morris Wolf, was an invaluable counsellor. Somewhere along toward the middle of a hot Philadelphia summer, we completed the draft of our first public statement. We gave it a last, loving pat or two and the fifteen or twenty men and women in that room leaned back for a moment to draw a relaxed breath before we moved on to the next problem of publicizing the result. And I have never forgotten the calm, quiet strength of Morris Wolf's declaration that, whether or not anyone else ever joined the still unpublicized organization, he was satisfied simply to have the group that would say publicly the things which he -- and they -- believed.

This spirit is the essence of an American freedom which trusts men to know, then to choose, then to take the consequences of their choice. "Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind," said Ralph Waldo Emerson. This spirit is of the essence also of a Judaism eloquently phrased by Jeremiah. Driven by an inner compulsion to tell his co-religionists the facts of life at an earlier time in history, the great Prophet bared the anguish of his soul and said:

For as often as I speak, I cry out,
I cry: 'Violence and spoil';
Because the word of the lord is made
A reproach unto me, and a derision, all the day.

And if I say: 'I will not make mention of Him,
Nor speak any more in His name',
Then there is in my heart as it were
a burning fire
Shut up in my bones,
And I weary myself to hold it in,
But I cannot.

Under no circumstances would we trade such integrity for members. Moreover, we believe that it should not be necessary to make any such trade for we are, I think, convinced that the vast majority of American Jews accept our principles.

Certainly, there is no conclusive evidence that they oppose them. In more than fifty years organized Zionism has been unable to claim more than ten percent of American Jews. Nor does the numerical strength of the so-called non-Zionist organizations indicate that the appeasement they call a more "moderate position" has appealed to any large number of American Jews. Roughly, the membership of the leading, self-styled "non-Zionist" American Jewish Committee, is about the same as ours. This, despite the fact that theirs is a membership put together of Zionists, "non-Zionists" and anti-Zionists.

We ought therefore to realize there are no objective reasons to be apologetic for our numerical support.

Nor is the greater financial success of other organizations any proof of greater popularity. For most of them obtain their funds from the log-rolling, pork-barrel negotiations of united fund-raising campaigns. In that framework accounts receivable do not reflect conviction or principle but merely the ability to yield on both counts in the interest of compromises and negotiations.

Better Words

And, I must also pay deference to a feeling, shared by some of our own members, that if only we were to say things somehow differently we could accomplish the same ends and win greater support. There is not an iota of supporting evidence. The American Jewish Committee is a frequent critic of how we do things, while often professing basic ideological agreement. Meeting in Chicago in October of 1951, the American Jewish Committee adopted a resolution condemning Israeli-Zionist indoctrination of American youth and the commingling of philanthropic funds with those used for the political purposes of a foreign state. The language of the resolution was the work of men who have said consistently to us, "We believe in what you are doing but we think you are doing it wrong and anyway, we are doing the same thing and doing it differently."

Did their resolution obviate the attacks and distortions and bitterness which so frequently are the answers to Council statements? It did not. Mr. Blaustein and the Committee were smeared from Tel Aviv to San Francisco, with deviationists few and far between at intermediate points. Have subsequent activities of the Zionist movement and the State of Israel warranted action by the Committee to implement that resolution? They have. Contrary to the resolution and by virtue of Israeli legislation, the Zionist Organization is now an agent of the Israeli government. At its latest meeting the Jewish Agency determined to finance a new Zionist political offensive against the reported change in American Middle Eastern policies by the Eisenhower administration. And the Jewish Agency is the largest, ultimate, beneficiary of the United Jewish Appeal. Has the American Jewish Committee done a single thing, in a year and a half, to implement its solemnly announced policy of opposition to these things? If it has, it is all a deep, dark secret. The secret may be permissible. But it is a secret that has not worked, which is ground for a different evaluation.

Or, do our fellow citizens of other faiths know that the American Jewish Committee is opposed to "Jewish" nationalism? The contrary is true if my fairly extensive conversations from Washington officials to an occasional talk to a small town Rotary Club are any reliable indication.

So, on the basis of experience for these ten years, let us disabuse ourselves of the notion that we create unnecessary controversy in doing a necessary job. Zionists do not object to our language. This is no problem in mere semantics. They object to our ideas. And do not mistake the fact that the Zionists with their vast organizational network and infiltration and the fellow travelers, who follow a "hush-hush" policy, control the climate of opinion of American Jews.

These are not particularly happy conclusions. I mention them tonight because before we can be more effective in the future, we must possess greater confidence in the method we have employed in the past and avoid wasting our time and energy chasing will-o-the-wisp anti-biotics.

Having cleared away some of the more prevalent illusions, let me now turn to some reasons for the difficulties of our work which have occurred to me in these ten years.

Apathy

The first is apathy. Many of you have observed it. But tonight I am not satisfied to name the disease and move on. For in the first place, the apathy is not so apathetic and, in the second place what there is of it is born of fundamental ignorance.

Many of those apathetic to our viewpoint are not otherwise apathetic people. They support the U.J.A. They are interested in world events and fail to see the relationship of our problem to those events. They support all kinds of ersatz "Jewish" culture and become passionate defenders of their support if we indicate it is, somehow, misguided.

Now I contend such apathy derives from a fundamental ignorance of the problem. They do not know Zionism. Therefore, they do not know what Zionism has done and is still doing to them. And therefore they cannot see the merit of the Council.

They do not know, for example, that Zionist agents terrorized Jews in D.P. camps at the end of the war holding these human beings as political hostages while a deal was made for recognition of Zionist, national aspirations in Palestine. If they knew this, they would not still ask how we would have met the D.P. problem. They do not know that "Jewish" nationalists sank the refugee ship "Patria" as a political campaign stunt. They do not know the fantastic story of the "Exodus," another refugee ship that was besieged by the Jewish Agency, lest some of its victims -- not of Nazism but of fanatical "Jewish" nationalism -- find refuge outside the Procrustean bed of a Zionized Palestine. They do not know the story of Deir Yesin and the massacre of Arabs. They do not know that the American Zionist organizations act as the agents of a foreign agent. They do not even guess at the reason for the secrecy which makes unobtainable an understandable accounting of the final disposition of U.J.A. funds. They do not know that newspaper editors,

across the nation, are barraged with an endless stream of Zionist background material which, like an iceberg, shows about only one percent above the water-line.

They do not know that religious school texts are saturated with ghettoism, glorified as maximalist Judaism, by people who say the only place to live a full Jewish life is in Israel. They do not know the people who say that are right, if living a full Jewish life means what these books tell their children. They do not know that the Israeli "Law of Return", without so much as a by-your-leave, has given them, because they are Jews, a national right in Israel; and that the Israeli "Nationality Law" compels them, under certain conditions, to renounce that second nationality before they set foot on Israeli soil, or else become Israeli citizens.

Most American Jews do not realize that, advised by the Israeli Foreign Ministry, American Zionists are following a policy which Zionism pursued in England from 1939-1948.

The logic of the Zionist-Israeli contention that the national interests of Zionism and Israel, on the one hand, and of the United States, on the other hand, are inseparable and the same, is wearing thin. Increasing numbers of Americans wonder about the other 40,000,000 people in the area.

Faced with a possible shift in American policy, based on this dawning realization, the Zionist-Israel axis is attempting to isolate the Department of State from the Administration and the American people as the Zionist campaign in England, for a decade, attempted to isolate the British Foreign Office.

American foreign service officers and other Americans who know there are more states in the Middle East than Israel, are branded as anti-Semites. Most American Jews are not aware of this process of terror and intimidation, although most of the same American Jews are eloquent enough in their condemnation of tactics not vastly different, employed by one Joe McCarthy.

Most Dangerous Game

This contrivance of equating objectivity about the Middle East with anti-Semitism, in my most sober opinion, is the most dangerous game Zionism has played in American life in the fifty years of its operation.

For the Middle East will emerge into increasing prominence in world affairs, with or without a cold or hot war. More and more people will become aware of the 40,000,000 of its inhabitants who do not live in Israel. These people will not be subject to the "bias" of the fellowship to which Mr. Lasky's paper reminded us we might be subject. And if objectivity in or out of the fellowship, is to be labelled anti-Semitism, as it is now, then I submit that Jews -- or more precisely, Zionists -- will legitimize anti-Semitism in the American scene. Instead of a lunatic fringe of Gerald Smiths, the Winrods, the Joseph Kamps, we shall have a solid core of politically literate men and women who have been told that because they believe Israel should have no favored nation position in Middle East policy they are anti-Jewish; or because they sympathize with Arab aspirations they are anti-Semitic.

In a recent Zionist column I found a list of Americans labelled, either directly or by implication, as "anti-Jewish" because of their political opinions on Middle Eastern problems. I deliberately enter the list here so that you may see the horrendous proportions of this device. There is, first of all, a Department of State officer whom I happen to know well. He is guilty only of knowing just about everything -- and sometimes more than -- I know about Zionism and its operation in the United States. By Zionist standards this public servant has a peculiar sense of public responsibility for he tells the American people, by whom he is employed, what he knows about a serious, political problem. Others, indicted by association, as "anti-Jewish" by this columnist are: Governor Christian A. Herter of Massachusetts, Allen W. Dulles, Chief of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States; C. D. Jackson, publisher of Fortune Magazine and now President Eisenhower's appointee from the Department of State to the President's Committee on International Information Activities; Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton, Chairman of the Near Eastern Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; Dr. Philip W. Thayer, Dean of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University. Add to this list, the following, mentioned in an edition of The Facts, published by the Anti-Defamation League last month: Dorothy Thompson; Dr. Philip Hitti of Princeton University; Dr. Garland Hopkins, the Christian Century; Dr. Millar Burrows, Yale University; Vincent Sheean, Henry R. Luce, Dr. Stephen Penrose, Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon.

In making these insinuations careful language is usually employed. This is an example: "While in many instances these spokesmen appeared to be expressing a legitimate pro-Arab point of view, frequently their attacks against Israel -- either by design or otherwise -- had a generally harmful impact upon the American Jewish community and a secondary anti-Semitic result."

This self-confessed admission of failure on the part of the defense agencies indicates that they failed to take the precautions necessary against "Jewish" nationalism to prevent "a legitimate pro-Arab point of view" -- their words -- from having a "harmful impact" on American Jews. They failed to recognize Israel and Zionism as parts of "Jewish" nationalism and to help those Jews who wanted to be free Americans separate themselves from the combination.

Only this Council fought for the separation -- and its battle was called "negative". Was it? Was it better -- or worse -- than the "Jewish" nationalist and non-Zionist contrivance to smear Arabs and to persuade American Jews they need not worry about Zionist tactics because what Zionists wanted was only in the best interests of the United States?

These things American Jews do not know. Without knowing them they see no realistic basis for having to make a choice and so they do not support our work.

"The danger", says Mr. Lasky's paper, "is that we shall lose our Americanism" by importing into American life, under the guise of religion or some of its legitimate extensions, "the kind of non-religious separatisms that were born in pre-democratic or pre-western theories of "Jewish" race, nationality or secular community."

This is a warranted caution which the American Council for Judaism must, with every resource at its command, prevent from becoming a prophetic warning. Possessed of greater knowledge of this problem than that of any other group, I hope we will continue our analytical, educational work. We may win members more slowly this way. But history -- and truth -- are on our side. If we fail in this level of our work concerned with our basic American status, we shall talk in vain about an American Judaism.

Unity

There is another group of American Jews who account for a part of our inability to win a larger numerical following. They are the "unity boys". They are prone to say something like, "I agree with the Council but I cannot support it because it is a divisive influence. It makes trouble -- and we want peace. It divides Jews when they ought to be unified."

This reaction stems largely from the so-called leadership group. Their frequent covert approval and abstinence from overt support is a two-pronged impediment to the Council. They not only withhold support themselves, but in an age when what does John think is frequently a substitute for thinking itself, they deter other people from support.

The fact is that American Judaism is suffering from "institutionitis". There is precious little examination of the purposes pursued by most Jewish organizations. It is the institution that is important. And since to examine the purpose is "negative", it is ipso facto "positive" to support the institution regardless of purpose. Avoiding examination of purpose, "Jewish" nationalists have infiltrated and altered the purposes of many institutions, converting them into fronts. So Emanuel Neumann admits -- now as a fait accompli -- that back in 1939, when Abba Hillel Silver was chairman of the United Jewish Appeal,

"He gradually converted the platform of the Appeal into a political forum, giving incisive and compelling expression to the Jewish demands for national freedom and a secure national existence on the ancestral soil. . ."

Defense organizations which claim to exist for the purpose of preventing "the infraction of the civil and religious right of Jews, in any part of the world" become apologists for, and defenders of, the national aspirations of the State of Israel.

Some indication of the storm which any fresh and unorthodox evaluation of institutional purposes can create became evident as the most obvious by-product of the MacIver Report.

It is therefore not surprising that the Council, considering its primary responsibility to be an idea and a free pattern of life and holding an irreverence for institutions, just because they have always been here, should encounter resistance.

Isn't it time, for example, to ask why the defense agencies have so contorted themselves that the rationale for their work has turned a complete circle in American life? I remember the time when it was

assumed America offered a congenial climate for Jews and that the vast majority of Americans were prepared to give equality as they expected to enjoy it. There were, it was agreed, misconceptions. And the defense should be to attack the misconceptions.

This is no longer the theme. It is no longer admitted that self-generated "Jewish" separatism is a contributing factor to tensions. Today the theory is that "Jewish" nationalism and segregation are the result of anti-Semitism. The way to lick Zionism, say the so-called non-Zionist defense agencies, is to lick anti-Semitism. Meanwhile, no conduct of Jews, operating -- or appearing to operate -- as a separate national group, bears any relation to the problem.

The contrary observations of the MacIver Report, made precisely for the so-called Community Relations organizations, have been ignored.

This new theory puts down the major premise that the majority of American people are anti-Semitic. "Jewish" nationalism is the reaction of Jews to this anti-Semitism. This, I submit, is strictly from Herzl's book, for it was he who first postulated that wherever Jews went they brought anti-Semitism with them.

The Council may be pardoned then, if it is somewhat irreverent of this so-called "leadership group". There is no easy way to alter a situation where leaders are followers because funds are raised on the lowest of low common denominators. The only corrective is the independent, free -- and if you please -- irreverent effort of the Council to build a grass-roots knowledge; to prod and goad so that people who supply the funds may look behind the neon lights and television programs and theatre parties and addresses by celebrities to the purposes of these organizations they support. It will take time. It will be called negative also. But it will avoid falling into the trap of believing principles will emerge, miraculously, out of organizations which are penalized financially if their principles do not conform.

It is a maxim of history that men have always lost those things which they valued more than freedom, no matter how they rationalized the higher priority they placed upon the institutions they thought they would save through expediency. The present trend in the institutions of American Jews will prove no exception.

Judaism

And finally, our way has been difficult because of the low visibility that American Jews have about Judaism. Without compass themselves, American Jews are like spectators at a spectacular demonstration of radar-controlled robots intended to give them Judaism by remote control. "You can be a good Jew" they are told, "if you support Israel." "You need Israel," they are told "as the center and fructifier of Judaism." "You cannot understand Judaism," they are told, "unless you read Hebrew." "You cannot be a good Jew," they are told, "without loyalty to 'your people'."

These -- and similar allegations -- the Council has rejected. "Judaism," we have said, "is not what goes on in Israel or in the omnibus fund-raising campaigns." "Judaism," we have said, "transcends language." Judaism is justness and righteousness -- even for Arabs. "For Judaism is of the heart -- and

the mind. It is not mere sentimentality -- feeling without any commitments to action. Judaism is a series of moral postulates which entail obligations to action because history has tested them in the fire of experience and found that no society, no tribe, no institution, can defy these postulates and live.

It does not require any "anti-Zionism" to observe this. But it is odd, that I, an "anti-Zionist", should document my understanding of Judaism with the words of the Zionist, Judah Magnes; words suppressed and truth crushed to earth by the self-styled liberals and demoralizers of something called "a Jewish community".

It is nearly six years since Judah Magnes, speaking for the last time at opening exercises of his beloved Hebrew University sounded the prophetic warning:

" . . . You may say, it is because of our straightened position, from which there is no escape, that we have declared a kind of moral moratorium, or, in today's terminology, a freezing of our morals. It is possible to freeze preserves, or to freeze money for a time, and after that to restore its value. But it is not within the power of man to freeze his morals. . . . Judaism requires a man to acknowledge his wrongdoing, to expiate this wrong, to return from his evil ways. . . ."

This freezing of morals, Magnes went on, has led -- and I use his words --

" . . . myriads of Jews throughout the world, particularly in America, to yield to that Zionist totalitarianism which seeks to subject to its discipline the entire Jewish people and every individual therein, and, if necessary, by force and by violence. . . ."

" . . . It is now harder and harder to be a Jew and be faithful to the spirit of Israel among these new-fashioned Hebrews. . . ."

It has always been harder to be a Jew than an opponent of anti-Semitism, or a contributor to U.J.A., or to maintain a vested interest in an institution. And because being a Jew has been harder than any of these -- the way of the Council is hard. And it is precisely this difficulty -- integral to our position -- that is one of the things convincing me of the genuineness of our position. For neither Magnes nor I, if I may be pardoned the grouping, is the first to complain.

Isaiah testifies that his contemporaries said,

"to the seers, 'See not'
And to the prophets: 'Prophecy not
unto us right things,
Speak unto us smooth things, prophesy
delusions."

These prophetic words convey the same thought as that expressed by those who say to us today, "What you believe may be right, but in speaking about these things you disrupt unity and cast suspicion on Jews."

Jeremiah was called a "troubler of Israel".

Amos was told by one of the king's public relations men in Israel, "go flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there; but prophesy not any more at Beth-El, for it is the king's sanctuary, and it is a royal house." And Jewus having spent his life advocating a Judaism of high principled morality sighed out his last breath with the anguished sentence, "Forgive them Father, for they know what they do."

To give priority again to the Judaism of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, Jesus, Magnes -- and yes, of this Council -- will require continued dissent for the purpose, as Magnes put it, of "breaking away from defilement, and loving purity and righteousness." It will not come in any mass uprising. It will come only in the slow ferment of spirit fortified by informed minds.

This is what we hope to do in our own religious program:

We need again to raise a generation of Jews who, confronted with leadership that suggests pride and dignity in Judaism is to be found in a political state and secular organization for power will respond with the warning of Hosea,

"I give thee a King in Mine anger,
And take him away in my wrath."

We need again to raise a generation of Jews who, told that Judaism has something to do with size and the obligation to support this or that organization or with constructing Kibbutzim or planting trees, will have in their hearts and accessible to their tongues the warning of Isaiah:

"Woe unto them that join house to house,
That lay field to field.
Till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell
Alone in the midst of the land."

We need to raise a generation of Jews who, confronted with the slogan makers and the "unity boys" and with the people who prefer to evade issues will find pouring out from the depths of their consciousness the indignation of Jeremiah, who condemned those who "healed the hurt of my people lightly,

"Saying: 'Peace, peace', when there is no peace. . ."

We need to raise a generation of Jews who will understand Judaism as something great and noble which can stand before the whole world in openness and purity of spirit. Confronted with tactics that cannot stand the light of day and advised by the statesmen "not to wash dirty linen in public", that generation of Jews needs to have branded into its soul the dignity and confidence of the great, anonymous prophet who heralded the return from Babylon, reminding the Jews of his day that God had "not

spoken in secret,

"In a place of the land of darkness". . .

And the prophet could advocate open covenants, openly arrived at because in his Judaism, God "declares things that are right"; and because "all the ends of the earth" -- not only a "Jewish people" -- could "look unto me, and be ye saved."

This is the exquisite design of our tradition. This was a code of honor and integrity for which life was worth living and for which some heroic souls were prepared even to suffer death.

Upon this foundation, our fathers built here a Judaism related to the United States of America. And we need again to raise a generation of American Jews who will know that Judaism, remembering nearly a century ago, in 1869, the Central Conference of American Rabbis said, Zionism

" . . . harms our Jewish brethren where they are still persecuted, by confirming the assertion of their enemies that the Jews are foreigners in the countries in which they are at home, and of which they are everywhere the most loyal and patriotic citizens. . . "

We need a generation of American Jews who, when confronted with loose, emotional talk about "Jewish communities", will know how to answer with the Central Conference of American Rabbis' Resolution of 1912, which said:

"Inasmuch as we are unqualifiedly committed to the total separation of Church and State, we discountenance any movement in Jewish communities on other than the religious basis which would violate this principle and tend to create the impression that the Jews are an imperium in imperio."

We need a generation of American Jews who, faced with the philosophy that Jews are a minority nationality with special sentiments and obligations for Israel will know how to reply with the prophetic words of one who is with us here tonight; prophetic words, I say, were those spoken by Morris Lazaron a quarter century ago to the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1920:

" . . . Such institutions as the Jewish Parochial Schools, or the tendency to inject into our American political system European conceptions of group rights and minority privileges, must be combated with all our influence and all our power. Because our persecuted brothers come from countries where national rights are recognized is no reason why we should encourage the importation of any such foreign conceptions here."

We need to raise a generation of Jews who will want a Hebrew Union College, to graduate Reform Rabbis, with the unashamed partisanship for Reform which characterized that institution in the days of its illustrious President, Kaufman Kohler. Kohler was not ashamed to prevent -- and I emphasize the word "prevent" --

"a Zionist professor from twisting and distorting the grand universal teachings of the prophets and sages of Israel or of the Pentateuch with the view of turning them into crude nationalistic utterances."

And we need a generation of Jews who, if more traditionally minded, will know the differences between the Messianic, religious Zion and Tel Aviv and will bring that knowledge to bear in the operation of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

The heritage is here -- available. It is not confined to Hebrew nor does it require public relations advisers. It is "indwelling" -- to use Jeremiah's words. It is a "near God -- not a God far off." The rewriters of history are busy every day, erasing the record and covering it over. Only the American Council for Judaism is demonstrating such an unapologetically partisan, anti-nationalist Judaism.

Two weeks ago I attended a dreary meeting celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Commission on Jewish Education of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, during the recent convention of that body in New York. A few passages from the report of the chairman of the Commission, Dr. Solomon Freehof, a former President of the CCAR, will give you some idea of the different emphasis and of the curvature of the spine which the heritage of the prophets and the early Reform movement has suffered.

Said Dr. Freehof:

"A generation ago at the Central Conference of American Rabbis, almost all the quotations one would hear would be from the Prophets. Now almost as frequently we hear quotations from the Talmud and the legal literature. Judaism as prophecy has had to give some room in the thinking of the rabbinate to Judaism as law."

Part of Freehof's report tried to rationalize the difference between Reform today and the Reform of Kohler and Isaac M. Wise. With a visible wince at the Council's evaluation of the Union's textbooks and our rejection of the "Jewish peoplehood" concept, Freehof pursued the argument that Reform today is no different from that of Wise and Kohler.

Using the old trick about semantics, he said:

"Whatever difference there is between us inheres perhaps in a difference of vocabulary. . . They speak of the 'brotherhood of Israel' or the 'children of Israel' but they meant exactly the same thing that we mean by the simpler phrase, 'Jewish people'. The existence of a Jewish State, in which Jewish people live as a separate nation, has brought a frankness into our vocabulary which they understandably lacked. . . Nowadays the word 'Israel' has come to mean the new Jewish State. We, therefore, say the 'Jewish people'. . .

Freehof's impertinence in saying his titanic predecessors, who never fled controversy, used "circuitous terms", and that he and his

contemporaries are using "somewhat franker terms" is a bold-faced bid for approval to a group of Jews who, Freehof hopes, have short memories.

The religious school texts, issued long before the State of Israel existed, used the term "Jewish people", invalidating this flimsy excuse for language which Mr. Iasky properly described as a "base mintage".

This incident is typical of the fundamental immorality of the prevailing scene. It is not that anyone of these situations is so eternally damning. It is the counterfeiting, the fabrication of a printing-press religion rather than a religion of the heart and mind. And the counterfeiting and the printing-press religion is not only not Judaism -- it is also an affront to American freedom. For its chief purpose is to tell Jews no choice is involved; that all of Jews and all of Judaism is a "seamless web" to use the words with which one of these public relations experts condemned a quite different proposition I was injudicious enough to put into a book.

Dissent and Affirmation

To all this conscious obfuscation, this playing with words instead of dedication to ideas, this emphasis on "peoplehood" instead of Godhood, our ten years stand in courageous dissent and majestic affirmation. For those who know and who, knowing, have the courage to choose the Council needs no defense.

For all freedom involves choice. The choice offered by the "peoplehood" advocates of their kind of Judaism or as they condescendingly remind us -- Unitarianism -- is a deprivation of freedom. We refuse to accept it! And I pray God we have the energy and vision to keep alive, as Jews, the alternative of a Judaism free of tribalism and public relations experts; motivated by the passion for that pure distillation of ethical content spoken without benefit of "circuitous terms" by the prophets.

These are my impressions at this point which is both of the past ten years and of the future of the Council. They are not comfortable impressions. Neither in the secular nor the religious field of our work do I see any broad, easy to navigate highways leading over a horizon of sure success.

Does it matter in a world where nothing free is sure? Is integrity a matter of votes; and justice and truth and righteousness determined by public opinion polls? Or, are we perhaps to learn the arduousness of our way from the anguish of a Jeremiah and the assurance which God spoke to him, in these words:

" . . . Be not afraid of them for I am with thee to deliver thee . . . But do thou gird thy loins and rise and speak to them whatsoever I bid thee. Be not dismayed by them lest I suffer thee to be dismayed by them. Behold, I make thee this day as a fortified city, and as an iron pillar, and as a wall of brass against the whole land, the kings of Judah, her princes, her priests, and the people of the land; they shall wage war against thee but not conquer thee, for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee."

If this be our lot then, even within the framework of the choice you have already made to join this Council, you are faced again with still another choice. I cannot make it for you; nor can your officers or your Executive Committee. Most of all you cannot leave that choice to those who failed to make the initial choice in favor of this association of ours.

This constant, wracking, moral torture of choice is this Council's heritage to you. For this is what it means to be free. It is, in truth, all we have to offer those to whom we would turn for greater numbers. The free man, yearning to stay free, will see the worth of the heritage. He will prefer it to the gratuitous and synthetic unity which has already resulted in a deterioration of Judaism and of our status as free individual Americans.

It is in this spirit that I have served this Council these ten years. It is with this spirit that we will justify our being for the future. A decade may be only time. Or it may be a rich, warming association of deep companionship in an idea and a purpose; a courage and a stamina; a slow, tortured inching ahead toward the unattainable horizon of human progress, greater freedom of human spirits and integrity of human minds. Nothing can defeat, for me, the sense that this Council decade has been all of this. I thank you for it and for having me as a part of it.

As we close this decade, I am reminded of a few, simple words which Erasmus wrote in a preface to his "Praise of Folly" and addressed to Thomas More, "May you take in good will, then, this little declamation, as a keepsake from a friend, and may you also undertake to defend it; dedicated to you, it is now yours and not mine."

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YOUTH PANEL

YOUTH ACTIVITIES - IN THE COUNCIL AND ELSEWHERE

Eleanor Ann Lipkin

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
San Francisco

Saturday Youth Brunch - May 9, 1953

(Miss Lipkin is acting chairman of the New York Youth Section with unparalleled experience in a variety of Jewish youth organizations. At present, she is on the National Board of the National Federation of Temple Youth (the Union affiliate). She has the unusual experience of being one of two Reform delegates to the National Jewish Youth Conference. Miss Lipkin is past president of two youth groups at Congregation Emanu-El, New York, where she was confirmed by a distinguished Council Rabbi, Dr. Samuel Goldenson.)

I have been asked to provide a quick review of the nature of Jewish youth activity in America today and the role the Council ought to play. I need not tell you that this is a subject for an hour-long paper and a discussion three times longer. I will try to cram my impressions and experiences into a few minutes - and leave to this panel the task of carrying on an evaluation which I hope will conclude with definite recommendations for Council youth.

First, I want to examine the major Jewish youth movements. All these include secular programs which may be slightly or not at all related to Judaism, but which are urged upon young people as expressions of "Jewishness." This extends from outright acceptance and avid promotion of Zionism to subtle teaching of Zionist-inspired "cultural" programs which are presented as "Jewish education." Let me be more specific:

1. HILLEL FOUNDATION OF B'NAI B'RITH: If you have ever set foot in a Hillel Chapter, you know what I mean. You find the walls covered with Zionist slogans. Bulletin boards are crammed with announcements of lectures on how to emigrate to Israel, how to live in Israel, how to emulate every phase of life in Israel. If there are discussions about life in the United States, they are usually after-thoughts. They provide little more than a feeble basis for claiming that Hillel activities are not exclusively oriented to Israel. In the large Hillel Chapter at Queens College, New York, a recent typical three-week schedule featured speakers from the Intercollegiate Zionist Federation (IZFA) on six of 15 programs. During other programs there was instruction in Israeli folk songs, folk dances, folk literature and almost anything to weld a link on the basis of "Jewish nationalism." At Hillel in the College of the City of New York, the printed program states frankly that the Intercollegiate Zionist Federation "forms an integral part of CCNY at Hillel. It emphasizes an Israel-centered program and is designed both for students who plan to settle in Israel and for those who wish to develop their interest in the Jewish life and the new Israel." In other words, since IZFA is the very heart of Hillel, one may assume that Hillel's prime purpose these days

is to produce emigration of American youth to Israel or, in the words of the Zionist leaders, "create the volition" for emigration through a concentrated secular program.

Actually, the Hillel Foundations on almost every campus are completely Zionist-oriented and controlled. Even if the national Hillel director were not as ardent a Zionist as he is, the fact that virtually every local Hillel director is a firm Zionist and permits thorough infiltration by IZFA - all of this makes Hillel a most effective "front" for Zionism.

A revealing article appeared in the February 1953 issue of IZFACTS, the publication of IZFA. It stated that IZFA debated whether to encourage Hillel "to take over Israeli song and dance groups and other characteristic Zionist activities!" Some argued that Hillel "would use them as 'ends' while IZFA uses them as means to 'something further'". (This is an admission that IZFA coldly calculates its use of so-called culture for other purposes; this parallel program by Hillel - using the very same techniques - can only speed the accomplishment of IZFA's own "ends"). IZFA then announced that it "looks with respect on Hillel efforts to include in their program the study of current events and cultural developments in Israel . . . and that contact with Israel's culture . . . be considered an indispensable and indisputable part of the positive orientation which is the basis of the Jewish community on campus."

2. INCOLLEGIATE ZIONIST FEDERATION OF AMERICA (IZFA): This organization, like Young Judea and Junior Hadassah for the younger age groups, is frankly and militantly devoted to advancing "Jewish nationalism" through campus activity. Although all Zionist organizations include Chalutzit (emigration to Israel) as part of their program, some IZFA groups play it up more than others. One group has called Chalutzit "complete self-identification with the Zionist ideal." It adds, "Going to Palestine to live is the highest goal to be attained by the Zionists." Some IZFA members are themselves squeamish about this idea but none will deny that running a cultural program is the full-time job of every IZFA group. This, top Zionists have called "creating the volition" for emigration.

3. JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTERS (Sponsored by the Jewish Welfare Board): They provide social, recreational and athletic sites which prove attractive to young people. A great many of the activities, however, are based on "Jewish nationalist" themes, events and forms. If you examine the Biennial announcement (1952-1954) of the Jewish Center Lecture Bureau, you discover an amazing variety of speakers, dancers and singers who are ardently Zionist in every respect. Of about 120 speakers offered by the JWB for community centers, only six are not generally considered Zionist-oriented. This includes non-Jews as well as Jews. Of the musical programs featured, nearly all feature Israeli folk dancing and singing as their offering of "Jewish music." Virtually no effort is made to stress the music of the temple, which is the truly Jewish musical form.

4. NATIONAL JEWISH YOUTH CONFERENCE: This is the most blatant effort by Zionists to represent themselves as the spokesman for all young Jews and, at the same time, to inspire typical Zionist activity within every other Jewish youth group in America. The technique through which it has achieved its position reveals one important goal of American Zionism. The NJYC is patterned after the defunct American Jewish Conference which sought to weld every Jewish organization

into one body with a single "Jewish spokesman." This has already been achieved on the youth level. The NJYC now includes 300 local and regional Jewish youth councils as well as 11 other national youth organizations. Except for the National Federation of Temple Youth (the youth affiliate of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations), all the other groups are outright Zionist bodies. The NJYC has officially resolved to strengthen the Zionist movement through local youth activity; to assist the emigration of young Jews to Israel; to further the development of Jewish all-day classes; to expand the teaching of modern Hebrew; to press for unified action by American Jews on matters relating to Israel; and finally, to establish an adult "American Jewish Conference which will serve as the instrument of unified action for American Jewry."

It is interesting to remember that the NJYC is sponsored and subsidized by the JWB which is presumably not Zionist in orientation. Certainly, however, nearly all of the JWB's youth activities are controlled by Zionists and are aimed directly at furthering the "Jewish nationalist" ideology.

5. NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH: This affiliate of the Union was organized to inculcate a love of Reform Judaism in post-confirmation youth. The NFTY is an advisory body which includes representatives of young people's groups connected with Union temples. The aim is to help the youth groups plan better programs and work harmoniously with one another. Many of the NFTY's efforts have been extremely successful. They have provided some basic program and organizational ideas which have assisted the youth groups. Unfortunately, though, the NFTY often falls into the same trap with other organizations serving youth. It is felt that young people must have all of the paraphernalia (books, songs, etc.) which the Zionists produce in order to interest them in the temple or in the youth group itself. For example, the NFTY's leadership institutes spend a good deal of time teaching Israeli songs and dances as part of the technique for holding the interest of young people. This is not to say that there have not been truly religious experiences provided at these institutes, but along with them has been included the secular indoctrination which falls right into the pattern of "Jewish nationalism." This would be even less objectionable if it were explained that these nationalist forms have played a role in the history of Jews. There is no such effort to place them in proper perspective. On the contrary, it is strongly implied that these secular songs, etc. are rightfully a part of every Jewish youth's upbringing.

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These are the programs to which we object in varying degrees. I sometimes think that less harm is done by outright Zionist organizations than by those groups which profess to be non-Zionist and non-partisan but which incorporate most of the elements of Zionism in their working program. These latter groups are doing us a great disservice.

The question arises, what can the Council do about this?

I believe there are two things to be done: First, if we are individual members of any organization - religious, social, political - which incorporates "Jewish nationalist" themes, we should use our right to speak up at every oppor-

tunity. I think that this needs no elaboration here. It certainly is advisable for each of us to remain within those organizations and fully express our views.

There are things which the Council can do - and is doing. Let me describe briefly what we in the New York youth group are attempting. Let me tell you how we started and how we have grown.

Exactly one year ago, four of us attended the Annual Conference in Washington. We were impressed almost beyond words. We went home, talked to our friends, held about a dozen home meetings and slowly attracted members to us. We never expected a large membership - but we have molded an unusually well-informed and enthusiastic group of young people. Each of us knows the score and most of us are capable of talking intelligently about the Council. We have passed the time when we shy away from discussing the subject with our Zionist friends. We attribute that sureness to a very interesting series of open meetings, as well as the home meetings. During the past six months, we have met two and three times a month to discuss specific Council subjects. We have been addressed by some of the Council's most distinguished rabbinical, lay and professional leaders. We have made a point of attending all of our New York Chapter's functions as well.

But there has been more than this indoctrination. We have set up projects to put our ideas to work. For example:

1. SCOPE - Our Monthly Paper: As our first method of expressing our ideas, we established the monthly paper called SCOPE. The first issue was so well received that barely two or three file copies remain. As requests came in from all parts of the country, we steadily increased the print order for it. Recent issues have gone to a mailing list of 500 people. We have been told that the style and content of the paper are fresh and appealing. If you saw our April Fool issue, you may agree that SCOPE is probably the Council's liveliest spokesman.

2. CHILDREN'S COLORING BOOK OF BIBLE STORIES: We have written and illustrated a book of brief Bible tales which will be used in the Council's Schools for Judaism. We devised a unique format. Each picture will be left incomplete. The child must fill in the central theme after having heard or read the text. This, we think, will make the book especially valuable to the teacher and parent. Naturally, the stories and pictures are free of the nationalist content so often found even at this age level.

3. "HELP THE DP'S" COMMITTEE: We collected toys and other articles and shipped them to children in the Foehrenwald Camp in Germany. This is the last Jewish DP camp there. It has been largely neglected by Jewish philanthropies.

4. WE ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES: One Friday a month our members visit in a group a different temple in the city.

5. VISIT TO THE SUNDAY SCHOOL: We have observed the operation of the Westchester School for Judaism. Some of us plan to assist and teach there in the fall.

6. SOCIAL EVENTS: We have put on our own program of folk songs and a community sing. This included music from many nations including traditional American songs, German, Russian and Israeli. An adult member of the Council was

the featured soloist. We have held a number of parties in members' homes. We have also run a summer picnic during which some time was devoted to a Council discussion. We are also planning a dance and other social events.

We are establishing a formal organization with by-laws to be adopted this June. Our new board will be installed by one of the Council's rabbis. A dinner and dance will follow.

* * *

These have been the things accomplished. We also look to the future!

We think it might be helpful to invite our parents to a special meeting one day soon. We are toying with an idea for a second book to be used in the Sunday schools. We think it might be possible to photograph ceremonial objects or other observances and produce a series of slides for school use. We will, of course, continue to dream up new ways of interesting young people. One method might be the organization of a debating team which would challenge local temple groups, IZFA and Hillel, to discuss all related subjects.

My prime purpose is not to offer a list of recommendations for this meeting. I can only hope that what I have said will act as a trigger to touch off a lively discussion. I would like to urge, however, the closest possible cooperation from now on between all of the youth groups in the Council, possibly by some formal arrangement which will simplify the exchange of ideas.

YOUTH PANEL

WE MUST LEAD THE WAY

by
Mortimer H. Herzstein

American Council for Judaism
Tenth Anniversary Conference
Saturday Youth Brunch - San Francisco - May 9, 1953

For the last three years I have had the pleasure of reporting to the annual conference, the activities of the San Francisco Youth Group. In 1951, at Chicago, our group was new, we had twenty-five members. Thereafter, our idea took hold in other communities. Last year in Washington our group had doubled its membership, but more important, we were joined by young people from Chicago and New York. This year other cities have added their representation to an ever growing list. This idea, germinated in San Francisco, has certainly spread throughout the country and has brought new life and blood into the Council.

This year I could tell you of our home meetings, our general membership meetings, our successes and our failures -- where we have gained and where we have fallen down on the job. But rather, I would like to express my opinions as to what should be the function of a young people's group. Naturally these thoughts are related to the San Francisco situation, but I do believe that they have a basic validity for every local situation.

First, the young people's group should be an integral part of the local chapter. In San Francisco that is so. We are well represented on the local board of directors. Many members of the "old" group attend our general meetings and most certainly we should and do attend the general chapter meetings. We are well integrated into the general chapter activities.

But a young people's group, as its name implies, must do more. Its primary reason for existence is to seek out and inform members of the younger generation with the ideas and policies of the Council -- certainly to educate these members of our society. This we try to do by home meetings, seminars, literature, speeches and, most important, by personal contact. This we cannot do unless we educate ourselves first. We attempt to do this by a series of seminar-like discussions on Judaism, Zionism and related subjects. We cannot educate others unless we ourselves are first educated.

After we have started to educate ourselves, we must set out with a fervor and zeal to make ourselves heard before all young people -- at colleges, at community centers, at our congregations. This is not easy. It is probably our most difficult task. Unless we do this,

and each and every one of us makes a determined effort in this direction, there is no reason for our continued existence. A visit to any Hillel Foundation, congregation, or community center, sorority, or fraternity house will demonstrate the need. Or look at the Anglo-Jewish Press. We must not lose by default.

The Zionists, as other movements of our time, have made their plan of action very clear -- capture the communities, especially the youth. That is their mode of operation. They are doing their job, quietly and efficiently. They too suffer from inertia, but there are more of them -- they have an impassioned plea, they tug at our hearts. Behind us we have more substance -- a belief in Judaism and American democracy.

It seems to me that the Chicago Conference in 1951 placed new emphasis on the word "Judaism" in the name of our organization. This has led to the restatement of principles which we will hear at today's luncheon. We have heard reports on the Council's religious schools, its textbook analysis, suggested curriculum, the Council's own books, and the like. No longer can anyone say that we are "negative".

We must carry forward the march of Judaism, without nationalism, in every phase of our life. I firmly believe that in these troubled times our co-religionists are seeking a way of life taught by our religion, unadulterated with any Israeli nationalism. If so, we must move forward and give it to them.

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